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ASIA MEDIA SUMMIT 2007

Revisiting, Rethinking, Replenishing, Renovating

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Asia Media Summit 2007

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Welcome Remarks

Dr. Javad Mottaghi

On behalf of the AIBD I bid you all welcome and thank you for your participation and contribution to the Asia Media Summit 2007. I also thank all sponsors, supporting governments and organisations that made it possible for the organising committee to make this event, the fourth in the series, a reality.

In these opening remarks, I would like to put a few questions before the house, requesting your response to these and many other questions that you may add to this endless list as we go along:

1. Seven years ago, world leaders adopted the Millennium Declaration, a blueprint for building a better world in the 21st Century. Mixed progress in implementing global agreements on development have kept millions mired in poverty, sparking a parallel wave of concern. What role can the media play to help achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015?

2. With all the technological wonders in place and with the increased use of information and communications technologies (ICTs) for development, there is concern that, at the end of the day, the gap between the haves and the have-nots will become wider and wider. How can we help ensure that digitalisation will benefit the whole of the Asia-Pacific region, including countries that are still economically and technologically underdeveloped?

3. How can ICTs serve not only to improve the media business, but also raise people's standard of living?

4. Audiences are demanding a bigger stake in the media. They want more of their voices heard on global and domestic issues. They seek new content and quality programming to better address the public interest. What is our response to such a demand? Are the media empowering people enough to participate in national development?

5. A handful of organisations own and control a very large number of publications as well as major TV and radio channels worldwide. What can public broadcasters and other stakeholders do to ensure a fair reflection of views from people, in particular those that are marginalised?

6. How can we minimise, if not stop, factional fighting and regional conflict, and thus divert attention and resources to meeting the most basic needs of those living under extreme poverty, such as primary healthcare, basic education, maternal and child health, decent employment and housing?

7. Are we media professionals doing enough to cover nation-building efforts, notably initiatives towards greater harmony, sustainable development and a culture of peace?

8. In what way can the media help stop corruption in various layers of society and ensure good and effective governance for nation-building?

9. How can the media reduce the suffering of people living in conflict zones or occupied territories?

10. How can the media play an effective role in reducing violence against women and children, especially in violence-scarred cities, and in ending impunity for violence against women and girls?

11. In 2006 the world spent more than one trillion dollars on arms at a time when achieving universal enrolment in primary education in developing and transition countries by 2015 would cost only $9 billion a year. How can the media stop the unpleasant business of arms trade?

12. How can the media touch the hearts and minds of those who believe in the clash of civilisations and persuade them that the only way to bring stability to the international community is dialogue and, again, dialogue? And how can the media make "the other" a part of us? How can the media be persuaded to adopt the idea of peace journalism, which is really good journalism by another name, instead of the concept of war journalism?

Dr. Javad Mottaghi is Director, Asia-Pacific Institute of Broadcasting Development

Opening Remarks

Dr. Hamadoun Toure

[Yang Amat Berhormat]
Dato' Sri Mohd Najib bin Tun Abdul Razak
The Honourable Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia
Ministers
Excellencies
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen

I am pleased to be here this afternoon to address you again during this inaugural session.

This morning in my special address to you, I outlined three priorities of ITU that were endorsed by our Plenipotentiary Conference in November 2006 following the World Summit on the Information Society in 2003 and 2005.

They are: building ICT infrastructure, ensuring Cybersecurity and providing emergency communications.

17 May this month marked our 142 anniversary, ITU is the oldest international organisation within the United Nations system. Yet with its priorities the Union is young at heart and remains at the cutting edge of global communications.

In addition to the 3 priorities above ITU is also committed to facilitating interoperability, interconnection and global connectivity of networks and services, managing the frequency spectrum as well as the orbital resources in a world that has become more and more wireless, strengthening the development of an enabling environment, and extending the benefits of ICT to people any time, anywhere.

ITU is committed to promoting the capability of people in utilising ICTs towards building a better, more peaceful and productive world. Development starts with human development.

We invite all you present today and all WSIS stakeholders – international organisations, non-governmental organisations and policy-makers – to give all people and young people in particular, the opportunity to access ICTs.

The potentials of learning, sharing information and knowledge, improving health and education are endless. Communicating, within nations and with other nations,

enables us to know more about diviersity in culture, beliefs, traditions and civilisations. This is turn will create better understanding around the globe and will make the world a better place to live.

I am confident that gathering such as this Summit would immensely contribute to positive media coverage to highlight the benefits of ICTs to achieve our common human objectives.

Thank you.

Dr. Hamadoun Touré is Secretary-General, International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

Opening Remarks

Pattareeya Sumano

On behalf of the members, partners, sponsors and organising committee of the AIBD, please allow me to welcome you all to this unique annual global media gathering.

As many as 440 media professionals from over 60 countries, 160 organisations and 16 international and regional broadcasting unions are present at this gathering. This fact represents the first strength of this Summit: presenting the beauty of diversity in unity and proving that diversity enriches the human community.

Given the ongoing crises in various parts of the world, regional and international dialogue seems to be more essential now than ever. Assenting to the concept of "the right of others" is the only path that can lead to liberation from the chains of estrangement, which deeply threaten coexistence in the present world.

Dialogue is a continuous endeavour for approaching "truth" and achieving "common understanding." Truth has never been the monopoly of any single individual or any particular school of thought.

I thank you all for your participation and contribution. I thank all the sponsors and supporting organisations that have made it possible for the AIBD to make this event happen in the beautiful city of Kuala Lumpur, which is an example of peace and harmony. I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Malaysia on the 50th anniversary of the country's independence.

Pattareeya Sumano is President of the General Conference of the AIBD

Keynote Address

YAB Dato' Seri Mohd Najib bin Tun Abdul Razak

Ours is an inter-connected and inter-dependent world, driven by globalisation and information technology which, to a large extent, determines the depth and pace of the development, growth and survival of each nation. Events and issues peculiar to each nation and that affect those nations also impact the rest of the world. They cannot be dealt with in isolation.

Environmental degradation is producing climate change, which in turn is threatening the security of all nations – including their social and economic stability, on which all else depends. The world's top experts on climate change recently met some 400 delegates from 120 countries in Bangkok and warned them that time was of the essence in order to ward off the most destructive effects of climate change. They discussed the latest report of the United Nation's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which made it clear that humanity could at least slow global warming with existing, affordable technology.

Extreme poverty and hunger remain a pressing concern that cannot be dealt with in isolation. They are both the causes and the consequences of lack of education, gender discrimination, ill health and the over-exploitation of fragile ecosystems. They constitute the first of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which is fundamental to the overall attainment of the remaining eight goals – which 189 governments are committed to achieve by 2015.

The 9/11 attack in New York has triggered resource mobilisation to address terrorism not only in America but also across continents. It has sparked violent events and atrocities in a few countries. Its impact has ushered in a period of confusion and division along religious and cultural lines. Many nations and other stake-holders are examining the situation so as to find positive responses. However, the roots of the problem have not been addressed.

Ours has been called the information age. Information is plentiful in the old and new media. Global issues such as terrorism, climate change and poverty have found space and time in newspapers and on the web, as well as on radio, television and multimedia. But these concerns keep slipping out of current thinking and moving down the political agenda. The notion of an inter-dependent world remains far from being understood and operationalised. The result is a world full of contradictions, misunderstandings and conflicts. But the situation also offers opportunities for action on the urgent problems facing humanity.

We recognise that these issues may appear too big for one individual or one industry to handle. Many of these issues require action from above, from governments and

transnational, multi-lateral organisations like the United Nations. However, they also require action from below, from individuals like all of you here.

The Asia Media Summit offers a platform for discussion and reflection that can lead to concrete action. It serves as a wake-up call for renewed action to address issues that affect each one of us. It helps us connect with others and thus create a powerful antidote to the feelings of insecurity and hopelessness many of us experience in the face of such enormous problems. It helps us realise that ours is an inter-dependent world that requires collective action.

This Summit provides an opportunity for dialogue – the most effective step to stop the destruction that we see happening in the world today. Successful dialogue can prevent wars and the destruction of cities and towns, as well as the destitution of thousands of people. Dialogues can resolve conflicts and lead us to development and prosperity. They can help us stop violence, for instance, by examining the consequences of a solitary approach to human identity. In his latest book, entitled "Identity and Violence," Nobel laureate Amartya Sen says: this solitarist approach is based on a civilisational or religious partitioning of human beings, which can be a good way of misunderstanding nearly everyone in the world.

He offers a stronger push towards "clearer understanding of the pluralities of human identity and the appreciation that they cut across each other and work against a sharp separation along one single, hardened line of impenetrable division. We have to see clearly that we have many distinct affiliations and can interact with each other in a great many different ways."

Dialogue can also help us address natural disasters and environmental degradation, which have direct links to our unrestrained consumption of the earth's finite resources.

We can examine solutions from controversial and complex technologies, such as nuclear power and the storing of carbon dioxide underground, to simple measures such as consuming less and doing more, and making simple but effective lifestyle changes to limit our impact on this planet. This means consuming less by adopting ways to reuse, repair and recycle things we have.

We also need to implement simple ways to reduce and alter the energy and other resources that we use in our daily lives. The Bangkok conference on Climate Change has emphasised these options – covering, for instance, measures such as switching to energy efficient light bulbs and adjusting the thermostat in the office. The media can pursue a campaign towards this end and make a difference.

Dialogue can help us deal with poverty, illiteracy, HIV/AIDS and ill health. The development goals and targets identified by the UN give us a practical list in a positive tone. There are some who take a negative view and feel that the targets set by the UN cannot be achieved. But I think that if we analyse the problems

thoroughly, if we try and find the roots of the problem, we can perhaps find practicable solutions.

We need to find a way out of the conflicts caused by fear, intolerance and the greed of a few through such communication. If we can succeed in bringing about peace, prosperity cannot be far behind. For instance, if we can bring down the military expenditures of the world by even a small percentage, and channel those funds into development, poverty can be eradicated completely. There is no doubt that the MDGs can be achieved within the deadline – there is a target, for instance, to halve poverty by 2015.

The Asia-Pacific region is home to about 730 million extremely poor people. To lift half of them out of poverty, according to UN indicators, would take about 135 billion dollars per year. This is less than the cost that is being incurred per year for one war – a war that has already killed thousands, impoverished many more and degraded the urban environment of many cities and towns. If the media stop supporting wars and help to criminalise war, if the media support, instead, the war against poverty, illiteracy, gender inequality, HIV, environmental degradation, etc., there is no doubt that we can achieve the developmental goals before the deadline.

If the media explore the root causes of conflicts, especially if they are related to major political and economic structures of power, conflict is bound to reduce. If the media disseminate a sense of friendship and love instead of hatred, revenge and confrontation, there would be fewer conflicts.

If the media can change the culture of the "other" and make the other a part of us, there would be fewer problems around the globe.

If the media replace the clash of cultures or civilisations with dialogue by eliminating the logic of power and using instead the power of logic, the world would be a better place to live in. And, finally, if the media could play its watchdog role in the interest of all the people around the globe, the world might be able to attend to the really crucial issues that concern people.

This global media dialogue that you have started here today is a representation of the dialogue between civilisations, between continents, between countries, between different affiliations and varied identities. This is because the media represent the voice that people listen to and, sometimes, it is the voice of the people. I am very happy to note that you are discussing issues that are relevant to the development of the world. It is through you that even the voiceless people across the world communicate with each other.

Perhaps it is time for you to examine closely how communication technologies – from websites to mobile phone software – can be employed to change what people believe and what they can do in support of the war against poverty, illiteracy,

environmental degradation and other global concerns. In order to make a difference the approach should be creative, innovative and persuasive.

On this note, I once again wish all participants a successful and fruitful deliberations. *Dan dengan lafaz Bismilahirahmanirahim, saya dengan ini dengan sukacitanya merasmikan Pembukaan Asia Media Summit 2007. Pejabat Timbalan Perdana Menteri Putrajaya.*

YAB Dato' Seri Mohammed Najib bin Tun Abdul Razak is Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia. This speech was read on his behalf by YAB Datuk Seri Zainuddin Maidin, Minister of Information, Malaysia

Special Address

Dr. Hamadoun Toure

It is a great honour for me to address the Asia Media Summit 2007 in Kuala Lumpur, a prestigious city, with the great hospitality of the people and government of Malaysia.

My presence among high-ranking officials, policymakers, media owners, academic participants and other senior representatives is to show my commitment to standing with you as our industry faces many challenges.

As leading broadcasters from the Asia-Pacific region, Africa, America and Europe you use different models and strategies to address business issues. But globalisation is changing the national and regional character of your industry.

In preparation for this Summit you have already identified some of those global challenges. They include new technologies; a large number of new channels, new consumer demographics, globalisation of ownership, the rise of citizen's journalism and the impact of participatory media on traditional media – to name just a few.

In addition to dealing with your business challenges, your decision to also discuss the role of media in development; particularly in addressing issues such as mobilising the airwaves against poverty, is commendable.

Poverty alleviation is among the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). But the objective of significantly reducing poverty by 2015 is less than eight years away.

You may agree with me that the possibility of not meeting the MDGs by that deadline is very real.

But if there is to be a chance to meet those goals we will have to rely on information and communication technologies (ICTs) to accelerate the process. And this is where I turn to you to say that the media have a role in filling information gaps about the potential of ICT initiatives.

The role of ICTs was recognised by the World Summit for the Information Society. In Geneva in 2003 and in Tunis in 2005 heads of state and government came together to articulate a shared vision of the information society. This vision was endorsed by our last Plenipotentiary Conference in November 2006.

That is why the ITU, in partnership with other stakeholders, is actively implementing

the outcomes of WSIS. Using ICTs as a catalyst, the ITU is committed to helping people come out of the poverty trap in Asia-Pacific and in other regions.

We are glad that organisations like AIBD in this region and SABA in Africa are there to help us achieve those goals.

ICTs are omnipresent tools with profound implications for all economic sectors.

The innovations in digital technology have blurred the boundaries of mobile phones, Internet and broadcasting.

Convergence of broadcasting, telecommunication and information technologies, create more potent and effective tools.

But convergence requires a well developed, state of the art, ICT infrastructure, well trained professionals and users.

This is the reason why ITU will begin the Connect Series.

We will begin this year with Connect Africa, which will be held in Kigali, Rwanda, on 29 and 30 October.

Connect Africa will be launched under the patronage of His Excellency Paul Kagame, the President of Rwanda, in the presence of the UN Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, under the leadership of the African Union and with our partners.

African heads of state and government, the African Union and other relevant institutions, the private sector and many others will work with ITU to commit to major investments to develop ICT infrastructure on the African continent.

It will be a Summit that will bring together some of the most innovative minds and financial resources to invest in the future of Africa.

From Africa, the Connect Series will move to other parts of the world such as Asia-Pacific where ICT infrastructure is inadequate to build momentum towards alleviating poverty.

I am keenly aware of your other global concerns. This Summit is addressing your concerns about uneven – or lack of – media attention to worldwide issues such as climate change and regional conflict.

You recognise, rightfully, the enormous impact of such global issues on national development strategies and the need to give them media attention.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

As we build ICT infrastructure to bring more citizens of the world on line, you should not ignore another important challenge.

We need peace in cyberspace just as we need peace in the world.

To achieve cyberpeace, I have launched the Global Cybersecurity Agenda on the occasion of World Telecommunication and Information Society Day (17 May).

Cyberpeace is important to leverage the potentials of ICTs in promoting the MDGs through confidence and security in the use of ICTs.

The Global Cybersecurity Agenda is a multi stakeholder framework that will build on existing initiatives, partners and take full advantage of recognised sources of expertise.

Its purpose is two fold – to identify commonly agreed global challenges to Cybersecurity and build national ICT security and emergency response centers regionally and globally.

I cannot think of an area where we need as much positive media attention to bring all the stakeholders together for global action.

A third area is emergency communications. Here, in the Asia-Pacific region, there is constant threat of emergencies due to natural disasters such as earthquakes and tsunami.

ITU will continue its efforts to bring emergency communications to the unfortunate victims of natural disasters to allow them to prevent, if not, to be prepared to quickly recover and rebuild their shattered lives.

ITU will accompany you, as we have done for the past 142 years, in your quest to build the bridges to connect all peoples across this region. Together we will convert the digital divide into digital opportunity.

In conclusion, I appeal to all of you, to coordinate your efforts with ours to build infrastructure, ensure peace in cyber space and make emergency communications readily available to the less fortunate among us.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, in your various capacities, we depend on you to provide sufficient media coverage to those three (3) issues worldwide.

I will take this opportunity to thank the AIBD and its partners in bringing together the broadcasters from all over the globe to discuss and find solutions for many of the problem facing us.

I thank you again for inviting me. Thank you.

Dr. Hamadoun Toure is Secretary-General, International Telecommunication Union

1 Era of Participatory Media: Rethinking Mass Media

Pros and Cons of Participatory Media

Haroon Siddiqui

We are all familiar with the web and its marvels – blogs, podcasting, text messaging, telephone videos,You-Tube, I-Tunes, etc. The issue is: what is the sociological, political and geo-political meaning of this new technology? And what does it mean for the traditional media business?

This technological galaxy is the modern equivalent of the Gutenberg press or the invention of the telegraph or radio or television. In fact, the new technology is much bigger. There is no doubt that the new technology has democratised public spaces. Anyone, or just about anyone, can join the public square. The biggest barrier to entering the media industry used to be that media ventures were investment-heavy. You needed millions of dollars to start a serious newspaper or set up a radio or a TV network. But the new technology is investment-free or nearly free. Anyone can set up shop.

The new technology clearly empowers ordinary citizens and small groups, such as the NGO sector, who have taken good advantage of it. The new technology is a tool of empowerment for the disenfranchised and the marginalised – be they ethnic or religious minorities, dissidents in oppressive states, such as China or Egypt; or citizen groups agitating over some issue. One of the first manifestations of this use of new technology was in 2003 when citizen opposition to the war on Iraq was galvanised across Europe and Canada. It was the first time in modern history that masses of people were opposing a war even before the first shot had been fired.

Another example was the Danish cartoon crisis, when citizens in and around the Persian/Arabian Gulf used the web and text messaging to galvanise an economic boycott of Danish products – so successfully that the Danish government, which up to that point had been arrogantly refusing to pay heed to the protests, swung into action to protect trade and commerce, and the concerned newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten,* issued its first (awkward) apology.

Decentralised and diffused

The new technology is so decentralised and diffused that it often has no address and it cannot be bombed, unlike an identifiable target like an Al Jazeera bureau.

The new technology is a boon to citizen journalism, a great tool for on-the-spot sources of news – of natural disasters, protest marches and demonstrations or foreign occupations. Many of us would remember the utterly gripping account of a young Iraqi woman in Baghdad, who kept up a blog of daily life under the American occupation.

Freed of the constraints of geography, the new technology has been good for knitting together like-minded but far-flung communities, creating ever-smaller niches – Arabic or Urdu or Swahili poets around the world, or climbers of the Himalayas, or expatriate communities, especially the big Chinese and Indian diasporas around the globe, or the 200 million immigrants now living in nations other than where they were born, connecting themselves to "back home" on a regular basis.

What are the demographics of the users? If you leave aside the corporates, the biggest users of the new technology are the young, along with those driven by ego or idealism or ideology. What's the down side of the new technology? It is being used effectively by terrorists, not only for propaganda purposes but also as a tool for recruitment. If you visit the Defence and Strategic Centre, Singapore, where they monitor terrorist websites, or if you talk to the secret service people in Britain, Germany, Canada and elsewhere, they will tell you that terrorists are very web-savvy and that their technology is only a year behind MTV. This is scary.

The new technology has also been a boon to hate-mongers – anti-Islamists, anti-Semites, anti-whatever. Another disadvantage is that there is no way to know the veracity of the content. No one has checked it all out. This, in turn, poses a problem for the mainstream media, who have to resist the temptation of using a sensational photo or a video clip supplied by an enterprising citizen until the facts have been verified and placed in their proper context. Another disadvantage is that in this free-for-all environment there is no developed legal protocol to sue anyone for libel. They can slander you and get away with it. In that sense, they are worse than hotline radio or the worst of the tabloid press.

Economic outlook

Let us turn to the economic aspects of the new technology. Are the practitioners making money? No, for the most part. Ironically, those who monitor them are the ones getting the jobs and the bigger budgets. There is really no clear economic model at work here. But this much is evident: the new media are hurting the old media.

The examples of commercially successful newspaper content on the web are few and far between: for example, the Wall Street Journal and, to a lesser extent, The New York Times. Some of the traditional revenue sources of newspapers, such as classified advertisements and ads for employment, real estate, automobiles, etc., are gravitating to the web. Newspapers cannot compete with the web's laser-beam

like zeroing in on a user's specific needs or with virtual videos of the products on sale. This has created panic among the mainstream, commercial media. So we are throwing money at everything, trying out new businesses, mostly without a business rationale and based mainly on the idea that "We cannot not be there." And we are, largely, not succeeding, in the commercial sense.

The lessons from all of the above are the following:

There is no point in blaming the new technology. It is just another, albeit ubiquitous, medium. We have to get used to it and compete with it. In doing so, we can take comfort from the fact that while web-based sources of information can, once in a while, cause a stir, they still do not have the power to set the agenda of society, let alone dictate public policy. That power still rests with the old media – the newspapers and the broadcasters.

How long this power lasts will depend, almost entirely, on how credible, relevant, useful and valuable we can make our content. What we write and produce must be compelling enough, authoritative enough and, most important, true enough, for consumers to keep coming to us.

This poses a particular challenge to the mainstream media in the West, whose North-centric narratives on world affairs, particularly the Middle East, increasingly lack credibility. The American mainstream media, in particular, have a lot to atone for. On Iraq, for example, they gave us jingoism, not journalism, and have taken nearly five years to begin to question Washington's policies. This is not just an issue of the media having been pro-government or pro-establishment. Worse, they have been out of touch with their own consumers, not just in the U.S. but also Canada and parts of Europe, where people have had to rely more and more on the new media for an alternative, and often truer, narrative on world affairs. The old media had better take notice.

Haroon Siddiqui is a journalist and columnist and Editor Emeritus, The Toronto Star

Multi Platform Strategies: Adopting and Adapting

Erik Bettermann

Revolutions make their way into dictionaries. That is why the publisher of the then *Manchester Guardian* was truly shocked when – for the first time – he spotted the word "television" in his dictionary. That was at the beginning of the 20th Century.

Today this publisher would be besides himself, because extraordinary words are constantly creeping into everyday speech. First the reference book, Merriam-Webster, nominated 'blog' to be the 'Word of the Year.' Then the word "podcast" was chosen. These neologisms demonstrate one thing: just as television shaped the language and media we are familiar with today, the new media will do so in the future.

An established international broadcaster like Deutsche Welle (DW) has to adapt to this situation. Today, with the proliferation of multiple channels of communication, we hold the key to providing our target groups with information even more efficiently than before. DW recognised the potential of new media technologies at a very early stage, and we designed our corporate strategy accordingly. For instance, it was our German international broadcasting station – the first public broadcaster in the country – that in 1994 established an independent online service as a third option alongside television and radio. Now our online service, DW-World.de, is available in eight independent journalistic versions – amongst them Chinese, Arabic and – a recent addition – Farsi, a language that is booming on the internet. We also provide internet services to complement our radio programmes in 22 other languages.

Moreover, DW was one of the first media companies in the world to optimise its programmes consistently for mobile use: "Made for Mobile." This ground-breaking development is closely connected to the success of the Apple iPod MP3 Players. Our listeners today can access our audio content as podcasts, without being restricted by programme schedules or air-times – where and when they want it! With DW the listener is his own director of programming! I must also mention one of our most successful products: only from us can you can get the German Premier Football League, "Fußball-Bundesliga" – mobile and in seven different world languages!

Freedom of expression

Early on, DW also focused on the world of blogs. Statistically speaking, a new blog appears every second. In liberal societies, this is often just a means of self-expression

and self-fulfilment. In less free media markets, however, blogs constitute an essential tool for freedom of expression. For three years now we have been presenting the International Weblog Award for blogs that stand up for an open society and freedom of opinion, and thereby contribute to defending the freedom of the press. We call this award the "Best of the Blogs" – or the BOBs.

In our medium term strategy, we are combining newly developed products and our traditional services into one single Multi-Platform-Strategy. This provides for traditional analogue short-wave as well as live-stream for broadband access. Traditional values and innovation go hand in hand at DW.

Our aim must be to serve up our high-quality DW-content à la carte! That means our radio, TV and online content must be available everywhere and at any time. The channels of distribution have to adapt to the given standards in the target region. And, depending on region and target group, DW will then provide the appropriate combination of our various media. In our international activities, the main emphasis is on the Arabic language area – and this represents our presence in Asian and European cooperation.

Consequently, a programme such as our "Fokus Asia," which is aired via short wave, must also be available as podcast and on-demand. By doing this, we gain millions of new listeners who cannot, for one reason or another, tune into the programme when it is on air. TV productions like our business magazine, "Made in Germany," need to be accessible through partner stations, via video-podcast, YouTube or GoogleVideo. Such collaborations are already happening and we want to continue along that track. We are already seeing the first signs of success for our multi-platform strategy. In February this year our multi-media products were accessed five million times – 90 per cent via on-demand and ten per cent via live-stream.

Credibility

The lesson we have learned through this experience is that our users want our content – but they want it when they have time for it: in the bus, during their lunch break or after work. However, new channels of distribution are not an end in themselves: content remains crucial! Many organisations are discovering innovative channels of distribution. But making credible programmes with a clear profile – that is our strength! This is why, for us, a true multi-platform-strategy also incorporates a quality offensive – in particular signing up to binding journalistic standards.

DW's main characteristic now and in the future is as a reliable partner for unbiased, reliable reporting – a trusted guide through the flood of data in our digital world. Our programme manager - that is the DW user – will not necessarily be our reporter as well. "Everyman's journalism" or "citizen journalism," in the sense of an amateur reporter hunting down VIPs or their neighbours to tell inside stories in blogs or newspapers – that is not the kind of reporting you will ever see at DW. On the

contrary, we firmly believe that new modes of distribution are only to be used when they provide added value in terms of journalistic quality.

While discussing new channels of distribution and new media we should never forget that, even in 2007, we live in a world that is digitally divided: there are those who are online, and those who lack the most fundamental infrastructure that can make them part of the information society. In large parts of Southern Africa, for instance, our traditional means of broadcasting – analogue short wave – is still urgently required. That is why we continue to use this option and are also working on the expansion of the digital short-wave DRM or Digital Radio Mondiale. Today, DRM receivers are far too expensive and not widespread enough. But with continued market penetration, DRM will become an essential part of our multi-platform strategy.

I would also like to stress that, now and in the future, people will remain the focus of DW, not technology! It is their desire for information that motivates us. In the coming years, we will have to pay more attention to the question of how to individualise our programmes further. For the media users of tomorrow, mobile access to our programmes is not the only thing. They will also want a programme mix that is tailor-made for them. They will not want just whatever happens to be on. We will have to give them exactly what they want - ensuring the best possible quality, of course.

In that respect, our Weblog Award, the Deutsche Welle BOBs, may be groundbreaking for new media development as a whole. In selecting awardees we focus on those who stand out through their innovation and quality. By the way, we secretly hope that, one day, the word "BOBs" will make it into the dictionary alongside "wikis," "photoblogs" and other new words of the future.

I will end with two hypotheses. Firstly, in the mass media, quality is more important than ever before – and, at the same time, it is becoming a rarity. Secondly, established media companies with a reputation for quality, such as DW, will continue to act as "information scouts" – but only if they stick to their core journalistic values.

Erik Bettermann is Director-General, Deutsche Welle (DW)

Surviving the IT Age: A Broadcaster's Viewpoint

Toshiyuki Sato

Blogs, videoblogs, wikis, podcasting – all these new media are results of the advent and spread of computers and the Internet. We cannot find such words in our old English dictionaries. They are found only in e-dictionaries. Three years ago we could not have imagined that the ipod would conquer the portable audio-visual market. Sony's Walkman has been swept away by the invention of the non-electronic manufacturer, Apple.

Impact

A survey of Japanese lifestyles, conducted by Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK), indicates trends in media use. Last year's survey revealed that the average Japanese individual watches television for 3 hours and 32 minutes, and uses the Internet (web and mail) for 40 minutes, on Sundays. Five years ago (in 2001), the corresponding figures were 3:52 for watching TV and 19 minutes for the Internet. The trend is even more obvious in the 2006 data for males in their 20s: they watch 2:20 hours of television and use the Internet for 1:25 hours (in 2001, the figures for the same demographic group were 2:54 for TV and 35minutes for the Internet).

Most viewers of the NHK are over 50. Every year we attract fewer and fewer young viewers. For us, Japan's public broadcaster, this is a gloomy fact to face. The younger generation obviously feels more of an affinity with interactive media. Consumer Generated Media (CGM) now constitutes an alternative to the mass media. For us broadcasters, it has been a matter of survival to cope with the constant flow of different types of new media, including CGM.

Coping strategies

The new media are coming to conquer us: this has been an obsession shared by almost all broadcasters worldwide. NHK had started a project 20 years ago to deal with the new media and thereby survive the coming years. But at that time "new media" meant cable and satellite television!

More recently, public broadcasters have been demanding the implementation of the "must carry" principle in order to get along in the new media environment. The

idea is that our services must not be restricted to broadcasting alone, but must be carried by all the emerging new media.

In Japan, there has so far been rigid regulation to separate broadcasting and telecommunication. Both are under the control of the Ministry of Internal and Communication Affairs (former Ministry of Post and Telecommunication), which divided the roles and areas of broadcasting and telecommunication quite distinctly.

However, the development of technology has made it impossible to draw a clear line between the two. You can enjoy television viewing on a personal computer and access limited but useful services like the Internet on a flat-screen digital TV. NHK's data broadcasting provides the latest news, weather forecasts (not only of your town but all the major cities in the world), Electronic Programme Guides (EPG), economic indices such as the figures for more than 1000 companies on the Tokyo stock exchange and major foreign currencies, and so on.

Convergence

In the broadcasting apparatus market, there are new products like DVD-HDD recorders, G3 mobile phones with TV receivers, digital radios and others. In the area of telecommunication, there are many consumer products and inventions like IPTV, ipods and other Internet originated services. The distinction between broadcasting and telecommunication has become blurred, with these new inventions accelerating convergence.

NHK plans to advance into this new territory. As we proceed with digitising our broadcast services we are adding meta-data and utilising broadband. To attract a younger audience, broadcasting must become interactive. We plan to create columns or forums where viewers can express their impressions and opinions so that people who come to the site might read and feel interested in getting the programme or news items. You will be able to find and access programmes and news by indicating a topic or a few related words and receiving them through the Internet. We have to redefine new services by introducing the concept of CGM.

Broadcast law is being amended to give broadcasters rights to charge for and deliver their contents through the Internet. NHK's assets include a vast reservoir of programmes and news reports: over half a million programme titles are stored in our Archives. Once the law is revised these contents will be available on PCs, mobile telephones and on TVs linked to the Internet.

Broadcasters are always challenged by new inventions. The old, conventional media can survive only if and when they integrate something new. Returning to the differences between the old and the new media, the former monopolised the means of communication and had almost exclusive power to influence people. With the arrival of the Internet, ordinary people are now equipped with powerful tools with which they can convey whatever they think.

Dangers

Of course, sometimes they go too far and abuse others. Anonymity is sometimes necessary in the media to make it possible to expose something hidden or unlawful in the public interest – the classic example is "Deep Throat" in the Watergate scandal in the USA. But some blogs and bulletin board sites on the Internet are full of defamation. Earlier it was thought that the majority of people are "silent" but the Internet has turned some quiet people into angry, sometimes hateful and xenophobic, individuals.

We see a lot of jingoistic ideas on Japanese websites – anti-China and anti-Korea views, for example. Such opinions are sometimes kindled when there is an anti-Japan movement in China or Korea. Those promoting such ideas often criticise the more rational opinions expressed on conventional media. I believe we have learnt from mistakes made in recent history, but the new participatory media tend to make some people irrational. Loud, biased, anonymous voices can easily shut out quiet and balanced opinions.

The Internet has revolutionised our lives and provided us with unprecedented opportunities to access a variety of sources of information and ideas. But we have to be careful about its potential for misuse and the gravity of the damages that can be caused in that way.

I would also like to highlight here the risks faced by frequent Internet users. When someone accesses a site on the Internet, a log is recorded that can be traced. It is certainly a matter of comparing the relative benefits and risks, but it is important to be aware of the electronic fingerprints resulting from routine visits to websites. This may sound too paranoid, but your likes, dislikes and, to some degree, what you think can be tracked by going through such logs.

Old and new

As an old media man, I still believe the old mass media have advantages and responsibilities. To begin with the advantages, first of all the old media are not anonymous: information, analysis and opinions imparted along with the writer's or speaker's name are likely be more convincing. Secondly, old media can still reach viewers and readers in great numbers at the same time. Finally, most old media have the benefit of groups of professionals who are resourceful and properly qualified to present issues to viewers, listeners or readers.

Next I come to the roles of the old media. The media have to tell us where we are in the context of history, emphasising what is important by providing well-organised information. They also have to raise issues and provide alternative solutions to problems in order to create public consensus.

I do not deny the great potential of participatory new media, especially since it is in the nature of human beings to express opinions. But there are risks from the new media that can be checked and balanced by the old media. The old media must watch out for the extremes of participatory media and bring the pendulum back when it is swinging too far.

Toshiyuki Sato is Director General, International Planning & Broadcasting Department, Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK) – Japan Broadcasting Corporation.

Moderated Debate

Social Responsibility in the New Era

Zhao Huayong

It is an honour for me to attend the fourth Asia Media Summit on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the AIBD. Today I would like to share something of China Central Television's understanding of and experiences with the theme of this summit.

Mass communication is currently undergoing a profound transformation, thanks to the growth of modern technology, which is generating an impressive array of new communication forums, like blogs, video blogs, and wiki, among many others. Even as the limits of time and space are being obliterated by mass media, the vast number of emerging communication channels for diverse content is bringing about enormous change. In this age of information sharing, when anyone can become a media organisation unto himself, it is time for us to reconsider the role of mass media.

First of all, we are convinced that no matter what kind of change may come along, mass media must invariably shoulder the social responsibility of benefiting the people and promoting the development of a nation. Prior to my trip, I read on the AIBD webpage that Prime Minister Badawi had urged mainstream media to give prominent coverage to the voices of moderation, tolerance and diplomacy. This appeal is echoed in China, where media organisations are encouraged to give priority to the interests of society. Such a developmental outlook in the media, centred around human interest, has certainly transcended the boundaries of culture and geographical territory.

Connecting people

Arriving in Kuala Lumpur, I was overwhelmed by my first encounter with the Petronas Twin Towers. What impressed me most was the 58.4 metre-long corridor, 70 metres above the ground, connecting the two high-rises. It occurred to me that the beautiful corridor is a perfect symbol of our role in this era of shared information, which is to employ the latest communication methods to connect with the public.

Secondly, we believe that it is the duty of media organisations to master emerging communication methods to reinforce and diversify our tried and tested means, thereby contributing to the respective goals of each nation. Let us take China Central Television as an example. In 2005, China set an overall goal of social development –

the construction of a modern country characterised by prosperity, democracy, civilisation, and harmony, with modernisation reaching all aspects of the economy, politics, culture, and social affairs. As the state broadcaster, CCTV has taken the initiative in recent years to explore the effective combination of emerging communication methods with television. With a focus on social responsibility, CCTV has been a pioneer on the internet, in mobile telecom and mobile TV.

With respect to the economy, CCTV has played its due role in encouraging innovation, building an energy-conserving society and promoting sustainable development. Apart from that, CCTV has also acted as a supervisor for China's fast-growing economy. Its primetime show, "Focal Point," which has been on air every day for the past 13 years, is the country's first TV programme specialising in exposing negative phenomena, like corruption, bribery and embezzlement. The public contributes topics via e-mail, online comments, mobile phone messages and blogs. The show receives as many as 1500 viewer comments every day. And, with CCTV.com, the show has positively, comprehensively and accurately reported on major economic issues, like tax relief for the rural population and medical care reform. These reports are freely available as videos-on-demand. It has been a great contribution to resolving conflict, stabilising society and promoting harmony.

Two-way flow

In our coverage of politics, the new means of communication, which enable a two-way flow of information, have served as an effective channel for the public to comment on national affairs. During the sessions of the National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) concluded about two months ago, CCTV put all of its 20-plus special programmes dedicated to the national assembly online. Through reporters' and anchors' blogs and online polls, we gathered more than 10,000 requests and opinions from the nation's netizens, which have been compiled and presented to the premier.

Next we come to culture. As we all know, culture comprises a series of historic, creative decisions made by a nation in the course of tackling and surviving all the challenges before it. It is a well-cherished legacy. We are also conscious that culture, with all its exquisite subtleties, needs to be shared and inherited by the public. Therefore, we have begun using the internet to air the 24-year-old live show, "Spring Festival Gala," so that Chinese people around the world can enjoy this television feast on Chinese New Year's Eve.

In the process of selecting our "People of the Year," a feature that has achieved impressive success over the past five years, we have encouraged viewers to vote through new communication means for "grassroots heroes" who embody the extraordinary nobility of the Chinese nation. Among them are Yao Ming, the patriotic basketball player; Liu Xiang, the record-breaking hurdler; Wang Shunyou, who delivered letters in the mountains for 20 days; and Tian Shiguo, who donated a

kidney to save his mother. Audiences praise CCTV's "People of the Year" as a "spiritual epic that touches the heart of the whole nation."

Social harmony, as well as consonance between humanity and nature, are common wishes cherished by everyone. Joining forces with 70 model cities in social harmony, CCTV has launched the show, "Civilization of China," in conjunction with a series of online social welfare endeavours. Over the past year, many of CCTV's high-profile hosts and presenters have gone and covered stories in economically-challenged areas, and their mingling with local people has touched the masses.

There is no denying the enormous challenge that new communication means have brought to mass media. However, it also gives us infinite opportunities to renovate our communication methods, serve our nations and promote cultural exchange. Just as modern traffic methods can take us anywhere in the world in one day's time, the development of communication technology has facilitated the simultaneous sharing of information among people around the globe, as people are able to instantly learn about the latest happenings in a far away land. The earth has become a village, where media organisations like ours serve as the bridges and channels to information. Greater understanding and cooperation, which is in our best interest, will bring us shared ideas and happiness amidst friendship and harmony.

Communication is the basis of understanding, which leads to win-win cooperation. In tackling the challenges of new media technology and fulfilling our social responsibility, media organisations in the Asia-Pacific region should seek more cooperation in programming exchanges, sharing facilities and training personnel.

Finally, I extend my most sincere invitation to all of you to visit Beijing next summer. I hope to meet you at the height of the Beijing Olympics.

Zhao Huayong is President, China Central Television (CCTV)

Evolution of Broadcasting in India

Baljit Singh Lalli

The advent of broadcasting in India can be traced to the introduction of radio in pre-independence India. What started as a private business soon evolved into a department of government. Those were the early days of bulky, expensive radios that were beyond the reach of the average Indian. Coverage was also limited to a few cities. Ordinary people received broadcasts second or third hand, by word of mouth.

However, what cannot be denied is that the establishment of radio stations during that period put in place an efficient infrastructure and provided a priceless pool of trained personnel - producers and broadcasters – that made it possible for India to undertake a dramatic lead in the years after independence. Our first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was a visionary and an exceptional communicator. It is to his vision and pre-science that we owe the evolution of All India Radio – a State monopoly – into a major public service broadcaster (PSB).

Broadcasting was harnessed to protect and promote the newborn nation's independence and integrity, as well as her capacity for the gigantic task of national development. Programming followed a course that furthered the national interest. The slogan indelibly etched on the facade of the Broadcasting House reads 'Bahujan hitaya, Bahujan sukhaya' – for the good of the majority, for the happiness of the majority.

Doordarshan – the television wing – joined its older sibling, All India Radio, as a Directorate under the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting about 50 years ago. These two institutions have been broadly responsive and responsible with regard to the imperatives of the common good in their programming.

Competition

With stiff competition having come in through the proliferation of a large number of privately owned satellite channels and FM radio stations there has been, one has to admit, a certain trend towards more entertainment, with the public broadcasters almost mimicking private broadcasters. We are now making efforts towards course correction because a PSB must not lose its distinctiveness and must seek to set programming norms and standards, taking into account audience needs and requirements.

The proliferation of channels has fuelled many wants and has fulfilled some needs. But there are many gaps. A PSB has to meet the complete media needs of all, including those of people who may have few media options. It has to engage in developing taste, promoting understanding, spreading literacy and development, as well as in creating informed debate, empowering the disadvantaged and catalysing development: issues that private broadcasters rarely address. The test lies in coming up with programmes that are able to hold the interest of the audience on a sustained basis.

In a large democracy like India, where so many cultural, linguistic and religious pluralities co-exist, broadcasters have a fantastic treasure-trove of subject matter from which to draw for a diverse and meaningful mix of programming and content.

Let me cite the example of what we in Prasar Bharati are trying to do to promote programmes on Indian classical literature in different languages. Important works of some noted writers are being brought to the TV screen in the form of serials. Our efforts in this direction are being received well.

We are also working on a special project with UNICEF wherein a new entertainment serial, focusing on identified social objectives but retaining the entertainment character and value, is proposed to be telecast on the prime band. That will be the first production of its kind.

Distinctive character

Naturally there is the question of how a public broadcaster can retain a distinctive character and not be tempted by crass commercialism. Can we resist the seduction of profitability? Our experience so far has been that the Broadcasting Corporation of India (Prasar Bharati) and its constituents (All India Radio and Doordarshan) have been more aggressive with marketing themselves in recent years, with a view to raising revenues. However, direct budgetary support from the government to promote public service in broadcasting has been continuing simultaneously, as in the past.

It is visualised that Prasar Bharati will continue to depend on the government for budgetary support in the near future, but that with each passing year the need for such support will keep going down. A balance has to be achieved so that we can remain true to our mandate but, at the same time, are not averse to raising revenues as a corporate objective. I do not see any conflict between the two. In fact, I think it is entirely possible to keep a robust balance.

There is a general view that a PSB needs to remain at arm's length from the government of the day. Our view in this matter is that it is not only possible but also desirable to have a creative partnership with the government. The public broadcaster retains independent editorial policy, has complete control over all operational and tactical decisions but partners with the government in raising levels of awareness about public programmes, their implementation and impact.

Creative partnership

Broadcasting public services and public issues in a democracy are at the very heart of the matter. This creative partnership between the government and the public broadcaster, I believe, helps in encouraging and sustaining a wholesome and healthy dialogue between citizens and those who formulate and administer public policies and programmes.

An example of such partnership is the use of the DTH platform owned by Prasar Bharati. Among the channels available on this platform are channels devoted to the Distance Education programme conducted by a State-owned university. In a country the size of India, distance education is a powerful tool to empower people, especially those sections of our population who live in remote areas and are not in a position to take advantage of conventional colleges and universities.

Further, there is also a continuous interaction between different Ministries and Departments of the government, on the one side, and the public broadcaster, on the other, wherein programmes are produced in cooperation with each other. Media campaigns are also launched primarily to raise levels of awareness about certain initiatives – for instance, the National Rural Health Mission, the National Basic Education campaign, agricultural development programmes, consumer awareness programmes, etc.

There is no political propaganda in these programmes. The sole orientation is towards making people aware of the services and facilities and of their role and rights in the context of these activities. Revenues that come to the public broadcaster from this work are in addition to the budgetary support that we receive from the government. The Ministries and Departments are interested in giving this work to Prasar Bharati because of its unparalleled reach and because of its traditional objectivity and balanced approach towards presenting such programmes.

One has every reason to be optimistic about the future of PSB. Technological breakthroughs and innovations provide another new dimension to our work and new opportunities to expand and optimise the capability of this form of broadcasting. While private channels will continue to thrive, public broadcasting institutions will retain their relevance because of the disappearance of public space and the growth of special interest audiences everywhere.

A PSB need not worry about these developments because we do not have to compete with commercial broadcasters. Revenue earning cannot be our major objective. The focus has to remain on being a public service broadcaster – if not in the classical, pure sense, at least in a substantial sense.

Baljit Singh Lalli is Chief Executive Officer (AIR and Doordarshan), Prasar Bharati – Broadcasting Corporation of India

2 The Future of Public Service Broadcasting

Media Reform in the Maldives

Mohamed Nasheed

It is an honour for me to be here and a pleasure to speak about the future of public service broadcasting with specific reference to the experience of the Maldives.

Maldives has not had a history of PSB. What we have had is state broadcasting. Despite their similarities, we know that there are important differences between the two forms of broadcasting.

However, Maldives is currently passing through a serious wave of reforms. The Constitution is being revised, legal reforms are in full swing, judicial reforms are moving ahead, and political reform is already visible. The media landscape, too, is reveals reforms like never before.

Media reform in the Maldives is proceeding along four main tracks. Track one involves creating the legal framework, including all laws and institutions required to govern the Maldives media. Track two involves allowing private broadcasters and print media outlets to operate. Track three is about instituting confidence-building measures. Track four concerns providing training for entry and mid-career level journalists.

This year Maldives is pushing forward a year-long campaign called Press Forward Maldives, which is meant to ensure that there are one or two training programmes for media professionals every month. I must recall here with gratitude that the AIBD has very kindly agreed to provide training on certain selected themes. The details of the reforms I just mentioned are available in a report called "Maldives Media 2006 and Moving Forward," which can be obtained through the Summit secretariat.

At present there are two state broadcasters in the Maldives: Voice of Maldives, which is the audio medium, and Television Maldives, the audiovisual medium. There is a draft Broadcasting Bill in Parliament that will soon be taken up for debate. The Bill is one of six draft laws that constitute the "media reform pack" that the government has submitted to Parliament under the Presidential agenda for democracy and reform.

New developments

That Bill is going to introduce a few things. One, it will create an independent national broadcast commission that will be the ultimate regulator of the broadcast media.

Two, there will be a national broadcasting corporation that will bring into its fold the current state broadcasters, Voice of Maldives and Television Maldives. As a statutory body, the corporation will have secured funding from the annual national budget, enjoy editorial independence, have a governance structure approved by Parliament, and be answerable to the public through Parliament.

While state broadcasters are migrating to PSB and private broadcasting is being initated, we understand that the broadcaster, the content provider, the station owner, and the frequency holder may all be different people and parties. We will allow broadcasting through terrestrial, satellite, digital, and cable platforms by all interested parties. There can be national, regional and local broadcasts as well. If a party does not own any backbone, it can ride on someone else's.

The effect of all these measures combined will bring about a revolution in the Maldives media landscape. At the same time the country is a little over a year away from presidential elections and a little more than that away from parliamentary elections. PSB in the Maldives must be understood in that context.

When Voice of Maldives and Television Maldives are merged into one as the National Broadcasting Corporation of the Maldives, the birth of PSB in the Maldives will be complete. But its mere birth is not going to guarantee anything special or palpable. The road ahead will be filled with challenges to overcome.

Fresh paths

As we face the future, we also face the challenge of doing something new. There is no specific model path to follow. Every country has had a different reason for creating PSB, and every country has followed a different format in establishing their PSBs.

Another challenge is geography. The country is composed of about 1190 islands, 198 of them inhabited. The islands are small and far-flung, each populated by relatively tiny communities. A modest 300,000 people make up the entire population of the Maldives, and they are dispersed across nearly 200 islands. The establishment, maintenance and repair of suitable infrastructure will no doubt be a logistical nightmare. Under those circumstances providing access to just audio or both audio and audio-visual broadcast for the country's population at little or no cost will be a mammoth task that will entail a gigantic financial burden.

In a population with limited human resources, the procurement, production and availability of content, with a view to getting quality content on air, will again be a challenge for all parties, both public service and private broadcasters. It will be even more of a test for the PSB because, as the national flag bearer, it will have to meet high expectations in terms of broadcast content, including both quality and relevance.

Yet another issue may be unique to the Maldives: looking after the private sector of broadcasting is going to be a major challenge. Most of the key personnel within the private broadcasting landscape today began their careers with the state broadcaster. Creating competition and developing private broadcasting through content provision, sharing of knowledge, content exchange and providing training is a heavy moral obligation that the country's infant PSB will have to shoulder.

With limited resources and infrastructure in a country where 75 per cent of the population happen to be youth under 35, there will be unbelievable dependence on the PSB for subsidising and promoting their crusades, causes, interests and industries. This will place serious impediments in the path of maintaining uniform and successful programming.

We say the Maldives is a small community of individuals bonded together by a common faith, common religion, and a common heritage. Everyone knows each other and are often connected – if not by blood, then by marriage, kinship or friendship. In such an environment, actual or apparent instances of conflict will again be a serious threat to maintaining editorial independence.

Ever since it began its reforms process, the Maldives has become a highly politicised nation. Political parties formed in the recent past continue to experience their own teething problems. That fact, combined with the nature and pace of reforms taking place on the constitutional, legal, judicial, human rights and media fronts, seems to have created a very polarised and politicised view of everything. The landscape is also burdened with the creeping but real threats of religious fundamentalism.

The country is bearing the burden of all these developments while it marches ahead with the reforms. I cannot underline enough the significance of PSB and the importance of unwavering commitment to editorial independence and public credibility under such testing circumstances. Nevertheless, despite all these challenges, the Maldives will move ahead with the setting up of its first PSB ever.

Mohamed Nasheed, is Minister of Information and Arts, Republic of Maldives

The Role of International Broadcasters

Jan C.Hoek

According to the description of this session in the programme, "Public service broadcasting provides quality programming and a plurality of subjects and voices. Yet a lot remains to be desired in the development of PSB in many countries. Its independence, accountability and funding are some of the issues that prevent its full development and growth. Is public service broadcasting that serves public interest a utopia?"

My short answer to that question is: PSB is essential in today's world – so it must and will succeed.

Allow me to spend a moment on the absolute necessity of a free press and independent journalism.

- A free press and independent journalism ensure that everybody has access to independent and reliable information, including a variety of opinions from those involved in a particular issue.
- A free press and independent journalism are watchdogs of democracy, holding to account those in power – both politicians and businessmen. By providing the necessary checks and balances, they help prevent them from abusing that power.
- And, according to the World Bank, a free press and independent journalism have positive benefits for the economy.

In other words, a free press and independent journalism are of crucial importance for a fair and just society. They thereby help create a better world in each and every country.

Need for legislation

A necessary condition for a free press and independent journalism is the existence of legislation guaranteeing freedom of speech, so that no one can be punished – for example – for criticising politicians.

But that still says nothing about the need for PSB. So do we need PSB to guarantee this important ingredient of democracy – a free press – or can this also be done by commercial broadcasters?

Let me first define PSB. The financing of PSB comes from society, via the government: from taxes or license fees. But the government has no influence on the programmes. So PSB is not state broadcasting. It is independent, with only the needs of the viewer and listener as its guiding principle.

A fresh example is Venezuela, where Hugo Chavez is replacing the number one commercial broadcaster with his own channel. That is definitely not public broadcasting, it is state broadcasting.

In recent years there has been a massive increase in the number of commercial radio and television stations. But that does not necessarily mean that the public is better informed. Often, commercial stations are owned by individuals or companies with their own agendas. That is the case even in the US.

The most popular TV news channel in the US is not CNN any more; it is Fox. And Fox reflects the Republican viewpoint on international affairs. Research has shown that there is a correlation between the presence of the Fox News Channel and Republican votes in those markets.

A good public service broadcaster, by contrast, recognises that there can be a variety of views on any topic. And that applies to international broadcasters such as Radio Netherlands Worldwide just as much as it does to domestic public broadcasters. We try to demonstrate this plurality of opinions in our own broadcasts.

Need for training

We also try to ensure it through the training courses that we provide at the Radio Netherlands Training Centre. There young journalists from developing countries learn how to deal with difficult subjects, and present a balanced picture.

In short (and I know this is too black and white), the big difference between public and commercial broadcasters is that their focal point is different: Commercial broadcasters work for sponsors/advertisers and shareholders; public broadcasters work for society in general.

Sadly, there are still too many countries whose leaders fear press freedom, and who believe they have to control the media to stay in power. Those are the countries that we consider key targets for Radio Netherlands Worldwide, simply because we believe every citizen should have the right to free information. Reaction from listeners in those countries shows that we, along with our fellow international broadcasters, do make a difference. In some of these countries, commercial stations are allowed to operate as long as they only provide entertainment, and stay away from news, politics and social issues.

And that is the key difference – commercial operators cannot always provide these essential services that public broadcasters can. Not that I am in any way opposed to

commercial broadcasting. In fact, RNW works closely with more than a 1000 partner stations in Latin America that are commercially funded. Millions of Spanish-speaking listeners know us through relays on their local commercial station, and the same applies to many other regions, such as Indonesia.

We also work with commercial broadcasters in other areas. This year, to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Radio Netherlands Worldwide, we are organising a series of public debates around the world on press freedom. The first was held recently in Romania, where we worked with a commercial TV news channel.

In Romania, the existing broadcasters acknowledge that this type of debate is important, but the current media landscape makes it impossible for them to do it themselves. But – and this is the good news – if it is possible to say "This broadcast comes from RNW," things can be said that cannot be said otherwise. And this applies to several other parts of the world.

Such cooperation between international and local broadcasters is a very good development for press freedom worldwide. And I am proud that we are part of that.

To sum up:

- A free press and independent information are crucial worldwide.
- Commercial broadcasters are very important, but their priorities are different.
- So publicly funded broadcasters are the only ones who can be truly independent.
- In many countries, international broadcasters (who are public), such as ourselves, can say things local broadcasters cannot and thus help change the media landscape

So it is my firm belief that it is essential that everybody has access to PSB, within each country as well as across borders. The exact structure and methods of regulation can vary from country to country, but what public service broadcasters everywhere have in common is independence, reliability and the guiding principle of giving every citizen free, unbiased information.

I would like to end with a plea to all of you, in particular to those involved in media regulation, and politicians:

Please help us and yourselves to create an environment for the free flow of information and press freedom. And towards that goal, facilitate, promote and stimulate public service broadcasting. It is a basic necessity – maybe even a basic human right – to keep all people from all walks of life well-informed.

Jan C. Hoek is Director General, Radio Netherlands Worldwide (RNW)

French Public Service Broadcasting and International Challenges

Eric Soulier

I would like to thank the AIBD for giving me the opportunity to offer a French standpoint on an issue which has been sometimes hot, sometimes dormant, but always lingering, the role of Public Service Broadcasting in dealing with new international challenges.

Public Service Broadcasting takes its roots from a noble concept at the base of the development of television in Europe. But in Asia it remains at best a concept synonymous with television of quality or at worst State Television, which is an incongruity in a free broadcasting market.

It can be quite difficult to bridge the gap between Europe and Asia on such a subject because there are so many differences in the development of television in the two regions.

The concept rather commonly accepted in both continents is that PSB privileges culture, education and information. It also ensures that freedom of expression and various religious and political sensitivities are respected. Profit making is not the main motivation of this form of broadcasting.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Europe built its broadcasting sector on this model: a system where financing comes entirely or partly from the State, usually via a license fee levied on every owner of a TV set. European States consider TV (and radio) a basic service, just like the distribution of water and electricity or provision of public transport. The development of new technologies, the opening up of national markets later led European countries to make changes in their different broadcasting landscapes, enabling the introduction of private television and the mix of public and private TV broadcasters that we are familiar with today.

If public television was the dominant model in Europe, State television was more or less the model adopted in Asia. Appearing similar to the European system of public television in terms of the financial support given to television by the State, the Asian model is different in that it involves State control over broadcasting. Under these circumstances television has to convey the message of a State and even if education is privileged plurality of opinions is not. The deep political changes that swept over in Asia towards the end of the 1990s have made new forms of television available.

Today private television dominates the Asian market and will certainly do so for a very long time.

Challenges for public television

There are new challenges for public television in Europe, too, as public broadcasters receive part of their budget from advertising revenue, creating direct competition with private networks. Public television seeks by all means to free themselves from the constraints of PSB, which sometimes weigh on their audiences. In Asia, and more particularly in Southeast Asia, the real question is: if a State wishes to develop quality PSB can it still do so? Have States already gone too far in the irreversible logic of liberalisation? Sometimes even the concept of public service remains to be discovered (in particular for public transport, education, health services and, hence, for public television) or at least to be consolidated.

So there are still some unanswered questions about public television. And the difference between the European and Asian models leads naturally to another question: what can be the role of Europe, and of France, in such an environment?

This global environment upon which France must inscribe its actions is clearly an ambivalent one. More than ever before in history, nations and societies are more closely linked to one another and sense that they have a common destiny: globalisation and, in particular, the globalisation of communication, which enables us to experience even the most distant events in real time.

The international community is split by an immense "economic divide." Separated by standards of living, individuals and societies are also divided by their representations of the world and its challenges. An expanded diplomatic approach is required to address these challenges. Knowledge, culture, information and communication are also involved in governmental cooperation or diplomacy.

International cooperation means more than mere financial transfers; it also requires transfers of skills and know-how. International solidarity requires not only diplomats, but also teachers, researchers and, especially in the broadcasting field, journalists, technicians, TV and radio broadcasters. It is with a view to foster inter-cultural dialogue that France has set up or provides funding to several PSBs:

- TV5, a French language TV operator with stakes held by public broadcasters from France, Canada, Switzerland and Belgium. Today TV5 reaches 160 million homes, 24 hours a day, throughout the world and registers cumulative weekly audiences of 73 million viewers. It is the second largest global network, after MTV, but in front of CNN international and well ahead of the BBC.
- RFI is ranked third among international radio stations. It covers five continents, reaching 40 million listeners via 130 FM stations, shortwave radio, cable, satellite and, of course, the internet.

- CFI, the international training unit for the France Television Group is well known in Asia, with numerous workshops and training activities organised every year. CFI illustrates the willingness of France to make available an effective tool for supporting the emergence of local media. CFI has been very active in the region since 1992 and has established partnerships in Bhutan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Vietnam in Asia, as well as Fiji, Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea in the Pacific.
- France 24, the first French international news channel to broadcast on a 24/7 basis, was launched in December 2006 as a joint venture between PSB France 2 and TF1, a private broadcaster, with both channels holding 50 per cent of shares). Available in French, English and Arabic, France 24 offers a French perspective on world events. France 24 began broadcasting programmes on two channels, one in French and the other in English, with Arabic scheduled for introduction in 2007 and Spanish to follow in the near future.

These TV and radio channels are reaching more than 200 million people in every corner of the globe, offering a French perspective on current events and a window on French culture. They provide a clear support to local TV and radio broadcasters throughout the world.

Intercultural dialogue

France's approach to intercultural dialogue is based on a double conviction: firstly, that all cultures are equally worthy of respect and interest; secondly, that universal values exist that can bring cultures closer together. This double conviction sets the goals of French cultural diplomacy. It was also this observation that led France to propose an international convention ensuring cultural diversity and providing concrete support to countries experiencing difficulties in developing their own culture.

At the Sustainable Development Summit in Johannesburg in 2002, French President Jacques Chirac called upon the international community to adopt an international Convention on Cultural Diversity.

To cut a long story short, and omitting all the diplomatic twists and turns and lengthy procedures, this effort came to fruition on 20 October 2005, when the UNESCO General Assembly adopted by a landslide majority a "Convention on the protection and promotion of cultural diversity." As many as 148 countries voted in favor – representing 96 per cent of the voting states, while only two voted against the initiative and there were just four abstentions. The two votes against the Convention were cast by the USA and Israel.

This document was drafted in a lightning mode, within two years, which is an astonishingly short period for an instrument of such complexity and magnitude,

especially given the novelty of the concepts it introduced. This was enabled by the mobilisation of a number of states from both the North and the South, international organisations (AIBD and ASEM, the Asia-Europe Meeting have also endorsed the principles spelt out in the convention), as well as a great number of NGOs, networks and advocacy groups.

So what does this Convention entail? It states that cultural diversity forms a common heritage of humanity and should be preserved for the benefit of all. It affirms the sovereign right of each nation to "design and implement their cultural policies and to adopt measures to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions." These policies comprise "regulatory measures," subsidies, support for non-profit organisations, for public institutions, for artists, support for the teaching of the arts in schools, broadcasting quotas for the diffusion of national works on radio or on television, screen quotas for movie films, flat prices for books, and so on. In fact, everything that fosters cultural diversity.

Last, but not least, the Convention includes extensive discussion regarding international cooperation, especially geared towards the needs of developing countries and their right to special treatment aimed at nurturing cultural diversity.

This is not to say, of course, that each nation is compelled to do anything specific to preserve or promote cultural diversity. But it means that each country or state is entitled to implement cultural policies of its choice, regardless of what other norms may be invoked.

This means that no country will have to bend to injunctions asking them to dismantle their own cultural policy on behalf of trade-related norms. Also, each signatory is armed with more arguments to resist the inevitable pressures of more powerful partners in bilateral dealings, particularly when free trade agreements are being discussed.

Basically, the Convention makes it clear that culture is not a commodity and does not come under the rules agreed upon among nations for commodities. The more contentious spheres of the audio-visual industries and everything that goes under the name of culture industries need to be understood within this context.

The Convention came into effect on 18 March 2007, with 55 countries having ratified it. Among them are Canada, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Tunisia, Brazil, Mexico, South Africa and, within Asia, India and China. The first meeting of the signatory countries is scheduled for June 2007.

It is very important that a vast majority of States is represented and it is all the more important that Asian countries are part of this new international instrument. Both the efficiency and the legitimacy of this new instrument are contingent upon its rapid gearing up – i.e., in this case, reaching a critical mass of ratifications (100).

This development becomes all the more significant when we know that the USA has not disarmed in front of the massive signature rally. In fact, it is, by its own admission, deterring weaker states from ratifying the Convention or hollowing it out through bilateral FTA negotiations.

So, on the whole, it would be wishful thinking to believe that a legal instrument will by itself be a strong protection against uniformity. The struggle for diversity is certainly not over yet. Under these circumstances, the role of public media in educating and entertaining the public becomes all the more important.

Eric Soulier is Regional Audio-Visual Attaché for South East-Asia, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Unlocking the Archives

Jim Thomson

This morning I would like to address an issue which I think is of considerable importance to the successful future of public service broadcasting (PSB). What I am referring to is not particularly esoteric or philosophical. In many ways it is a practical and prosaic issue which has sometimes been regarded as something which, because of the complexity of the legal questions involved, is often put into the "too hard" basket. The issue I will focus on is the matter of access by public broadcasters to the huge amount of material in their archives which, at present, cannot be transmitted because of rights issues.

Today we stand on the threshold of a new information age, in which the means and methods of communication are expanding in a way which most people could not even have contemplated 20 years ago. These modes of information dissemination will increase and coalesce. The "convergence of technologies" will be increasingly evident through a multitude of delivery platforms.

Already, online on-demand services provide vehicles for making particular programming streams available to niche audiences. These services will become an indispensable component of broadcasters' overall programming strategy.

Strategy

The strategy of Television New Zealand Limited for 2007-2011, titled "Inspiring on Every Screen," is to lead a transformation in the television and converged media industry that will affect everyone in New Zealand. The strategy announced in December 2006 by Rick Ellis, Chief Executive Officer of TVNZ, acknowledges that in the next five years New Zealanders will watch less television – at least as we know it today. People will demand more *television content* in ways that were hard to imagine just a few years ago. New Zealanders have already begun to embrace new forms of entertainment such as video on-demand, digital video recorders, mobile television, YouTube, MySpace and so on.

The intention is to produce more programmes across all available platforms, including digital broadcasts, broadband and mobile platforms. TVNZ is New Zealand's

largest cultural institution and, as the country's public broadcaster, it is the only media company that demonstrates a wholly unique commitment to national identity in public broadcasting.

TVNZ's strategy reflects the reality of changes already taking place or seen as occurring in the near future. These include the fact that fewer people will be watching free-to-air television; consumers will want access to content any time, anywhere and on multiple platforms; there will be increasing competition for the supply of content; there will be increased demand from programme suppliers and producers for multi-platform distribution and, finally, there will be greater sophistication in the media buying habits of advertisers and sponsors.

The vision, purpose and goals expressed in TVNZ's "Inspiring on Every Screen" strategy reflect similar considerations referred to in the European Broadcasting Union's publication "Handbook on Model Public Service Broadcasting Law" (Dr Werner Rumphorst, Director of Legal Department, EBU, 2003):

> "Generally speaking, public service broadcasting must provide programming in the fields of information, entertainment and education/advice for people of all ages and social groups and in any format (such as generalised channels, thematic channels, multimedia services, teletext or other content services, with or without interactivity). It plays an active role in presenting and promoting national culture, whilst also increasing the population's knowledge and understanding of foreign – and especially other European – cultures. It serves as a reference point for all members of the public and is a factor for social cohesion and integration of all individuals, groups and communities. Public service broadcasting is expected to put the ever-increasing number of individual items of information which are available to the public into a meaningful context, to concentrate on their relevance for the citizen and for society, to explain the world in all its variety, richness and diversity, and to assist the population in understanding the new environment. Representing an oasis of credibility, public service broadcasting makes a major contribution to ensuring a truly informed citizenship, which is a precondition for a healthy democracy.
>
> Let us remember in this context, however, that even the best-quality public service programming cannot fully contribute to achieving European policy goals if, for regulatory/technical reasons, it reaches only part of the intended audience. As more and more – and especially young – people obtain their information and entertainment from other media, or at least from other platforms, public broadcasters must ensure that their programming is available on all platforms, including satellite, the Internet or the Universal Mobile Telecommunications System (UMTS), where parts of the public may be turning for information and entertainment. This also includes on-demand services, even if on a payment basis, and any type of interactive programme services.

The Problem

But what will be of increasing importance in the coming years will be not so much delivery technologies – these will, to some extent, be taken for granted – but high-quality programming content which will inform, instruct and entertain the information society.

Major potential sources of this content – content which constitutes a unique and invaluably vivid record of any country's historical, social and cultural life – are the archives of radio and television. In the case of New Zealand, the Television Archive constitutes the largest collection of the country's audiovisual material, amounting to over 500,000 individual items, ranging from short news stories to full-day cricket tests, telethons and election coverage. The majority of New Zealand television programmes screened by TVNZ are stored at the TVNZ Archive.

However, there are enormous difficulties in making this repository of audiovisual material available to the public. One of these difficulties is the fact the broadcasters do not own the rights to re-broadcast much of the material from these archives by conventional methods, let alone the right to exploit new forms of technology, such as videostreaming on the Internet and interactive digital transmission. These latter modes of transmission were not even contemplated when agreements for the production of the programmes were entered into. In some cases, documentation is not adequate and it is not possible to ascertain who owns the rights to the material. In other cases, rights owners or their heirs cannot be traced. In still further cases, rights owners claim fees which make the use of the material for which the rights are held prohibitively expensive.

The results of this situation can be exemplified by the attempt made some time ago by Television New Zealand to re-broadcast "The Governor". After several months of research and negotiation, it was decided that the difficulties and costs of clearances made it impossible to broadcast this valuable and widely-acclaimed historical drama.

This problem of the inaccessibility of public broadcasting archives is a world-wide phenomenon. Throughout Europe, broadcasters maintain huge archives. It is estimated that the public broadcasting organisations which are members of the European Broadcasting Union together have about two million television programmes stored in their archives. The vast majority of these programmes cannot be re-broadcast because of rights problems.

It is true that, given a large enough population base, considerable Government funding makes it possible to obtain clearances in some cases. For example, the BBC spends £6 million a year in salaries and overheads to employ 120 people to organise the payment of royalties towards clearances on its archived programmes. Clearances themselves take between six months and two years per programme and cost between £10,000 and £40,000 per hour. Even then, of the 600,000 hours of television

programmes in the BBC's archives, the bulk of its revenue from television sales, once clearances have been made, comes from under 2,500 hours of programming.

Other European broadcasting organisations with fewer resources have simply given up. For example, German broadcaster Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF) was asked to provide extracts from a total of 67 of its past productions for a programme titled "The History of German Television." After initial inquiries, ZDF had to concede that the direct administrative costs for the clearance exercise were too high to permit this exercise to go ahead.

The Austrian broadcaster, Österreichischer Rundfunk (ORF) attempted to clear the rights to permit the re-broadcasting of part of its own production of "Lulu" at the Vienna Opera in 1982. The procedure for clearing rights with each actor or his/her heirs, whose identity was not clear in some cases, proved impossible and the project was abandoned.

In short, because of the complexity of clearing the relevant rights in archived programmes, everyone involved in the production of the programmes contained in these archives loses out. The public is deprived of the opportunity to view unique audiovisual material, and those who have contributed to the programmes, whether they are script writers, actors, composers, producers, directors or musicians, are deprived of any royalties from further broadcast of the programmes.

The New Zealand Experience

I would like to speak briefly about the initiative by the government of New Zealand to create a digital content strategy and TVNZ's response in terms of suggestions for "unlocking the archive" – in other words, giving all New Zealanders access to material contained in the public broadcaster's own archive.

Recently the Minister for Information Technology and the Assistant Minister for Arts, Culture & Heritage issued a discussion document entitled "Creating Digital New Zealand: The Draft New Zealand Digital Content Strategy." Under the heading "Unlocking Content – Accelerating Digital Content Creation," the paper states:

> "The Government is acting to ensure that New Zealand content remains available on our TV and radio and other platforms through its digital broadcasting strategy; it is equally vital to ensure that our nation's heritage and unique culture, including Te Reo Māori and Mātaturanga Māori is available in the online environment."

The discussion paper emphasises the need for a "more coordinated approach to the preservation of, and public access to, film, video and sound content." It continues:

> "New Zealand has a considerable experience in creating indigenous film, video and sound content. Over many decades the government has actively supported

the creation of public broadcasting content. That content is now held across a wide range of institutions, all with different approaches and abilities to properly preserve, and provide access to the content they hold.

"A review of the current approach to preserving and providing public access to film, video and sound content is required as a first step to identifying how we might better organise future efforts for preservation and public access."

Under the heading "New Zealanders and New Zealand Organisations are at the Forefront of Creating and Sharing Digital Content," the discussion paper gives the following reasons for the importance of "unlocking content:"

"• it ensures New Zealand is well placed to take up opportunities and address the challenges of the changing digital content world
- it enables New Zealanders to interact with information about our histories, cultures, languages and identities – and improves our ability to present ourselves to the world
- it provides new opportunities to educate, entertain and inform."

Among the paper's "proposed actions" is:

"Make New Zealand content visible to the world by providing gateways to uniquely New Zealand digital content and non-digital content."

Unlocking the Archives

The European Broadcasting Union has addressed the worldwide problem of access to public broadcasters' archives and has concluded:

"What, therefore, should be done to overcome the present obstacles to the use of these archives, on the respective national territories and within Europe? It would already add significant value and support to the distribution and circulation of such productions if individual Member States were to provide for a *simplified legal mechanism* which allowed broadcasters to exploit their own archive productions (subject, naturally, to payment of equitable remuneration, as appropriate, to rightholders who contributed to the production).

"The bottom line to be kept in mind is that where rights clearance is not possible, or not worth the effort, it is not only the public that will suffer (by not being able to enjoy access to its audiovisual heritage); the rightholders will suffer, too, since *no* rightholder will receive any remuneration if even a *single one* of them (out of a potentially large number of contributors to the production) cannot be identified, or refuses to enter into an agreement."

TVNZ's Proposal

TVNZ has made detailed proposals to the New Zealand government to directly address a method of unlocking the content contained in the TVNZ Archive. In brief it

contemplates legislation allowing a public broadcaster to retransmit by any means of an audiovisual production which was financed in whole or in part by public money. It would be a condition of such retransmission that the production was made more than seven years before the transmission and that right holders be paid a fee to be set by regulation.

Categories of Archive Material

In considering the problems faced in accessing material held in the TVNZ Archive, it is convenient to separate productions into two distinct categories:

- Those productions in which Television New Zealand owns copyright.
- Those productions in which the copyright is owned by third parties.

TVNZ owns the copyright in many of the programmes held in the TVNZ Archive – for example, programmes such as *Country Calendar, Waka Huia* and many current affairs and news items. However, there are also many programmes commissioned by TVNZ, the copyright of which is vested in third parties as follows:

- The copyright in the production itself is often vested in the production company commissioned by TVNZ. This may be the case even where TVNZ and New Zealand on Air (or both) have contributed most or all of the funding for the production. While the income from the distribution of a particular production is often shared pro rata between the funding parties, it has often been the case that, either explicitly or by implication, the copyright in the production itself is vested in the production company.

- Copyright in the scripts of the programme (where such scripts exist) is often retained by the scriptwriter.

Proposed Legislation

TVNZ's Legal Section has prepared draft legislation which provides that:

- Where a television production was produced more than seven years ago, was commissioned by a "public broadcaster," paid for by that broadcaster in whole or in part, and held in that broadcaster's archive, that production can, without infringement of copyright or any other rights (provided a licence fee is paid), be:
  - broadcast on the broadcaster's television channels;
  - transmitted by other means (such as via the Internet, mobile phones and podcasting);
  - transmitted for commercial purposes, such as for downloading on a pay-per-view basis;

- A "public broadcaster" is defined as meaning "a company which is in the business of broadcasting works, the shares in which are held wholly or partly by the Crown" and the Maori Television Service, established under the provisions of the Maori Television Service Act 2003.

- Where the public broadcaster makes a direct commercial gain from such transmission – for example by charging on a pay-per-view basis – additional fees will be payable.
- Payment would be made to a collection society or societies for subsequent distribution to rights holders in works incorporated into the television production.

Attached to this paper is a draft amendment to the New Zealand Copyright Act on draft regulations providing for royalty payment. These could be useful as a starting point for legislation leading to the "unlocking of the archives."

Māori Television Service

Enactment of the legislation proposed in this response would achieve the objectives of the discussion paper through the agency of the Māori Television Service as well as that of TVNZ. The Maori Television Service already has access to all material held in the TVNZ Archive. No payment is required apart from handling costs and clearances of material not owned by TVNZ. However, the suggested legislation would enable the unlocking of the TVNZ Archive for access by the Māori Television Service, one of whose statutory obligations is to broadcast in prime time mainly in te reo Māori (the Māori language) and at other times substantially in te reo Maori.

The proposal will address, in relation to te reo Maori, the requirement specified in the Government's discussion document:

> "The appropriate mechanisms are also needed to unlock New Zealand's stock of current and future content, in part to provide a supply of high quality content to stimulate demand and uptake of digital technology. In stimulating demand for content, however, we must also protect, preserve and promote our heritage and cultural identities, in an environment open to being swamped by the widening access to international content. Maori language, knowledge and culture, a vital part of New Zealand's identity, is particularly vulnerable to being drowned out or appropriated by international interests unless adequately protected."

Conclusion

TVNZ has already received support from a number of quarters for the proposal. A ground-swell of support could well emerge from individual contributors and some companies who would be willing to support the rebroadcast and transmission by other means of their previous works for nominal or for no residual payments. Further, some of those with an interest in public access to information have shown support for this initiative. The Director of Collection Services for the National Library has said that the Library would support any initiative that would make more material available to the public. New Zealand on Air has expressed informal support for the transmission of programmes funded by them over the internet.

The enactment of an amendment to the New Zealand Copyright Act 1994 in the terms discussed will permit TVNZ and the Maori Television Service to broadcast, and to transmit by other means of delivery, qualifying programmes without infringing copyright. The process will not be an easy one to complete and there is much work to be done to advance our cause. However, I hope that these observations may assist other public service broadcasters to move towards accessing their own archives. Such a mechanism would permit the unlocking of a huge storehouse of unique cultural value and will allow the public, both today and in the future, to enjoy the national audiovisual heritage. It would also permit broadcasters to meet the challenges of the information age, and to enhance broadcasters' public service capability, increasing their ability to reflect, develop and foster their national identities and cultures.

Jim Thomson is Chairperson, New Zealand Media & Advertising Copyright Board and Office Solicitor, Television New Zealand Limited

3 Soap Operas & Reality TV Shows: New Forms & Formats

Mass Appeal

Yvonne MacPherson

In India, the most popular format of television entertainment is the "fiction drama serial." Story-telling through melodramatic family soaps and detective genres has gained tremendous viewership over the last ten years. Of late, daily soap operas have proliferated. This is no real surprise when we consider how central the family is in Indian life. This format is particularly popular among women as they deal with family issues to which most women can relate.

Non-fiction serials have also been able garner viewership. However, this trend is generally confined to the urban and semi-urban population. In this genre, talent competitions, travel and cooking shows are the most widely accepted. It is an axiom in India that the hugely popular reality show "Indian Idol," modelled after American Idol, opened up the reality format to the country and was the biggest thing to hit the TV industry in a long time. In the reality genre, it is the singing and dancing talent hunt shows that dominate.

There is virtually no market for documentary style programming among the masses. In many countries, this is the favoured format for development communications. But this format is very niche and appreciated among a select group of urban educated that tend to be already engaged in the issue being highlighted. It is a format I would not recommend using to reach the masses.

The BBC World Service Trust, which is the NGO of the BBC that uses the media to improve development outcomes, has experience producing TV serials to promote behaviour change relating to HIV/AIDS in India using both the fictional and non-fictional genres.

In terms of audience size, our fictional drama, a detective serial called "Jasoos Vijay," garnered a larger audience than our reality show, "Haath se Haath Milaa" (Let's Join Hands), mainly due to the format. Although both shows were successful in attracting and retaining loyal viewers, Jasoos Vijay appealed more to the target audience, which was the rural and semi-urban masses, because for them the fictional drama reigns.

Bollywood style

This primetime show was designed very much in the style of Bollywood (Indian Hindi cinema), with colourful on-location. filming, melodrama and plenty of high-action stunts. The show reached about 30 million viewers with episodes on a host of topics related to HIV and other social issues, such as dowry and violence against women, interspersed within the detective case that Detective Vijay was trying to solve.

The format of our reality show, Haath se Haath Milaa, also capitalised on the popularity of Bollywood, by pairing up a film star with a young activist working in the field of HIV, some of whom are HIV+. Their participation helped reduce stigma of people living with HIV and encouraged community action.

The benefit of the reality format for development communications is that if we accept that empowerment is a critical part of development, depicting everyday people who have overcome the challenges of poverty, ill health or discrimination, can be empowering to others with similar life experiences.

At the risk of stating the obvious, we need to take a business-like approach with regard to format selection. Who is the target audience of our communication and how best can they be reached? Jasoos Vijay was a huge success because its dramatic format appealed to everyone and the content was appropriate for family viewing; therefore our loyal viewers were men and women of all ages. It gets trickier when you want to target more narrowly. It is reasonable to assume that the audience figures for our reality show were less, as the target audience was mainly young people. The choice of a reality format was well suited for young people, though this format has less appeal in the rural areas than fictional drama.

I would like to conclude with an example that involves a critically important development and human rights topic that, after extensive research by the BBC World Service Trust in India, we believe entertainment media can address.

Sex selective abortion, where female foetuses are aborted due to son preference, is an increasing problem in India. The adverse sex ratio is actually getting worse, particularly among the urban educated, and there is evidence that economic progress is contributing to this, with increased access to sex determination technology.

Previous communication efforts on the issue have focused largely on shaming those who abort without substantively addressing the context that creates a demand for sex selection. TV and outdoor ads pleading with the audience to 'love the girl child' do not work for such a deep-rooted problem because they fail to address why women and girls are devalued.

Fiction and drama

The Trust study concluded that a fictional television drama, along the lines of a daily or weekly soap opera, would be a suitable medium to tackle gender inequality and

sex selection. The advantage of a fictional drama serial designed for this purpose is that it would enable the producers to unravel, over an extended period of time, the reasons for son preference and demonstrate ways in which social pressure to abort can be challenged. At the same time, the serial can depict girls and women in a variety of roles that would serve to increase their value within the family and society.

Decisions relating to sex selection are embedded in the space of intimate family relations and involve inter-generational conflict – these are precisely the elements that form the core of mainstream fictional dramas.

Our study highlighted just how vital a role TV plays in people's lives, particularly in cable and satellite dominated markets. It influences perceptions, consumer choices and life aspirations. This is particularly true for women, especially those who are confined to the home.

This type of intervention requires a great deal of investment and effort, as it would have to be supported by extensive research that would pre-test storylines and evaluate impact and, at the same time, would have to be appealing enough to compete with mainstream television serials. The Trust is currently exploring how to produce such a serial with channels and funding agencies.

To conclude, television entertainment is a powerful tool for development. Although the reality format is new and hot in India, I believe the fiction format will continue to be the best way of attracting mass audiences. The reality format can be useful in reaching the urban youth to tackle stigma and encourage community action. Certainly content for mobile phones is new and an area worth exploring, and could be beneficial in communicating short fact-based information. However, if we are interested in attitudinal and behaviour change, I believe the long format fictional drama is better at chipping away at well established harmful attitudes and behaviours, whether they relate to gender equality, human rights or health behaviour.

Yvonne MacPherson is Director, BBC World Service Trust, India

4 Reporting the World Through A Gender Lens

Who Makes the News?

Global Data on Gender in News Media

Some highlights

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2005, third in a series of surveys conducted every five years from 1995, was the most extensive international research into gender in news media to date, covering newspapers, television and radio in 76 countries across the world.

Nearly 13,000 news stories were scrutinised by volunteers across the world on February 16, 2005. According to "Who Makes the News?" – the comprehensive report presenting and analysing the global data thus gathered – women continue to be markedly under-represented in the news. Only 21% of all news subjects – the people who are interviewed, or whom the news is about – are women. In Asia women are just 19% of these news subjects. There has been only marginal improvement in the number of women seen and heard in the news over the past decade: the corresponding figures revealed by the earlier global exercises were 17% in 1995 and 18% in 2000.

When women do make the news it is primarily as "stars" (celebrities, royalty, etc.) or as "ordinary people." Female newsmakers outnumber males in only two occupational categories: home maker and student. They are under-represented even in professional categories where they do have a substantial presence – for example, in Rwanda, which has the highest proportion of female politicians in the world (49%), only 13% of politicians in the news are women.

Expert opinion in the news is still overwhelmingly male, with men making up 83% of all experts and 86% of all spokespersons quoted in stories. If women do appear at all, it is generally in their personal capacity, narrating personal experiences or voicing popular opinion. Women's points of view are rarely heard on topics that dominate the news agenda, such as politics and economics. Surprisingly, even in stories that affect women directly and profoundly, such as gender-based violence, it is the male voice that tends to prevail.

Female news subjects are over three times as likely as males to be identified in terms of their family status – wife of, mother of, etc. – and this happens even when they are experts or spokespersons. Women are also more than twice as likely as men to

be portrayed as victims. And though men go on making news into their 50s and 60s, older women are almost invisible: nearly three quarters of women who *do* make the news are under 50. Yet women are much more likely than men to appear in photographs, especially in stories relating to crime, violence or disaster.

Though women are 21% of those who are seen and heard in the news, they play a central or significant role in only 10% of stories. In Asia that figure is just 8%. Women are rarely central to stories relating to politics (8%) and economics (3%), the most high profile areas of the news agenda. Even in topics where the percentage of female news subjects is relatively high, such as education, health, childcare and consumer issues, women seldom feature centrally. As the GMMP 05 report puts it, "With so few women central to the news – particularly in stories that dominate the news agenda – news content reflects male priorities and perspectives. The absence of a gender angle in stories in the 'hard' news topics reflects a blinkered approach to the definition of news and newsworthiness."

Further, news stories are twice as likely to reinforce as to challenge gender stereotypes, although the percentage of stories in both categories is quite low (6% and 3% respectively). News relating to gender disparity is almost non-existent, with only 4% of stories highlighting equality-related issues, and most of these concentrated in subject areas like human rights, family relations and women's activism, which are viewed as marginal in the overall news agenda. Stories examining events and issues from a gender equality angle are almost completely absent from major areas of news coverage, such as politics (3%) and economics (a mere 1%).

Going beyond the numbers, detailed qualitative analysis of data gathered through the 2005 GMMP revealed examples of blatantly sexist reporting in a wide range of stories – including sports, crime, violence and politics. Many news reports use language and images that reinforce gender stereotypes in a subtle way. Sadly, news stories frequently fail to analyse issues in a way that differentiates between women and men – thus missing the opportunity to enrich and expand the news angle by including a wider range of sources and viewpoints.

But the study also found examples of exemplary journalism – stories that are gender balanced, that give equal weight to female and male voices, or that highlight the often hidden gender dimensions of topics in the news. It is not, therefore, impossible to produce significant and interesting news stories that are gender sensitive. It just means thinking more creatively.

For more details on the
GMMP 05 and related information, and to download the complete report
('Who Makes the News? Global Media Monitoring Project 2005',
by Margaret Gallagher, London, WACC, 2006),
visit: http://www.whomakesthenews.org/

Reporting the Political World through a Gender Lens

Margaret Gallagher

On 6 May 2007 the people of France elected a new President. There was one female candidate, Ségolène Royal, and one male, Nicolas Sarkozy. The contest was often depicted in media coverage as a struggle between the Beauty and the Beast.[1] In the final stages, according to the UK's *Sunday Times,* the Beauty – Ségolène Royal – in a (quote) 'desperate attempt' to win, had been 'reduced' to 'playing what she hoped was her trump card...her femininity.'[2] The Beast – Nicolas Sarkozy – was duly elected President. A week later, in a story headlined, 'The tough new president still loves his mum,' *The Guardian* reported that Sarkozy's mother was helping him to soften his macho image.[3]

As we can see from this example, gender is extremely important not just within the political world, but in the different ways in which that world is reported in the media. This is because, essentially, gender is *about* difference. In very brief shorthand, we could say that gender distinguishes women from men, femininity from masculinity, female behaviour from male behaviour. In fact, relatively few differences between women and men are inborn. We learn them over time. To paraphrase Simone de Beauvoir, we learn how to become women and men. And because gender differences are often defined in terms of rudimentary opposites – male-female, rational-emotional, aggressive-passive – they often solidify into gender stereotypes.

Gender differences and stereotypes in the field of politics matter profoundly, because politics and political decision-making affect the lives of all men, and all women. Reporting the political world through a gender lens involves being constantly alert to these differences and stereotypes. It means exercising that awareness as one of the professional criteria we use to select, to frame and to report stories about politics and politicians. It means recognising the gender differences that do exist, and how

[1] Maureen Dowd, ' Get Off the Chaise Longue: Beauty has been chased off by the Beast,' *New York Times,* 9 May 2007. For an insightful, though incomplete, analysis of media coverage of the Royal-Sarkozy campaign see Elena Gerasimova, 'Royal Makes a Run for It. Note to the Press: This is a Presidential Campaign, Not a Fashion Show', pp. 8-11 in *The Ambassador* (Magazine of the International Affairs Association, University of Pennsylvania), 28 February 2007. Online at www.penn-iaa.org/IAA%20Website/Archives_files/February%2028th%20%20Ambassador.pdf

[2] Matthew Campbell, 'Women Voters Shun Royal', *Sunday Times,* 6 May 2007.

[3] Angelique Chrisafis, 'The Tough New President Still Loves his Mum, France's Real First Lady', *The Guardian,* 14 May 2007.

these differences affect political priorities and experiences. And it means avoiding – or in some cases highlighting – the gender stereotypes that limit political perceptions and behaviour.

Balance and bias

Without a gender lens, the political world is not reported in a balanced way. At present, for instance, male politicians get much more coverage than their female colleagues. Data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union show that women occupy 17 per cent of seats in national parliaments around the world.[4] Yet, across the 76 countries covered by the 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project, only 12 per cent of politicians in the news were women.[5] And the *type* of coverage that women and men get is often very different.

Let me show you one example from Germany. In two separate editions of a popular television show, the host interviewed the leaders of Germany's two main political parties – Gerhard Schröder and Angela Merkel. The two shows were transmitted less than a year before Angela Merkel became Chancellor of Germany. To save time, we have edited together sections of the two interviews, starting with Merkel, then moving to Schröder and then back to Merkel. Let is take a look.

(VIDEO EXAMPLE 1: German politicians)

Let me throw out a few questions for us to think about here. How does the programme host perceive these two people, and how does he convey those perceptions? What scope is given to each of the interviewees to display their authority and experience? What might be the impression that is left on the viewing public?

Research shows that in many countries the media tend to depict female politicians as 'outsiders' in a political world that rightfully belongs to men.[6] But, equally, women as citizens of the political world are frequently overlooked in media coverage.[7] Let me

[4] Inter-Parliamentary Union data base on Women in National Parliaments, 31 March 2007. Online at www.ipu.org/iss-e/women.htm.

[5] Margaret Gallagher, *Who Makes the News? Global Media Monitoring Project 2005,* pp. 36-37. London: WACC, 2006. In almost every one of the 76 countries, the percentage of female politicians in the news was lower than in reality. For instance in China, where 20% of politicians are women, only 5% of politicians in the news were women. The discrepancy persists even when there is a woman at the head of government: in New Zealand, which has 32% of female politicians and a female Prime Minister, only 18% of politicians in the news were women. The highest proportion of female politicians in the news (30%) was in Norway, where 38% of elected politicians are women.

[6] For Southern Africa see Colleen Lowe Morna (ed.), *Ringing Up the Changes: Gender in Southern African Politics,* especially pp. 83-4, Johannesburg: Gender Links, 2004. For an example from Asia see Rattima Mudka-anan et al., 'The Thai Vernacular Press and the Woman Politician: Stereotyped Reporting and Innovative Response' pp. 152-168 in *Asian Journal of Communication,* Vol. 16, No. 2, 2007.

[7] The 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project found that stories about politics and government dominate the news agenda, and that 86% of the people interviewed in these stories are men.

show you another very brief example, from the United Kingdom. In this edition of the BBC's nightly news show, *Newsnight,* the topic is immigration. Let us have a look.

(VIDEO EXAMPLE 2: British immigrants)

Again, some questions to think about: Why are there no women among the immigrants to be interviewed? Might women's experience of immigration be different from that of men? Might they have different viewpoints on the topic? What impression could be left on the viewing public by interviewing only men?

Implications of imbalance

Questions like these are at the heart of work that we have been doing in some European broadcasting organisations, to get media professionals thinking about the need for a gender lens in their work. The examples I've shown come from an audio-visual toolkit called *Portraying Politics,* in which we use up-to-date television examples to illustrate patterns of gender imbalance, and to discuss the implications of those imbalances.[8]

The implications are profound, because very few people experience politics at first hand. So the media have undeniable power to shape public perceptions of political issues and priorities.[9] It is significant that the earliest theory of the media described the press as a Fourth Estate – guardians of democracy, defenders of the public interest. But we must ask: who is the public, and whose interests do the media defend? When Thomas Carlyle put forward his notion of the Fourth Estate, in 1840, he said that whoever can speak to the whole nation becomes powerful: 'the requisite thing is that he have a tongue which others will listen to.'[10]

Today, we understand that the male tongue cannot represent all of humankind. If the media are to fulfil their function as a Fourth Estate in the 21st Century, we must concede that both men and women have tongues, that these tongues sometimes say different things, and that the free expression of these differences is central to the exercise of citizenship.

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[8] *Portraying Politics: A Toolkit on Gender and Television.* Text and DVD, in English and German. Produced by a consortum of European broadcasting, journalism and training organisations, 2006. For further information and to download the text, see www.portrayingpolitics.org

[9] For an excellent study of the media's role in shaping perceptions of social movement politics, see Maryann Barasko and Brian F. Schaffner. 'Winning Coverage: News Media Portrayals of the Women's Movement, 1969-2004, pp. 22-44 in *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics,* Vol. 11, No. 4, 2006.

[10] Thomas Carlyle, *The Hero as Man of Letters. Johnson, Rousseau, Burns [Lecture V, May 19, 1840],* available at www.victorianweb.org

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Gender and Conflict

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Reporting on women in most societies, and in almost all cases of violent conflict or warfare, continues to be gender insensitive, and even gender-blind. It is time we in the media corrected our vision and sharpened our focus. I want to briefly comment on two aspects of the media's handling of gender issues, first in our reporting on conflict, and secondly, on showing leadership in our newsrooms.

For several years I have been contributing to journalism development through an approach I call Conflict Sensitive Reporting.[1] The premise of the training is fairly simple and others precede me, beginning with Professor John Galtung. While we in the media effectively thrive on conflict, we know surprisingly little about it. Conflict, especially the violent form, may be the foremost generator of front page stories and lead items on television newscasts, but journalists rarely know nor report its real origins. Nor do they know anything about how conflict can be resolved.

This flies in the face of a half-century of knowledge accumulated by diplomats, negotiators, and academics, whose insight could make us better reporters. For the media, conducting a rudimentary conflict analysis, and recognising that professional, neutral journalism automatically plays a mediating role in conflict, vastly expands a reporter's repertoire of story ideas and reporting techniques. It gets us past repetitive, body-count reporting.

This is something similar to changing health reporting from only describing the painful symptoms of a disease, to also reporting on the root causes, such as dirty water, and to reporting on the cures, such as antibiotics and preventative strategies. Fortunately, health reporting today achieves that level of sophistication. But most of our reporting on conflict does not. The training concept applies to conflict between two individuals, or within a community, or between countries. It seems to be a useful contribution to reliable journalism. The training manual is now available in half a dozen languages.

However, it has become clear that gender sensitivity should be incorporated right into the core of conflict sensitive reporting.[2] The two are essential building blocks of

[1] Howard, Ross: *Conflict Sensitive Reporting: A handbook*. International Media Support, Denmark 2003. Available at: http://www.i-m-s.dk/media/pdf/Handbook%20pdf-vers%20eng%20220404.pdf

[2] See: Lloyd Fiona and Howard, Ross: *Gender, Conflict and Journalism.* UNESCO. Paris, 2006.

professional journalism. And they require simultaneous attention. This was driven home again for me three weeks ago, working with senior editors in West Africa. The workshop nearly faltered when it turned from conflict reporting to separately examining gender sensitivity in the media. The reality that conflict reporting usually neglects the most vulnerable, abused and, sometimes, heroic players – usually women - was not easily acknowledged. Gender inequality, which is a form of cultural denial of human rights, did not generate the same concern among some of the editors. Women's issues were not conflict issues, it seemed.

Women ubiquitous in modern warfare

The reality, however, is that women are almost ubiquitous in modern warfare, as combatants in regular or guerilla forces, as supporters or sex slaves to male soldiers, often playing roles as fighters, cooks and mothers simultaneously. Many women become soldiers specifically to obtain more rights and gender equality, although some – like men and boys – are forced to join armed forces.[3]

We also know that in a marked change from just 50 years ago, modern conflicts consistently result in hugely disproportionate numbers of civilian casualties compared to military deaths. Women count among these casualties as much as men. There is also the issue of the rise of irregular and even competing militias and non-military objectives in modern conflicts.[4] There is the problem of military order degenerating into organised plunder of civilians. There is increasing use of tactics of terrorism aimed at soft civilian targets, people with authority and aid workers.

Also, the resort to unrestrained terror and destruction of infrastructure drives up the numbers of refugees. As Ammu Joseph[5] has said, a gender perspective on conflict "needs to take into account women's heightened experience of violence and trauma during periods of conflict...both within the home and outside it. It needs to spotlight the ways in which culture and tradition are often used to curtail women's rights. It needs to take note of the economic and social burdens placed on women's shoulders at such times, when they find themselves solely responsible for families...under circumstances where even food and shelter are not available."

Gender-based and sexual violence in conflict situations receives little attention in media coverage. It is too often minimised as an accidental side-effect but it is, in fact, a crime against the individual. And it is a war crime, according to the Geneva Convention updated in 1977. Sexual violence against women has become a particularly brutal weapon of some modern wars. Consider the terrible amount of

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3 Bouta, Tsjeard and Bannon, Ian: *Gender, Conflict and Development.* The World Bank. Washington. 2005.

4 See: Allen, Tim and Seaton, Jean: *The Media of Conflict,* Zed Books, New York 1999.

5 Joseph, Ammu: *Women, War and the Media.* 2001 IWMF Wire. Cited in Lloyd and Howard, op cit.

rape occurring in the conflict in Darfur in Sudan. Rape is used to degrade, humiliate, punish or intimidate the male members of the community, as much as the women, but the traumas are different. It is for the condoning of this, as much as for other atrocities, that some members of the Khartoum regime will ultimately face the International Criminal Court, on charges of committing war crimes.

The fact that women are more likely than men to suffer particular crimes or violence is no accident. Women are far more vulnerable to sexual violence in conflict precisely because of prevailing gender beliefs. And it is also because of prevailing cultural bias that stories about these crimes, and official responses to them, are often given less media attention. They are played down, or always treated the same way, as sensational stories about the violence, with little attention paid to the root causes, possible resolutions and healthy responses.

Violent conflicts and gender inequalities

The reality is that violent conflict is a very appropriate place to recognise gender-based inequalities. Yet conflict reporting tends to be even weaker and less sensitive in its treatment of gender. By marginalising or ignoring issues of gender in conflict reporting, the media tend to reinforce gender stereotypes. When women do appear in conflict stories they are generally portrayed as passive victims of sensationalised events. The different experiences of women as fighters, community leaders, support workers, heads of households and workers, and mothers and daughters, are rarely considered newsworthy.[6]

The process of integrating a gender perspective into conflict reporting is complex, involving the interplay of professional standards and humanitarian values. It begins with respecting the essential obligation to impartially present verified information in a fair and balanced context. That kind of context, of course, also values and gives voice to marginalised interests. Without surrendering our professionalism, we need to understand that there are choices to be made when framing conflict stories. And we should be sensitive to the need to find the right words and images that challenge, not reinforce, gender stereotypes.

The question is often raised of whether reporters can write about conflict from a gender perspective, and be conflict-sensitive in their reporting, without compromising professionalism. The answer is yes. This kind of reporting is not incompatible with professionalism. If anything, it provides a sharper lens, which reveals the current reality of gender inequity, as well as the real needs and interests underlying conflict. Such a view and understanding can only help the media become more accurate, more balanced, and more professional.

[6] Anna Turley, cited in *Gender, Conflict and Journalism,* op cit.

Action towards change

Moving from conflict analysis to some very tangible actions that can be taken in any newsroom, and in any executive office, to refocus the media handling of gender, as Colleen Lowe Morna[7] has said elsewhere, because the media is a mix of public and private outlets, and is deeply motivated by commercial imperatives, "changing the media focus on gender is not as simple as pushing governments to alter or make new policies. It requires much strategic advocacy, persuasion, shaming and cajoling."[8] To which I would add: and it really should begin in newsrooms and the executive suite. The media should not wait for government to lead.

Newsrooms are usually microcosms of the gender-blind societies in which they operate. They embody the same imbalances of power and the same skewed social values. And while individual reporters may practise or develop gender-sensitivity in their work, we all know that the solution to gender blindness does not lie at that level alone.

The reporting process starts with editors who select what stories to cover and who should cover them. The process continues with copy-editors or line producers who handle the news reports and determine what to cut and what to emphasise. Their decisions are overseen by senior editors and executive producers. There are also critical executive influences at work, coming from the top or through them from outside influences. These influences send powerful signals back into the newsroom that shape the perception of what is news.

On several occasions I have worked within training programmes with women journalists who indicated that the key to unlocking change in newsrooms and in reporting lies with senior management. I think this point deserves greater consideration among those engaged in gender-sensitisation of the media. Typically, newsroom training tends to focus on reporters, sub-editors and junior producers. Perhaps we have been aiming too low.

Some of those women journalists I just spoke of were unexpectedly charitable towards their male colleagues who continued to exhibit steroid-powered sexism in their work. These women felt that their male colleagues could learn to moderate and alter their attitudes and their reporting – if such transformation was required by higher-level management. The women had seen their colleagues change direction under other circumstances, such as in following signals from senior editors in times of political change. Training courses for their colleagues would be helpful, the women noted. But newsrooms are terribly hierarchical places – by necessity, considering the

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[7] Cited in Schwartz, Amy: *Why we should be watching gender and media activism in Southern Africa.* Available at www.awid.org/go.php?stid+1398

[8] See: Gender and media advocacy toolkit. Available online at: http://www.whomakesthenews.org/get_involved/advocacy_toolkit

pressures of managing such a daily tumult of information. And change or resistance flows downward in newsrooms far faster than upwards. Leadership comes from the upper levels. Or, as one woman journalist put it, the attitude at the top is the heart of the problem.

Newsroom leadership training

What can I suggest as necessities for top-down leadership in gender sensitivity? This is the advice of women journalists from South Asia, and beyond, at the roundtable sessions which led to the UNESCO book on Gender, Conflict and Journalism:

1. In most newsrooms gender issues remain ghettoised. Stories about gender issues are seen women's issues or soft news that only female journalists can cover. Gender, as I indicated earlier, is very much an issue in violent conflict. But, in many places, women journalists are not routinely assigned to cover hard news, especially conflict. So conflict reporting loses a gender perspective, and the framing of the story remains traditionally narrow. The simplest example is the benefit of sending a woman reporter to interview women caught in conflict. In conservative areas where female victims feel uncomfortable talking to a male reporter, a woman reporter may be able to uncover truths that would otherwise remain hidden – without sensationalising the story, or stigmatising women.

   To change this situation, executives need to appoint more women editors, managers and mentors. But not just any women: these new appointments must be gender-aware themselves. Simply being female does not ensure a gender-sensitive perspective.

   As Angana Parekh[9] has noted, women journalists cannot automatically be expected to be sensitive to or interested in gender issues. Cultural socialisation and the competitiveness of the profession make some reporters see themselves as journalists first and women second. Male and female journalists both need to be made aware of the importance of gender sensitivity in their work. This affects not only how an article is written but also what is written about.

2. Newsrooms refuse to recognise the social and family pressures women journalists face and continue with inflexible routines and working hours. Women, and sometimes male journalists who are single parents, have to juggle work commitments with family responsibilities. The response should be to introduce flexible working hours, establish at-work daycare, and think outside the newsroom space – find ways for journalists to work from home sometimes.

3. Employment practices, especially relating to reproductive rights of women, remain unfair. Equal work does not receive equal pay; maternity leave conditions are inadequate or non-existent. The effect is, often, that women are penalised for

[9] Parekh, Angana, cited in Lloyd and Howard, op cit. p. 21.

child-bearing by not being promoted or given equal training. The executive initiative should be to educate all staff about national laws – and international covenants - about gender and workplace and human rights. Ensure that all staff know what action to take if these rights are infringed. Ensure that middle editors will receive and handle complaints scrupulously. A newsroom must practise the rights that it preaches in news stories about others.

4. The problem of a newsroom's gender-blindness in news values is obvious when it continues to produce unbalanced, sensational stories reinforcing gender stereotypes. One response is for the newsroom to adopt codes of ethics that stipulate that gender-fair reporting is as important as accuracy and balance. Despite the lip-service paid to gender-sensitivity, there are few newsrooms or associations of journalists anywhere whose codes of ethics include more than a brief mention of the issue. The Associated Press Stylebook is one exception. It is quite clear about its professional standards.

   For example:
   "Women should receive the same treatment as men in all areas of coverage. Physical descriptions, sexist references and demeaning stereotypes should not be used. Copy should not express surprise that an attractive woman can be professionally accomplished. Copy should not gratuitously mention family relationships when there is no relevance to the subject. Copy should not indicate maleness when both sexes are involved, such as when it is reported that... "the official told newsmen." That should be re-phrased as "the official told reporters."

   In my country, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's standards[10] are even more specific. For example, reporters are directed to use gender-neutral or generic language, using "workforce" instead of "manpower," firefighter instead of fireman, and houseworker instead of maid. Reporters are also directed to balance men's and women's opinions in stories.

   The women journalists I consulted were also emphatic that to combat gender-blind news values, managers should provide gender-sensitivity training to sub-editors, copy editors, line producers and news editors. These are the real gate-keepers of the news flow and the guardians of style and imagery. They can do a great deal to eliminate offensive language and stereotyping, and to influence those who report.

5. In newsrooms where the macho culture and sexual harassment in various forms prevail because the newsroom culture tacitly condones it, managers need to develop and enforce a code of ethics on workplace behaviour, including serious penalties for sexual harassment. To further counter the culture, the company should introduce facilities, such as late-night transportation for women employees, as an automatic obligation, rather than a sign of pampering or favouring women.

[10] Available at: www.cbc.radio-canada.ca/htmen/policies/journalistic/sexrole.htm

Another form of censorship

Those are just a few of the recommendations from women journalists consulted for the *Gender, Conflict and Journalism* book. These recommended exercises in leadership will not solve all the problems of story ideas and story selection. Nor will they revolutionise circulation or audience figures overnight. But failure to exercise leadership on gender is more than a lost opportunity. It is, in fact, an act of censorship which alters reality, dis-empowers, controls and renders invisible.[11] Put like that, it is nothing any media professional would want to be associated with.

A special comment about radio, particularly radio talk-shows. In much of the world, radio – especially commercial radio – is the most pervasive and wide-reaching media because it is inexpensive and technically easy to produce. And talk radio – the motor-mouthed hosts, fighting guests and angry callers – is becoming the most influential form of media. But as Mavic Cabrera-Balleza of the World Association of the Community Radio Broadcasters noted only two months ago, "Of all the media, it is in radio where women and women's issues are most under-represented."[12]

Talk radio is by necessity designed to present issues of the day in simplistic terms. Its format often feeds upon conflict and disagreement to attract large audiences. To intensify the experience, presenters rely on stereotypes and emotions. To a substantial degree, both conflict resolution and gender sensitivity are neglected or cast in a negative tone. As surveys have shown, women are the missing voices in radio talk-shows – as hosts, guests and callers.[13]

But this is not to say that commercial imperatives are solely what drive radio to make the worst of conflict and gender. Even in community radio – the media sector considered most altruistic and inclusive – there is gender bias. A recent survey of 23 community radio stations in the Asia-Pacific region, conducted by AMARC-WIN and Isis International-Manila, found there is a constant pattern of bias towards male interests and male participants on community radio, throughout the region.[14] In other words, there is much to talk about in reforming talk radio.[15]

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[11] Callamard, Agnes: Gender Based Censorship and the New Media. Article 19. 2006.

[12] Cabrerra-Balleza, Mavic: *Gender Inequalities Urged to be stopped.* Available online at: http://www.isiswomen.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=497&Itemid=204

[13] *"Mirror on the Media: Who talks on talk shows."* Gender Links report. Available online at: http://www.genderlinks.org.za/page.php?p_id=301

[14] Cabrerra-Balleza, ibid.

[15] See: Howard, Ross and Rolt, Francis: Radio Talkshows for Peacebuilding. A Guide. Search for Common Ground/Radio for peacebuilding Africa. Avaiilable online at www.radiopeaceafrica.org

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Gender, Media and Disasters

Ammu Joseph

At an international conference on the media's role in the post-tsunami scenario in April 2005, a journalist who questioned the scant coverage of women's concerns in the aftermath of the December disaster was told off by a male resource person for being "too gender sensitive" and advised by a fellow female participant to shed her "women's ghetto mentality." "This sort of thinking isn't going to get you anywhere," the latter cautioned her. "People died, not just women. Why should the media concentrate on the women?"[i]

Anticipating just such a reaction to my presentation on some of the missing links in media coverage of the tsunami at a workshop on 8 January 2005, I had flagged the doubt myself: "It may seem irrelevant to raise the question of gender awareness in the context of media coverage of a natural disaster such as this one, which obviously affected those who happened to be in the path of the massive waves – men, women and children. Can there possibly be a gender angle to the tsunami story? Is it at all reasonable to call for a gender perspective while covering the post-tsunami situation?"[ii]

It was not long before it became abundantly clear that gender was indeed a critical factor in the tragedy, as well as in the relief, recovery and rehabilitation process that followed.[iii] For example, there is substantial evidence that more women than men

[i] "Media forgets female face of tsunami," Deepa Kandaswamy, Women's E-News, 27 July 2005: http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/2390

[ii] "Gender, media and tsunamis," Ammu Joseph, February 2005 (http://www.indiatogether.org/2005/feb/ajo-genmedia.htm), partly based on a presentation on gender-sensitive journalism made at a Creative Media Workshop organised by the Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, Kolkata, in Bhubaneshwar, Orissa (7-10 January 2005).

[iii] See, for example, "The tsunami's impact on women," Oxfam Briefing Note, March 2005 (http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/conflict_disasters/bn_tsunami_women.htm), Disaster Watch Special Issue, "One year after tsunami" (http://www.disasterwatch.net/tsunami_i1.htm), "Double discrimination," Damyanty Sridharan (http://www.indiadisasters.org/tsunami/views/2005/12/double-discrimination.html), South Asia Disasters Special Issue, "Tsunami, gender, and recovery" (http://online.northumbria.ac.uk/geography_research/gdn/resources/tsunami%20-genderandrecovery.pdf), "UNIFEM responds to the tsunami tragedy" – Articles and information from various sources (http://www.unifem.org/campaigns/tsunami/information.html), Gender and Disaster Network: "Why gender matters" (http://online.northumbria.ac.uk/geography_research/gdn/why_does_gender_matter.htm), etc.

died when the killer waves engulfed the shores. Most of the reasons cited for the apparently higher female death toll have everything to do with gender as manifested in many of the affected countries, such as women's restrictive clothes, their customary inability to swim or climb trees, and their conventional roles as mothers and care-givers. There were also early reports of molestation and rape at some relief camps, of trafficking in women and girls, and of adolescent girls being made to marry older men who had lost their wives in the calamity.

Forgetting the female half

At another level, the special needs and concerns of women and girls – such as inner wear and sanitary napkins, accessible toilets with adequate water, reproductive and maternal health care, female health workers, safety and privacy – were often forgotten in relief efforts. Many women also found themselves left out in the distribution of relief money and material, thanks to traditional notions about heads of families and/or breadwinners. Single women – including female heads of households – were particularly vulnerable, especially if they did not have adult sons.

In the rehabilitation and reconstruction phase, too, women were disadvantaged, especially with regard to the restoration of means of livelihood. With the plight of fishermen, and their losses in terms of assets like boats and nets, occupying centre-stage, little attention was paid to other economic activities in coastal areas, including those involving women.

In addition, the "property owner centric" approach that generally characterised rehabilitation packages came under criticism for ignoring the needs of people from the fishing and farming communities who do not own boats, nets, land or shops but do contribute their labour and skills to the coastal economy. Under the circumstances women – who traditionally form a major section of the informal or unorganised sector of labour and who rarely own property – were rendered doubly invisible, with their economic activities, losses, and needs by and large unaccounted for.

The consequent neglect of women's livelihood needs was obviously catastrophic for a large number of families, especially among the poor, because women are often their sole earners and/or sources of support. And, in any case, women's earnings tend to go directly towards meeting the basic needs of their families, while a significant portion of many men's earnings is frequently spent on personal habits such as drinking, smoking, and gambling. There have, in fact, been reports of relief money being wasted in this way and then serving as triggers for domestic violence.

To make matters worse, women and local women's collectives – including self-help or savings and credit groups – were often ignored by the government, other agencies, as well as *gram panchayats* (rural institutions of local self-governance), in the process of post-tsunami planning and decision-making. This was clearly a widespread problem across the affected region, highlighted at several meetings in July 2005.

For example, a statement issued by participants in an Asian women's consultation on post-tsunami challenges in Banda Aceh (Indonesia) began by asserting, "Seven months after the December 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, affected women continue to be marginalised, discriminated against and excluded from the process of rebuilding on all levels: the family, the community and the nation."[iv] A South Asian conference on gender concerns in post-tsunami reconstruction in Batticaloa (Sri Lanka) also highlighted the lack of representation of and decision making powers for women in rebuilding activities, apart from land rights and livelihood issues.[v] And a meeting called by the Tamil Nadu Dalit Women's Movement in Tharangambadi focussed attention on the continuing plight of Dalit women survivors in different parts of the worst affected state in India.[vi]

Women's role in rebuilding lives

At the same time, tsunami-affected women were not merely victims. In fact, many played active roles in rescue, relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. What is more, as "first responders," they often took on the challenging task of restoring a semblance of normalcy to life after the disaster: cooking, cleaning, taking care of the sick and the injured, the young and the old, sending children to school, salvaging belongings, helping to repair homes, and trying to make ends meet and regain livelihoods under extremely difficult circumstances.

Many women survivors also grew in strength and confidence in the wake of their experience of devastation and tragedy. They approached both government officials and non-governmental organisations for assistance in rebuilding their lives and livelihoods. Recognising the multiple benefits of collective action, they formed, joined or reactivated self-help groups, some learning from the experiences of earthquake-affected rural women from Gujarat and Maharashtra (India) who had turned disaster into opportunity by working together to re-establish themselves and their communities.[vii] In the process they managed to overcome prior restraints on their mobility, become more assertive and ambitious in claiming their rights, and compel families and communities to recognise their personhood and capabilities.

[iv] Link to complete statement: http://www.apwld.org/tsunami_statementpostchallenges.htm; for more details see: http://www.apwld.org/

[v] "Gender bias in disaster recovery process," posted on Tsunami Response Watch, 28 August 2005 – link to complete report: http://www.indiadisasters.org/tsunami/response/2005/08/gender-bias-in-disaster-recovery.html

[vi] "The tsunami exacerbates Dalit women's sufferings from caste discrimination," Fatima Burnad – link to full text: http://www.apwld.org/tsunami_dalitwomen.htm

[vii] See "Learning from Latur," Ammu Joseph, The Hindu, 26 October 2003 (http://www.hinduonnet.com/mag/2003/10/26/stories/2003102600480100.htm), "Shaken to the core," Ammu Joseph, Infochange Features, November 2003, (http://www.infochangeindia.org/features139.jsp), "Indian women shake into action by earthquake," Ammu Joseph, Women's E-News, February 2004 http://www.womenenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/1716/context/archive

So, yes, people died – not just women. People suffered, succumbed, survived, recovered, rebuilt – not just women. Nobody would be stupid enough to suggest that the media focus exclusively on women. But it is surely not unfair to propose that the media – in their vital role as the Fourth Estate, the watchdog of society, defenders of the public interest – must attempt to reflect the experiences, concerns and opinions of diverse sections of the population, including the female half of the human race? Yet, despite the well-documented gender differences in the impact of disasters, and despite the fact that women and children constitute the majority of victims seen in the media's representation of disasters – natural and otherwise – media coverage of recurring disasters across the world continues to be, by and large, gender-blind.

As Oxfam's March 2005 Briefing Note on "The Tsunami's Impact on Women" put it, "There is no scarcity of reflections and commentary on the impact of the disaster that shook the coasts of several Asian countries on 26 December 2004. The media have... looked into almost every conceivable angle: the impact on tourism, the impact on the environment, revealed underwater villages, even the impact on animals. One area that has... received less attention is the gender impact of the tsunami, and its impact on women in particular."[viii]

Months later, media coverage of Hurricane Katrina, which devastated New Orleans and neighbouring areas in the United States of America, was little better. As Joni Seager pointed out, while the mainstream media "started asking tough, targeted questions about why this disaster fell so hard on one side of the race line" – at least a few days after the event – they were not so quick to notice and highlight the fact that the disaster "fell hard on one side of the gender line, too."[ix] According to her, "The 'not-noticing' of the gendered dimensions of this disaster by the American media and by the panoply of experts who interpreted the disaster to the public through the media is alarming and warrants attention in itself."

Problem of gender blindness

Gender blindness also characterised much of the reporting on the massive earthquake that struck parts of Pakistan and India, particularly Kashmir, in October 2005. Yet there are many indications that gender played a crucial role in the disproportionate number of female casualties, as well as in women's access to aid and healthcare, and that it will continue to determine the lives of many survivors.

For example, an early Reuters report quoted Pakistani officials who acknowledged that the majority of the victims were women and children but that much of the aid,

[viii] "The tsunami's impact on women," Oxfam Briefing Note, March 2005 (http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/conflict_disasters/bn_tsunami_women.htm).

[ix] "Noticing gender (or not) in disasters," Joni Seager, Geoforum, (http://online.northumbria.ac.uk/geography_research/gdn/resources/seager-geoforum-katrina.doc).

including relief material, was being intercepted by and distributed through the men of the affected communities.[x] According to Aditi Kapoor, "Most aid workers arriving in the affected areas are usually greeted first by groups of men. Women from the affected communities usually stand some distance away."[xi] As one woman told her, "It is easier for men to voice their concerns. But whom can we go to for (our) issues?"

United Nations estimates suggest that there were 40,000 pregnant women among the four million people affected by the deadly quake.[xii] Health officials warned that the tremors could have triggered miscarriage and premature labour, which would entail more risk than normal in view of the destruction of many of the clinics and hospitals that constituted the limited healthcare facilities available in the worst affected areas at the best of times. Even on the Indian side of Kashmir, which was relatively less devastated, over 300 cases of miscarriage were registered in the weeks after the disaster, emergency obstetric care was inaccessible, and trauma counselling negligible, according to Prakriiti Gupta.[xiii]

One of the most widely reported post-earthquake "gender" stories, versions of which appeared in some mainstream international news outlets, was the Melody Cinema story: about the conversion of an abandoned movie theatre in Islamabad into a women's hospital catering to the needs of the large number of women who sustained spinal injuries in the disaster. A doctor attending to the severely injured in the makeshift medical centre said that 90 per cent of the patients he had seen were girls and women. Most were paraplegics.[xiv] The fact that most of the patients with spinal injuries were women is attributed primarily to gender-related roles and restrictions.

The future of these women, too, will in all likelihood be determined by gender. Unable to walk and, in many cases, to control their bladders or bowels, they may require constant care for the rest of their lives. Under the circumstances, the married ones lived in fear of being abandoned by their husbands and the single ones knew their chances of marriage were virtually non-existent. The attending doctor was obviously concerned about what would happen to his patients after they left the hospital. "This society is cruel," he said. "They will be out on the streets unless they can get a skill and become independent. A young woman who does not walk, who has no control over her bladder, has no real chance in this society."[xv]

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[x] "Social causes behind high women casualty in earthquake," Reuters/Gulf News, 15 October 2005 (http://archive.gulfnews.com/articles/05/10/15/186877.html).

[xi] Diary from Kashmir, Aditi Kapoor, Oxfam, 15 October 2005 (http://www.oxfam.org.au/world/emergencies/asiaquake/docs/kapoor3.html).

[xii] Church World Service - Pakistan/Afghanistan, Situation Update, 14 December 2005 (http://www.cwspa.org/earthquake/update14122005.htm).

[xiii] "Kashmir quake: Chilling tragedy continues," Prakriiti Gupta, Women's Feature Service, December 2005.

[xiv] "Pakistan theatre renovates as women's hospital," Laura J. Winter, Women's E-News, 25 November 2005 (http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/2538/context/archive).

[xv] Ibid

Paraplegics were not the only ones facing a bleak future. There were reports of women survivors – especially widows without adult sons – losing property to male relatives after moving out of their broken homes in shattered mountain villages in the immediate aftermath of the disaster.[xvi] Most of them had no papers to prove their ownership and reportedly, according to customary law, a dead man's property reverts to his brothers rather than his wife. Although daughters do have a right to a share in the property, this is apparently often denied to them. As a result, a large number of quake-affected women and girls could be left with no home to call their own.

Still, several women have also been able to turn the disaster into an opportunity to restructure their lives for the better. With so many families having lost homes, assets and means of livelihood in the rubble, these women faced less opposition to their efforts to find work outside the confines of their houses. Some set up petty shops, others found employment in non-governmental organisations. And, encouraged by humanitarian organisations, some of them set up women's committees to assess their communities' rehabilitation and reconstruction needs.[xvii]

Recognising the gender angle

To sum up, one unfortunate constant across the many disasters that took place in several parts of the world through 2005 was the huge toll they took on women. After a trip to tsunami-ravaged Sri Lanka in November 2005, Ritu Sharma noted, "I am (now) more cognisant than ever of how natural disasters impact women severely and in specific ways that are often not recognised, especially during reconstruction phases after the crises have faded from the news."[xviii]

Clearly, then, gender is an angle that needs to be explored in media coverage of disasters and their aftermath. As the Oxfam Briefing Note put it, "Disasters, however 'natural,' are profoundly discriminatory. Wherever they hit, pre-existing structures and social conditions determine that some members of the community will be less affected while others will pay a higher price. Among the differences that determine how people are affected by such disasters is that of gender."[xix]

The media need to recognise more fully that even "hard news" coverage, including the reporting of disasters, can actually benefit from gender consciousness. By

[xvi] "Pakistan: Female quake survivors losing property," Edward Parsons, IRIN News, 3 January 2006, (http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=50925&SelectRegion=Asia&SelectCountry=PAKISTAN).

[xvii] "Women in quake-hit Pakistan break old barriers," Suzanna Koster, Reuters, 12 January 2006 (http://in.today.reuters.com/news/newsArticle.aspx?type=topNews&storyID=2006-01-12T062118Z_01_NOOTR_RTRJONC_0_India-231386-1.xml).

[xviii] "Disasters dramatise how women's poverty is lethal," Ritu Sharma, Women's E-News, 5 January 2006 (http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm?aid=2587).

[xix] "The tsunami's impact on women," Oxfam Briefing Note, March 2005.

focussing attention on the inevitable social consequences of "natural" calamities, the media can alert both communities and the authorities to the impact of the event on different sections of the affected population, including various categories of women, and highlight the importance of taking their experiences, opinions, needs and resources into account in the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction process.

The bonus is that the special stories resulting from gender awareness not only serve a valuable purpose in the aftermath of such events, but they are also likely to stand out as more memorable than many others in the customary media blitz that generally follows.

So looking through the world through a gender lens has nothing to do with being "too gender sensitive" or being burdened with a "women's ghetto mentality." As we have seen, disasters have everything to do with gender, as do other high profile, high prestige areas of media coverage such as war, social conflict, politics and economics. The stories are out there. If few of them make it to the mainstream media it is because gender awareness is still missing in many newsrooms.

There is, today, no dearth of sources and resources that can be tapped to figure out whether or not an event or process has any special implications for women, including different categories of women, as well as other vulnerable sections of society whose voices are not commonly heard in the media.[xx] It's just a question of looking for them - and even that is not difficult, especially in the Internet era that we live in.

The bottom line is that unless gender is acknowledged as one of several factors that affect people's experience of almost everything, and accepted as one of the "angles" to be explored while covering anything, the media will continue to tell only part of the story – whatever that story may be.

[xx] See, for example, the Women & Tsunami section of the Disaster Watch website: http://www.disasterwatch.net/women_tsunami.htm

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Making Every Voice Count: A Southern Africa Case Study

Colleen Lowe Morna

During question time after a presentation to South African editors on the Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) in June 2003, an editor popped the billion dollar question. Where is the world, he asked, is there gender balance in the media? And if there is no such place, why should South Africa be any different?

Some weeks later, at another gathering, the answer came to me more clearly than I could articulate it at the time. Why is it, I asked, that on every other count South Africa wants to be measured by and exceed world standards. Yet, when it comes to gender, we are happy to be counted with or below the lowest common denominator! There is no other country, I said, that understands the pain of being silenced as intrinsically as South Africa. Why then can't we take the lead where gender and the media are concerned?

I have no doubt that you have similar questions in your mind as those I encountered at the meeting of the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF) in 2003. I hope that by sharing some of our experiences since then I will help to persuade you about why this issue is so important for all of us in the global village, and about the fact that we can foster south-south ties in moving this agenda forward.

Context

Some context is important. Twelve years after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, gender disparities in the media remain among the most glaring of all. Across the globe, women are grossly under-represented in the decision-making structures of the media. The only news making category in which women predominate is as TV producers. The first Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), conducted before the Beijing conference, showed that women constituted 17 percent of news sources. Five years later, that had increased by a mere one percent to 18 percent, and ten years late (in 2005) to 21 percent (19 percent in Africa and Asia). At this rate, it will take more than a few life times for the media to finally reflect the views of women and men equally!

In 2002, Gender Links (GL), the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) of South Africa conducted the GMBS study, which

covered twelve Southern African countries. This study found that women constitute 19 percent of news sources in South Africa and that black women, who constitute 41 percent of the population, account for a mere seven percent of news sources. Across the Southern African region, which comprises twelve countries, women constituted 17 percent of news sources (GMBS, 2003).

While women politicians in Southern Africa account for about 20 percent of news sources, they accounted for only 8 percent of the politicians whose voices were heard. The study found that women's voices are virtually absent in a range of mainstream areas including the economy, politics and sport, and that older women are virtually missing from news pages. Women are most likely to be portrayed as home makers, fashion models or as victims of violence, and rarely as citizens participating in the building of their nation (GMBS, 2003).

Strategies for change

There have been several different approaches to the issue of gender and the media. These include:

- Empowering women journalists (the route taken by media women's associations that have been especially strong in East Africa).
- Creating alternative media for women's voices to be heard, especially with the advent of Information Technology that reduces costs and creates multiplier effects.
- Consumer protests and boycotts, especially against offensive advertising.
- Seeking to bring about gender balance in the institution of the media as well as in its editorial content through direct engagement with the media.

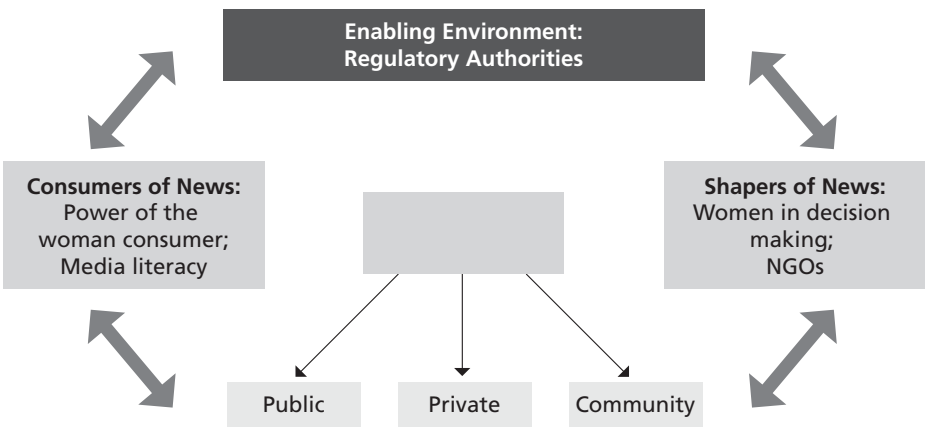
None of these strategies are mutually exclusive. Each touches in some way on three fronts on which action is required: by those who produce the news; by those who are well placed to shape the news; and by those who consume the news.

Clearly the producers of news are at the heart of the matter. But they work within legal and policy frameworks that create or negate an enabling environment for change. Freedom of expression does not mean absence of regulation. All airwaves are regulated. Many forms of media (for example print and advertising) have their own self-regulatory bodies. These are powerful entry points as they set standards to which the industry can be upheld.

Media ownership – whether state, private or community – has a bearing on responsiveness to change, as well as strategies for advocating change. For example, in approaching media that is funded through tax payers' money, it is legitimate to

demand diversity in both the composition and content of the media. In the case of private media, more sophisticated bottom line arguments are required. Who are the audiences and what do they want? How does gender blindness limit market opportunities and, conversely, can a more responsive media be shown to be more viable and sustainable?

Change is not just about the media but those who are well placed to shape media content (e.g., women decision-makers and activists who through their activities can create platforms for women's voices to be heard and become newsworthy). Citizens who consume media outputs have a clout they (and especially women) are often not aware of that can help shape the agenda. They should be aspiring to move from being mere consumers of news to shapers of news. All these constituencies are crucial in targeting research, training and other interventions.



Activist research and networks

Media monitoring is one of the most powerful tools for holding the media accountable. The GMMP and GMBS have been at the centre of GL's advocacy strategies, as has been the strategic alliance with MISA, the mainstream media institution that promotes freedom of expression in the region.

During national action planning workshops that took place in all Southern African countries that participated in the GMBS in 2003, media practitioners, decision-makers, analysts and activists devised a range of strategies for addressing these gender gaps.

The workshops culminated in a Gender and Media Summit in 2004 that served as an accountability forum for each country to come back and report on what measures has been taken. The summit also led to the formation of the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) network, the only such regional network that we are aware of dedicated to redressing gender imbalance in the media.

The GEMSA Secretariat is based at Gender Links and now includes 12 institutional and over 300 individual members in ten countries where local GEMSA chapters have been registered. The second GEM Summit in September 2006 held under the banner "Media diversity, good for democracy, good for business" doubled as a general body meeting.

Criteria for gender aware reporting included:

- Gender balance of sources (voices).
- Awareness of differential impact.
- No double standards.
- No moralising.
- No open prejudice.
- No ridicule.
- No placing of blame.
- Challenges stereotypes.

Both summits featured the now well-known Gender and Media Awards. Examples of items that have received awards include a story from Mauritius on a daycare centre run by men; a documentary on virginity testing in the era of HIV and AIDS; what happened when a beauty queen found that she was HIV positive; women mine workers in South Africa, and the revival of a practise of fathers "selling" their daughters in a remote part of Malawi in the wake of a devastating drought and mounting poverty. The awards served to make the point that gender aware reporting is primarily about good, thorough, thought-provoking and investigative journalism.

As a sequel to the GMBS, and as part of a multi-sector initiative involving several media development agencies, GL and the MMP in South Africa have undertaken a baseline study on coverage of HIV, AIDS and Gender in the Media. This showed that despite Southern Africa being the worst affected region in the world, coverage of HIV comprises three percent of total coverage, while People Living with AIDS constitute four percent of the sources. The study also found that while the bulk of coverage is on prevention, very little of this addresses the gender power relations that fuel the pandemic. Care, and especially women's role in providing care, receives the lowest coverage (HIV and AIDS and Gender Baseline Study, 2006). This research is at the heart of the Media Action Plan Policy initiative in newsrooms (see next section).

In its Mirror on the Media series, GL works with gender and media networks and strategic partners like the Media Monitoring Projects in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe on shorter, targeted monitoring projects that open new areas of inquiry and broaden the debate.

These have included comparing coverage of Women's Day on 9 August in South Africa with daily coverage *(Can every day be Women's Day?)*; comparing coverage of gender violence before and during the Sixteen Days of Activism from 25 November to 10 December and monitoring of radio talk shows *(Who Talks on Talk Shows?).*

This series prompts important specific debates, like why women comprise only 35 percent of talk show guests and less than a quarter of those who call into talk shows; or why sexist comments like "women cannot be associated with reason or calmness" (Tolmay, 2005, 6) go unchallenged. The next *Mirror on the Media* report (to be

released in June 2007) is on advertising. It contains fascinating quantitative data on how often and in what roles women and men feature; how women are often "seen and not heard" in advertising (Lowe Morna and Ndlovu, 2007, forthcoming) and an array of examples on how blatant stereotypes continue to be perpetuated in advertising (like the cool man who always makes the right choices whether it be his work, his beer, or the women he picks!)

Audiences, consumers and media literacy

Content analysis has spurred questions and a demand for audience research, an area that is still highly underdeveloped in the region. The audience research that exists in a few countries (like South Africa and Namibia) is entirely geared towards establishing the purchasing power of consumers to attract more advertising. Put simply, most editors have very little idea who their audiences are, let alone if they are women or men, and what their tastes are with regard to media content.

Over the period 2005/2006 GL and MISA, working with universities and tertiary institutions, conducted the Gender and Media Audience Study (GMAS) in 12 countries to determine how women and men respond to the news. The research showed that, across the board, women and men would like to see women depicted in more diverse roles and that they find sexual images in the news uncomfortable and degrading of women. The research also showed that both women and men would like more local and human interest news; and women would like more news on women's rights (Lowe Morna, Rama and Muriungi, 2006, 19).

Research such as this begins to debunk the commercial arguments for sexist coverage. It also opens an important new area of work with media consumers and media literacy.

Last year, GL piloted the first Gender and Media Literacy course for the general public, using a training manual called *Watching the Watchdogs.* The course has since been shared with gender and media networks at a training workshop linked to the second GEM summit. It is being repeated this year and adapted for schools. In this course, media consumers learn how the media is constructed; how gender biases creep into media construction; how monitoring and audience research are conducted; how they as citizens can engage with the media through taking up complaints with regulatory bodies; writing letters; calling into talk shows; getting the media to cover their events and concerns and even creating their own media.

Policy

From the outset, GL has stressed that activism and research must be rooted in policy if they are to bring about sustained change. Such policy changes need to be both at the broad macro level, as well as within newsrooms themselves.

Tabloid research and debates: Bringing different strands together

An example of how several different strands in the work of GL come together lies in the proposed monitoring of tabloids for the next *Mirror on the Media* report. Across the region and the globe, the "tabloidisation" of the media is a major concern both for quality and professionalism in the media, as well as the gender implications. GL will work with GEMSA chapters and the academic community that designed the audience research in framing the research on tabloids that will include both content analysis and audience responses. Participants in the current Media Literacy Training Course in South Africa will conduct the monitoring in this country, while GEMSA chapters will take it up in other countries in the region.

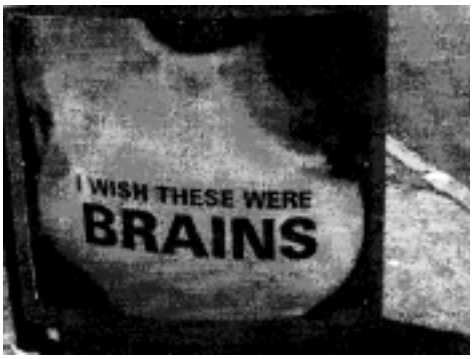
The monitoring will be one of several inputs into the next issue of the *Gender and Media Diversity Journal* that GL produces twice a year. Contributions will also be sought from students at universities and academics who have researched this phenomenon, as well as editors of tabloids, readers and other interest groups. The journal will be launched at Highway Africa, an annual mainstream and new media gathering at Rhodes University, where GL's latest partnership project, the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC) will also be introduced to the media community (see next steps). The tabloid research is expected to prompt spirited debate and media coverage at a panel discussion devoted to the issue that will include video links with partners not able to be present.

GL is a member of, and coordinates a network of gender and women's rights NGOs that have been advocating for the elevation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development to a more binding protocol. The draft protocol, which will be presented to regional leaders at their August 2007 summit, contains a far reaching media section that among others:

- Recognises that gender equality is intrinsic to press freedom;
- Guarantees that gender will be mainstreamed in all government, communication and IT laws and policies;
- Commits governments to ensuring that gender balance and sensitivity are achieved within and in the content of all publicly funded media and media training institutions and encouraging similar changes in the private media, and
- Commits statutory media regulatory authorities to ensuring that gender equality targets are reinforced through licensing and reporting requirements.

Working with GEMSA, which has conducted a gender audit of media laws and institutions in the region and is developing a network of media regulators, GL is embarking this year on a pilot project with regulators in three countries to develop gender policies. These include one self regulator (the Press Council of Botswana); a

statutory regulator (the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority) and the self-regulatory Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) of Mauritius.



The latter case is a good example of how consumer activism in some countries is forcing the pace. Through the various complaints it has taken up, the Mauritius Media Watch Organisation (the local chapter of GEMSA) has had 12 advertisements removed from the airwaves and billboards. These include posters on dustbins wishing that women's breasts were brains (see illustration). The advertising body has been forced to take note of gender as a factor in its work.

There is also movement within the media industry itself. Among its first activities, GL worked with MISA in developing a gender policy for the region's media freedom network. In 2002 MISA adopted a gender policy that states explicitly that gender is intrinsic to freedom of expression. As a membership organisation with chapters in 12 Southern African countries, MISA plays a key leadership role in promoting progressive policies and practices in the media.

Over the period 2003 to 2004, GL worked on pilot projects with three media houses in Southern Africa – Kaya FM, a South African commercial radio station, the Times of Zambia, and the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation – in developing gender policies. These were presented at the first GEM Summit, where media managers shared some of the simple practical steps they had taken to improve gender balance and sensitivity in the news.

In the case of Kaya FM, the steps included rotating the gender beat so that every reporter had a turn on it (and learned to mainstream gender in all coverage); requiring that each reporter on the beat contribute at least four women sources to the data base; that all reporters consult at least one woman out of every three sources; and that progress be reviewed at the weekly editorial meeting. A favourite example of the then news editor, Portia Kobue, is the day she assigned a reporter to do a story on farming and he immediately phoned the white male spokesperson of the commercial farmers association. She sent him back to the field to find a black woman farmer who told a far more interesting story!

In an attempt to cascade efforts on the policy front, in 2005 media NGOs joined forces with the Southern African Editor's Forum (SAEF) to launch the Media Action Plan (MAP) on HIV, AIDS and Gender. An audit undertaken by GL as part of MAP showed that, of 350 media houses surveyed, only ten percent had HIV/AIDS policies and 8 percent gender policies. And even these related mostly to work place issues

rather than editorial content. The HIV and AIDS and Gender Baseline Study mentioned earlier pointed to the content gaps that urgently needed addressing.

Among the objectives of MAP are to ensure that 80 percent of media institutions have workplace *and* editorial policies and programmes on HIV/AIDS *and* gender by the end 2008. This leg of the MAP work is led by GL and MISA who have developed a handbook called *Diversity in Action, HIV/AIDS and Gender Policies in Newsrooms.* At the time of writing, 218 out of 360 newsrooms on the region had committed to being part of the process and 13 policies had been completed.

While the journey is still a long one, the fact that media houses (that are generally long on criticising government policies and short on having any of their own) have agreed to be part of this process is encouraging. To foster such progressive institutional practise, the Sol Plaatje Media Institute at Rhodes University will be giving awards for the best HIV and Gender policies as well as demonstrated impact of such policies at Highway Africa in September.

Smashing glass ceilings?

In South Africa, MAP is being given special impetus by a "Glass Ceiling in Newsrooms" study that SANEF commissioned GL to undertake following an initial survey that suggested that the "old boys" networks and mentalities are still alive and well in the media. The study, released on World Press Freedom Day on 3 May 2007, showed that while women now constitute 45 percent of newsrooms they comprise less that 30 percent of media managers. Black women, who constitute 46 percent of the population, constitute a mere 18 percent of newsrooms and 6 percent of newsroom managers. SANEF has undertaken to do some serious cleaning up of its own house before it steps out to criticise the rest of society.

Training

From the outset, GL has developed close links with media training institutions that pointed to the several different fronts on which gender in media education and training needs to be approached. A Media Training Needs Assessment undertaken by GL for the media training sector showed that more than half of the journalists in the region have never undertaken formal training but that there is a rapid move towards upgrading and requiring higher level media training (Lowe Morna and Khan, 2002).

Because so much of media learning takes place on-the-job, many media training institutions run short in-service courses. Early on, GL worked with the Institute for

the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ) in South Africa that runs such courses in developing gender training modules for all areas of media training, from sub-editing and newsroom leadership to specific beats like the crime, the economy, politics etc.

Each year, GL runs training courses on different themes with in-service media training institutions around the region. These have included covering gender violence; HIV and AIDS and gender; as well as gender and elections. Currently, GL is running a series of training workshops on gender and economic reporting using its training manual, *Business Unusual.*

A variant of in-service training is in-house training (or training conducted in the newsroom). While this is labour-intensive, it has several advantages. One is able to work with practitioners in their environment (which can often be an impediment to new ways of reporting), with their managers (who are frequently the biggest barrier to change), and with their specific medium and focus. GL piloted this approach in election training in 2004 and 2005, which was documented during the first GEM Summit in the outcome report *Getting in Right* (Lowe Morna, ed. 2004, 108).

In the longer term, there are no shortcuts to mainstreaming gender in entry level media education. Working with GL, the Polytechnic of Namibia undertook a three-year gender mainstreaming project in which gender was integrated into every facet of entry level journalism and tested in a student news agency for the 2005 Namibia elections. The students' sensitivity to diversity resulted in high quality, issue-based coverage documented in a final evaluation. A primer on the process and outcomes *(Gender in Entry Level Media Education)* is being used as a basis for work with a network of media trainers committed to integrating gender in their curricula.

Building bridges between gender activists and the media

GL acknowledges that the challenge is not just one of making the media more gender sensitive, but also making gender activists more media savvy. GL's training manual, *Getting Smart., Strategic Communications for Gender Activists* has been used to conduct training with women's organisations across the region, with a specific focus on the Sixteen Days of Activism campaign that runs from 25 November to 10 December.

This campaign has gained enormous momentum over the last six years with major involvement by the media, especially the public broadcasters in each country. GL and GEMSA have together pioneered cyber dialogues or internet chats during this period, linking citizens to policy makers and providing safe spaces for women to speak out. Media monitoring has shown dramatic increases both in the quantity and quality of coverage during these campaigns.

The GL Opinion and Commentary Service, another "bridging mechanism," involves working with gender activists in writing articles for leader pages that GL edits and markets with the mainstream media. As part of this service GL has also started various

"I" story series – first-hand accounts on subjects such as living with HIV; surviving gender violence or being a woman in local government. This series has been especially popular with the mainstream media and audiences because of its strong human interest value.

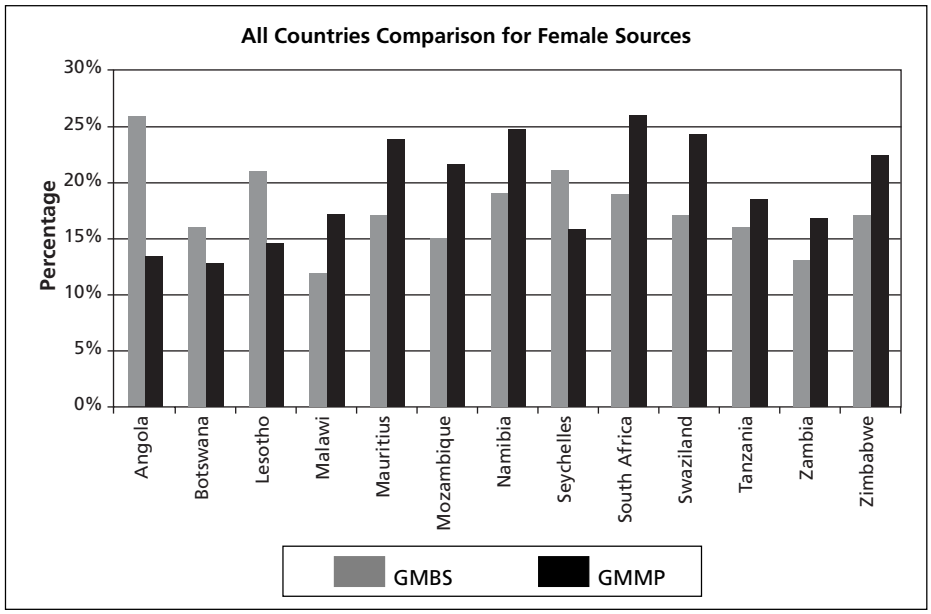
In response to the oft heard argument by the media that "there are no women sources," the Media Watch Organisation in Mauritius took the initiative to profile 218 women, including experts in their respective fields, who can talk on a wide range of issues, including culture, economics, finance and business, education, environment, health, human rights, media, politics, corruption, crime and violence. The directory, which includes their contact information, is a practical example of how activists and the media can work together to bring about change.

Making progress?

Measuring progress in any area of social change poses major challenges. Ventures such as this are fundamentally long term. Yet there is a need to benchmark and count even small successes. In late 2008, GL and partner organisations will repeat the GMBS and HIV baseline studies, to gauge if there has been any improvement since the first studies.

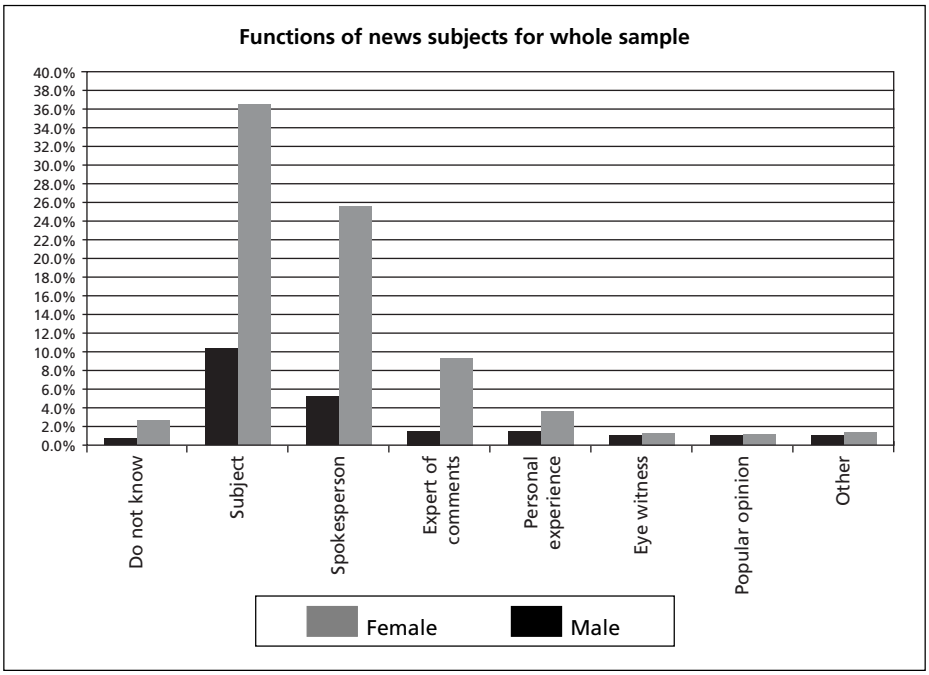
As an interim benchmarking exercise, GL worked with the MMP in South Africa (data analysts for the GMBS and GMMP) to measure progress in the region against the global study in 2005 as well as against the 2003 GMBS.

Women sources in all countries, GMBS versus the GMMP



Overall, as illustrated in Figure One above, women sources in the region had increased from 17 percent in the GMBS to 19 percent in the GMMP (compared to the global average of 21 percent). However, in countries where gender and media activism had been strongest, the increases had been higher (for example from 19 percent to 26 percent in South Africa and from 17 percent to 24 percent in Mauritius and Namibia). Only two countries (Botswana and Angola) slipped backwards. These successes, shared at the second GEM Summit, met with great enthusiasm from the over 200 delegates who now make it possible to talk about a gender and media movement in the region.

An innovation in the most recent GMMP is that it disaggregates sources by function. When GL undertook this exercise for Southern Africa, the findings showed that, as compared to men in each of the categories, women are least likely to be the subjects or focus of the event or story (23%); official spokespersons (16%); or experts and commentators (20%). They are more likely to be consulted as human interest or personal experience subjects (25%); as eye witnesses (37%) or as part of snap popular opinion surveys (43%). As figure two shows, these last three categories are the ones in which overall, the least number of sources are consulted.



Two important conclusions can be drawn from this. One is that a deliberate effort needs to be made to ensure that women become more central in the first three categories: as news subjects (for example through more stories on gender equality, or women in non-traditional roles, or through highlighting the role played by women where they are often invisible, such as the female workers in a textile factory that closes); as official spokespersons; and as experts.

The other is that there needs to be a far better balance of different types of sources in reporting in the region, which at the moment tends towards event oriented, single source reporting in which a man is invariably the single source. The news is dominated by reports of what ministers or decision makers (usually men) say, with little or no comment from those most affected (often women). This is not good journalism by any definition. Getting away from the single source, official pronouncements that dominate the news is not only good journalism; it would open more space for women's voices to be heard. It would render the media the tool that it should be in society: giving voice to the voiceless and ensuring that citizens – women and men – participate meaningfully in democratic processes.

Going forward

While it is understandable that advocacy efforts to date have focused specifically on the gender deficiencies in the media, as we move forward there is need to situate these within broader debates on human rights, media diversity, ethics and professionalism in the media, growing markets and media sustainability. This approach will not only help to overcome some of the resistance that is apparent in some quarters, but also to foster the notion that gender awareness is not just a matter of being politically correct: it is also enlightened self-interest.

Against this background, GL and GEMSA, working with tertiary institutions and other media development partners, are in the process of establishing a Gender and Media Diversity Centre. The GMDC has a physical base at the offices of the two organisations but is primarily a virtual knowledge management and exchange centre that aims to promote diverse, representative and responsive media. Given the global nature of the gender gaps in the media, which cut across the broader divides in ownership and access, it is hoped that the centre will eventually extend its influence well beyond this region.

It is not for us to prescribe how Asia should tackle these issues. All I can say is that our situations are strikingly similar. Our nations confront the challenges of poverty, HIV and AIDS and their gendered dimensions. If the GMMP statistics are anything to go by, we are in roughly similar positions with regard to how gender is reflected in our media. From our experience, I would strongly recommend a Gender and Media Baseline Study for Asia, and from that a series of practical interventions led by the media industry itself. The turning point for us has been to get organisations like SANEF and SAEF leading from the front, which is why it is so heartening that the AIBD has taken the initiative to include this session today.

We hope that through mechanisms like the GMDC we can continue to share experiences and strengthen our efforts. The global north has not got it right. That is no reason for the global south to slouch! For a change, we have a chance to lead; not just follow. I have no doubt that for Asia this conference will be a turning point.

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5 Mobilising the Airwaves against Poverty

Investing in Media

Walter Fust

I would like to elaborate on two perspectives on this subject: first, the perspective of industrialised countries as partners in financing the fight against poverty, and second, the perspective of our partners in development, acknowledging the production of knowledge as a developmental activity.

The money and support required to combat poverty can only be mobilised when we have a well-informed society, when we have citizens back home who are for development cooperation and not against development cooperation. So the objective in one's country, or in my own constituency as it were, is to ensure that the public, at least the interested public, is informed about global issues and how these are related to their own lives.

The point is to sensitise people to the idea that poverty must not exist and that it can be alleviated. We have to contribute to creating awareness – on a global level, as well as a regional level – of the fact that global development is not a concern of the poor alone; that it is or should be a special concern of people who have more resources than others.

Stereotypes about poverty

Every citizen of the world must be concerned about global development, which is related in the end to issues of security, migration, global public goods and many other concerns. So it is important to change the stereotypical perception of poverty. Very often people think that others don't do enough for their own development. Also, people often think of development as just a matter of money, although it is definitely not just about money but rather a question of justice. This is why we should not talk only about the financial aspects of development, but also about the results.

We should not try to appeal to people by nurturing a kind of bad conscience but instead attempt to convince them that it is in their own interest that people in other parts of the world have better prospects for their own development.

Of course, this is not at all an easy task. We need partners in the media, in politics and in academia. Bringing all these forces together is important in order to help

citizens in different countries become citizens of the world and to ensure increased inter-cultural understanding.

I also think that industrial countries need a paradigm change in foreign policy. If you go to the international negotiation table with a perspective restricted to safeguarding the national interest, without acknowledging the fact that we need to also contribute to tackling global issues, the results are not very constructive. Take the World Trade Organisation (WTO), for example. If negotiations are based purely on what each country wants to have, with no attention paid to what each country is also ready to give, we cannot proceed very far. If we do not clarify issues concerning global public goods, what they are, who is making them and who is financing them, we are going to encounter problems.

We definitely need the media and journalists as partners to understand these issues, which are important in the fight against poverty. We also need critical journalists to scrutinise our own actions, examining the potential misuse of development money but also addressing corruption and bad governance.

Meeting felt needs

There are many ways to do this in various countries. I was once in a meeting with television directors. They told me that they do not know enough about development cooperation or development issues. I told them it was their own fault since enough information is available. Then they explained that such information is not available when they need it. That is why we created the so-called development TV, a private organisation that produces magazine programmes with different partners across the globe and puts them at the disposal of TV stations.

So, for example, the magazine on cotton discusses the effects on developing countries of subsidies on cotton in big industrialised countries. Viewed so far by about 820 million people across the globe, it certainly represents a good investment.

The second perspective I wish to elaborate upon is the approach within developing countries. There the main purpose of our support, in terms of media, is to create carriers for getting information to people and to empower the poor by giving them a voice, letting them participate in local and national development and, of course, addressing issues of governance.

What we have done and continue to do is to mobilise access to media and create media enterprises, but also create capacity to produce programmes. At the same time we also try to find allies across the globe to use these programmes (at least partially), as well as to validate local content and culture, especially local languages. And, last but not least, we support activities in agriculture, health and other areas of development.

The challenges are many. One key challenge remains access. For millions of people radio is still the most accessible medium. The production of local content is another

major challenge. The effort to establish independent media, especially in post-conflict societies is yet another one. But equally challenging is the apparently permanent struggle to avoid political instrumentalisation of media by local or national governments. One way to help them avoid such political interference is to give them financial independence and, of course, safeguard freedom of expression.

So what we do in the area of media is to provide outside support, give access to know-how – especially how to mobilise technology for relevant solutions – and, last but not least, offer financial support. Such financial support is not just through public money but also through different, new investment schemes like the initiative launched last year by one of our banks, called "Invest in free media." Even small investors can participate in efforts like that, accepting a lower rate of return on their financial investments in exchange for knowing that they are also investing in something good. And that is what we believe the media are and what the media should be.

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Poverty and the Iranian Media

Shaban Shahidi Mo'addab

Poverty is not a heavenly disaster sent down to earth to make human beings suffer. Poverty is the result of economic and social discrimination and injustice in human societies. Because poverty disregards human dignity, campaigning against it has always been a historical mission of all prophets and good men, who consider poverty a human rights issue.

Even though nature has been exploited and wealth has been accumulated, the living conditions of the poor have not improved, and may have even been aggravated in the process. The world has never been as rich as it is today; yet over one billion people suffer from extreme poverty. According to Juan Somavia, Director General of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), who recently spoke in Bali (Indonesia), "The number of poor who earn $2 a day is now 1.37 billion. One fourth of the world's work force, or 700 million, are either unemployed or live on under a $1 a day life."

According to Mr. Somavia, "Robust economic growth has failed to translate into significant reduction in unemployment among those in work." In contrast to this bitter reality, universal efforts continue to confront poverty. The United Nations and its affiliates, with the support of thousands of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), are playing a crucial role in the struggle to eradicate poverty.

In December 1992 the UN General Assembly declared October 19 of every year as the international day for the eradication of poverty, inviting NGOs to support country-based efforts to present and promote activities relating to the eradication of poverty and destitution, as appropriate in the national context.

The UN Committee on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights said in 2001 that poverty may be defined as a human condition characterised by sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights.

Poverty and human rights

A series of seminars and other events titled, "Poverty: The next frontier in the human rights struggle," took place in Paris in October 2004. The aim of these events was to

broaden understanding of the links between poverty eradication efforts and human rights, by studying the challenges encountered in poverty eradication efforts and recognising the ethical, philosophical, social and economic dimensions of the human rights approach to poverty. The UN has also suggested that, in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, 0.7 per cent of the income of rich countries be allocated towards development in poor countries.

Notwithstanding these international efforts to confront poverty, it remains rampant and takes its toll on people almost everywhere. It is persistent and shows its ugly face as hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy, drug addiction, child abuse, unemployment, homelessness, and violence. Whether poverty is a cause or a consequence of these problems is a question that needs to be seriously dealt with.

Poverty is not the simple deprivation of food, clothing and good health. People living in poverty are, because of that condition, excluded from society and disempowered. Their capacity to secure their own rights is extremely limited. The campaign against poverty is, therefore, a multi-faceted challenge confronting humanity.

Colonialism and exploitation have increased poverty. Globalisation has also proven to be a failed promise as far as providing a better life for millions of poor men and women is concerned. The mission to eradicate poverty remains unaccomplished but the fight is certainly winnable, provided we use all the means we have and mobilise all potential options.

The media have proven to be a very effective means in the anti-poverty struggle. Their magic power to awaken audiences to the plight of people at the centre of tragic events is undeniable. The role played by the media in mobilising the world to come to rescue of tsunami-stricken people in countries bordering the Indian Ocean provides a recent example of this. After the Katrina hurricane that pounded Louisiana it was the media that showed the world the down-trodden men and women who had been forgotten in the richest and most powerful country of the world.

I visited Ache province twice, immediately after it was devastated by the terrible waves of the tsunami. I witnessed how hundreds of reporters and cameramen were endeavoring, under extremely precarious conditions, to bring the attention of the world to the devastated region. It was due to their efforts that the whole world was mobilised and billions of dollars of funds were raised.

Media and development

In my country the media have played a crucial role in reconstruction and development, especially in rural areas. Iran is a big country – half of it is mountainous and one fourth consists of desert. Over the past three decades there have been several big earthquakes, each causing thousands of deaths and a lot of destruction. Of the 70

million Iranians, 40 per cent still live in thousands of villages scattered all around the country.

The national objectives in providing sanitation, literacy, family planning services, education of village women about their legal and citizenship rights, rural construction, prevention of disease and infant mortality could not have been achieved if the media had not prepared the cultural and social ground properly. Iranian radio and television channels, through their regular daily programmes, have contributed to the improvement of the living conditions of low income and poor families, not only in rural areas but also in small and big cities.

I would like to mention in particular three annual media initiatives that put the poorest of the poor at the centre of national attention.

Like in many parts of the world, Iran also has prison inmates who were in jail only because of their inability to put up bail. Every year, during the holy month of Ramadan, Iranian radio and TV reporters go out to interview these prisoners and broadcast what they have to say about their financial constraints. People hearing and seeing these interviews often contact the media, offering money to bail out such prisoners. Hundreds of them have been released every year thanks to these programmes.

Every year, in coordination with charitable NGOs, the Iranian media organise a fund-raising and aid-collection programme for the poor. Schools and mosques serve as collection centres. Reporters do an excellent job in mobilising students to participate in this philanthropic activity. Women play a significant role, bringing all kind of commodities for distribution among the poor. All funds and materials collected in this national effort are distributed to poor families under the supervision of the media.

In Iran marriage ceremonies are expensive. Many young boys and girls from poor families are unable to afford wedding expenses. The Iranian media, which are in close contact with charity organizations, arrange collective wedding ceremonies several times a year. Hundreds of young brides and bridegrooms get married at such events, which are made possible through donations from TV viewers.

These are only a few examples of the many initiatives undertaken by the media in Iran to help the poor. Donations collected through such efforts are also sent to foreign countries hit by natural disasters, such as floods or earthquakes. Thanks to the national solidarity that the Iranian media are able to create among people, Iran's Red Crescent is now a very active and well-equipped organisation with millions of contributors enabling it to act promptly and effectively during emergencies.

Gift of technology

Satellite TV equipped with modern technology is a gift of our time. With the hundreds of millions of viewers they attract, these TV channels can inform and educate people

so that they have a better insight into poverty. Documentaries can show the daily realities of slum dwellers, labourers, victims of child abuse, and HIV+ people in order to more effectively mobilise those who want to help but do not know why and how.

It is due to this powerful means of information that a universal anti-war campaign has been possible. We must set a quota for big TV channels to broadcast programmes related to the campaign against poverty. To do this, an international observation body should be created, which can include media, NGOs as well as UN representatives. A universal award can be instituted for media that broadcast more and better anti-poverty programmes, to be presented during a special ceremony.

It is said that the World Bank spent $19 billion on development programmes last year. The media should be given a chance to see how the Bank's funds are used.

Poverty cannot be eradicated if the poor do not participate in this global campaign against it. The media must give adequate representation to those in poor countries who are struggling to confront poverty. It goes without saying that we will not be able to solve the problem of poverty during a single Asia Media Summit. While we must all be grateful to the organisers of this important event, we also hope to soon reconvene in a World Media Summit.

Shaban Shahidi Mo'addab is a former editor and columnist who now lectures at Beheshti University, Tehran

Getting and Keeping Poverty on the Front Burner (Musings of a Schizo)

Solita Collas-Monsod

Introduction

I would like to explain the title I gave to this presentation. I thought "Putting Poverty on the Front Burner" would be a little bit more eye-catching than "Mobilising the Airwaves Against Poverty" – with due apologies to our organisers. And the "Musings of a Schizo" part arises because having been, in present and previous incarnations, in government, in academia, in the NGO world, as well as in both broadcast and print media, I am not really sure which hat I was wearing when I prepared this presentation. So if I leave you confused, please blame it on a multiple-personality disorder on my part.

Speaking of a tsunami of poverty, is it possible for the media to create and sustain a wave of public opinion focused on its eradication? My answer would be a yes. I will attempt to expound on this in my presentation. First, I shall locate poverty within the framework of the MDGs and of development in general. Then, I will discuss what I think are the conditions that have to be fulfilled in order to get poverty on the front burner so far as both the media, and ultimately the public, are concerned. Third, I present a list of suggestions – a wish list, as it were – on how to keep the attention going (the sustainability portion). Finally, the summary.

I. Poverty, the MDGs, and Development

Poverty and the MDGs

Poverty is addressed in the Millennium Development Goals not only through the first goal, but with the other seven as well (which in turn have 18 targets and 48 indicators). In other words, the reduction of poverty in all its forms is what the mutually reinforcing MDGs are all about:

- Education is key to eradicating poverty – education and poverty reduction are positively correlated; in the Philippines, 81 percent of poor families are those where the household head has not completed elementary education.
- Women bear the heaviest burden of poverty (I believe that it is no coincidence that gender equality is among the first three goals – an educated, empowered woman is crucial to development.

* Infant mortality rates and maternal mortality ratios are highest among the poor.
* Poverty exacerbates environmental degradation, which exacerbates poverty.

Poverty and Development

In economic growth, people are regarded as a means; in economic development, people are considered the end. Thus, development is about increasing the well-being of people, widening their choices. Poverty is about the ill-being of people, and the restriction or even absence of choices. Development and poverty are antithetical.

II. Getting Poverty on the Front-Burner

Or, as our handouts put it, how can we generate real interest in the media, and ultimately in the public? I submit that to accomplish this involves certain steps:

A. Internalisation/ownership.

By this is meant that there must be acceptance that the war on poverty is of overarching importance, and an accompanying commitment to join and perhaps even lead the fight. If we do not "own" the project, we will eventually become indifferent to it, and if we are indifferent to it, we will be unable to create enthusiasm on the part of the public for the project. We must consider the fight against poverty as "our" fight, not as "their" fight. So much so that, if possible, every activity being considered by the media will have to pass a Gandhi-like test: "Will this help in the fight against poverty? Will this help the poorest of the poor in some way?

This is, of course, a pretty tall order. After all, we have been surrounded by poverty since time immemorial – one may recall that Jesus Christ himself said that the poor we will always have with us, and how can one dispute that? So there is a tendency to yawn (and barely suppress it) when the subject comes up. We are not all Mother Teresas, our altruism is limited. We suffer from something akin to debt fatigue, or aid fatigue. We may suffer from poverty fatigue.

But if we cannot be persuaded by the carrot of altruism, the joy of doing for others, we may be persuaded by the stick of fear, of self-interest, when we think of how poverty can either create or exacerbate already existing problems that may have a negative impact on us: migration (either rural-urban or international), crowding and other population pressures (in the Philippines, although 24 per cent of total families are poor, 30 per cent of total population are poor, which means that poor families are also larger sized), garbage, pollution and other environmental degradation, health hazards, fiscal pressures (increased taxes), crime, armed conflict.

The latter two are not exaggerations. The 2005 Philippine Human Development Report, studying ideology-based armed conflicts, found that although incidence of income poverty does not 'predict' the frequency of armed conflict across

provinces, nor does aggregate measures of income inequality, measures of deprivation – such as disparities in access to reliable water supply, electricity, and especially education – do predict the occurrence of armed encounters. Moreover, beginning with low incomes, the incidence of armed conflict first rises before falling as the average income of the middle class rises.

B. Understanding

This is pretty obvious. We cannot communicate what we cannot understand. And, unfortunately, poverty is not such a simple issue – it has many dimensions, and there are any number of concepts and measures involved, creating what may seem like ambiguities in the way the term is used.

1. **Concepts:**
   - income poverty (MDG 1) vs. human (outcome) poverty (other MDGs)
   - relative poverty vs. absolute poverty (MDG 1 refers to the latter)
   - social exclusion
   - inability to participate in society, economically, socially, culturally, politically (all MDGs)
   - time poverty
   - ill-being
   - (lack of) capability and functioning vulnerability
   - livelihood unsustainability
   - lack of basic needs
   - relative deprivation

   Nota bene:
   It is absolute, income poverty, that can lend itself to total eradication.

2. **Measures:**
   a. Income (or Consumption) Poverty: There are national estimates, as well as international measures (as in the World Bank's PPP US$1 a day threshold)
      – Poverty incidence
      – Poverty depth
      – Poverty severity

   b. Outcome Poverty
      Human Poverty Index;
      Other human development index

   Nota Bene:
   Income Poverty does not necessarily lead to outcome poverty. Or, to look at it from the other end, increase in income does not necessarily lead to increase in outcomes.

3. **Correlates of (associated with) Poverty**
    a. education (human capital)
    b. infrastructure (social capital)
    c. terms of trade
    d. institutions (political, economic and agrarian reform)
    e. geographic attributes (e.g., landlocked)

"Schooling, if accompanied by complementary public investments, raises the welfare of the poor aside from its indirect effect through economic growth; and so do the implementation of agrarian reform, investment in land-quality improvement, and removal of price-distortions that diminish the profitability of agricultural relative to nonagricultural goods. Political dynasties seem to be bad for the poor – as they not only constrain local economic growth but also restrict access of the poor to basic schemes. High transport costs lead to geographic "poverty traps" as the poor are impeded from taking advantage of economic opportunities." [Balisacan and Pernia]

III. Keeping Poverty on the Front-Burner

A. A gold mine for stories

Compared to getting poverty onto the front burner, keeping it there is a piece of cake. What is required are lots of stories to keep the beast of public interest fed. And the good news is that there is virtually a gold mine of stories just waiting to be tapped, whether the stories are international or national in nature. In the former case, the sources are UN agencies, particularly the UNDP, which is the lead agency for the Millenium Development Goals and publishes the Human Development Report. The UNDP just published a report on the Millenium Development Goals last year, showing performance vs. targets by region. The World Bank is doing similar work and, as we know, is responsible for coming up with a measure that enables international income poverty comparisons: using the PPP US$1 a day for "extreme" poverty; and the PPP US$2 a day as the threshold for moderate poverty.

Nationally, the main source of stories would be the National Statistics Office (NSO) or the equivalent thereof, as well as researchers who are studying any of the areas in the MDGs. . It is my experience, and I believe a widely held belief, that numbers are usually not a journalist's strong point. But never fear. Just touch base with the social statistics division of the NSO and, if what is the case in my country is an indication, you will surprised as well as gratified by their willingness to not only supply the data in whatever form you want them, but to simplify them for you. They will help you read the stories told by the figures. The same holds true for the researchers who have already analysed the data, and have probably distilled what they have to say, and are ready and willing to share the stories with the media.

And, of course, there is Google.

The stories that are waiting to be mined are all eye-openers, and run the gamut from human-interest tear-jerkers that can cast soaps operas into the shade to scathing exposes, from feel-good success stories to raging denunciations – depending on the interest of the publication or channel. I am assuming here that the media and the government have an arm's length relationship. If there is no such distance, then the stories are limited to successes and praise.

B. Wish List of Possible Stories

The following are examples of my own wish list of stories about poverty and its eradication that should be pursued. They are by no means exhaustive.

1. **Country Status Report on the MDGs:**
   a. An MDG Watch, monitoring the actual performance versus targeted performance on each of the MDG goals/targets. This is particularly relevant because we are about two-thirds of the way towards the final date (1990 was the start date, 2015 is the finish date). Have we achieved the target? Are we on track (i.e., has the country achieved at least 90 percent of the rate of progress required to reach the target)? Lagging (70-89 percent)? Far behind (less than 70 percent)? Slipping back (at least 5% worse off than the situation in 1990)?

   b. Can the targets be achieved? Stories on the amount of resources required to achieve them versus how much are available.

   c. Status of performance vs. targets of developed countries – seven targets for Goal 8 (Develop Global Partnerships for Development) including aid amounts (0.7 percent of GDP), affordable essential drugs, benefit of new technologies, etc.

2. **On Poverty:**
   a. Is economic growth a sufficient condition for poverty reduction, or are there other factors? Some researchers argue that it is sufficient. Others will say that both growth and income distribution must be considered. What is the situation in your particular country?

   b. Measures of national poverty, whether income or outcome, hide tremendous subnational disparities (in the Philippines, the income poverty incidence ranges from 4 percent to 60 percent). Focus on areas where poverty incidence is low, where poverty incidence is high, where poverty incidence has increased or decreased, doing in-depth stories, which may look at differences in participatory decision-making, in basic human expenditures by governments, in governance (dynasties?), in presence or absence of private sector efforts.

   c. Describe the kind of food items that go into the poverty threshold of the country.

d. From estimates of poverty gaps, determine how much would be needed (theoretically) to lift families out of poverty.

e. The areas in the country that are likely to erupt in violence given the indicators of poverty and deprivation.

3. **On Education:**

   a. What is the breakdown of the poor according to the educational attainment of the household head – what is the contribution to poverty of each category? What happens to poverty incidence as the highest educational level of the head of household improves? What percentage of the total number (magnitude) of poor families are accounted for by families whose heads of household are elementary school dropouts, elementary school graduates, high school dropouts, high school graduates, college dropouts, etc.?

   b. What is the average income earned by families whose household heads' highest education level attained increases?

   c. If education is so important, why is the time spent on learning done at home considered as not a productive activity'? Why are expenditures on education considered consumption rather than investment (in human capital)?

4. **On Women:**

   a. There is a strong association between gender inequality and poverty. Women bear the greater burden of poverty. The greatest portion of unpaid work in a country is done by women (in the Philippines, 90 percent). If unpaid work were included in a country's GDP, it would increase by anywhere from a third to one half again as much.

   b. Yet, women's unpaid work in the house and in the community (as volunteers), their contributions to the economy, are often invisible. Domestic helpers who do washing, cooking, cleaning, caring of children and the elderly, tutoring of children are usually included in a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) but the same services performed by the housewife are not included.

   c. By the same token, those domestic helpers are considered part of a country's labour force, but housewives themselves are not. As a result, the latter are not considered "economically active."

   d. Ironically, the UN, which has championed the elimination of discrimination against women, gender equality, and valuing the contribution of women to the economy – through agencies like UNDP, LTNIFEM, INSTRAW, etc – is also the same organisation from which emanates the System of National Accounts (UNSNA), in which unpaid household services, while recognised as economic activity, are decreed to be excluded from its so-called production boundary, and therefore

from a country's GDP. In effect it is the UN that has made women and their economic contributions invisible.

e. Another irony: it was not always thus. Women doing housework were considered gainful, productive workers (early censuses in Great Britain and the United States). It was only in 1900 that they began to be considered "dependents," along with young children and the elderly.

f. In a similar vein, Norway (and some other Scandinavian countries) included unpaid, household-produced goods and services for own consumption in its GDP estimates from 1935-1943 and 1946-1949. It stopped doing so in 1950 for no other reason than to allow its accounts to be "internationally comparable."

IV. Summary

A. The eight MDGs are really all about poverty in its many dimensions, and the resources needed to reduce it.

B. To get poverty onto the front burner, the media must internalise/own the need to do it, and must understand what the dimensions of poverty are. This is difficult, but if altruism is not a sufficient impetus, fear might provide such an impetus.

C. To keep poverty on the front burner until the MDGs are reached is relatively easier than getting poverty onto the front burner. There are gold mines of information that can be tapped, mainly from the country's statistical agency and from development researchers. The figures tell the stories.

D. Conclusion: The media can do it. Whether it has the political will to do it is another matter altogether.

Why Women? Some Reasons...

- If a girl is educated for six years or more, as an adult her prenatal care, postnatal care and childbirth survival rates, will dramatically and consistently improve.
- Educated mothers immunise their children 50 percent more often than mothers who are not educated.
- The children of a woman with five years of primary school education have a survival rate 40 percent higher than children of women with no education
- Expenditure patterns of women differ from men – they are more oriented to human development. Empowering them improves the pace of development.

Solita Collas-Monsod is Professor, UP School of Economics, Philippines and former Philippine Minister of Economic Planning

Let's Make Poverty A Copyright Free Zone!

Nalaka Gunawardene

Eighteen months ago, I spoke on a panel at the World Summit on the Information Society in Tunis organised by Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC). I was the only speaker from South Asia, which has more people living in poverty than in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. So I was asked to address the role of ICTs in reducing poverty.

On that occasion, I said there were different kinds of poverty. The most degrading one is, of course, income poverty. But there are other kinds of poverty, less visible but damaging all the same:

- Poverty of vision
- Poverty of analysis
- Poverty of courage

So when we talk about poverty, we have to be very careful that we ourselves don't fall into the 'poverty trap' by peddling mere platitudes. We see that happening in many spheres. In other words:

- We need total sincerity of purpose;
- We need to be smart and strategic in our response; and
- We need to put our money where our mouth is.

Television for Education – Asia-Pacific (TVE Asia-Pacific) is a small, non-profit media foundation that works across this large and diverse region. We use television, video and new media to tell authentic, powerful stories on 'development'. Income poverty and human deprivation are part of the complex and nuanced Asia Pacific reality that we cover using moving images.

Communicating for social change

Not being a broadcaster ourselves, we 'hitch a ride' on the region's existing TV channels and networks. Our slogan sums up our mission: *Moving images, moving people.* But moving people is not easy! Many individuals, communities and even governments are hesitant or reluctant to change. That is why communicating for social change is both an art and a science. Only a few of us have mastered it well – and there is much that we can learn from each other.

As UNESCO data confirm, we have many more radio and television sets on the planet than newer ICTs like computers and mobile phones. Radio and TV still give us the best returns by allowing quick and easy access to hundreds of millions of households. That can give us the impression of awesome power, but it is quite deceptive. Real power lies with our audiences, men and women who wield a little gadget called the remote control.

So a big part of our challenge is how to cover and present poverty and development issues in ways that engage our all-powerful viewers (and, in radio, our listeners). This is an area where the development community has largely failed. They have tried to crowd the airwaves with information, education and messages. No argument that these are all very worthwhile and timely messages. But most are very dense, often pontificating and – dare I say it? – extremely boring!

The dreaded D

That is why 'development' has become the 'dreaded D' for many broadcasters. The typical packaging of development-related content puts off a large part of the audience. This is why the so-called public service broadcasters are increasingly finding themselves lagging behind in ratings and abandoned by their audiences.

Of course, there are notable and commendable exceptions. But unless the exceptions become the norm, we won't succeed in truly mobilising airwaves against poverty and under-development.

Then there are other hurdles to clear. An important one among them is copyright. I raise this subject with some trepidation, because I know this is a bedrock of the broadcast industry. I am not an activist who wants to dismantle the broadcast industry. Indeed, we at TVE Asia-Pacific want you to thrive – because we hitch rides on your airwaves!

However, extraordinary situations call for extraordinary responses. If we all agree that halving poverty by 2015 is desirable and feasible, we are then compelled to consider how copyright restrictions are a roadblock on that already difficult road. How they currently limit the true potential of using broadcast media products in that history-making struggle.

My organisation knows very well how powerful images can be. Used strategically, moving images can move people to change lifestyles, attitudes and behaviour. Indeed, the right kind of information – whether about microcredit, contraception or immunisation – can not only vastly improve quality of life but even save lives that are needlessly lost every year in the majority world.

But let's face a stark reality: this is not something that one-off or even repeat broadcasts alone can accomplish. We need a mix of broadcast and narrowcast

approaches. Communicating for social change - including the reduction of poverty – is a slow, incremental process that involves learning, participation, sharing.

Reinforcing outreach

At TVE Asia-Pacific, we work equally with broadcast, educational and civil society users of moving images. Our experience for over a decade shows how one can reinforce the others' outreach. We have seen in countries across developing Asia how films help fuel social change and, ultimately, combat poverty.

But that's where we run into a frequent problem. Every year, excellent TV films are made on different development topics, in a range of formats: documentaries, animations, public service announcements (PSAs), talk shows and others. Public and private funds are spent in making these films, which draw in the creativity and hard work of hundreds of committed professionals.

Many of your channels willingly broadcast these films and programmes. They are typically aired a few times and then end up in the archives. That's how this industry works. Yet many of these films have a longer shelf-life. They can be extremely useful in education, awareness, advocacy and training situations.

Alas, copyrights restrictions are often too tight for that to happen. Even if the film-makers or producers themselves are keen for their creations to be used beyond broadcasts, institutional rules prevent it from happening. It seems that lawyers and accountants, not journalists or producers, now decide on what kind of content is produced, and how it is distributed under what conditions.

I personally know many award-winning film-makers who are not allowed the educational use of their own creations by leading western broadcasters who co-financed their productions. The situation with Asia's own broadcasters is not much different. Many broadcast companies and professionals are obsessed with copyright regimes that were adopted before the digital revolution got underway.

The bottomline

So here is the bottomline: If the audio-visual media and the broadcast industry are to play a meaningful role against poverty, HIV, corruption and other scourges, we need to break free from this mentality. Broadcasters need to allow greater access to their vast visual archives, gathered from all over the world.

In this context, I would like to repeat a proposal I first made last year, which I have since presented at the UN Headquarters and other forums. Let us make poverty a 'copyrights free zone.' The idea is to have broadcasters and other electronic publishers release copyrights on TV, video and online content relating to poverty and development issues – at least until (the MDG target year of) 2015.

I do realise this is easier said than done, but as I said before: extraordinary situations call for extraordinary responses. Let us also note that similar 'tectonic shifts' have happened in other sectors. For example:

- Confronted with the global HIV pandemic and the very high cost of anti- retroviral treatment, a few pharmaceutical companies in India, Brazil and South Africa started manufacturing generic versions of the same drugs but at much lower prices. This helped to achieve drastic reductions in cost of treatment.
- The free and open source software (FOSS) movement is countering the market domination by proprietary software producers. They seem to be finding their own niches.

These changes started with an idea, which was pursued with dogged determination. They were accomplished amidst initial resistance from the industries concerned. But, looking back, these breakthroughs have enabled a greater sharing of benefits especially for those who are least able to pay for it.

I am not suggesting that all copyright controls are suspended. Perhaps the AIBD could study the practical aspects of this proposal and come up with recommendations. And I call upon development donors to insist that all development films and other media products they finance have no copyright restrictions attached to them.

And let us encourage our friends in broadcasting and film-making to consider alternative approaches to managing their intellectual property – such as the Creative Commons framework. This is the one thought that I would like to leave with you.

Nalaka Gunawardene is Director and CEO of Television for Education – Asia-Pacific (TVE Asia-Pacific, www.tveap.org)

6 Next Wave of Broadcasting

Radio Goes Global – Again?

Hans J. Kleinsteuber

Introduction

This article is about the difficult path towards digital radio in Europe. In technical terms, digitalisation refers to the transformation of communication technologies from an analogue to a binary logic. Digital may be seen as a synonym for "sampled, quantified, and presented in binary characters;" digital broadcasting refers to the transmission of digitised audio, video, and auxiliary information as data signals. (Reimers 2005: 1)

One might say that the logic of the computer, which always worked digitally, is gradually taking over all aspects of the production, distribution, consumption, and storing of broadcast messages. What sounds like a purely technical process has strong effects on all aspects of the media, including politics and economics, the production process itself, as well as programme content.

One aspect of digitalisation is that it allows for convergence, meaning the fusion of the traditionally separate functions of radio and the Internet – of mono-directional mass media and interactive individual communication. According to this understanding, technical convergence leads to content convergence. As such, convergence does not just describe a technological possibility; it is seen much more as a model that guides the thinking of engineers, business managers, and political decision-makers about the future of the media.

Considering this scenario, it is not only important to analyse what is going to happen, but it is also of central importance to look at the actors behind the process of digitalisation, with regard to their interests, their strategies, and their errors. As digitalisation is driven by a number of forceful national and European actors, it also implies that non-political and non-commercial interests have little chance to participate. This refers mainly to the European consumer and/or user who is confronted with new technology designs that he or she is expected to accept, utilise, and pay for. Many problems of the very uneven process of digitalisation in Europe might have to do with discrepancies between different actors. Does the European broadcast audience actually want digitalisation and, if so, does it really believe in convergence or does it perhaps prefer a diverged future?

TABLE 1
Digitalisation of Broadcast Media

Content	Standards	Transmission Channels	Terminals
Audio	DVB	Terrestrial	TV receiver
Video	DAB	Satellite	Set-top-box
Software App.	HDTV	Cable	HiFi set
Photos	MHP	Online	Laptop
Graphics	DRM	Mobile	PDA
Data	PC		
Text	Telephone		
Speech			

Source: Reimers 2005: 19; and own design

Three phases of broadcast development

The history of broadcasting as a new mass medium began in Europe after the First World War. Immediately after 1920, radio stations went on the air based on AM (amplitude modulation) transmission in the long-, middle- and, later, short-wave bands. Radio programming was organised by national governments or public organisations that usually offered just one or, at the most, a few programmes.

In the early 1950s radio entered its second phase by expanding into FM (frequency modulation) on much higher frequencies that provided the basis for a multi-channel environment and more regionalised programming, based on public service programmers. In a later step (in most European countries since the 1980s), commercial stations, often with a local range, entered the market and offered programmes that increasingly followed a pattern of "formats," which means that they relied mainly on specific "colours" of popular music and catered to smaller and more specialised audiences.

Now we are standing at the threshold of a third phase that is marked by the digitalisation of radio transmission (DAB, etc., *see below*). Also, the concept of a radio station has been applied to the Internet, creating what has been called "cyber radio" – audio programming based on streaming technologies. This specification is able to merge the popularity of conventional radio with the individuality and interactivity of the Internet. The latest developments include audio-on-demand services like podcasting.

This process of moving into the "third stage" in broadcasting, as BBC General Director Mark Thompson has put it, has been continuously accompanied by policies of the European Union (EU) as well as of individual countries. The EU issued a major Green Book to argue in favour of convergence, and supported the development of new

technologies based on its programmes for research and development. A major European project along this line was the attempt to introduce a version of digital radio, called DAB.

In practice, the media landscape currently looks like a patchwork of digital and analogue applications. Radio studios use digital technologies extensively for programmed production, and a lot of consumer electronics is digitalised, including the CD and the DVD – the technology that sells best at this moment. Radio sets at home are still based on an analogue design and most signal transmission is still analogue. Attempts – some successful and some not – to digitalise the whole chain of communication from production to distribution, including consumption and storage of media content, have been made during the last 20 years. This article goes on to report on the state of digitalisation of the transmission chain for radio in Europe.

The digitalisation of radio transmission

Since the early 1980s, several attempts have been made to replace analogue with digital transmission for radio. Starting around 1990 the first technology of digital transmission via satellite was readily available in Germany: Digital Satellite Radio (DSR) that included 16 radio channels (mostly already existing public service programmes, often classical music) in full CD-quality (because of an uncompressed signal). Distribution was via the cable network. It is estimated that around 150,000 decoder boxes had been sold when the Deutsche Telekom (at that time the owner of the cable networks) decided to cancel all transmissions because of insufficient demand, rendering the boxes useless. DSR was the first digital technology that failed the market test.

During the 1990s, the Astra satellite company, the main satellite broadcasting company of Europe, started to offer Astra Digital Radio (ADR, a term that is no longer in use) that required a special set-top box and provided a limited number of programmes for different markets – e.g., about 40 radio programmes in the German language. In 2005 Astra satellites offered around 410 analogue and digital radio programmes for all of Europe (www.ses-astra.com). As most day-to-day use of radio reception is mobile and/or done with small unconnected receivers, the audience's response to ADR was rather weak.

Cable and satellite radio delivery seems to be of limited utility. The future (like the past) probably lies in the mobile reception of digital radio programmes; in the United States digital pay audio bouquets are a market success (leader XM provides 3.7 million subscribers with up to 100 formatted channels).

Digital Audio Broadcasting

The technical centre of the German ARD broadcasters had started to think of a follow-up technology to FM transmission in the early 1980s. In 1987 heavy funding

on the side of the European Community (Eureka 147) and the governments of Germany and some other European countries initiated the designing of Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB).

After years of development, pilot projects first started in several European countries around 1995. In 1999 the technology was fully developed and introduced for regular service, first in the United Kingdom and Germany (Kleinsteuber 2004).

In 2005, DAB, now called digital radio, was available in practically all Western and most Eastern European countries. It was usually offered in the more densely populated parts of the country, mainly in metropolitan centres and along important highways. It was also being tested in other countries like Canada, Australia, China, and South Africa. Only in the United States has a competing technology been designed, based on an IBOC concept (in-band on-channel) that fits the digital bits into the analogue signal. But IBOC is still in the experimental stage.

In 2005 DAB reached more than 300 million persons with over 600 radio services on different continents (www.worlddab.org). DAB uses a compressed digital signal that offers audio quality close to the sound level of the CD. Additional data may also be transmitted, providing a small display with images. The signal is transparent, meaning that each transmitter offers a range of about six programmes and leaves space for additional data services. The signal is especially optimised for goals like audio quality comparable to the CD, unimpaired mobile reception in cars at high speeds, efficient frequency utilisation, transmission of ancillary data, and a wide range of value-added services (Hoeg/Lauterbach 2003: 6).

In Germany in 2005, around 80 per cent of the population was covered by DAB and about 80 different stations were on the air (but many simulcasting with FM). DAB expanded further because a share of the public service fee has been legally set aside to provide funds for covering Germany with a network of DAB multiplex antenna towers. At least €250 million had been invested in DAB in Germany alone up to 2004. In other European countries the DAB picture was not much different.

Usually some of the territory is covered by DAB signals (e.g., 85 per cent of the population in Sweden), some existing radio stations (mostly public service) offered simulcasting of FM programmes, and some exclusive stations transmitted only in DAB. A weak point of the diffusion of DAB was the lag of receivers, as at first only high-priced car radios were available (at about €500 each). In 2005 receivers for different modes of reception were available, with all in all 150 DAB products at prices starting at €60 each.

The extremes in Europe seemed to be the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. In the United Kingdom more than 80 per cent of the population was covered in 2005, with some 300 national, regional, and local stations active, about half of them only in DAB. A special Digital Radio Development Bureau attempted to market the new technology. The BBC was broadcasting its existing national analogue programmes

BBC 1 to 5 and BBC World Service in DAB technology, and offered another five digital-only stations like Sports Extra, 1Xtra with ethnic music, the BBC Asian Network, and BBC 7 for comedy, drama, etc. On the national multiplex commercial stations were available, like Classic FM, Virgin Radio, and talkSPORT (www.ukdigitalradio.com). The United Kingdom seemed to be the country where a mass market for DAB has started to emerge and most available receivers are fitted to this market.

The opposite impression was given by developments in the Netherlands, where the foundation responsible for the introduction of DAB temporarily turned off further transmission of DAB signals because of the disinterest of users. It returned to the digital market only in 2004.

The fact is that the sale of DAB receivers outside of the UK was minimal and most activities are still subsidised. DAB promoters accepted the argument that introduction moves much slower than expected, but pointed to the fact that there is no alternative to DAB in radio, and that it has been adopted in many countries. The technology seems to be well-developed but it does not relate closely to the traditions and conventions of radio listening. It appears that engineers showed little interest in either economic or political conditions, or in the radio listener.

For example, DAB was especially designed for radio use in high-speed cars, but (to take the German example) less than 15 per cent of radio programme consumption takes place while driving. The idea of a display offering pictures relating to the radio programme (news items, CD covers, weather reports) or independent information (hotels, stock exchange data) seems to counter the tradition and culture of pure audio consumption, and is rarely used.

There were also economic problems. Political decision-makers decided to provide public service broadcasters in many European countries with the necessary money to move into DAB, but the commercial radio industry claimed to be confronted with high costs and unequal competition. The lobby organisations of commercial broadcasting in many European countries remained sceptical about the merits of DAB. There are also licensing problems. Furthermore, since DAB provides different, usually smaller transmission ranges, by moving into DAB broadcasters might lose listeners.

On the political side, official support is still strong: A number of European governments decided that by the year 2015 all analogue radio will be cut off and all FM frequencies will be offered for DAB. In sum, DAB was very much designed "top-down" by a coalition of the entertainment electronics industry and parts of the political spectrum, including public service broadcasting. In terms of technology, it represents the vision to replace FM by a new design that is radically different and allows no evolutionary change.

Digital Radio Mondial

On the other side, DAB offers basically more of the same and is increasingly endangered by competing technologies. (Hoeg/Lauterbach 2003: 14-25) DVB-T, which is in the process of being implemented in many European countries *(see below)* may carry radio signals if required.

Another project that is being pushed in Europe is Digital Radio Mondiale (DRM), based on the digitalisation of AM signals (short-, middle-, and long-wave). It was introduced in 2003 and the first receivers were available on the market by 2005 (www.drm.org). Behind DRM stands a global consortium headquartered in Geneva; its chairman is the Chief Engineer of the German international broadcaster, Deutsche Welle. DRM follows a distinctly different vision compared to DAB, allowing the reception of a radio signal of decent quality (near-FM) over very long distances. Hundreds of additional stations from all around the world would be instantly available on DRM radio sets. In addition, the change to DRM is much simpler as available AM senders may be used after minor modifications, and receivers would only be slightly more expensive than present transistor sets.

DRM has significance for today's radio markets in Europe as frequencies in the AM range are no longer in use and could be revitalised via DRM. It is too early to evaluate the quality of DRM, but it demonstrates that options beside DAB are possible, and it also shows the dynamics of public service engineering that is able to design innovative technologies.

Cyber Radio

A final reference should be made to radio stations on the Internet (cyber radio), based on audio streaming technology. About 10,000 stations were available worldwide at the beginning of the Twenty-First Century, some of them offline stations that also offered their programmes via the Internet. Others were pure online stations that were accessible only via the Internet. The concept of an Internet radio station includes offering a single programme or a bouquet of channels following different formats, audio-on-demand, additional music information on the computer screen, and the possibilities of buying the music that is on air at the time on CD. In any case, cyber radio is costly because it requires continuous connection to the Internet. The first Internet radio sets have been designed that allow listening without using a computer. But, of course, the question remains: Is cyber radio really comparable to a radio programme, or is it just another Internet service?

The general picture

In the context of Europe, digital radio is still at an early stage; DAB signals are widely available but find little demand. A radio receiver of the future is likely to become successful only if it allows for mobile reception and integrates all existing standards

(like DAB, DRM) without bothering the user with technical differences. Further, services like pay audio and audio-on-demand might become prominent in a digital environment of multichannel and multicultural programming. But radio may also become more costly and the activities of small community stations which are sprouting up in Europe may be endangered. The developments will be mostly market-driven as the EU has shown little interest in radio innovation; its audiovisual policy seems to centre around television and film.

Conclusion

Reflection about the digital future of radio must begin with two general considerations. First, the future will be digital; secondly, the shape of this future is still unclear. Digitalisation of media has been planned for the last 25 years although many specifications have never left the stage of speculation; the term "vaporware" has been coined for this phenomenon of grand designs without real results. The fascinating thing is that some digital specifications have historically picked up immediately, like the CD, while others have already been cancelled, like DSR. Today some innovations, like the iPod, quickly become extremely popular, while others face a very uncertain future. This includes most of the attempts to digitalise the radio transmission chain, including DAB and DRM.

As outlined above, digital media have some clear advantages in comparison with the more familiar world of analogue media. Most attempts in Europe to digitalise have followed a "top-down" approach, which means that centralised authorities like the EU, leading European national governments, or transnational companies (often working jointly) have decided to introduce a specific standard that they hope will become the de facto norm, but is – not infrequently – ignored by markets and consumers.

However, there is some room for optimism – e.g., the European Commission and national governments are holding up plans to cancel all analogue radio by 2015. Clearly, in the emerging digital age, political decisions in favour of just one technology do not guarantee success. In earlier stages of radio development there was much more of a "pull" factor, with the consumer urgently waiting for new technologies and the main barrier being the consumer's limited buying power. Today the user – who is always the final person to choose a specific technical design and pay for it – seems to be much more reluctant.

In the history of media development there has rarely been such a fundamental revolution in new technologies. However, this also means that a high degree of uncertainty prevails and all who are involved face a high level of risk (Chalaby/Segell 1999).

If one looks at the genesis of some of the digital technologies described here, it becomes clear that engineers, managers, and politicians have been at the root of

digital development and that they did not always have the future user in mind. Furthermore, they did not always build on the traditions and cultures of media consumption that have shaped audiences over decades in Europe. Conventional radio is integrated into complex daily routines and habits, and if digital designs plan to intervene they have to convince the user about the added value being offered.

Another reason for the uncertainty might be the continuing bombardment of the consumer with promises of fancy technologies with exaggerated abilities, and the subsequent disappointment they experience with the actual, limited solutions. Such experiences have put off many users or made them cynical. The potential user reacts with increasing skepticism and irritation and consequently withholds further investment.

In general, the breakthrough of new technologies has to do not only with the technical qualities of the new product but with "soft" factors like easy handling, a secure future of the standard, image factors, or simply fashion, which seem equally important. The surprising successes of the Walkman and the CD demonstrate this, and mechanisms like these seem to be working with digital radio transmission.

Some mobile telephones today are either equipped with FM-reception or are able to receive piped audio programming. It remains uncertain how this might affect the existing radio landscape. There is no doubt that broadcasting and computer technologies will converge, but this has little meaning for the listeners who use radio in very diverse stationary and mobile situations. Probably other factors are more important – e.g., the copyright situation: Will radio programmes in the future be the source of recorded music for the consumer or will this be made impossible by special digital encoding? How will the expansion of pay-audio and piped audio music change the scenery? This also raises the question: What is radio? In which cases does it make sense to talk about audio services that definitely do not follow the rules of conventional radio?

It seems that the overall slow process of radio digitalisation might have to do with the fact that technology has been seen as an autonomous power, with certain basics of human behaviour ignored by some of the actors in this field for too long. The radio researcher has a lot of work to do.

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Adapting to New Realities

Stephen Quinn

Current technologies, such as broadband, and innovations beyond the horizon will change broadcasting in the next decade. Broadcasters need to be prepared to adapt their business models and look beyond the ends of their noses. Otherwise broadcasting will risk going the same way as Kodak's film business, or the ice business after Dr John Gorrie invented refrigeration in the 1860s. Unless they adapt, broadcasters will find they are the farriers or newspaper compositors or scriptorium monks of the 21st Century.

People have a strange attitude to technology. They tend to relate to a new technology in terms of how things have always been done. When Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone in 1876 he expected it would help teachers of the deaf like himself to communicate better with pupils. Telegraph company executives thought the telephone would be useful as a way to ensure people were home, prior to sending a boy on a bicycle to deliver the telegram.

We all know that becoming a telegram delivery boy or a newspaper compositor in the would not be good career move in the new millennium. What the telephone and telegraph gave us was the concept of networking, and eventually the Internet. One of the world's greatest and most expensive engineering feats was the linking of much of the planet by telephone and telegraph wires in the two decades up to 1900. Then, in 1898, Guglielmo Marconi invented the wireless. AT&T bought the patent rights for radio to try to kill the idea but eventually the powerful new technology prevailed. That is the nature of communication technologies.

Future developments that are likely to impact broadcasting need to be seen within various contexts:

Context 1:
Limits of the existing media

It is all about space and time. Newspapers are limited by space constraints. Journalists fill the holes that remain after advertising has been placed on the page. The number of pages is dictated by the amount of advertising sold. TV is limited by time. Programmes are assembled and sold in chunks of 30 and 60 minutes, with advertising slotted into regular spaces. But we only have 24 hours in each day. The number of

minutes of advertising is often regulated, which limits the amount of potential revenue.

TV also has a limited number of "peak" viewing hours. And it has issues with its two main audiences. The desirable ones, the AB demographics with the money to spend, are leaving TV for the Internet. A 2004 study by the Annenberg School Center for the Digital Future at the University of Southern California reported that Internet users watched 4.6 fewer hours of television a week than non-users. "Internet users continue to 'buy' their time to go online from hours previously spent viewing television," the study said.

Meanwhile, the people who watch a lot of television are not the demographic that advertisers want to reach because, while they may be time rich, they do not have much money. That may indeed be why they spend so much time watching television. TV also has an image problem: It is perceived as being mainly about entertainment, whereas newspapers are perceived as containing information.

The Internet is a hybrid. Its fate in terms of perception is yet to be sealed. The Internet has fewer of the space or time constraints of print or broadcast. In the past its main limit has been technological – the cost of a computer and Internet connection, and data speeds. Until recently, in some countries, connection speeds were low and expensive. As broadband spreads, so will the Internet's influence.

According to Randy Covington, director of Ifra's Newsplex in the United States, broadband was driving the way people approached the news in his country, with 43 per cent of broadband users accessing news sites daily compared with only 25 per cent of dialup users. In 2006 the Economist Intelligence Unit said broadband penetration would reach "saturation levels" in businesses worldwide and in households in the developed world within a few years. Research company IDC predicts 320 million broadband subscribers worldwide by the end of 2009. And by the end of this year a quarter of all mobile phones will allow people to watch video online.

To put these developments into historical perspective, in 1448 Johannes Gutenberg invented the concept of moveable type, which gave us printing. Early print products were mocked because of their poor quality. But in half a century most of the monks in the scriptoria throughout Europe were out of business. People have mocked early attempts at putting video on the web or phone. What will these look like in half a century as broadband and other technologies improve?

The significance of the printing press was not the production of cheap Bibles, just as online is not about reproducing television on the web. Printing led to mass literacy and education, and eventually mass media. Reading produced challenges to the authority of the church, which gave us the Renaissance and Martin Luther's Reformation in Europe. The age of European discovery did not begin because of Columbus's discovery of America. It began after people began reading his books

about other parts of the world. The men who wrote the US Constitution were the descendents of Luther and Gutenberg.

The key unknown for the 21st Century is the time frame for the changes that will occur in broadcasting. In 1992 Paul Saffo, director of the Institute for the Future in Palo Alto, California, proposed his 30-year rule, suggesting it takes a generation (about 30 years) for a new idea to fully permeate society. It took the Internet, which started with four networked computers in the US in 1964, about a generation before it became part of our lives, accelerated after Tim Berners-Lee created html and the invention of icon-driven browsers. Now we are living in an age where technology is shortening the time frame for delivery of change.

Context 2:
New technologies continue to emerge

Some technologies have the potential to destroy the business model for free-to-air commercial radio and TV. The biggest threat in 2007 will be personal or digital video recorders. These allow people to record programmes on a giant hard disk, and skip advertisements as they play back programmes. TiVO is the best-known PVR in the US; Foxtel's iQ in Australia. Given that commercial TV and radio get their revenue from advertising, the arrival of digital video recorders or Internet radio makes the traditional business model look ill over time. In the lead-up to Christmas last year two of the three commercial channels in Australia refused to air commercials for a model of LG plasma television screen with a built-in digital video recorder. The Multi Channel Network, which represents the major cable-TV providers, also tried to censor the commercials. When the advertisements were eventually aired, the offending line "And when you replay, you can skip the ads" was replaced with "And when you replay, you can skip straight back to the action."

Colin Segelov, executive director of the Australian Association of National Advertisers, told industry magazine *B&T* that the ban was "understandable". But he said censorhsip was contrary to the long-term interests of the advertising community. The industry would learn to live with commercial-skipping technology the way it had learned to live with the remote control, Segelov said. But digital video recorders are significantly more dangerous than the remote control. Broadcasters learned to air their advertisements about the same time, so the channel skipper faced advertisements regardless of the channel. But digital video recorders remove advertisements. Smart production companies in the US are now making programmes that focus on sponsorship. The hero drives a certain brand of car, wears a certain brand of shoe or shirt, and uses a certain brand of computer.

US market research firm Infonetics, in its May 2007 report *Mobile Video Devices, Services and Subscribers,* reported that revenue from mobile video services jumped 317 per cent to almost $US 200 million worldwide from 2005 to 2006. Revenues were expected to triple this year. The number of worldwide mobile video subscribers

increased more than 300 per cent between 2005 and 2006, and would soar to more than 46 million by 2010, the report said.

"We will continue to see healthy growth in the mobile video services market as mobile operators expand the bandwidth of their existing 3G networks, roll out dedicated broadcast networks, and deploy new mobile video service delivery platforms. Competition among service providers will keep subscription prices lower in the long term, but that revenue will be supplemented by incremental service revenue from on-demand viewing. We expect to see a spike in mobile video service revenue in 2008 due to the Summer Olympics in Beijing which, similar to last year's World Cup, is a deadline for many operators to get their mobile video services up and running," said Jeff Heynen, broadband and IPTV analyst at Infonetics. Asia-Pacific will be the regional stronghold of mobile video subscribers until at least 2010, with 57 per cent of the world total in 2006.

Context 3:
Competition from computer and video games

The big battle is for people's time. More and more people are spending time with computer games at TV's expense. The global market for video games in 2003 was more than $US 21 billion, compared with $US 32 billion for the recorded music industry. The computer and video game market in 2008 worldwide will be $US 53.2 billion. The proportion for Asia and the Pacific will be $US 23.8 billion, or 44.7 per cent of the total (source IDC and OECD).

In 2003 most games were played on an off-line console (73 per cent) and off-line PCs (17 per cent). The online and wireless segment was relatively small (6.4 per cent and 3.4 per cent respectively). But that will change. The big trend is towards online games; nearly all will go at least partly online, according to the May 2005 report, *Digital broadband content: The online computer and video game industry,* of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Games present another call on people's time, and it is not just teenagers who spend time with computer games. Research by Electronic Arts shows that 53 per cent of Australians, 60 per cent of Americans, and 40 per cent of Europeans of all ages regularly play computer and video games.

Context 4:
Information overload

With broadcasting we inevitably return to the issue of time. Everyone has a limited number of hours in a day. In that day we are bombarded with information, to the point where people who are time poor complain of too much information. We give it various names like data smog, or information anxiety. Are people time poor, or do they simply not have the skills to manage the volume of information they receive?

Many people in developed societies in the early 21st Century are time poor. But they are asset rich, which makes them attractive to advertisers. One consequence of being time poor is a tendency to seek convenience. People are willing to pay for services and devices that save them time. That is one reason for the boom in online commerce, drive-through services (banks, food), outsourcing of services such as cleaning and pet walking, the popularity of delivered take-out food, and increased purchases of labour-saving devices. In countries like the United States the battle for people's disposable time has become more vigorous than the fight for their disposable income, noted *Wall Street Journal* consumer reporter Martin Peers.

In some key demographic groups, time has become more scarce than money. In the last three decades of the 20th Century (about a generation), the median number of hours that American people said they worked a week jumped from 41 to 49. Harris Interactive, which each year surveys adults about how they use their time, said the increase had been at the expense of people's leisure, which dropped from 26 to 19 hours a week over the same period. That is why people spend less time watching television. It is also the reason for the popularity of devices that allow people to multi-task, such as TV-dinners, iPods and mobile phones, or devices that "compress" time, such as digital video recorders. Around the world, audiences are seeking more control and more on-demand material (think convenience). Meanwhile, broadcasters face the economic realities of trying to produce programmes with smaller budgets. It makes for a heady brew.

Based on the context outlined above, here are some thoughts and predictions on the future for broadcasting. They can be broken into five developments:

1. TV moves to the web
2. Bloggers become broadcasters
3. Competition from audience-generated content
4. More competition means more fragmentation of audiences
5. New technologies beyond the horizon can create problems

1. **TV moves to the web**

   An example is 18 Doughty Street in the UK, which broadcasts over the Internet for five hours a day, five days a week (see http://www.18doughtystreet.com/). It plans to broadcast 24x7 as soon as it can. The UK regulator, Ofcom, has no power over web broadcasting. So the door is open to opinionated or polemical TV. Doughty St. wears its right-wing credentials on its sleeve.

   Doughty Media Limited, the company, is based in central London, just down the road from where Charles Dickens used to live. The company is wholly owned and funded by Stephan Shakespeare, the co-founder of YouGov (www.yougov.com). Founded in May 2000, YouGov is a market research agency that pioneered use of the Internet and information technology to collect in-depth data. As of April 2007 it had a panel of more than 125,000 electors throughout Great Britain.

The web site's directors are Stephan Shakespeare, Iain Dale, and Donal Blaney. Iain Dale schedules the programming. As general counsel, Donal Blaney is responsible for legal, financial and personnel issues. An army of volunteers supports the regular TV crews in the building's studios. Shakespeare gave Dale one million pounds to start the station. With digital technology that money goes a reasonable distance, compared with the cost of starting a regular channel.

"With broadband connections, anyone can be a broadcaster online. You don't need masts and towers," said Paul Brannan, deputy editor of BBC Interactive. Al Gore's Current.TV in the US allows the audience to upload viewer-created videos to its site. The best of the week are shown on its cable TV station, and those contributors are paid. The UK version launched in March 2007. Current.TV is also encouraging user-generated advertising: "Make the ads you want to see" is one of their slogans.

Current.TV engaged Michael Rosenblum, a video journalism evangelist, as a consultant. Rosenblum has helped create VJ-based news operations at the BBC, the Voice of America, Video News International and New York 1. As CEO of Rosenblum Associates, he teaches broadcasters how to turn their reporters, camera people and editors into VJs via a boot camp. Rosenblum has warned that when Google decides to do TV, they will not adopt the traditional model. "They will employ VJs," he said.

At the BBC, Rosenblum turned 650 reporters and camera crew into VJs. All of the BBC's 16 newsrooms across the UK network use VJs. Journalists perfected the process during coverage of the Iraq war, using high-capacity laptops for editing and storage (see my chapter, "War technology and newsgathering," in the Ralph Berenger-edited *Cybermedia go to war* for more on this topic). "Teaching people how to use the camcorder is only 10 per cent of the process," Rosenblum told *Television Broadcast* magazine. "Ninety per cent is psychological. Reporters need to learn that they can shoot their own footage, while camera people and editors need to learn that they can report."

Lisa Creffield, executive producer at AMEInfo in Dubai in the UAE, predicts a rise in the number of video journalists, along with more people working from home. With digital technology they do not need to be in newsrooms. "VJs will eventually get better recognition rather than being treated as low-paid, expendable versions of expensive mono-skilled reporters and cameramen. But VJs will still be younger and lower paid than a rookie reporter would have been 20 or even 10 years ago."

Creffield also sees an end to "big name" reporters and presenters on inflated salaries. "It won't be a question of networks not having the guts to sack them and risk audience alienation, it will be a matter of survival. If you can get four VJs for the price of one household name, and your budget just got halved, then there isn't even a question about what you have to do. Mono-skilled people will face redundancy much sooner than they otherwise would have." Creffield also

predicts much more editing and filing from the field. "A reporter won't have to fret about traffic and missing deadlines to file, they'll just file from wherever they are, like newspaper journalists do."

2. **Bloggers become broadcasters**
   Video is the biggest growth area for blogs. Bloggers are becoming broadcasters, though they are better known as video bloggers. The best-known example is Rocketboom in the US (http://www.rocketboom.com). It uses TV news as a model. Each bulletin runs for three or four minutes and is set in a studio with a presenter. Rocketboom, which is only available on the web, was founded by Andrew Baron in October 2004. It broadcasts from Baron's New York apartment, is released at 9 am US east coast time Monday to Friday, and is produced with consumer-level equipment.

   "We differ from a regular TV programme in many important ways," Baron said. "Instead of costing millions of dollars to produce, Rocketboom is created with a consumer-level video camera, a laptop, two lights and a map with no additional overhead or costs." It makes money through advertisements. Marketing was by word-of-mouth and, by the middle of 2006, Rocketboom claimed to be one of the most popular videoblogs on the internet "with more daily subscribers for original, syndicated, multimedia content than nearly any other site, including podcasts."

   In Australia, my university colleagues and journalism students produce a podcast (http://themediapod.net) to show what is possible. Talented people are making television solely for the web. One of the best new studios in the US is called Black20 (www.black20.com) and is based in Bushwick, Brooklyn. The site features new videos every day, including a workplace comedy called "net_work," a mockumentary series called "The Middle Show" and a news parody called "BLACK20 News." The studio's staff totals six people, with the oldest 29 years old. They could be the future of web TV.

   Jenny Attiyeh at ThoughtCast.org is a one-woman online radio broadcaster. Attiyeh is a journalist passionate about the arts. She worked for BBC-TV in London and PBS in Maine, Boston and New York before founding ThoughtCast.org in 2006. She involves the audience by asking them to pose the questions she will ask of her guests. ThoughtCast is a podcast and public radio interview programme with authors, academics and innovators. It offers a bridge between the intellectual world and a curious, informed, mainstream audience. Attiyeh says this link is "glaringly absent from the media today". "By providing detailed, unhurried and personal conversation with current writers and thinkers, ThoughtCast is that rare hybrid, a show that is both informative and engaging," she said.

3. **Competition from audience-generated content**
   Cheap digital technology lets anyone produce content. Most of the eyewitness images of the Virginia Tech shootings came from amateurs using camera phones.

The power of the mobile phone has been highlighted at earlier big news stories such as the London Tube and the Mumbai rail bombings. In Blacksburg in Virginia, graduate student Jamal Albarghouti supplied CNN with video of the shootings taken with his cell phone. The sound of shooting and screams can be heard on the video. Albarghouti was on his way to see his supervisor, and was about 60 metres from Norris Hall when the second round of shootings began. "When I saw the policemen taking their guns out, I knew this was serious," he told CNN. His footage got more than a million hits in the first days it was put online.

CNN has assembled a slideshow of eyewitness photographs at http://www.cnn.com/interactive/us/0704/gallery.ireport.vt.shooting/frameset.exclude.html

Coverage of the London bombings on 7 July 2005 was a watershed for audience-generated content. Helen Boaden, the BBC's director of news, said 50 photographs and video clips taken with mobile phones arrived in the first hour of the first blast. About 3,000 people posted still and video images to a site called Moblog UK in the days after the bombings. Alfie Dennen, co-founder of the site, said it was the first time this form of content had played such a significant part in a breaking news story in the UK.

In South Korea, more than 50,000 citizen reporters with cameras on their mobile phones are able to send video to the OhmyNews.com site. Jean Min, director of OhmyNews International, said any of the citizen reporters could shoot video and send it to a server. "From our server we can broadcast live to anywhere in the country." In Manila, reporters from Inquirer.net, the online arm of the Inquirer newspaper group, shoot video with their Nokia mobile phones, sending images and text to the web site. Editor-in-chief JV Rufino describes it as a revolutionary form of journalism. In Singapore, 85 per cent of the content of Singapore Press Holdings' site Stomp.com.sg comes from the audience. Editor Jennifer Lewis said the site published about 100 images a day from its audience. Many later appeared in the print newspaper.

Citizen reporting involving video will become increasingly common because of the boom in the number of camera-enabled mobile phones. According to IDC, a billion new mobile phones were sold in 2006, and almost half (460 million) had a built-in camera. In countries like South Korea it is almost impossible to buy a new phone without a camera. AMEInfo's Lisa Creffield predicts a huge increase in user-submitted content, from mobile phone video of local fires to people submitting videos of their pets. This means newsrooms will not need to send a reporter and camera crew to film "light" stories because "the audience will DIY it." She also believes this will lead to a "demystification" of television news. "With the rise of user-generated content and citizen journalism, TV will lose what it has left of its aura."

Friction.TV is an example of user-generated television with a global perspective. Its web site describes it as a platform for user-generated news and opinion. "We

exist to give you the opportunity to air your views and state your opinions." The site promises that content will not be edited or censored provided it is within the law. Friction.TV works by sparking debates: "Anyone with an opinion on virtually any issue can post a video blog of between 30 seconds and three minutes," the site says. "This then sparks others into action: either to agree; to put across a different view; or just to debate the point." The site's owners are not identified. The site says they are a "small group of entrepreneurs" who see the potential of user-generated content and for whom traditional mass media channels "fail to meet their need to debate and express their personal views". Friction.TV launched in February 2007.

In the United States, Michael Rosenblum's company has partnered with The Travel Channel to produce a weekly half-hour programme called "What's Your Trip". The pilot was screened on May 21. Rosenblum noted that many people take a video camera with them on holiday. "Most people shoot tons of stuff that only a few relatives and very close friends get roped into seeing. " Cheap video editing software (iMovie comes free with a Macintosh) opens the way for people to make their own programmes from holiday video.

Rosenblum's company will pay $US 1,000 for programmes that are screened. "We're looking for the innovative, the creative, the clever and the funny," he said on his blog (http://rosenblumtv.wordpress.com). "It's a great opportunity for those who want to be filmmakers, TV producers or visual story tellers. We see it very much as the new 'entry level' to the television business." Rosenblum said the programme was a "unique opportunity to leverage off 'citizen journalists'," though he suggested they should be called "citizen producers."

4. **More competition means more fragmentation of audiences**

Competition is increasing as more and more forms of media evolve, further fragmenting audiences. In particular, former newspaper companies are becoming media companies and putting video content online. John Fairfax Ltd, publisher of Australia's main broadsheet newspapers, changed its name to Fairfax Media last year to reflect its new identity. After a merger with Rural Press in May 2007 it became the biggest media group in Australia.

The country's next biggest group, Murdoch's News International, is working hard to change direction by getting into online video. Its Australian subsidiary, News Corporation, now describes itself as an integrated media company. The CEO of News Digital Media, Richard Freudenstein, formerly of BSkyB in the UK, says he is focusing on what newspapers can do online and how they adapt to the new world. "We have seen a concerted effort over the last 12 months to become more of an integrated multimedia company rather than just a newspaper company in Australia."

Broadcasters face significant competition from print. Freudenstein highlights his organisation's ability to publish stories not just in print but online, and more and more on television and video as well. The company's metropolitan newspapers

were a priority, he said. "That is where the biggest revenue source is," he said. "From an editorial perspective we are well on the way. All the editors are fully on board with understanding what has to be done and are taking steps to do it already."

As well as integrated newsrooms the integration also covers advertising, Freudenstein said. "Our advertisers are not fully embracing integration, despite what some people say. We are moving with the clients who want to do that." Fairfax Digital chief executive Jack Matthews said the key to success was "really effective collaboration between print and online." Both Freudenstein and Matthews said video would be an increasing online focus. Fairfax Digital claims more than 3 million video downloads a month. "We have a video production group of about 50 people in-house. We think video is really important and we are investing in it."

Early last year *de Volkskrant,* a daily newspaper in the Netherlands, created VK.TV to work alongside the paper's web and radio channels. Bas Broekhuizen, head of the group's video department, said by January this year his team had produced 500,000 clips for the web. By December they plan to have produced one million clips for the web delivered over Internet protocol television (IPTV). They expect revenues of between $US 500,000 and $US 1 million in fees and commercials. Is that money coming from the budgets of broadcasters in the Netherlands?

The New York Times has a 22-person video unit, and 10 of the newspaper's correspondents have video equipment. The newspaper produces 100 in-house videos a month, with 4.7 million video streams a month on the site. Jonathan Landman, the paper's deputy managing editor, said that this was triple the output from 2006. Landman said the paper's move to web video has been so successful that journalists competed for video resources. The newspaper plans to do documentaries for the web, and is looking into working with user-generated content.

In Poland, the *Agora* newspaper started producing video for its web site last year. Tomasz Jósefacki, head of Agora's Internet division, said his team of three full-time and three freelance staff produced 250 items a week. These attracted 400,000 unique users a month, for 5 million video views a month. Agora sells its content to domestic and overseas television channels. In Sweden, the *Aftonbladet* daily started with web TV in 2004 and moved to mobile TV in 2005. This year *Aftonbladet* embraced digital TV to extend the newspaper's web TV project and maintain the pre-eminence of its web site. Jacob Andersson, head of programmes for *Aftonbladet,* said content created for the web could be published anywhere, such as to iPods, mobile phones or screens in supermarkets.

Straits Times Interactive in Singapore started with vodcasts (video podcasts) in December 2005 to drive people to the site. Traffic to the vodcasts grew rapidly from 4,823 to 80,345 hits in the year to March 2007. Clarence Chang, the site's

executive content producer, said vodcasts lasted between 1.5 and 4 minutes, and focused on diary events, breaking news, and crime stories. Twenty staff worked on the vodcasts. About 0.8 per cent of the newspaper's advertising revenues currently came from the web. The challenge, Chang told Ifra's Digital Trend Day in Amsterdam in May 2007, was to make web TV rival live TV.

AMEInfo's Lisa Creffield believes regular TV news will become polarised. National and international news will be found at one end of the spectrum because international news can be obtained relatively cheaply from agencies like Reuters or shared from other networks. "At the other end there will be local news that will become more localised and community driven. In Australia, I don't see much of a role for state level news. National yes, local yes, but the mid-range news is just too expensive to survive on dwindling budgets." Fragmentation also means a greater need for search engines that can find a particular section or frame of video. It will also mean a need for keyword search through the audio track. The major search companies are working on these innovations.

5. **Technologies beyond the horizon**
   Some technologies just beyond the horizon will threaten broadcasting's business model; the issue is identifying them. Broadcasters need to be constantly alert to new developments. They need to appoint people who look over the horizon, or partner with research organisations such as universities that can help them remain alert. The digital video recorder, mentioned earlier, potentially threatens the business model of commercial-based free-to-air television. Internet protocol television, or IPTV, will force some broadcasters to re-view their strategies, just as Skype is forcing telephone companies to review theirs.

   Joost, the Internet-based TV service being launched by the creators of Skype and Kazaa, is an example of a looming threat. It claims it has 150 channels of video. In May 2007 CBS and Viacom bought a share of Joost to make sure they are part of any future Internet-based video service. Other investors included Index Ventures (a European venture capital firm), Sequoia Capital, and Li Ka-shing, chairman of Hutchison-Whampoa. Joost raised $US 45 million in the deal.

Issues to consider

Broadcasters need to consider new distribution platforms. How is it possible to get their product to new customers, via new delivery methods? The obvious ones are the mobile phone and online. Obviously, any video on the mobile phone's current small screen needs to be modified. We are seeing the arrival of "mobisodes," episodes of a drama or programme packaged for the mobile phone screen. A good example is the Australian comedy series, "Thank God you are here," which places actors in situations where they have to adlib, based on where they find themselves. It screens on Channel 10 but each segment runs no longer than three minutes – perfect for a "mobisode."

Prom Queen, the hyped new online series of two-minute episodes, premiered in the United States in April 2007. Former Walt Disney chairman Michael Eisner was behind it. All America's studios are trying to find a way into the world of social networks, video blogs and online video shorts. The cost of these shorts is small by Hollywood standards, at about $US 10,000 for a few minutes, compared with about $US 2 million for an hour of prime-time television. Meanwhile in Europe, digital TV has a mobile standard known as DVB-H. Be prepared for the spread of these short episodes. The Black20 studio (see earlier) is already making them.

Distribution innovations

Here are some other innovations in distribution I have noticed in my travels, or read about:

- Retail chains like Kmart or Supercheap Auto in Australia have in-store radio that carries up-to-date news bulletins. They are compiled in Brisbane
- Taxis in Amsterdam have wirelessly-delivered video that screens in the back seat. This is becoming common in many parts of Europe. Interestingly, the Amsterdam content comes from a daily newspaper, *de Volkskrant.*
- The I-Love brand of bottled water features a tiny "tween" magazine stuck to the outside of the bottle that teenagers read. It started last year.
- Checkout TV in the United States features advertisements and local news on the screen as you buy your groceries. University of Queensland media academic John Cokely says "I reckon we'll see headlines next, on the back of your docket. Buy your food at 5pm and get the 5pm headlines at the same time."
- Nike has put media players in the soles of some of their sports shoes.
- In Norway, people use Sony PlayStation consoles to read the daily newspaper *Dagbladet.*

My son, aged 13, watches the Wii news channel on the Internet via his Wii game player. He gets international weather, news headlines from around the world, plus science and medical headlines. The channel allows people to vote on issues that viewers submit. A globe spins on the screen. The user selects a part of the world, and gets news from that country.

The world of broadcasting is changing. Technologies such as broadband and IPTV will produce huge changes. Broadcasters need to be prepared to adapt their business and distribution models, and look beyond their current horizons. Otherwise they will find they are the scriptorium monks or the ice-business owners of the 21st Century.

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7 Climate Change: How the Media is Responding

The Role of Media in Combating Climate Change

Parni Hadi

It is very likely that global warming is taking place due to climate change since the mid-20th Century (confidence level > 90 per cent), caused by anthropogenic (human) greenhouse gas concentrations. Thus it is a man-made environmental problem.

In the case of industrialising countries, including Indonesia, there are five Ps contributing to environmental problems:

- Population (over concentration)
- Poverty
- Pollutants
- Policy
- Punishment

Indonesia is an archipelago consisting of some 17,000 islands, making it a maritime continent. Combined with its location along the equator and stretching across a distance equivalent to that between London and Istanbul, Indonesia is a major determiner of global climate formation.

Mass deforestation for conversion into plantation estates and illegal logging for domestic wood industries and smuggling to neighbouring countries, plus forest fires during the dry season, have made Indonesia a significant contributor to greenhouse gas emission (GHG) (MtC02e).

As one of the countries most affected by global warming, Indonesia is supporting efforts for the reduction of GHG emission to help address global warming.

Building awareness

Indonesia is scheduled to host the United Nations Convention For Climate Change (UNCFCC) in Bali from December 3 to 14, 2007 with some 10,000 participants coming from 189 countries. The participants consist of 2,000 delegates, 2500 journalists and 6000 representatives of NGOs, companies and universities.

Towards the UNCFCC, the Ministry of Environment has geared up Indonesian media to increase awareness campaigns for the public on the hazardous effects of climate change on the economy and health of the people.

The Indonesian media industries have grown dramatically since the 1998 Reform Movement and now employs some 15,000 journalists. A number of editorially and financially strong print media, and radio and television stations have on their own initiative been actively campaigning to increase public awareness on nature preservation, energy conservation and back-to- nature "green lifestyles" by presenting simple, "how-to" programmes that are easy to understand and practice.

But, once again, for most media personnel, global warming and climate change issues are still beyond their understanding because most of the reports setting out the scientific findings on these issues are too academic, containing complicated formulations and tables/graphics, and "strange" expressions.

Training

If the journalists themselves do not comprehend the issues, the public is unlikely to do so. Therefore there is a strong need for educating media personnel on various environmental issues, particularly global warming and climate change.

Also needed are training programmes for scientists focusing on how to present scientific findings in a manner that is easy for the public to understand, which obviously calls for a different approach from that required while writing for academic journals and making presentations to expert groups.

Scientist-journalist encounters are also needed, including during the UNCFCC in Bali.

Parni Hadi is President Director of Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), the public radio service of Indonesia

Go for the Green!

George Leclere

Global warming is happening everywhere with various consequences, from climate change to disappearing species, from rising energy costs to droughts and famine and, of course, waste and pollution. Every nation, every people on earth is now concerned. A series of excellent documentaries has raised the general level of public awareness about this crucial matter.

The Go for the Green project is an innovative televised game-show that can considerably enhance the re-emerging global image of Asia. If Asia adopts this proposed television programme, it can take the lead in fighting global warming at the individual local and regional levels but also at the industrial level worldwide.

Playing the game

My proposal is a primetime television show in a form of a competition promoting the fight against global warming through personal wisdom, knowledge and efforts, helping industrial innovation and worldwide development. The working title of the programme is: "Go for the Green!"

- Go for the Green! is a competitive team game show aiming to reduce the effects of global warming while entertaining, rewarding and opening minds.
- The competing teams are families with kids, helped by experts and celebrities.
- The first phase is a national competition.
- Then, winners of different countries can compete for best regional and best global fighter against global warming.
- To win the national grand prize, a "Global Warming Friendly Home," the teams have to face a series of tasks.
- Each task is a fight against the effects of global warming.
- Each task also tells viewers how to imitate competitors in their own homes.
- The tasks vary: install solar or wind energy at home, change living behaviour to consume less energy, use global warming friendly products and concepts, install better appliances, use hybrid cars, persuade non-believers, etc.

- When successfully accomplished, each task adds points, determined both by juries and popular votes, to the family's scoreboard.
- At the end of the season, the highest scoring family wins the house.
- The show starts like a soccer championship and ends like the World Cup.
- The show is based on the book, "Practical Solar Energy," by Georges Leclere.

The fight against global warming depends a lot on where people live – a house or an apartment, in a warm or a cold region, on the seashore or in the mountains, if they can or cannot invest in energy saving appliances or cars, etc. It also depends on their job or occupation and on living habits.

Benefits of competition

Hence a televised competition between different families coming from different horizons and different economic backgrounds, will bring to the public a chance to see, to understand and to hopefully imitate different concepts applicable to different living conditions.

Finally, a competition, with ups and downs in the ranking, then with eliminations, will better attract viewers to support their own teams, thus enhancing audience interest.

A carefully crafted selection process for the candidates will attract visibility for the show and generate pre-production revenues using popular votes.

Many versions are possible: Starting with a national show and going international but also specialising the candidates in future seasons – for example, replacing families with schools, universities or even whole cities or regions.

The show can also be associated with other programmes in the broadcasting channel, like documentaries, in order to build a synergy and retain audiences.

I started to develop this concept while working at my French channel in France. I was then called Mister Solar Energy. I refined the details of this show over the past year, first with the help of the European Broadcasting Union and now with a specialised team in Hollywood. I have written a full "Bible" of the show, complete with many production details. I am now ready to sit down with any one who is interested and work out a version that can be specifically tailored to the culture and the needs of any broadcaster in any country anywhere in the world.

Georges Leclere is President and Global Media Advisor, LGMA Inc., USA

8 Integrity and Honesty in Public Life: Media's Role

Citizens' (=Alternative) Media

Rebecca Kim

I will talk a little bit about citizen reporting and what perspectives it could open up for the future of media, and then discuss two media-related issues in Korea which indicate the stumbling blocks on the path to integrity and honesty in today's public life, which the media should watch out for and try to avoid.

Citizen as guerilla

'Citizen reporting' became a public phenomenon in Korea in 2000 with the birth of the e-news outlet called 'Ohmynews,' armed with new technology and the now-famous spirit, "Every citizen is a reporter." The website has become the site for different kinds of viewers to get together, share news stories and convert stories into action. Many cases already prove that this process has worked quite well for more participatory democracy and governance in Korean society. One example is the huge popular support mobilised on and by the web during the 2002 presidential elections that made Mr. Rho Moo-hyun the final winner. Citizens woke up when they felt that their voices were not being heard enough, and rose up against big and irresponsible corporate media.

Unique as Ohmynews may be, this is not just a Korean or journalistic phenomenon. The world has a proud history of making alternative voices heard when they cannot be heard through mainstream media owned by the rich and powerful, as in the case of Zapatistas or guerrillanews.com. I purposely picked these two global examples because, to me, a 'citizen reporter' is more or less like a guerrilla or an 'insurgent' in their role in any public arena. They are the ones who bring up, from moment to moment, hidden or censored problems in a society that, if not dealt with immediately, will have tremendous impact on the very viability of the society. They are the ones who do so in such a way that the act of putting the words 'in surge' becomes, in itself, a battle for the rights of the oppressed.

From this perspective, reporting by citizens raises questions not only about the demarcation between journalism and non-journalism, but also about when and how the individual becomes a citizen. Thus it puts forward a new definition (at least the urge for a new definition) of citizenship which should be about those moments when citizen-consciousness comes alive in an action expressed in the public sphere,

rather than merely an identity held by a subject. Seen in this way, citizen reporting can involve professional and non-professional journalists, media and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) networking and working together to ensure good governance and force integrity and honesty on the powers that be.

Yesterday two executives of the Samsung Group were found guilty in an appeals court in Seoul on charges of scheming with the only son of the chairman, Lee Kun-hee, to grab control of Samsung, Korea's largest conglomerate, whose sales last year accounts for almost one-fifth of Korea's GDP. They attempted to do this through a 1996 cross-financing deal in which they sold a controlling stake in Samsung Everland at an unreasonably low price to Mr. Lee Jae-young, son of the chairman. That would have enabled him to acquire more than 30 per cent of Everland, which holds major stakes in major Samsung subsidiaries, and thereby gain control over the entire group.

The accusation was first made by a batch of pro bono law professors in 2000. However, before they entered the picture, the Corporate Watch division of the Peoples' Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD), one of the biggest NGOs in Korea, had done a lot of hard work on the issue. They had advocated a campaign for corporate accountability and led the evolution of a chain of 'board meetings for minor stakeholders' into social action represented by investment in 'socially responsible' enterprises. I do not see any difference between what NGOs and the media should do in such a case. The process followed by the PSPD campaign is, to me, a very good example of alternative media. Alternative media should adopt the healthiest components and factors of civil society and strengthen them through mainstreaming.

Spontaneous as 'guerrilla reporting' might sound, good battles cannot be fought without good, premeditated and coordinated strategies. As the founder of the Ohmynews, Mr. Oh Yeon-ho, said during the 2005 International Citizen Reporters' Forum held in Seoul, "Taking citizen participatory journalism to the next level will require the wise resolution of various issues. There needs to be increased confidence in articles by citizen reporters and there needs to be a higher degree of accuracy. Making media that embody sustainable models of citizen participatory journalism will require the development of unique models for survival. There needs to be structured scholarly research into the phenomenon of citizen participatory journalism. Most importantly, there needs to be mutually encouraging solidarity so that this new form of journalism, which is still in its infancy, can grow."

Reining in corporate media

With regard to the media's role as the 'watch dog' of dominant power, the state or a section of the state apparatus is usually in the line of fire. A case from Korea suggests that reality can sometimes be more complicated. On 29 June last year, the Constitutional Court handed down a ruling that the application of some measures in the law governing the Guarantee of Freedom and Functions of Newspapers (Act

of Newspapers), which had been adopted by Parliament on 1 January 2005, should be blocked. They reasoned that the law is contrary to press freedom and business freedom, which are guaranteed by the Constitution, in that they limited the market share a single newspaper can have.

In accordance with this ruling, Parliament will have to amend Article 17 of the law referring to restrictions preventing newspaper owners from holding more than 50 per cent of shares in another print or electronic medium. On the other hand, the Supreme Court confirmed the validity of the articles that oblige media to provide more transparent information about their financial activities and, particularly, their revenue from advertising. The right of individuals to demand corrections in the press was also confirmed.

Some global media and press organizations, such as Reporters Sans Frontieres (RSF) and the International Press Institute (IPI), expressed concern over the law and welcomed the ruling of the Constitutional Court, whereas the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) voiced its full support for Korea's Act of Newspapers, and called for further development of free speech. According to the Journalists Association of Korea (JAK), affiliated to the IFJ, the Act of Newspapers, which has been in effect since 27 July 2005, was legislated in the firm belief that it would help ensure diversity of public views and freedom of speech, by limiting the power of monopolistic newspapers in Korea.

It should be remembered that this controversial and still wobbly law was the outcome of the long-standing recommendation of Korean civil society (represented by 224 NGOs in an umbrella coalition called the 'People's Coalition for Media Reform') that such a law was necessary to counter dishonest press practices in an extremely monopolistic media market and to protect diversity in public opinion. The government and the ruling party supported the demand and worked towards the legislation. The civil society coalition and JAK both argue that, despite considerable criticism from opposing conservative forces, the Act is constitutional and acknowledges the need for diversity within the media market.

Monopoly and oligopoly has prevailed in the Korean media market for over two decades, with 75 per cent of the print media market controlled by the big three conservative corporate newspapers, "Chosun Ilbo," "Dong-a Ilbo" and "Joong-ang Ilbo." "Chosun Ilbo" alone has 30 per cent of the readership. The new Act aims to reverse this situation by stipulating that the three top newspapers cannot control more than a combined 60 per cent of the market, and that a single newspaper cannot have more than 30 per cent of the market share.

Encroaching on right to know

Samsung was also found guilty in the case of the 'Sisa Journal crisis.' Sisa Journal, a Korean current affairs weekly established in 1990, which has been acclaimed for its

accurate, faithful and balanced reporting, is currently involved in an ongoing war between the Samsung Group and former Journal employees who are now out of work. Many say that if freedom of speech was trampled upon by military dictatorships in the past it is now trampled upon by the biggest *chaebol* (business conglomerate) in Korea.

The origins of the controversy can be traced back to the Sisa Journal No. 870, issued on 27 June last year. A 3-page article that was supposed to start on page 62 was replaced with an advertisement - something which had never happened before. The chief editor, Mr. Lee Yun-sam, says it is unthinkable to remove an article at the press stage without any kind of proper, prior discussion with the editor or reporters. The man who gave the order to take the article out in the process of printing was the owner of the Journal, Mr. Keum Chang-tae. The article was about Mr. Lee Hak-soo, chief manager of Samsung's Restructuring Headquarters.

The chief editor submitted a letter of resignation in protest, which was accepted the next day. This was followed by a massive suspension of work by the company for the rest of the reporters. The scandal grew into a huge, shameful social battle between the monstrous conglomerate and the small battalion of resistant journalists who immediately formed a labour union and a separate editorial office to confront the crippled management. The company closed down the workplace and kicked off their own line of 'fake' Sisa Journal weeklies. The unthinkable became thinkable, and the Sisa Journal company, in an adamant partnership with the Joong-ang Ilbo (also created by the Samsung Group in 1965), and in complete servitude to Samsung Group, is turning against editorial freedom which is the basis of any media and involves the people's right to know.

Rebecca Kim works as a citizen reporter in Seoul

Watching the Watchers in a Small Developing Country

Mesake Nawari

Fiji is in the throes of change. It is nearly six months since a democratically elected government was overthrown by the military in the fourth coup in 20 years in our small island state. In the past the military and militant groups have usurped power in our tiny nation, claiming that they have done so in the interests of the indigenous people. To support their claims they have cited the indigenous peoples' supposed shortfalls in areas such as education, commerce and self improvement.

The latest takeover, however, addressed a new area. Its proponents say their aim is to root out corruption and corrupt leaders. The interim regime says it wants to build a new Fiji in which leaders are transparent, accountable, honest and righteous. In a country where many politicians, civil servants and private sector leaders are perceived as being corrupt or dishonest, this message has hit home across a wide spectrum of society, cutting across religious and ethnic differences.

Everyone, it seems, wants clean, accountable leadership by people who follow the rule of law and uphold strong ethical and moral values. It is paradoxical, perhaps, that in order to pursue this vision, they must themselves become involved in the corruption of a system which advocates democracy and Constitutional rule.

Clean versus Unclean

The view of Fiji's current administration and many of its supporters is that people who served in the previous government are corrupt or tainted because of their support – perceived or otherwise – of the former ruling party. Our media – newspapers, radio, television and the Internet – have recently been full of stories on investigations into alleged malpractice, corruption and abuse of ministers and civil servants who served the ousted government. Under scrutiny are contracts, tender processes, laws, financial regulations, the judiciary, public office holders – the list is endless.

A State commission has been constituted to spearhead investigations in these areas. To support the commission, legislation has been promulgated to allow searches of homes and business places without warrants. Every day new claims of indiscretions surface. The old guard has now effectively been replaced with the new, transparent and clean new guard appointed by the interim regime.

And then new claims surface. This time the allegations are against the appointees of the interim regime who are accused of abuse of office, marital infidelity, nepotism, managerial incompetence. The circle is complete.

Most, if not all of this, has been reported comprehensively by the local media. Many of the major players in the former and current government have been disturbed by the amount of attention devoted to them, their personal lives and their business deals. Are we getting too personal in the media?

It may be pertinent to ask at this point whether politics in Fiji and, indeed, in every country, has become too personal? Our country is relatively small – just over 750,000 people. We all know at least one politician or civil servant personally. We may even be related to some of them. Do we, as media practitioners, have unrealistic expectations of our politicians and political leaders? Should our leaders expect intense media scrutiny of their affairs and businesses?

Arguments for and against

The argument for and against media scrutiny of public office holders and their affairs – financial or otherwise – can be quite simplistic. Those who argue for greater scrutiny believe that a person who cannot be trusted in his personal life cannot, by extension, be trusted in public life. That is to say that dishonesty – be it in private or in public – is dishonesty, pure and simple.

The argument against is equally simplistic – what's done in private has no bearing whatsoever on a person's public position or standing. That is to say: a private matter is of no concern to anyone other than the person involved.

The Fiji context

Every nation deserves to have strong, capable leaders who are people of honesty and integrity. For Fiji this is especially true. If we cannot trust our leaders we will never be able to reverse the coup cycle which has kept such a promising nation from realising its full potential. Each time there is a takeover, investor confidence drops, skilled workers leave for foreign shores and we must rebuild the economy in a process that takes us back some 30 years.

In order to secure a bright future for Fiji and her people, it is imperative that we highlight the need for leaders of integrity and honesty. It is not easy but it can and must be done. For too long leaders of political parties, civil society, religion and the media have remained deafeningly silent on issues which affect the common people in our land. This must end. We need fearless leaders and fearless media who will speak out against injustice.

At the same time we need leaders and media who are willing to disclose their own mistakes before pointing the accusatory finger. In a country as small as ours, once the finger is pointed or the whistle blown, it is not uncommon for retribution to be swift. Unfortunately it is usually the informant who is hounded down and victimised, sometimes to the point of losing their jobs or being ostracised by certain segments of the community.

Legislation

Several attempts have been made in Fiji to implement relevant legislation to protect whistleblowers and promote integrity in public office holders. Among the laws that addresses these issues are:

- A Whistle Blowers Act, protecting people who highlight corruption in the workplace
- A Freedom of Information Act under which the State is obliged to make certain documents public
- A Leadership Code for elected Members of Parliament and all public office holders.

For Fiji this would be the perfect platform from which to launch a new age in which transparency, accountability and integrity are the building blocks of a nation that has the potential to become the Malaysia of the Pacific. But mere talk of such legislation is not enough. For too long these have been projects in the pipeline. Over the years, with extended discussions, legislation tends to be watered down to such an extent that it will have no real impact on society.

It is time for our leaders to take positive steps to implement laws which hold themselves accountable to the people they serve. I would go so far as to say that it is perhaps time the media industry to take pro-active steps to implement its own leadership code, apart from highlighting the need for such legislation. The media must be equally transparent in their dealings. Media practitioners must be as responsible as those whom they hold accountable.

At the heart of such a code lie the fundamental principles of integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty, leadership and selflessness. For Fiji, this will be the way forward: a code which encompasses values dear to all sectors of our multiracial, multicultural and multireligious nation. While the media play a vital role in promoting and maintaining accountability and integrity in holders of public office, it can only do so with impunity if it implements an equally stringent code for itself. As society's self-appointed watchdog, it is imperative that the media, and media professionals, also agree to be watched. An effective code will ensure this.

Mesake Nawari is Group Chief Executive Officer, Fiji Television Limited

Untold Stories

Alison Weir

Almost everyone has heard of Allen Johnson, the BBC reporter kidnapped by Palestinians.

Almost no one has heard of Khalid Zwawi, the Palestinian reporter kidnapped by Israelis, who has been held for three years now, without any trial – quite likely undergoing physical abuse, since that is the documented pattern for Palestinians imprisoned by Israel.

Almost no one has heard of Yola Monakhov, the American Associated Press journalist who was 26 years old when she was shot by Israeli forces, whose bullet destroyed her spleen and her uterus.

Almost no one has heard of the findings announced on Capitol Hill in 2003 of a blue-star commission chaired by a four-star admiral and former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the highest military position in the United States, that Israel had committed an act of war against the United States some years ago, had intentionally murdered American servicemen and had attempted to sink an American ship, with every man aboard. The commission, which also included the highest-ranking recipient of the Medal of Honour, a former ambassador and the former head of the US Navy's legal division, stated that this incident had been covered up by Admiral McCain, the current presidential candidate's father, at the order of the White House, and called for a Congressional investigation.

Fairly newsworthy, I would say. Did you see it on CNN? The BBC?

Today, happily, others on this panel have described the essential role of the media in good governance. In many countries, including my own, journalism is held to be a public trust, and there are inspiring examples of investigative reporting by courageous journalists who have exposed cases of corporate and governmental corruption, and thereby ended them; revealed instances of injustice and brought redress; described systems of cruelty and corrected them.

Sadly, today I will be speaking of the opposite. In the seven minutes allotted to me I will attempt to at least sketch the outlines of a systemic breakdown in media ethics and responsibility that is breathtaking in its scope and horrifying in its results.

Benjamin Franklin wrote: "Half a truth is often a great lie."

To put it in modern terms, we all know that the most effective, least detected form of falsification is what is known as "lying through omission."

Today I will focus on US media coverage of Israel-Palestine, the core conflict in the Middle East and at the centre of the alleged "war on terror," and in so doing will describe an unconscionable and extremely dangerous pattern of omission.

In the first year of the current *intifadah,* Israelis killed 549 Palestinians and Palestinians killed 165 Israelis. How was this reported?

We find that primetime American television networks reported Israeli deaths at rates up to four times greater than their reports of Palestinian deaths. This was done through the emphasis on Israeli deaths – not only were almost all reported, many were the subject of follow-up news reports – and, especially, through the omission of Palestinian deaths. Not only were they rarely reported, there were even rarer instances of follow-up reports.

Now let us look at the situation for children. In that first year, Israelis killed 131 Palestinian minors, and Palestinians killed 28 Israeli minors. How was this reported?

We find the distortion increased substantially. Once again, Israeli deaths are reported at extremely high rates; once again, Palestinian deaths are omitted at extremely high rates.

US media consistently describe Israeli violence as retaliatory. The media are able to use this phrase without public objection only because of the above pattern of omission – since the reality is that over 140 Palestinians were killed BEFORE a single Jewish Israeli in Israel; over 80 Palestinian children were killed BEFORE a single Israeli child was killed.

In other words, Israeli forces were killing Palestinians, including Palestinian children, in large numbers long before there were any suicide bombings. And yet, because these Palestinian deaths were omitted from news coverage, almost no one knows that simple, extremely important fact.

In 2004, the US media described the violence as having lessened. It was a period of calm, we were told. Let us examine the facts:

In 2004 Israelis killed 179 Palestinian children, while Palestinians killed 8 Israeli children. In other words, the violence was reduced... for Israelis. For Palestinians the death rate was significantly increased.

So how were the media able to use such inaccurate, highly non-objective, blatantly Israeli-centric terminology? Once again, through omission. When we do not know

how many Palestinians are being killed, and when we hear almost exclusively of Israeli deaths, we are able to be substantially misled.

Let us look at this pattern of omission chronologically:

In the past seven years *The New York Times* has carried two news articles on human rights reports detailing Israeli human rights abuses and two news articles detailing Palestinian human rights abuses.

During this time, human rights organisations actually issued 80 reports on the area... 76 critical of Israelis and 4 critical of Palestinians.

The Associated Press is the oldest and largest wire service in the world. It is an extremely important source of news on the Middle East for both print and broadcast media worldwide.

Once again, we find significant distortion – high rates of reporting on Israeli deaths and high rates of omission on Palestinian deaths.

Let us leave numbers aside, for a minute, and look at human beings. Americans frequently see photographs of suicide bombing. We rarely see photographs of children killed by Israeli forces. And yet, multitudes of Palestinian children have been shot by Israeli soldiers. Why are we not seeing photographs of these children?

Well, I can tell you about this one boy (and during the Q & A, perhaps, about another), because I was there when AP heard of his killing. I was sitting across the desk from the AP bureau chief in the West Bank when he received a phone call from a stringer in Nablus, and then, as I listened, phoned the story in to the Jerusalem bureau. An Israeli armored patrol had invaded Nablus – they do this routinely – and the boy had thrown stones at it from 300 meters away. An Israeli soldier shot and killed him.

That night I was sitting in a hotel room with access to CNN. I watched the channel and saw that in their reporting on Israel-Palestine there was no mention of this tragedy. I called CNN headquarters, and told them I was phoning from the West Bank and had a news tip – a 12-year-old Palestinian boy had been killed. The voice at the other end of the line said, "I know – I've seen the footage." I was astounded – such footage, I would have thought, is extremely newsworthy. I suggested that they should broadcast it. She told me she agreed, and said that she had been the one to convince them to show the footage of Muhamad Al Durrah, the one young Palestinian death we have been allowed to see. She said she would try to get it on the air, but by her tone I realised that she doubted this would happen. It didn't.

When I got back to the US I used Lexis-Nexis to look up the news story AP had filed on this incident. I found there was none. When I searched, I managed to find one sentence about this killing of a child, missing important details, in a news story about Israel.

Let me describe AP's system of reporting – at least as closely as I have been able to determine it, considering that AP, which calls for transparency for others, insists on opacity in its own operations. It turns out that AP has stringers throughout the Palestinian Territories. At substantial personal risk – many have been shot, beaten, imprisoned, some killed – these journalists are consistently reporting on events, taking still photos and videos of them. Their news reports are then phoned in to the control bureau for the region. This bureau is located in Israel and is staffed largely, perhaps at times exclusively, by Jewish and Israeli journalists. It is these editors who write the story – if they decide one is even to be written, who decide what it will contain, who will be quoted, what context will be provided, and who then place a Palestinian dateline and Palestinian byline on the story they have written sitting there in Israel.

The pattern I have sketched today – in which all too often bias masquerades as balance and context is concealed – has profoundly significant consequences. Not only does it, I believe, play a major role in the promulgation of irrational and immoral US policies in the Middle East, but in my opinion it is a major factor in the "alleged clash of civilisations" ideology that is being pushed on Americans today, and whose consequences, I fear, will be an ever-darkening future of war and violence – unless we stop it.

Palestinians and Muslims are being described in ways that are highly manipulative – it is a little like reading a description of a man being attacked by wolves, without mentioning the wolves. Actions that are perceived as alien become understandable when the entire scene is visible.

Someone once said: "Wars can be prevented just as surely as they can be provoked, and we who fail to prevent them must share the guilt for the dead."

It is time to start preventing them.

The charts that accompanied this talk can be found in the Media Studies section on the website: www.ifamericansknew.org.

Alison Weir is Executive Director of 'If Americans Knew,' USA

9 Open Session

Broadcasting Peace and Persuasion

Moderator: Dr. Chandra Muzzafar

Dr. Chandra, President of JUST International, Malaysia: How we can promote peace is a subject close to my heart. That is why I feel particularly honoured to be able to participate in this session. Let me begin by outlining five different aspects of this topic and process:

1. I will bring to your notice your concerns about peace journalism as expressed through a session yesterday.
2. I will present my own concerns about peace and the fundamental premises that have shaped my own thinking about peace journalism.
3. I will raise various questions about peace journalism.
4. We will have an interactive session where you will raise questions and comments and that is the most important component of our session this morning.
5. Finally I shall attempt to draw together the key points in your presentation and make concrete proposals that can take us forward in this journey towards peace.

I want to begin with some of your concerns. I will read out to you some of the points, comments and questions received from participants:

- Can peace journalism be objective and fair? An answer is provided: "It can't."
- Media issues for people living under colonialism and military occupation – case studies: Palestine, Iraq and other regions.
- Technical fixes and the myth of progress.
- Should media such as radio promote emotions, attitudes, behaviour through persuasion for or against peace?
- Afghanistan, media, myths of war and peace.
- Can and should the media play a role in influencing warring groups to end hostilities and talk peace?
- Should the media be neutral observers in the quest for reconciliation and dialogue?
- Piece of advice: start with wars within families.
- Peace is an unknown bird – why chase it? Do not tie yourself with fools who chase peace with wars.

These are some of the comments we received yesterday, which I am sure will be addressed and absorbed in the course of our discussion this morning.

Now let me lay out some of the premises which guide my own thinking about peace journalism.

First, I am totally convinced as a human being that peace is a universal good. I do not question this at all. It is a universal good and I am convinced that peace is the ultimate destiny of the human family. I see this as a virtue and an ideal embodied in all our great spiritual traditions.

My second premise is that war is bad because it results in a colossal number of deaths, because it causes so much pain, suffering and misery, and because it dehumanises and degrades the human personality. I would regard war as an evil that is absolute except that I recognise that, in extraordinary circumstances, when there is oppression, injustice and tyranny that cannot be overcome in any other way, in such exceptional circumstances where the overwhelming majority of humankind feel that some sort of military action is necessary, perhaps one will be able to justify war – perhaps, but I will still hold on to this important principle that it is wrong. It is evil.

Third premise: to eliminate war one has to eradicate the conditions and circumstances that lead to war. That is a very important prerequisite in the struggle against war.

Fourth premise: when we eliminate the conditions that lead to war, the foundations of peace will be reinforced.

And a fifth and final premise: strengthening the basis of peace is perhaps the greatest single challenge of humanity in the 21st Century, given the destructive capacity of modern military technology. There is perhaps no other task more compelling than this – ensuring that there is peace and combating war.

Let me now raise five questions related to those premises. Then the floor will be thrown open so that we can begin our discussions.

1. Have the media, especially the broadcasting media, done enough to promote peace? By this I mean not just articulating the human desire for peace, but promoting the conditions and circumstances that create peace. Have the media done this enough?
2. Have the media done enough to expose the tyranny and injustice of war? Have they in recent times ever attempted to prevent war? If you look at what has been happening over the last few decades, can we honestly say that the media, or segments of the media, have striven to prevent war? Has that happened?
3. A third question. Are segments of the media guilty of promoting war? Are they part of the war machine itself? If we are prepared to be honest with ourselves, we cannot but realise that there are segments of the media – powerful, influential media – that are intertwined with interests that are linked to the war machine.
4. A fourth question: if this is so – in other words, if segments of the media are

linked to the war machine – is that why the media have seldom questioned one of the primary causes of war, violence and conflict in our time, which is the drive towards global hegemony? The drive towards global hegemony is undoubtedly one of the primary causes of war. You see it in Iraq. You saw it in Afghanistan. We may see it in Iran, Syria, Sudan and other parts of the world. The drive towards global hegemony linked to oil, strategic routes to the interests of Israel and other powerful lobbies. Is this the reason why the question of hegemony, with all its ramifications, has seldom figured prominently in analysis in the mainstream media? Hegemony is not just at a global level. Even if you look at the national level, it may be related to war – as we saw in the case of Rwanda. In Rwanda, a civil conflict that led to the death of 800,000 people was also a question of hegemony. So hegemony is a vital issue that we need to focus on.

5. If the conventional media have failed to campaign against war and hegemony, can we expect sections of the new media, using communication and information technologies now available to us, which appear to focus upon global injustices, to lead the way? Will the new media lead the way in focusing upon the underlying causes of war and hegemony?

These are some of the questions we can discuss and others I may have missed. I hope that in the next 40 minutes we can look at these and other questions.

Discussion

Imtiaz Muqbil, Travel Impact Newswire, Bangkok: What do you see is the difference between globalisation and global hegemony? Are they part and parcel of the same thing in different disguises masquerading under variations of branding?

Dr. Chandra: Perhaps I should quickly respond to this question. I think there is a distinction. Hegemony is part of globalisation, in a sense. By this I mean that, as a result of the globalisation process, military hegemony has become stronger – from the centres of power associated with global power. As a result of globalisation, certain aspects of economic hegemony have become more obvious in the realm of trade, investments and finance. There are also cultural dimensions to globalisation linked to hegemony – for example, culture in the name of entertainment and information from certain centres of power is spreading all over the world, impacting upon the whole of humankind.

But, having said that there is a hegemonic dimension to globalisation, let us not forget that globalisation has also led to liberation. It has led to a situation where we are able to use some of the tools of globalisation to fight hegemony. The Internet is an obvious example. The Internet has helped a lot of groups that are against hegemony to come together. In other words, through the Internet dissent has been globalised. An outstanding example of the globalisation of dissent could be seen in the run-up to the Iraq war. Millions of people were able to come together because we have these new technologies at our command: not just the Internet, but also several other new technologies. That is why the process is so complex.

Mustafa Abassi, Organisation on Dialogue on Culture and Policy, Bangladesh: The Koran says the ones who have wronged will be taken to task in the right time. Do your job righteously. HIV/AIDS, the tsunami, etc., are weapons in the hands of the unknown. Peace and war are interwoven pages of history. But we present here make the pages more readable, the world a more liveable place by using our broadcasting talents. As you know, there is a bitter part. The poet from Persia says you know what a little while we have to stay and once departed may return no more. Within the next 40 minutes we will depart. We don't know whether we will come back or not. But we in the AIBD family, we are all intending to be birds for development and dialogue. That's my terminology. We are not completely powerless. We have our voice that can be heard. We have friends who are not powerless. But we have to be persistent. Constancy and perseverance pays. The first time we came here four years ago we had Al Jazeera and BBC and CNN, who have taken lessons from Al Jazeera that I can see. I don't have a tie, which means I am not tied to the West of Bush and Blair.

Jacky Sutton, UNESCO: The preamble of the UNESCO Constitution says that as wars are created in the minds of men, so peace shall be created in the minds of men. I use that gender very consciously because 60 years ago a group of men got together, discounting half of the world, to write that Constitution. I would not like to voice skepticism but I am worried about the notion that people see new technology providing an answer to problems. Technology is like gums. It is only as good, as peaceful and as useful as a conduit to peace as the human being behind it. If we forget that it is human beings who create wars and human beings who can end wars, then we are going to move away from the good that media can bring about, that technology can bring about. And we are going to have less accountability, less collective action and more atomised individuals thinking selfishly. Laws are what bind us to our collectives and if we don't have robust media frameworks that will enable us to ensure that the technology we are creating – and we are wonderfully creative human beings - will do good, that technology will destroy us. And it will not just destroy us, the selfish species, but it will destroy our planet. And that is already happening on a daily basis.

Assad Ibrahim, Syrian Embassy, Kuala Lumpur: Responding to the first two questions – have the media, especially the broadcast media, done enough to promote peace, and have the media done enough to expose the tyranny and injustice of war, I would say: not enough yet. There is in particular one situation that is generally ignored in the media: the plight of refugees. These are victims of war who fled their country to seek peace but they are not given much of a chance to be heard in the media. We only hear numbers: 2 million Iraqis, 4 million Afghans, and so on. According to the UNHCR, there are 20.8 million refugees all over the world, and around 8 million of them are around Iraq and Palestine. Nobody listens to them. If you look at reports in Western media, for example, about 15 or 16 people fleeing from their countries in a boat across the Atlantic Ocean or the Mediterranean Sea, they are just described as illegal immigrants and are not granted any kind of hearing. What about the 8 million refugees or 20.8 million refugees registered on UNHCR? Don't they deserve peace or any kind of attention from media?

Mohamad Eshaq from Afghanistan: My country has suffered 3 decades of war. The big powers and, sometimes, even the national government refuse to talk to the other side. And they ban anyone from talking to the so-called terrorists. They do not define terrorists but they label them as terrorists. This causes problems. This is my question: is there any logical basis or justification for not talking to your opponents?

Ross Howard, Media & Democracy Group, Canada: I wonder if we might have missed something basic. You ask the question: can the media play a role, should the media play a role? I would say that we need to recognise that journalism does inherently play a role in contributing to peace when it does its job extremely well – with accuracy, impartiality, fairness, balance and responsibility. We often fail to recognise the essential importance of good journalism. It has an inherent value. In fact, at its best, it plays a role similar to mediators. It opens lines of communication, it dymethologises and it humanizes. These are all roles that mediators have to do at the beginning of the process.

The question that bedevils many professionals is how much more we can do without crossing some line, which is perceived to be still there, and thereby lose our so-called objectivity. Much of the time we do not recognise we can do much more as professionals without jeopardizing or sacrificing our professional standards. The best analogy I can think of is health journalism. We as media professionals often cover conflicts much the way we used to cover health stories. At one time we would cover a person's illness by describing in great detail the pain, the affliction, but not dealing with the causes, cures, the possibilities offered by new medicines and, of course, preventive healthcare. Fortunately, these days we cover health much more professionally. But to this day we as professionals still cover most conflicts without looking at the root causes such as poverty, and, more importantly, without exploring all the other options for the resolution of conflict. The vast majority of professional journalists know almost nothing about the causes of conflict and even less how it can be resolved. There are less than a handful of professional journalism schools in the world that teach conflict analysis. I think we must remember the basics. We can do a lot more long before we have to answer the tricky question of crossing the line.

Kem Gunawath, National Television of Cambodia: Even today many countries have military parades during celebrations of Independence Days and some media broadcast these parades. Does this lead to the prevention of war or preparation for the next war? Should the media continue to show such programmes?

Abdul Karim Khoram, Ministry of Culture, Afghanistan: After 30 years of war in Afghanistan we are in a very bad situation. If I talk about the media in Afghanistan, the rights of media are being abused in Afghanistan because the various parties and factions dominate the media and misuse the media for themselves rather than for peace or the well-being of the country and the people. The only solution to the problems of Afghanistan is to bring about reconciliation among different factions

through some broad-based plan that will enable them to talk to each other as well as with the opposition. The media have a different role to play in this process. My suggestion is to give the Afghan people a chance to live in peace through reconciliation and dialogue. The media have to realise this and not just focus on war and conflict. This is the only solution.

Dr. Chandra, President of JUST International Malaysia*:* I would like to draw attention to two issues that have emerged in the course of our discussion so far. Number one: the point about the need to look at underlying causes of war and conflict and the failure of segments of the media to do this. What explains this gap? Is it deliberate? Is it because of how media professionals are trained in schools of journalism? Is it because the owners – those who control the media – do not want to discuss or expose these underlying causes? It is important to explore the reasons behind this. I have often felt in my work with the media that their inability to look at underlying causes is perhaps ideological. In other words, it is linked to interests and the way in which interests are perpetrated in the media.

I will give you one example quickly, and that is the Palestinian conflict. Is it amazing that most of the media that report on what is happening there – not only Western media but also media in the non-Western world – in terms of so many have died on this side, so many have died on the other side. They talk about events as captured on camera or is reported in the print media, but there is no attempt to try to understand the underlying causes. Could that be because if you make an attempt to understand the underlying causes, you realise that you cannot place the violence of the occupier and the violence of the occupied on the same plane. There is a fundamental difference between the occupier and the occupied. But this never emerges on the reporting of the Palestinian conflict. I think it is deliberate. There are reasons why you don't want to talk about the situation of the occupied – these are victims we are talking about: those who are throwing stones. And those who are using the most powerful weapons on earth – you cannot put the two on the same plane. There is a tremendous asymmetry of power. But this seldom emerges in the reporting on Palestine. Is this an accident or a product of something else? You may want to reflect upon this.

Another point raised by the gentleman from Afghanistan that you may want to reflect on is the phenomenon of reporting in post-war situations. You find that after a war, after so-called liberation, you have lots of newspapers, radio, TV stations sprouting up, and you have free media – so to speak. But often you find what emerges after the war, in the post-war situation, is very disappointing and the role of the media often tends to be disappointing, too, in relation to the problems confronting that society. This is the case whether you look at Cambodia after the war, or Afghanistan, or Iraq, which is still in the throes of the conflict. You look at the situation after the fall of a dictator. This is a phenomenon that challenges us as media people and that we should reflect on. How do we make use of freedom in the post war scenario? It tells us a lot about ideology, interests and how certain interests are perpetuated in the post-war situation as well.

Lamia Aasi, Ambassador of Syria: The only point I will raise concerns the vital relations between capital, money and the media, owners who control the media and have influence. Considering this influence and hegemony over the media by capital, and the inter-relations between the owners of the media and the people who run the media as well as the people who create the war, how can we solve this dilemma? It is like a vicious circle. To take an example from our daily life, when I read some articles in the Malaysian press I find that they do not reflect Malaysian people or the viewpoints of Malaysian people. Instead they reflect the view of the West because the news comes from international agencies. They are efficient enough to produce these reports and send them out very quickly so the media everywhere take these reports and publish them as they are without any comments to indicate the point of view. This cannot be called neutral. It does not reflect our point of view. How can we resolve this issue? Is it possible at all? Can we resolve this by establishing a news agency financed by the people who are the victims of war, hegemony and the disasters of these wars?

Myrna Lim from the Philippines: I come from the southern part of Mindanao where there is internal conflict. We distribute books on gender, peace and development. You were talking about how to promote peace. In our area we have installed radio stations that are owned by the community: community radio stations. In so many instances it is these radio stations that have really promoted peace. For example, in one small community radio station in an area which was attacked by rebels, the local broadcasters were the ones who started announcing that people could go back to their homes. The national newspapers showed burnt houses, death and a conflict-ridden community. But the radio station brought back motivation among the people, with women, children, local people and local broadcasters announcing to the community that they can go back to their homes and will be protected by the government.

I am saying this because here in the Summit, there is a lot of talk about big investments, state and private. But let us see ourselves what we can do in a small way to promote peace, especially considering that peace lies in the hearts of the people, especially those in the community. Even in the government, we always say let the media broadcast positive news. Those who read major newspapers and listen to big broadcasting companies will only hear bad news because bad news sells. But in our community radio stations young women and men, young adults, are the ones running the station. I think and hope the AIBD should and will also focus on small initiatives at the community level that promote peace in the lives of those who are not well served by the big media.

Nicholas Nugent, UK: I used to report, including on war, and have been responsible for managing others reporting on war. I also provide training in war reporting. I thank you for raising interesting and, indeed, highly relevant questions about the role of the media in conflict. Much of what you have articulated is unarguable. But I begin to lose sympathy and support with you, when you broaden it to the notion of whether the media are doing enough to campaign for or promote peace. Because

to me that begs the question: peace on whose terms? It also over-simplifies the situation, suggesting that there are only two states: war or peace, that it is one or the other. I think it is much more complicated that that. War often arises from a situation of injustice, an uncomfortable situation or worse.

For example, in Kosovo, where there was nasty ethnic cleansing going on which was exposed by the media. And the media takes credit for drawing attention to that even though it led directly to war, war on a larger scale. Was it wrong that the media exposed the injustice and perhaps caused the war? Was the war a just war? Did it solve the problem? Those are not questions I am going to answer. I will not make judgments. War is a complicated issue. And, arguably, it was a war that was happening before the big jets came and bombings began. You could say that the bigger war put a stop to the smaller war. This is just an example, I think, of how complex the issues are. It reaffirms for me my decision that the job of the media or the reporter on the ground is to expose what is on and not to campaign for peace – because campaigning for peace has necessarily to be on the terms of one side or the other.

The second example is from own country, Northern Ireland, a long-standing war that I hope is now resolved. I would suggest to you that the media were ahead of the game. Initially they were bad at reporting the war in Northern Ireland but there came a point at which the media realised, before the politicians did, that there were two sides of the conflict and that it would not be doing justice to the profession if you did not talk to both sides. So the media started to talk to both sides some time before the politicians did. I think there is a lesson in that. Our job in the media is to try to talk to and indeed understand both sides in any of the conflict, not to campaign for either side nor, necessarily, to campaign for peace. In conclusion, I would suggest that it would be healthier to talk about being a force for the good or a force for exposing what is happening rather than necessarily a force for peace.

Dr. Chandra: Suppose the media decided to take a position on war – say on the question of criminalisation of war, an issue raised in Malaysia recently. Ever since the beginning of the 19th Century people have been talking about criminalising war. In other words, that one should not resolve disputes through war. It does not matter whether it is a big war or a small one, or what the justification or legitimisation for war may be – war is wrong, period. It is not the way to resolve conflict, whether between states or within a state. Let's say media take this position and said we support this idea: we are against war and we want war criminalised. Would you be betraying good journalism, media ethics? Would the media be accused of bias? Just think about this.

Director of Education, Afghanistan: All my colleagues are talking about the political side of media, and about war. I want to talk about peace and human rights. I would like to use the media for educational purposes, not political ones. The role of media should be for the advantage of education. When we have educated people, we will be free of many problems. But meanwhile my suggestion is that people in the media must be honest as human beings, honest to realities.

Asma Abassi, Bangladesh: I believe that it is important to believe in our creator, who has made us out of love. Every human being – Christian, Muslim, Jew, Hindu – has good qualities like love and peace. We should believe in humanity. Our main weapon should be the peace we derive from our religion, any religion.

Ambassador Ahmad: I think it is in the nature of human beings that they are careful about their lives. I also think some sections of the media are controlled either by their owners or some other authorities. These people are very powerful but intimidated by free media. Look at what has happened in some war zones, where media offices have been bombed. The excuse is that it happened by mistake, but I wonder what kind of mistake this is, when intelligent missiles can hit a moving car and, within it, hit one passenger. How can a complete building can be destroyed by mistake? There are also examples of some reporters being arrested, with some of them produced in kangaroo courts. Some of them are kidnapped. And we are asking what we can do, because the media have power. My proposal is that there should be a charter of honour among the media themselves to protect each other. Otherwise the free media will be unable to perform their role. If we sign a charter of honour to play our proper role and protect each other, I think we will give free media the opportunity to play their role.

Abdul Rahman Abdulaziz Alhazzaa, Ministry of Culture and Information, Saudi Arabia: Basically the media play a crucial part in the game of war and this is its influence on decision-making and feeding people's minds. The challenge is presented by the tremendous number of news items in all kinds of forms. The problem is that there is no control over these media – they are becoming quite wild. I think national initiatives are required to monitor or audit news and news sources. The purpose is not to oppose the direction or movement of the media but to give credibility to the media and news sources. It is intended to mitigate media hype and support rational decision-making, which is important. In Saudi Arabia we started a national media academy centre a year ago and that is proving helpful in giving direction to what is happening. There are few centres in the world that do this kind of work. I think here in this media Summit we have to call for countries to look at what the media are saying, as has been said before.

Firdoze Bulbulia, Children's Broadcasting Foundation for Africa, South Africa: My concern is, naturally, about children's programming. How many programmes for children, about children and with children talk about peace reporting instead of war? We seem to focus mainly on war and conflict. I am willing to focus on peace. I also think we need to look at different formats and genres. Most of the time we talk about current affairs. But I think we should also speak about talk shows, which may be one way of getting the message across. In post-apartheid South Africa there was a series of programmes with talk show host Felicia Mabu that did this very subtly. I think the line was 'Ordinary people doing extraordinary things.' In a very simple way she reported on good things, talking about how South Africans were beginning to cross the barriers of race and colour, which was our issue at that time, showing that people were managing to talk to each other. I think we need to look at formats and genres other than news that would work. These need not be expensive to produce.

We should also be alert to the fact that it was a radio programme that really incited people to go out and kill in Rwanda. In Ethiopia recently we were filming for UNICEF on violence against children and what was phenomenal was that mobile telephones and sms were being used to mobilise people. So when you talk about new technology and what we can begin to do this is another form of technology that we could use.

But I suppose the real questions are about peace and reconciliation: how do we begin to focus on peace and reconciliation when we know the sensationalism around war sells and conflict sells. I remember being in the US in 2001 when the countdown to the Iraqi war appeared like the countdown on New Year's Eve: 10 9 8 7 6. It was shocking for me, as a South African. I do think that as journalists, reporters, we are human beings first, we are people first. We cannot talk peace but we have to talk peace. I think we need to see that as a primary concern all of us as individuals, as human beings. What is important here is really that we need to focus on new races, on fresh ideas, on younger faces. I am not finding enough of that and I really do believe that some of that would come from people who have an alternative view, an alternative way. So, when you talk about media and the new media, what is the new media: citizen's media, children's digital story telling, Youtube – all these opportunities that we need to begin to use so they are not mediated or organised by the big name broadcasters. People are taking responsibility to get the stories out.

Dr. Chandra: These are very important points about more creative ways of approaching the question of peace and using the new media in such a way that younger voices will be heard. This is already happening but if you look at a conference like this and many similar conferences they are still dominated by oldies like us. So I suppose we have to try to look at younger people.

Faith Isiakpere: I am an African and I want to talk a little bit about what I call mental slavery. We have three sides to a story: your version, my version and the truth. I don't know how the media can ever tell the truth because they are either owned by individuals or by governments. So they would always only tell stories from those perspectives. I don't know if the media can ever be truthful. As a broadcaster, I had a channel in Nigeria for some time and the decisions I had to make a lot of time involved actually trying to overcome my mental slavery and find that what is the truth. As the head of the channel I always looked within before deciding whether what even your own reporters are telling you is the truth because, after all, what they report is their version. I believe that we have a lot to give as individuals because, as Bob Marley says, no one but ourselves can free our minds. So we need to free ourselves from mental slavery.

John Macguire, Radio France International: I am here to speak more as an Irish person than as an Irish journalist. I was very happy to hear about Northern Ireland from my colleague who brought up that issue. I think it is a classic case and that a lot of people can learn from it how powerful the media actually can be in conflict resolution. But I would like to give you some information about the media from my perspective

as an Irish journalist and one who covered aspects of the conflict. We were operating under censorship. The media can obviously be powerful if you don't have restrictions. For example, in the early 70s the whole broadcasting authority of our television was sacked by the government and I think Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act was brought in. We were not allowed to interview certain people with certain organisations – one of which is now empowered with the union in Northern Ireland after the peace process. I think in Britain, too, they had a form of censorship: instead of actually being allowed to interview the person directly, they could interview the person, put the images on the screen and use an actor for the voice. So I would just like to say that without some enabling from the authorities, the journalist can do nothing.

Kumudini Hettiarachchi, Sunday Times, Sri Lanka: I have been a journalist for 30 years and I think we are being treated very unfairly with all the media-bashing. I know the difficulties the media faces reporting on conflict. We have not paid tribute to all the journalists who have died in the quest for truth. Many, many people have sacrificed their lives for the truth. I think I have to disagree with my colleague who said that there are three sides to a story, someone also said there is your side and there is the truth. But I think most of us are here because we want to find out the truth and we have been doing it through our whole lives. As the colleague from Palestine said, there are journalists who would go beyond the call of duty for the truth. I think we have to pay tribute to all those who are like that.

Dr. Chandra: Thank you very much for that reminder. I think it is very important to remember the sacrifices of our colleagues.

Guillaume Cheneviere, Media and Society Foundation, Switzerland: I also want to say something in favour of the media. I think the media can do a lot and that it can do even better in the future. Not all media are under the influence of owners with Western interests. I think it is very important for journalists to receive the support they deserve, for media management to be improved. Many of the themes covered in the previous sessions, including but not only the peace issue, require that the media live up to their own values and standards and apply universal standards of quality. The Media and Society Foundation, with the help of the AIBD, is trying to establish such standards so as to improve transparency and accountability, which the media need to improve now and play their real role in society. That is why Javad Mottaghi and I are suggesting that during the Asia Media Summit 2008 we should have an interactive seminar for media managers here in Kuala Lumpur on the theme, 'How to improve your media organisation,' including practical exercises to try to show how universal standards, well applied, can effectively improve media output and help journalists do the job as they want to do it.

Zulkarimein Nasution, communication department, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta: To answer Dr. Chandra's question on what more can be done by the media in this respect, I would like to share the Indonesian experience which shows that they can actually play an broader role than just reporting events. When conflict happened

between two ethnic groups in our country several big media houses, including some TV stations, did more than reporting; they also helped – directly or by mobilising the community to donate funds – in building some community facilities that been destroyed during the conflict.

Reza Kashani, Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB), Iran: It seems that war imposes itself on our literature – for example, the war in Europe is referred to as a world war. The global community has already made some effort – for example, international organisations were established on the ashes of the war and a sense of global citizenship has been promoted. The idea is that if war emerges from the minds of people we have to do something about changing their mindsets. Now the real situation is that if some people within the media cannot report accurately about the war itself, we don't mind too much. But at least we have to report what has been happening and also let people know who started the war, whether it is the Iran-Iraq war or the Iran-Kuwait war. People know whether or not we did. My plea to all colleagues here is that at least we should stop Hollywood type of reporting about the war and reduce such coverage on television in order to make peace more possible and meaningful.

Dr. Chandra: I would like to thank everyone for their comments. We have had 21 interventions in less than about 50 minutes. This is really remarkable. There has been a great deal of participation and several good suggestions have emerged. I will not attempt to summarise the very diverse comments. I will merely highlight certain points that may help the AIBD in carrying forward this initiative towards peace.

First I will list some of the ideas which appear important to me from a personal standpoint.

a) It is important to look at media content. I think it is critical that we try to bring the theme of peace into the content of our programmes, whether it is radio, television or the print media.

b) We should highlight the equivalent of good/best practices. For example, the examples of individuals from the media world who have made sacrifices for peace should highlighted, especially in situations where the misuse of peace has come to the fore. Instances where the media have played a role in campaigning for peace – the example of Northern Ireland was mentioned and we also have other examples – should also be highlighted to demonstrate that the media can play a role in shaping the culture of peace. This would be the equivalent of good practices in governance but translated into the realm of the media and peace.

c) A third proposal that attracted my attention concerned community radio, work at the grassroots, and how it can help in mobilising forces for peace. There are examples from the Philippines, Thailand and so on.

d) A fourth point concerns monitoring the media, a sort of media watch on what the media are telling the world vis a vis war and peace. If there are blatant examples of the media promoting war that can and should be exposed. I know a

number of media watches that have emerged in various parts of the world and their work is very important. In the UK, for instance, there is an Arab media watch which looks at news coverage of the Middle East and has played a very critical role in exposing the wrongdoings of the media. What is good about this example is that the mainstream British media have been responsive to their inputs – so there is some dialogue. I am sure there are other examples. This is something we have to think about.

A final proposal that I would like to put forward, which didn't emerge from our discussions but which friends and I have talked about for some time, is: should the AIBD and its friends think about a prize for peace journalism? If the AIBD could take this idea forward during its 30th anniversary year it would be committing itself to promoting peace journalism.

I have dealt with what I regard as important points that have come up in this session. Forgive me if I have overlooked some of the salient points raised by participants but I am sure these will emerge and re-emerge in our ongoing discussions. It has been a great pleasure to moderate a session like this because, whatever our differences may be, what is really moving is the obvious human commitment to one of the most elusive and yet one of the most precious ideas before the human race: that is the idea of peace. Thank you very much.

Marcel Gomez: Thank you, Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, for chairing and moderating this session. I would now like to invite Dr. Javad Mottaghi to say a few words.

Javad Mottaghi: I would like to take this opportunity to, first of all, thank our sponsors, especially our two principal partners, who have helped us to organise this conference. I would like to mention the great support we have received from the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES). I would like to request Dr. Mohamed Jawhar Hassan and Mr. Paul Pasch to stand up so that we can give a big hand to them for their great support. It would have been impossible for the AIBD to organise the Summit without the support and cooperation of these two organisations.

I would also like to mention the other partners, Malaysia Airlines (MAS), Radio Television Malaysia (RTM), UNESCO, the Global Knowledge Partnership (GKP) and the 3rd Global Knowledge Conference (GK3), Lim Kok Wing, the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), Tourism Malaysia, Thomson Foundation, Ministry of Information - Malaysia, the Islamic Bank, the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU), UNAIDS, TVEAP, HELP University, Cihan, CCTV (the television network of the People's Republic of China), and many other partners and supporters who have been supporting us either in cash or kind. I am very grateful to all of them.

I would like to thank all the speakers and chairpersons who have come from around the globe. Without their participation and contribution this Summit would not have

been successful. May I ask for a big hand to all the speakers and chairpersons. And I would like to invite you to continue this dialogue in September at the Media Dialogue in Bonn. Many issues that have come up concern the need for talk between the east and the west. It is not a question of western media or eastern media: we have to always say some media in the west and some media in the east. It is a question of talking together. The Bonn Conference, which will be hosted by Deutsche Welle in Germany from 3-5 September, is the best opportunity for all us to talk to European partners face to face, interact with them and exchange views. That will automatically lead us to a better understanding. Everybody has the agenda of the Bonn Conference, which was presented by Erik Betterman, the host of the Bonn Conference. Please give a big hand to Erik and Deutsche Welle for hosting the 2nd Asia Europe Media Dialogue.

The next Asia Media Summit will be from 27-28 May 2008 in Malaysia – so please make a note of the dates, please contribute to the content and please stay in touch with the Secretariat. The content of the Asia Media Summit will be determined by feedback received through the evaluation forms that have been circulated to all of you. In addition they will also be sent to another 2000 people who were not able to come here and those who have watched this Summit through the webcast will also be requested to comment. We have taken note of Dr. Chandra's suggestion regarding a prize for peace journalism as well as many other comments that have come up over the past three days.

My last vote of thanks goes to my colleagues who have been working around the clock for the past eight months or so to make this Summit a reality. I thank every member of the AIBD secretariat for their great support. I look forward to seeing all of you at the Bonn Media Dialogue in September and next year here at the Asia Media Summit 2008. Thank you.

Reflections & Outcomes on the Pre-Summit Activities

Pre-Summit Seminar and Panel Discussion on

Connecting Communities Through Community Broadcasting and ICTs

Resolution

Recognising the importance of community media in economic, political and social development, in promoting good governance practices, and in empowering marginalised groups and communities to participate fully in society – in urban, rural as well as remote areas, and understanding the importance of encouraging community media initiatives that are owned and managed by communities and use material produced predominantly by, for and about communities, we, the participants at the workshop on Connecting Communities through Community Radios and ICTs agree to:

- Advocate for the recognition of community radio and other community media as a distinct tier of legislation and regulation, alongside public service and commercial broadcasting, thus contributing to the promotion of "air diversity".
- Advocate for the recognition of community media practitioners as valuable, professionally competent resources who can be involved in both peer training and training of other media professionals.
- Organise awareness-building and sensitisation programmes for legislators and community broadcasters on the potential of community radio and other information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the development process.
- Invite community media practitioners and include the topic of community broadcasting prominently in regional and global meetings (for example: a plenary session on community media at AMS 2008, World Electronic Media Forum 2007, etc.).
- Organise training and mentoring sessions for community broadcasting practitioners, with special recognition of the role of younger generations, on how community radio can capitalise on developments in the ICT sector, on new ways of addressing financial and organisational sustainability, etc.
- Include community media practitioners in the documentation and sharing of local and indigenous knowledge, as well as other discussions on global themes (for example discussions on Genetic Modification, the Millennium Development Goals, etc.).
- Explore ways to ground community media initiatives in initiatives in other sectors (e.g., health, agriculture, education, etc.).
- Facilitate partnerships between efforts to promote community broadcasting and efforts to promote newer ICTs among communities, such as Community Multimedia Centres, etc.
- Recognise community broadcasting stations as an effective entry point to take ICTs to the grassroots in both rural and urban settings.
- Document and disseminate best-practices and learning in community broadcasting.

Pre-Summit Workshop and Panel Discussion on

Empowering Broadcasters through Human Resources Development: The Way Forward

Gatot Budi Utomo

Report

The AIBD organised a pre-summit workshop on Empowering Broadcasters through Human Resource Development: The Way Forward, which was attended by approximately 78 delegates from 22 countries.

This workshop enabled senior representatives of broadcasting organisations to share their knowledge and expertise on human resources development. They stressed the urgent need for strategies to design programme content, adapt to the rapid pace of technology, and deal with regulatory statutes and code of ethics in order to redefine human resources development (HRD) in the contemporary media world. They underlined the importance of evolving a mechanism to promote capacity building in human resources management and to make media organisations resourceful in handling operational intricacies.

Recommendations with respect to capacity building that emerged from the workshop:

- Media organisations should allocate funds or create community chests for HRD.
- Millennium Development Goals to be promoted through HRD.
- Gender mainstreaming and children's programmes to be given their due share in training and implementation.
- Empowering women broadcasters in media organisations essential to realise the goal of gender equality.
- Training of trainers to make regional organisations self-reliant in skill-building efforts.
- Online resource centres to promote e-learning.
- Website or virtual library to be created to provide access to rich repository of regional and global knowledge and expertise on HRD.
- Transfer of knowledge from media veterans to young practitioners to be ensured.
- Multi-skilled professional to be trained for specialisations in various fields of media.
- Internal and external talent pools to be established for quality training.

- Broadcasters should be given orientation to defend and promote human dignity and rights.
- Gap between developed and developing nations to be reduced in the field of HRD.
- On-job training and training for jobs to be adopted in the context of cost management.
- A compendium of trainers and in-house resources to be prepared and maintained.
- Informal skill-building methodologies to be evolved to cut the cost of formal trainings.
- Management to be persuaded to refresh its own knowledge base and to be agent of change through skill-building.
- Sustainable public service broadcasting and community radio, as well as ideals of public broadcasting, to be promoted.
- Media organisations to play proactive role in conflicts, wars, natural disasters, peace building and good governance.
- Media organisations to adhere to codes of ethics, including gender-aware ethics.
- Convergence and integration of new information and communication technologies in capacity building.

Gatot Budi Utomo is Head of TVRI Training Centre, Indonesia

Pre-Summit Open Space Session on

An Asia-Pacific Approach to Public Service Broadcasting

Rajendra Prasad Sharma

Report

The idea of having an Open Space session at the Asia Media Summit, as far as I can remember, came up at the AIBD strategic plan team meeting in Phuket in 2006. It was suggested by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) and it is heartening for all of us that such an event has now taken place.

The objective with which we set out was the development of an Asia-Pacific approach to Public Service Broadcasting. Let me start by drawing your attention to the Bangkok Declaration that was adopted exactly four years ago, on 28 May 2003, in Bangkok, Thailand:

"Mindful of the crucial role played by public service broadcasting in increasing the awareness of the people, promoting freedom of expression, ensuring free flow of information and ideas, maintaining diversity in the broadcasting sector and empowering communities, PSB should provide programming that serves the public interest and facilitates people's participation in development programmes for societies."

Since AIBD members have committed themselves to the declaration we had a solid starting point.

Thirty six delegates had signed up for the session, with little idea of what to expect but prepared to be surprised. Most of us started out with inhibitions, ambivalence, perhaps even some skepticism, but the common denominator was a willingness to submit to something unknown. Reading about Open Space and actually going through the exercise were totally different experiences. After the first round of passionate discussions we came up with seven topics ranging from definition to mainstreaming, pubic service broadcasting, administrative structures, censorship, financing, programming and capacity building.

The convenors of individual topics stayed at their stalls/stations while delegates moved around sharing ideas. The convenors, meanwhile, put the ideas down on charts in the form of action statements. Eventually 82 ideas were created without 'birth pangs' while everyone had fun.

Out of these ideas, 15 ideas were short-listed through voting. Each delegate had nine votes and those getting the highest number were short-listed again. We were fortunate to find nine champions who were ready to initiate the task of implementation at the national or Asia-Pacific level. We need champions/initiators for the remaining six ideas. Anyone interested in championing any of the remaining ideas is requested to get in touch with the AIBD.

We also had a feedback chart and, at the end of the day, delegates seemed to be quite happy with the process and product.

Now the crucial question: what are the initial next steps? The champions sat around and came up with the idea of 'mapping' the current reality to determine the following:

- Varying practices of Public Service Broadcasting in different countries
- Off-line mapping exercise with AIBD members to take stock of current practices
- Alliances with civil society organisations

An email group was also created to facilitate the mapping exercise and the implementation of the ideas: PSB-ACTIVISTS@Lists.aibd.org.my

The goal of finding an Asia-Pacific approach to Public Service Broadcasting will clearly need concerted and coordinated efforts. Your contribution can make a difference. Welcome on board.

Rajendra Prasad Sharma is Deputy Executive Director, Radio Nepal

Pre-Summit Open Space Session on

Reforming and Enhancing Regulatory Mechanisms

Javed Jabbar

Report

This is not a consensus document. It cannot be. It is a summary of what happened during this pre-summit event. We had five sessions in a single day, spread over about nine hours, with 22 distinguished speakers and about 40 participants.

There were informative, stimulating presentations from Asia, Africa, Europe and North America, though we missed one from Malaysia. The event was marked by lively interactions that yielded rich, valuable content. However, my presentation will be subjective, selective and suppressive, like all good old media content. And, of course, it cannot do justice to the richness of the recommendations and observations made.

The five sessions were on Regulations & Public Interest; New Regulatory Approaches to Satellite, Internet, Blogging and Podcasting; Media Ownership & Regulation; Regulatory Mechanisms and Diversity; Reforming and Enhancing Regulatory Mechanisms: Challenges and Responses (Open Discussion). Discussions ran the whole gamut on the subject of regulation and they were topped off with a presentation on the ISAS quality management system.

As we are all aware, we live in times of unprecedented challenges. The speed of change is blistering and we are all on a roller coaster. Yet we have to keep our hats on our heads and our values and feet on the ground as we go through this incredible experience of convergence, with the Internet and the cell phone combining to become an entirely new entity.

We tried to identify determining principles such as diversity and pluralism, neutrality and 'agnosticism' (the word agnostic used here merely to mean that the regulatory body should not take a pre-determined position, ideologically or otherwise), consistency and predictability. The encouragement of creative entrepreneurship, especially across borders, was highlighted. Several ownership issues were also discussed.

A democratic environment was recognised as a must in order to do justice to regulation. Respect for the rule of law, human rights, and authentic independence

(not just formal independence) were also seen as essential. It was agreed that authentic independence would only result from meaningful consultations between the government and opposition parties in parliament. Participants felt it was necessary to enhance the ability of the regulatory authority to act both independently and impartially.

There was a stress on educational and cultural content. The need to prohibit and penalise any content violative of human dignity was also highlighted, with the term 'human dignity' used to cover child pornography as well as the depiction of gratuitous violence and any other offensive materials.

There were discussions on the interesting concept of proportionate regulation or multiple regulatory forums in operation in Singapore – i.e., one regulatory body for each media category. In Australia 17 different organisations are involved in monitoring or certifying the media. The convenience of a single body, as found in several countries (like Ofcom in the UK), was also highlighted.

The class license scheme in Singapore, where there is no need for a license before you become a service provider, was also discussed. Media literacy is promoted very extensively. In Canada the limit of 12 minutes of advertising time per hour was raised (or abolished) without prior consultation, but it was felt that regulatory bodies should ensure extensive consultation before making changes in policy.

There was a very fine presentation on the need to consider adopting universal media quality management standards and to recognise the inevitable gap between new technology and the formulation of law and policy.

The importance of supporting citizens' media watchdog groups was mentioned as a means of promoting the public interest and preventing undue concentration of media ownership and power, including cross-media ownership, which could interfere with the public sphere.

It was also agreed that prompt access by the public to multiple levels of complaints redressal should be ensured.

Finally, it was agreed that regulation is unavoidable, and certainly inescapable in territories occupied forcibly. We concluded with the marvelous observation that regulation is about enablement and not about repression.

Javed Jabbar is Founder, Citizens Media Commission, Pakistan and former Minister of Information and Media, Pakistan

Reflections & Outcomes on Pre-Summit Activities

Global Media Strategies on HIV and AIDS

Dali Mpofu

In January 2004, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan convened the world's leading broadcast executives in New York to focus attention on the media's pivotal role in the fight against HIV/AIDS and, in particular, our role in response to HIV/AIDS among young people. At that event, media companies from across the globe pledged on-air resources and creative talent to raise public awareness about AIDS in each of their countries.

Since its launch at that historic Summit, the Global Media AIDS Initiative (GMAI) has mobilised more than 160 media companies worldwide to join the fight against AIDS. As broadcasters, we recognise the power of mass media to raise awareness, educate populations, change attitudes, and fight HIV/AIDS-related stigma. In many parts of the developing world, however, the media have long been underutilised as a vehicle to disseminate information to populations most at risk, especially children and young people. The GMAI addresses this challenge by energising the media and securing concrete commitments of programming resources, donated airtime, and creative talent to tackle this very serious global pandemic.

Yesterday I was pleased to participate in a special workshop on HIV/AIDS that included some of the leading media executives from across this region. Asia is a new epicentre of the global HIV/AIDS pandemic, with rates of new infection that are rapidly climbing in many parts of this region. As young people across Asia face a growing epidemic, so too do the media face an extraordinary opportunity to help stem the spread of this disease by raising awareness and challenging attitudes of stigma and denial.

Media companies worldwide, including my own company in South Africa, have responded to the GMAI's call-to-action and have put their creative and technical resources to work, producing hundreds of public service announcements (PSAs) and integrating HIV/AIDS themes into entertainment, news and public affairs programming. GMAI members have contributed hundreds of millions of dollars in airtime to disseminate AIDS awareness messages. And important new coalitions of media companies have emerged in Africa, India, Russia, Ukraine, and the Caribbean in which participating broadcasters are developing original programming and sharing resources.

I am pleased to announce that the participants of yesterday's workshop have agreed to create the Asian Broadcast Media Partnership on HIV/AIDS – the newest action

arm of the GMAI, dedicated to pooling resources, coordinating efforts, and responding as a united coalition against the pandemic. I want to congratulate the AIBD for agreeing to spearhead this important initiative. I would ask each of you, leaders of the Asian broadcasting community, to join this initiative and mobilise your media resources to fight this health crisis, because I believe that collectively we have the power to change the course of this pandemic.

This past December, I was honoured to be asked by Mr. Kofi Annan to assume leadership of the GMAI Board of Directors. Over the next two years, I pledge to work with you to help mobilise media companies and develop new programming and creative resources to educate and engage your audiences about this disease. More so than perhaps any other public health issue, lack of knowledge and information, as well as stigma and discrimination, allow HIV/AIDS to spread. In this case, silence really does equal death.

As broadcast leaders, we recognise the power that media can play in raising awareness and educating communities about this problem. I want to thank you each of you for making the fight against HIV/AIDS a priority for your companies. And I want to extend an offer of support – call on me and my fellow members of the Global Media AIDS Initiative as you embark on this effort. We look forward to working collaboratively with other broadcasters from around the world to help turn back the tide of HIV/AIDS and support those who are already living with the virus.

Dali Mpofu is Group Chief Executive, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and Chair, Global Media AIDS Initiative (GMAI)

Declaration

Asia-Pacific Media AIDS Initiative (AMAI)

We, the leaders of Asia-Pacific broadcast media, assembled in Kuala Lumpur for the conference on **Global Media Strategies for HIV and AIDS,** pledge our commitment to supporting the **call to action of the Global Media AIDS** Initiative by expanding our response to HIV and AIDS, both within our own media companies and in collaboration with other media partners.

Convinced that media have a crucial role to play in the fight against HIV and AIDS, we resolve:

- To devote dedicated and substantial radio and television broadcast airtime for communicating to our audiences about issues related to HIV and AIDS;
- To develop innovative and creative approaches to HIV and AIDS messaging.

Aware that all sections of the society need to be reached, we resolve:

- To broadcast HIV and AIDS messages and programmes across the programming schedule, including during prime time;
- To produce and broadcast programmes related to HIV and AIDS in all genres and formats including news, current affairs, documentaries, talk shows, game shows, dramas and other entertainment formats.

Remarking that HIV and AIDS are complex issues which need to addressed accurately and sensitively, we resolve:

- To consult with stakeholders, including people living with HIV, NGOs, medical personnel, the scientific community and UN agencies, to ensure that the programmes are relevant, accurate and culturally appropriate in content and tone.

Noting that HIV and AIDS issues are multi-faceted, we resolve:

- To produce and broadcast programmes focusing not only on high-risk behaviour but also on related and contributing issues, such as gender relations, HIV in the workplace, HIV and economics, children living with HIV, etc.;
- To produce and broadcast high-quality programmes sensitive to the needs of HIV positive persons and people living with AIDS;

- To produce and broadcast programmes and public service announcements that encourage preventive behaviour, connect audiences to local resources, including testing and counseling centres, and aim to reduce the stigma and discrimination associated with HIV and AIDS.

Cognizant of the fact that HIV infections have become a global pandemic affecting people in their productive ages and that, as such, it poses a threat to the development of our societies, and that the resources of broadcasters to run a sustained information campaign is limited, we resolve:

- To offer and share programmes on HIV and AIDS with other broadcasters, preferably free of copyrights;
- To collaborate with other broadcasting organisations and global partners and share resources for regional projects and co-productions in a manner which is transparent and accountable and goal-oriented.

Underscoring the fact that we cannot be complacent in this campaign, we resolve:

- To monitor the duration, timing and quality of programmes that are broadcast;
- To undertake research to evaluate programming related to HIV and AIDS with a view to continuously enhancing the impact on target audiences.

Understanding that issues related to HIV and AIDS are constantly evolving and that there is a need to build the capacity of producers to deal with the issue, we resolve:

- To enhance the quality of HIV and AIDS programming by providing relevant exposure and training to producers.

Lastly, *recognising* that strong and effective partnerships are the key to sustained media campaigns, we **request all broadcasters** in the Asia-Pacific region to join hands **to form** the **Asia-Pacific Media AIDS Initiative (AMAI),** a regional action arm of the Global Media AIDS Initiative **with AIBD as its Secretariat** in the region – with additional support **and collaboration** from its member countries, affiliates, partners such as UNESCO, UNAIDS, etc., and broadcasting unions and associations such as the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU) and Commonwealth Broadcasting Association – and **to collectively develop and action a concrete collaborative work plan and timeline** that is results-oriented, measurable and accountable to the Initiative's members.

Asia Media Summit 2008

27-28 May, Petaling Jaya, Selangor, Malaysia

Theme: NEW VISIONS

A media explosion is upon us. On a daily basis, we get to know and experience new technology, innovative software, and creative content. The speed of technology is blistering. The diversity of media content is mind-boggling. Consumer preferences are changing at a faster pace. Competition in the traditional and new media is getting stiffer. All these need intelligent foresight. More than ever, media stakeholders require competence in discernment or perception. The changing competitive media landscape call for new visions, characterized by a mix of effective strategies, innovative approaches, and best practices that benefit both business and society.

Topics

Emerging '*New Broadcasters*,' Evolving Strategies
Changing Newsrooms, Redefining Journalism
Connect Asia, Africa and the World: Bridging the Digital Divide
User-Generated Content: Impact on Business and Society
Media Agenda Setting: Perspectives and Challenges
Regulations and New Media Business Models
Media and Responsible Practices
Media and Family

Pre-Summit Activities on 25-26 May 2008

- AIBD-ASBU Workshop on Media Advertising
- AIBD-TF Workshop on TV News Management
- Workshop on Media Laws

Pre-Summit Activities on 26 May 2008

- Seminar on Asia-Pacific Media AIDS Initiative
- Open Space on Asia-Pacific Approach to Public Service Broadcasting
- AIBD-WRTVC Workshop on Media Quality Management
- AIBD-NHK Regional Workshop on HDTV Technology
- Roundtable Discussion on Media for Development Global Centre
- Workshop on fighting Stereotypes: Identity, Gender
- Regional Seminar on A Message from An Audience: Listen to the Children Programmes

For more details, visit www.aibd.org.my, or write to marcel@aibd.org.my

AIBD
Asia–Pacific Institute For Broadcasting Development

ASIA MEDIA SUMMIT 2007

Revisiting, Rethinking, Replenishing, Renovating

The 4th Asia Media Summit (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 29-31 May 2007) brought together close to 500 participants representing broadcasting organisations, regulatory agencies, media and communication consultancy companies, non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, and the community of journalists and other media professionals from over 50 countries of Asia, the Pacific, Africa, Europe, the Arab world and North America.

A global media platform for media industry stakeholders, the Summit examined concerns affecting the media business, particularly in the light of media convergence, as well as the media's role in focussing public attention on critical global issues such as poverty, gender, climate change and war, among others.

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