

Media on the Move

Migrants and Minorities and the Media



Media on the Move



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für Migration
und Flüchtlinge

Migrants and Minorities and the Media

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Media on the Move: Migrants and Minorities and the Media

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Contents

- 5 **Preface**
Jörgen Klussmann, Protestant Academy of the Rhineland
- 6 **Executive Summary**
Christoph Dietz and Petra Stammen, CAMECO

Part I: Migration and the Media

- 11 **A multi-media project in Georgia:
Informed Migration**
Marc Hulst
- 18 **Radio Kwizera:
Empowerment in a fragile region**
Fr. Damas Missanga
- 25 **Fostering social action through radio drama:
Migration stories „from here and there“**
Seidy Salas Viquez
- 31 **The Radio 1812 project:
Getting migration on air**
Myriam N. Horngren

Part II: Media and Minorities and Diversity

- 35 **SABC — Broadcasting in a diverse society:
Equal or equitable?**
Fakir Hassen
- 40 **Media Monitoring Africa:
How media monitoring can change the world**
William Bird

...Contents

- 50 **Indonesian diaspora and minority media:
Mirroring me daily
Edith Koesoemawiria**
- 57 **Approach – Models – Impact:
Strategic support of Roma media initiatives
Marie Struthers**
- 65 **Europe's Ethnic & Diversity Media:
Beyond mere visibility
Reynald Blion**
- Part III: Potentials of Diaspora Media**
- 70 **The Democratic Voice of Burma:
Strategies of a an exile media organisation
Khin Maung Win**
- 75 **The Zimbabwean:
Local news from abroad
Wilf Mbanga**
- 80 **Online spheres of migrants in Germany:
How and why migrants use the Internet
Kathrin Kissau**

Preface

This publication is a further step in reflecting the relation of media, development and migration.

Until now in Germany we have been discussing intensely how migrants are portrayed in the mainstream media. Often the discussion concentrated on the problematic descriptions of minorities – especially Muslims – in the media and how this contributed to prejudices in society. It was also examined how more colour could be brought into the media and how the latter could contribute to successful integration.

Nevertheless, substantial numbers of migrants and refugees migrate to neighbouring countries. But the reflection on media and integration of ethnic minorities in so-called developing countries has not been as intensive as it should have been. How is migration portrayed in the media of the receiving countries in Africa, Latin America or Eastern Europe? In addition, the conference "Media on the Move" aimed to collect examples of giving migrants and minorities a voice in the media. As this publication shows, various experiences offer us inspiring ways of how Southern media can accompany migrants and minorities.

The *German Forum Media and Development* (FoME) has organised this conference as its annual symposium 2008. The Forum consists of all relevant German actors in this field. It focuses on media development cooperation practice, regularly holds conferences and publishes on these issues. This year it was mainly the Protestant Academy of the Rhineland together with the *Catholic Media Council* (CAMECO) that was responsible for the conference management. The *German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees* (BAMF) funded the conference within the framework of the series of lectures „questions for the future of integration and migration in Germany“, a network project of the Protestant Academies in Germany in cooperation with the BAMF.

We are grateful for this support which enabled us to invite experienced media practitioners from four continents. Last but not least I would like to thank Dr. Christoph Dietz and Petra Stammen from CAMECO who really did a great job in developing the conference concept and lending a helping hand whenever it was needed.

Jürgen Klussmann



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The symposium “Media on the Move: Migrants, Minorities and the Media” focused in three sections on migration and ethnic minority media coverage within Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and South-Eastern Europe. Special attention was paid to concrete experiences regarding the strengthening of ethnic and diversity media and the potentials as well as the limits of Diaspora media.

The contributions on “Migration and the Media” give concrete practical insights into how to inform effectively on migration issues (Hulst), how to combine edutainment campaigns with social action (Salas) and how to advocate the rights of refugees (Missanga, Horngren).

The inputs on “Media, Minorities and Diversity” elaborate the differences between Indonesian Diaspora and minority media (Koesoemawiria), policies to prevent discrimination and stereotyping by a public service broadcaster (Hassen) and the relevance of media monitoring in enforcing ethical journalism standards (Bird). On a conceptual level, lessons learnt on holistic donor strategies (Struthers) and the media approach of the *Council of Europe’s* anti-discrimination campaign (Blion) are discussed. The need for close cooperation between mainstream and ethnic diversity media was not only stressed in the two latter papers, but turned out to be a major common concern of the conference participants.

The “Potentials of Diaspora Media” are illustrated by two practical experiences and one research study. The work of the *Democratic Voice of Burma* (DVB) points out the effects of first hand visual TV images on international pressure on military regimes (Khin Maung Win), meanwhile the weekly newspaper *The Zimbabwean* uses a legal loophole to disseminate independent information within a closed society (Mbanga). A study on the Internet usage of migrants in Germany shows that a high percentage has become more involved and interested in political topics regarding their home and host countries (Kissau).

I. Migration and the Media

A multi-media project in Georgia: Informed Migration

Marc Hulst, Programme Officer at the *International Organization for Migration* (IOM) mission to Georgia, shares the lessons learned from the “Informed Migration” campaign in Georgia. IOM has been implementing this EU-funded project since 2006, aiming at informing potential migrants on the consequences of irregular migration and providing them with information concerning legal possibilities for migration. The multimedia campaign included TV, radio and newspaper ads, printed materials and a website as well as the implementation of a hotline. Based on the assumption that a successful campaign has to combine rational



and emotional arguments, migrants' personal experiences were used as a real-life source of information about life abroad. Registering the number of calls to the hotline, each medium generated, newspaper and television ads and printed materials have proven to be effective communication channels. Most effective are hard-hitting TV messages over several weeks per year, alternating with the consistent use of print media and individual outreach work.

Radio Kwizera: Empowerment in a fragile Region

The challenge of producing radio programmes for African refugees, returnees and local host communities in the Great Lakes Region is elaborated by Fr. Damas Missanga, director of *Radio Kwizera* (Tanzania). *Radio Kwizera* was set up as a temporary station to accompany the Rwandan refugees crossing the border after the genocide of 1994. After the Rwandan refugees, "repatriated" refugees from Burundi and Eastern Congo followed. Most of the circa four million listeners across Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Eastern Congo are poor rural people.

Missanga highlights three areas the radio station was successful in: defending the rights of refugees and helping them and returnees to make informed choices; facilitating the information flow between refugees and humanitarian organisations, and enabling the local population in north-western Tanzania to actively engage authorities in demanding service delivery. With the ongoing repatriation and closure of refugee camps *Radio Kwizera* is currently re-profiling its programming and structure towards a local community radio station, however, the mission to promote peace and reconciliation in this politically fragile region will remain.

Fostering social action through radio drama: Stories "from here and there"

Seidy Salas synthesises the experiences of the radio production centre *Voces Nuestras* in Costa Rica of using "edutainment" radio drama campaigns for social action in Central America. Using the example of the radio series *Pueblo de Paso* on migration issues, she describes how radio drama campaigns allow generating synergies between local radio stations and civil society organisations. *Pueblo de Paso* was broadcast in 184 Latin American radio stations, and launching events were hosted in five Central American countries. An effective campaign not only includes the planning and production phase, but also guidance to the participating radio stations, the involvement of organisations specialised in migration issues and the campaign evaluation. Salas also highlights the need to research the effects of radio drama campaigns and to create radio dramas for young audiences.

Radio 1812: Getting migration on air

Myriam Horngren presents the *Radio 1812* campaign, a public relations event organised by the migration advocacy organisation *December 18*. Radio stations are asked to produce programmes on 18th December, the International Migrants Day, and to share this content online. According to Horngren, the success of this campaign shows that many in the media are ready for this kind of engagement with civil society as long as the roles and responsibilities of each are clearly defined. Nevertheless, working with various types of radio – from national broadcasters to community radio stations – from different parts of the world, speaking different languages, creates a high demand for coordination and requires trained staff and significant staff time. In addition, migrant groups and civil society organisations have to learn how to engage with the media and understand the need for the strategic use of communication in order to protect their rights.



II. Media, Minorities and Diversity

SABC – Broadcasting in a diverse society: Equal or equitable?

Fakir Hassen elaborates on how the national public broadcaster of South Africa, the *South African Broadcasting Corporation* (SABC), operates in a diverse society in order to promote a national identity. On its 18 radio stations SABC maintains separate language stations in all the eleven official languages and applies the principle of equitability for the three national television stations. What do the guiding principles of the South African constitution on equality, freedom of expression and cultural, religious and linguistic diversity mean for the concrete programme content of the SABC? By presenting some examples, Hassen, the acting general manager of the SABC *Broadcast Compliance Unit*, shows how issues of discrimination and stereotyping are treated by regulators and the SABC itself and what the respective consequences are; ranging from preventing the broadcasting on the airwaves to the adaptation of content concepts and images.

Media Monitoring Africa: How media monitoring can change the world

Media monitoring breaks up lots of information into manageable pieces and provides clear quantitative and qualitative data, says William Bird of *Media Monitoring Africa* (MMA). Not only does it highlight the amount of coverage, it is also able to provide an insight into how issues and people are represented. Using the media coverage of the xenophobic violence in May and June 2008 around Johannesburg, South Africa, Bird shows that monitoring can force tabloid journalism to respect ethical standards. When in a three week period over 60 people in townships around central Johannesburg were killed and 50 000 were displaced from their homes, the media in general terms made an effort to ensure that coverage was not just focused on the hatred and xenophobic violence. Nevertheless, the *Daily Sun*, South Africa's biggest selling daily newspaper, perpetuated negative stereotypes of non South Africans by referring to them as *aliens* and also implying that they were in fact the ones to blame for the violence. MMA submitted a list of more than 50 stories to the press ombudsman, evidencing that the *Daily Sun* had not only currently been portraying non South Africans negatively. The case was finally dealt with at the South African Press Appeal Tribunal and resulted in a settlement by which the *Daily Sun* is not allowed to refer to foreigners as "aliens" in any future article.

Indonesian diaspora and minority media: Mirroring me daily

Edith Koesoemawiria compares Indonesian diaspora media in Hong Kong to Tionghuan (Mandarin) minority media in Indonesia. She states that the free-of-charge bimonthly newspaper *Suara* in Hong Kong has become a true means towards empowerment of Indonesian migrant workers as it offers them a space to tell their personal stories as well as information on policies affecting their livelihoods. Unlike Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong who have a limited residence permit, the Tionghuans in Indonesia are an established minority placed under strong pressure to realise their potential as fully-fledged members of Indonesian society. In addition to a broad range of ethnic media the presence of Tionghuan media practitioners in the mainstream media actually offers them opportunities to overcome ethnic cultural barriers.

Approach, Models, Impact: Strategic support for Roma media initiatives

Media projects are a vital tool for strengthening the identity, human rights, language and self-esteem of the Roma, Europe's largest minority population, says Marie Struthers from the *Open Society Institute* (OSI). Since the mid-1990s OSI has covered a holistic range of



projects: Roma media outlet development, programme exchange and networking, professional training and development, content production for the European mainstream press and advocacy. Media outlets located in smaller communities and with a clear community service orientation have overall experienced more success than those in larger communities. Roma news agencies and production companies have served to influence and inspire mainstream reporting on Roma, and long-term investment into educational and professional development opportunities led to a cadre of professional Roma journalists working in mainstream media or media-related fields. A co-production fund has proven successful in terms of audience outreach, but also had a direct advocacy and policy impact. Nevertheless, Struthers also mentions many obstacles to a healthy development of Roma media initiatives. Therefore, long-term commitment from donors continues to be crucial. In addition, Roma media networking and donor coordination are to be encouraged, and work is needed on minority media legislation and regulation.

**Europe's Ethnic & Diversity
Media:
Beyond mere visibility**

Reynald Blion, Media & Diversity Manager at the *Council of Europe* (CoE), presents results of programmes and projects linked to a new CoE anti-discrimination campaign. He distinguishes three ways of fighting discrimination in the media and gaining greater coverage of intercultural issues: a major presence of minority professionals in the mainstream media industry, the strengthening of ethnic & diversity media and a stronger collaboration between mainstream and ethnic media. Despite their growing importance and diversity, ethnic media encounter difficulties in accessing financial and human resources. The author therefore proposes to encourage the development of alliances between mainstream and minority media. The mainstream media would be enabled to broaden their sources of information on intercultural issues, meanwhile the production and financial capacity of ethnic & diversity media would be strengthened.

III. Potentials of Diaspora Media

**Democratic Voice of Burma:
Strategies of an exile media
organisation**

Khin Maung Win reports on the multiple communication strategy of the exile media organisation *Democratic Voice of Burma* (DVB) based in Norway. The DVB broadcasts its radio signal via shortwave, and in 2005 it launched a satellite TV channel which provides millions of Burmese inside the country with independent information. A network of DVB undercover journalists delivers first hand information from Burma, which is disseminated from Norway. The outstanding role of DVB reached its peak during the *Saffron Revolution*, a demonstration by Buddhist monks in 2007. The DVB reports became a major source for international mainstream media looking for images from Burma and as a consequence prevented criminal acts by the ruling military regime. But also within the country DVB's operations have an impact, says Win, as it strengthens local freedom activists through media reporting and gives opposition parties a forum for debate.

**The Zimbabwean – newspaper
and website:
Local News from abroad**

Since the late 1990s journalists in Zimbabwe have been harassed, arrested, beaten and tortured which resulted in the fact that most of them had to leave the country. Since 2005 Wilf Mbanga and his weekly newspaper *The Zimbabwean* have been addressing the need of Zimbabweans for independent print information from and about their country, using a



legal loophole – the paper is produced and printed abroad (in the UK and South Africa) and transported into Zimbabwe by truck at great risk. Thanks to Zimbabwean citizen reporters who send their information outside the country by using means of modern technology, *The Zimbabwean* became the newspaper with the highest circulation in the country, providing independent information. At the same time its Internet presence connects the large diaspora community of Zimbabweans spread all over the world to their home.

**Online spheres of migrants
in Germany:
Using Internet potentials**

Kathrin Kissau presents the results of a research project on the political potential of the Internet for migrants from the former Soviet Union as well as Turkish and Kurdish migrants in Germany. A content analysis of over 300 websites created for or used by migrants for political activities and a survey of the users and the administrators of these sites were conducted. Migrants from the former Soviet Union used online platforms more to discuss politics with residents of their home countries, while Turkish migrants communicated more with Germans. While websites used by Post-Soviet migrants are predominantly orientated towards politics worldwide and the international relations of their country of origin, the sites of Turkish migrants are centrally focused on German politics. The Kurdish websites in contrast were focused more on Kurdish political issues, so Kurds seem to see themselves as a diaspora more than the other two migrant groups. Internet users from all groups felt that the Internet not only allows easier contact with the home country, but they also feel fewer constraints on expressing their opinions online. 70 percent of the interviewed users stated to have become more involved and interested in political topics concerning their country of origin. The same percentage also said they had become more active regarding their country of residence. Thus it can be subsumed that the political potentials of the Internet for migrants are not constrained to their country of origin but also refer to their country of residence.

*Christoph Dietz
Petra Stammen*



A multi-media project in Georgia:

Informed Migration

By Marc Hulst



As an intergovernmental organisation established in 1951, the *International Organization for Migration* (IOM) is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society.

IOM acts with its partners in the international community to:

1. assist in meeting the growing operational challenges of migration management
2. advance understanding of migration issues
3. encourage social and economic development through migration
4. uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.

Many potential migrants have distorted perceptions of life abroad and are unaware of the legal, practical, social and economic difficulties involved in irregular migration. Few have realistic information about the conditions that await them in their intended country of destination or the policies that will affect them upon arrival.

IOM information campaigns can help discourage irregular migration by:

1. Informing potential migrants of the consequences of irregular migration, trafficking

and illegal hiring practices.

2. Providing potential migrants with information concerning the legal possibilities for migration.

Properly targeted information serves as the basis for realistic and responsible decisions. In the case of migration, information can effectively influence spontaneous flows and irregular departures.

All over the world IOM has been conducting information dissemination programmes aiming at raising the awareness among prospective migrants on the realities of migration abroad and convey information on both the opportunities of legal migration and limitations of irregular migration.

Informed Migration in Georgia

In Georgia IOM has been implementing the EU-funded "Informed Migration" project since early 2006, following up on a previous awareness-raising project that aimed to contribute to the prevention of trafficking in persons. Georgia has experienced a structural flow of nationals migrating from the country ever since it became independent in the early nineties of the previous century.

Marc Hulst is Programme Officer at the International Organisation for Migration's (IOM, <http://www.iom.ge>) mission to Georgia. His responsibilities include the management of information dissemination programmes for the benefit of potential migrants, the coordination of the mission's counter-trafficking programme, and the management of projects in the field of labour migration and migration research.

Key contributory factors determining migration from Georgia are the persistent instability in the country caused by various internal and external conflicts and the resulting socio-economic problems faced by many Georgians.

Primarily with the objective of finding employment, an approximate one-fifth of the total population of Georgia has travelled abroad, either settling there on a permanent basis or working there temporarily and sending money home to support family members and relatives who stay behind.

Decision-making process

Prior to embarking on an information dissemination project, one needs to examine what kind of information is already available and what the added value of additional information is among potential migrants. This means to establish migrants' profiles, perceptions and motivations; the general public's migration information levels etc. In the spring of 2006 IOM did a needs assessment among a pilot sample of 110 persons who approached IOM's Migration Resource Centres in Georgia with requests for information related to migration.

According to the findings of the needs assessment, prospective migrants in Georgia primarily use the following sources of information for decision-making:

- Relatives/friends/acquaintances already abroad: while direct and relatively easy to obtain, this information can be distorted and form a basis for poorly informed decision-making;
- Visa brokers and other facilitators of irregular migration: they have an interest to attract clients and may sketch a rosy picture of conditions, which can mislead potential migrants.

In addition, people in Georgia thinking of going abroad often find it hard to comprehend cumbersome and frequently changing immigration and employment policies applied in destination countries with regard to third country nationals. Coupled with strong push factors that lead people to perceive that they have to realise their migration intentions on a short-term basis, migration decision-making is often poorly informed and not based on objective and up-to-date information.

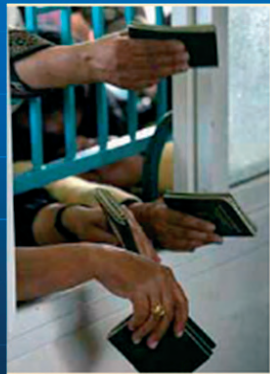
Decision-making related to migration is determined by the following set of psychological factors:

- "I can rely on my relatives/friends abroad to

Informed Migration - Georgia

Factors determining migration patterns in Georgia:

- Independence from Soviet Union in 1991 – borders opened
- High outward migration in early nineties (among others by non-Georgian ethnic groups to ancestral home)
- Instability due to internal conflicts
- Economic and social problems
- Migration to Russia, other CIS countries, EU countries and North America: primarily for employment purposes



Bonn, 25 September 2008

To date, channels for legal migration for citizens of Georgia are still rare and most migration movements, in particular by people with a lack of qualifications that are in demand in foreign countries, tend to become illegal at a certain stage. This can concern illegal entry into the destination country, visa overstay, and/or employment without an official work permit. The informal sector of visa brokers, dubious job mediators and document counterfeiters is involved in meeting the demand for a quick passage abroad.

- Strong tendency to believe that migration is the panacea to existing problems – potential migrants are susceptible to attractive promises that are not fully checked on their veracity.

In formulating the basic messages for dissemination among potential migrants, IOM made the following key assumptions:

- People will migrate anyway, whatever information may be disseminated. Therefore, the message going out to the target groups needs to be balanced and useful for them
- A successful campaign has to mix negative and positive messages and combine rational arguments with emotional ones. A message that directly discourages would-be migrants from emigrating to a specific country could have the opposite effect
- Campaigns that focus exclusively on the negative side of things, with strong stay-home, dissuasive messages have little chances of succeeding. Balance must be struck between good and bad news
- The often hard reality of irregular migration needs to be conveyed to potential migrants – life of an irregular migrant is often

Bonn, 25 September 2008

“Do You Think Streets Abroad are Paved with Gold?”
“Think Twice Before You Go!”

Informed Migration - Georgia

Disseminating the message:

- Since 2002 IOM and NGO partners in Georgia have been engaged in information dissemination among potential migrants to inform them about the realities of migration (opportunities as well as constraints) and counter common misperceptions
- Initially to counter trafficking in persons, later focusing on promoting legal forms of migration



Born, 23 September 2008

and visualised this using the Georgian and Russian languages.

Prior to the information dissemination, IOM assessed the media outlets in Georgia, based on a number of media surveys undertaken by polling stations, to determine which medium would be most adequate and best positioned to disseminate migration-related messages.

This takes into account that a potential migrant community is diverse. Therefore no single medium would reach all audiences.

Consequently, programme messages need to be sent through several complementary channels, even if some reach only niche audiences. IOM opted for a combination of main media radio, print and punctual activities on television — supported by grassroots dissemination and networking.

Dissemination channels were chosen in such a way so as to ensure that the information reached the migrants in their daily environment (home, workplace) or in places of high visibility and access without migrants having to go to considerable effort to procure it.

Based on that, IOM decided to implement in Georgia a multi-media¹ approach using the following dissemination tools:

- Migration Resource Centres in four cities across Georgia for face-to-face consultations
- Hotline
- National and local TV and radio stations to broadcast Public Service Announcements (PSAs)
- Printed material displayed in outdoor locations
- Brochures disseminated during community meetings and face-to-face consultations, through visa sections of embassies, passport issuance offices and at border crossing points
- Website (www.iom.ge/informedmigration).

Effects and limitations

After completion of the information dissemination project in June 2008, IOM evaluated the various media used, which resulted in a number of conclusions summarised below. The main indicator to measure the effectiveness of the dissemination channels was the number of calls to the hotlines that each medium generated, which was registered during phone conversations with the project beneficiaries.

Migration Resource Centres:

Four Migration Resource Centres geographically spread across the country, focusing on large cities and their hinterlands, serving an average of three visitors per day per Migration Resource Centre

- Environment for confidential consultations / low threshold policy and no registration of personal data
- Basis for physical outreach to local communities, in particular rural towns, villages, ethnic minorities, school attending youngsters, and other vulnerable groups
- Focal point for conducting migration debates tailored to local context
- Venue for enhanced NGO/government interaction
- Staffed by local people knowing local specifics
- The centres provided free Internet access for project beneficiaries, which otherwise might be difficult to get.

Hotline:

- Easy to advertise
- Easy to manage
- Average 12 calls per day in the capital Tbilisi, less in provincial cities
- Anonymous and confidential: establishes trust. Useful for follow-up face-to-face consultations in the Migration Resource Centres

Informed Migration – Georgia

Community outreach meetings



Born, 23 September 2008

Informed Migration - Georgia

Impact of Public Service Announcements (TV and radio):

1. 2003: young man working abroad, family at home dependent on remittances, hiding the truth, shame, despair



PSA 1

Born, 23 September 2008

- Functions as a kind of migration barometer, in the sense that registering incoming calls captures new trends in migration behaviour of the Georgian population
- Less adequate medium to convey complicated information: follow-up through face-to-face consultation is required.

Television:

- Very large audience reached
- Striking visuals and texts repeatedly broadcast remain stuck in memory of viewers
- Effective medium in terms of feedback to hotlines (13.3% of beneficiaries called based on the TV PSA)
- Limited space to convey message, so hotlines were advertised in the TV PSA as a means to provide follow-up information service
- Air time is expensive, so frequent broadcasting is difficult to achieve
- Any information dissemination project in Georgia should not rely on television broadcasting only, but needs to be supported by more frequent ads in other media.

Radio:

- Large audience reached
- The TV PSA was adapted for radio broadcasting and aired on the same days as the TV PSAs in an attempt to enhance both the TV and radio PSAs
- IOM cooperated with *Radio Channel One* in airing four one-hour live radio broadcasts, allowing listeners to call in to the studio and discuss issues with the IOM programme staff and invited experts
- Radio as a medium offers limited time to convey message, so hotlines were advertised at the end of the message to offer follow-up information service through the hotlines
- Radio comes with limitations in the sense that listeners may not be in the position to

“digest” information (write down the hotline number, for example)

- Overall radio turned out less effective in terms of tangible impact (2.28% of calls were based on information broadcast through the radio).

Newspaper ads:

- Flexible medium enabling to reach very specific audience depending on newspaper chosen (age, gender, geographical area, ethnicity, etc.)
- Cost-effective – enabling constant ad placement
- Crucial medium to sustain interest in information dissemination in times when no PSAs are broadcast on TV and radio
- The newspaper turned out the most effective medium in terms of spreading information (42.37% of all calls were based on the newspaper ads), but this statistic is distorted with a view to the considerably higher frequency of newspaper ads than that of any other medium targeted.

Printed material

(poster, brochure, fact sheet):


- Makes information dissemination visible
- Sustainable media: one copy can reach more than one reader
- There is space to explain a message and convey more complex information
- Printed material is not very effective as stand-alone medium and lacks a hard-hitting impact. It is more a support medium for TV and radio PSAs anchored in hotlines and Migration Resource Centres
- Printed material was the source for 14.1% of all calls made to the hotlines in Georgia.

Internet (virtual Migration Resource Centre):

- The Internet conveys a vast richness of in-

Informed Migration - Georgia

2. 2008: no alternative left, hiding the truth, family in Georgia pleased to hear good news, risk of deportation, pursuing opportunities at home




PSA 2

born, 26 September 2008

Informed Migration - Georgia

Newspaper ads:

- Flexible medium enabling to reach very specific audience depending on newspaper chosen (age, gender, geographical area, ethnicity, etc.)
- Cost-effective – enabling constant ad placement
- Crucial medium to sustain interest in information dissemination in times when no PSAs are broadcast on TV and radio
- Overall quite effective medium (42.37%)




born, 26 September 2008

Informed Migration - Georgia

Internet (virtual Migration Resource Centre):

- Vast richness of information
- Most effective medium to guarantee access to updated information (links)
- Only effective in environments with high Internet access (in Georgia stark urban-rural contrast)
- People with Internet access are usually not the people in need of IOM's hotline and Migration Resource Centre services
- Language barrier: impossible to make all information available in language known by the audience
- In Georgian context less effective medium to generate massive interest (basis of 1.1% of calls only), but excellent support tool for individual consultations



born, 26 September 2008

formation

- Most effective medium to guarantee access to updated information (by regularly updating and adding links with useful information)
- People with Internet access are usually not the people in need of IOM's hotline and Migration Resource Centre services
- Obviously, this medium is only effective in environments with high Internet access (in Georgia there is a stark urban-rural contrast in that regard)
- Internet comes with a language barrier: it is virtually impossible to make all information available in all languages known by the audience
- In the Georgian context Internet proved to

be a less effective medium to generate massive interest (basis of 1.1% of calls only), but it is definitely an excellent support tool during individual consultations.

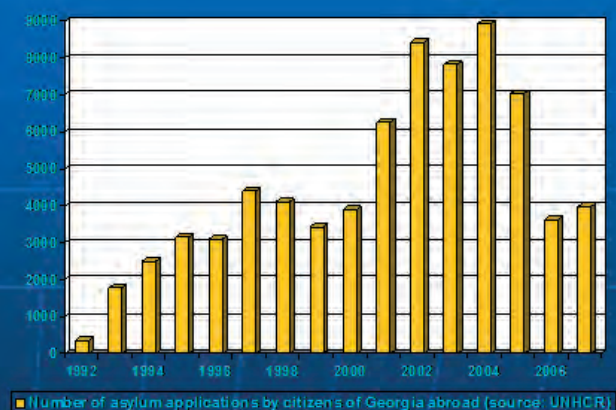
Impacts and Lessons learned:

From experiences from other countries it can be concluded that IOM's information programmes/campaigns have raised the awareness of potential migrants and of the general public regarding the realities of migration and life abroad. Through surveys, focus group discussions and daily contacts with potential migrants, IOM could ascertain (for instance) that potential migrants in Romania and Albania no longer see migration as a necessarily

Informed Migration - Georgia

Impact of information dissemination on migration trends and scale:

- Complex environment of domestic and international political and economic developments (progress alternated by spells of setbacks) that determine migration behaviour
- International relations to EU and North America of Georgia improving – increased access to regular migration channels on the horizon
- Concrete example: asylum applications made by Georgians abroad substantially decreased (complex set of factors – more access to information might be one contributory)



easy way out of the present hardship. Awareness of the restrictions and limitations of migration has increased as has the realisation that irregular migration is not an attractive migration alternative. A relevant indicator of this change in perception have been testimonies gathered in focus group discussions and individual interviews as well as mail sent in by listeners to IOM's radio programme.

The experience of IOM in conducting information dissemination campaigns related to the issue of migration in Georgia has shown that a complex approach using a variety of media that reinforce each other is required. Most effective is to air hard-hitting messages during a few weeks per year (in particular TV has proved the most effective in this sense) and alternate these periods with consistent use of the print media and individual outreach.

If implemented consistently over a considerable period of time such an approach allows for the creation of a specific "brand" that is recognised by the target audience for which the messages are intended. The high percentage of word-to-mouth transfer of IOM's information services generating calls to IOM's hotlines (which reached a peak of 18.5% of all calls in June 2007) is a good indicator of the success of this information dissemination.

However, only disseminating information on the risks associated with irregular migration and the promotion of legal migration channels is not enough to reach the ultimate goal, which is to make migration safer. There is an absolute need to offer alternatives to irregular migration, which should be identified and enhanced by:

Informed Migration - Georgia

Need to offer alternatives to irregular migration:

- Boost employment opportunities at home
- Enhance opportunities of legal migration (Mobility Partnership, visa facilitation, circular migration – EU-Georgia cooperation intensifying)
- Structural access to updated and objective information on migration opportunities
- Ultimately, socio-economic progress for all layers in society is key to decreasing migration pressure



Bonn, 25 September 2008

- Boosting employment opportunities at home
- Enhancing chances of legal migration by promoting a number of recent initiatives undertaken in the framework of Georgia's intensifying cooperation with the European Union (such as the Mobility Partnership, visa facilitation, circular migration, etc.)
- Structural access to updated and objective information on migration opportunities
- Ultimately, socio-economic progress for all layers of society is key to decreasing migration pressure and people being exposed to the various risks associated with irregular migration.

¹ The word 'media' shall be understood as meaning any outlet that can be used to disseminate information and shall not be interpreted as being restricted to mass-media outlets (such as TV, radio, print, Internet) only.

Radio Kwizera:

Empowerment in a fragile region

By Fr. Damas Missanga



Fr. Damas Missanga, S.J. is a Tanzanian Catholic priest belonging to the Society of Jesus, commonly known as Jesuits. In 2006, after some years of parish work, Fr. Missanga became the director of Radio Kwizera (Hope) for the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), an organisation working in over 50 countries with and for refugees, displaced people and asylum seekers. In addition to being the director of Radio Kwizera Fr. Missanga is the country director of the JRS in Tanzania. <http://www.radiokwizera.org>

Necessity is the mother of invention. Indeed, the work of Radio Kwizera (RK) for the past thirteen years was necessitated by the need to serve refugees who had fled the infamous Rwandan genocide in 1994, when, in about 100 days 800,000 — one million people were killed. Fearing imminent persecution, Rwandans crossed the Rusumo border in search of safety in the neighbouring country Tanzania. There they were hosted in the district Ngara, situated in the northwest of the country.

A radio of hope...

In response to more than half a million of Rwandan refugees coming to Tanzania, RK began to broadcast on August 12th 1995. The station was started by the Catholic *Jesuit Refugee Service* (JRS), and its name, Kwizera, means “hope” in the local languages Kinyarwanda and Kirundi. Not long after having been settled in refugee camps, the Rwandan government of president Paul Kagame felt the need for its people to come back. In collaboration with the government of Tanzania the refugees were repatriated in 1996 in what humanitarian agencies felt was a “forced repatriation”.

Just before the Rwandans repatriated, Burundi got involved in a bitter political rivalry that, just like in Rwanda, was based on ethnic differences between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Rather than wind up its work after the Rwandan refugees had returned, Radio Kwizera had to respond to the immediate need of the thousands of new refugee arrivals from Burundi. Today, there are about 15,000 Burundian refugees exiled in the region.

Apart from that, the work of RK extends to over 100,000 refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), currently settled in various refugee camps around Kigoma region which is also located in north-western Tanzania. The fighting in eastern Congo made about 200,000 refugees cross Lake Tanganyika to be settled in Kasulu where the government, UNHCR and several international and local humanitarian organisations are at their service.

Estimates (RK survey, 2006) indicate that RK has a four million audience spread across Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and eastern Congo. Most of the listeners are poor rural people.

... for refugees

The mission of Radio Kwizera is to accompany, serve and advocate the rights of refugees. When the station started in 1995 its main purpose was to:

- reunite families who had separated during the war
- build a culture of peace and reconciliation between the refugees themselves, between the refugees and the local host community, and between the refugees and their own people back home
- serve as a forum for the information flow between refugees and humanitarian organisations, and
- counter the seeds of hatred spread by media (such as Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines) in Rwanda and Burundi, that carried out political propaganda.

... for the local communities

Although the purpose of RK, in line with the *Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS)*, was and still is to be at the service of refugees, the need for radio services was equally necessary for the local Tanzanian host communities. Tanzania's national radio and TV broadcaster (Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation, TBC) is not heard or watched in the entire north-western region. Only on hills a handful of people are able to pick up the public broadcaster's signal. As such, the services offered by RK to these local communities are highly appreciated by the government as well as the locals for bridging the gap that had existed between them for years.

With the advancement of media technologies and the liberalisation of airwaves, FM stations can be heard in some RK coverage areas in Rwanda, Burundi, eastern parts of the DRC and Tanzania. However, the presence of these other FM stations contributes little to the pressing needs of the local and refugee

communities as they are mainly entertainment channels. This means RK continues to be closer to these people in terms of their everyday safety and developmental communication needs.

Phases and developments

In 1995, RK used to be on air for just two hours a day, mainly giving information from UNHCR and its supportive humanitarian agencies such as UNICEF, WFP, Red Cross and World Vision. Information disseminated included important visits by government officials, the international community or available services and hours of services, such as announcements on when food distribution took place. Secondly, RK announced family mem-

Coverage area of Radio Kwizera in the frontier area of Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo





„The work of Radio Kwizera has been very largely educational: educating the refugees to build a community and communication among themselves, educating the Tanzanian host population to receive and empower a people without hope, and educating the many agencies that work with the refugees...”

bers “lost and found.” This meant, re-uniting families who had separated when fleeing persecution. Family members would send in names for broadcast of those missed. At that time RK had ten staff members.

With the arrival of Burundian refugees, spread across 14 refugee camps — not only in Ngara district, but also in the neighbouring districts Kibondo and Kasulu, hundreds of kilometres apart — RK expanded its coverage and consequently its staff. It established field offices in these two other districts to facilitate access to refugee camps and the local communities. At the peak of the Burundian refugee presence in camps across north-western Tanzania, in 2002-2004, there were about 500,000 refugees.

As RK had to broadcast to Burundian refugees whose predominant languages are Kirundi and French, as well as the local community whose main languages are Kiswahili and English, it was inevitable that these four languages were used. As a result, there are two main departments at the station: the

Kirundi/French and the Kiswahili/English. Although at the moment the Kirundi/French is considerably reduced due to the massive ongoing repatriation programme, the needs of refugees from DRC keep the French language on our daily programme, for instance through Radio France International (RFI). Up to last year when we still had the two departments fully operational, RK had over 50 staff members, excluding the many “stringers” (freelancers) in both the refugee camps and the local Tanzanian communities. Of these about half were journalists at the main station in Ngara and in the two field offices in Kibondo and Kasulu covering the present 19-hour continuous broadcast from five in the morning to midnight. At present we have a staff of 29: 19 Tanzanians, seven Burundians, two Congolese and one Kenyan.

Impacts and activities

RK offers a range of programmes in news, information, entertainment but most importantly, and unique to its identity, education programmes. Listeners have a variety of choices in health, environment, politics, farming; and special programmes aimed to schools as part of strengthening the formal education sector in both refugee and local communities.

I would like to highlight three areas RK was successful in — particularly in the past seven years.

Firstly, defending the rights of refugees: In a survey conducted by RK in 2003, refugees constantly referred to Radio Kwizera as “our radio”. Some wondered what would happen to RK when they repatriated, indicating that they wanted RK to be re-located to Burundi since it formed part and parcel of their life in exile. It offered, and still does, for the thousands who are yet to repatriate, educational programmes, entertainment, news from the camps. But also it spoke out when food scar-

city was an issue, when banditry increased in the refugee camps and when their rights of expression or movement or rights to food and shelter were hardly recognised by those giving them protection. Depending on the issue, the refugees would raise serious concerns to UNHCR, WFP or to any of the organisations serving them; or even to the host government.

Secondly, the local community: For the 13 years that RK has existed in the north-western region of Tanzania, the residents have come to know their government better, its functions and services available nationwide. RK has enabled residents, hitherto excluded from public discourse on issues affecting them, to actively engage authorities in demanding service delivery.

People have learnt a lot about sensitive issues and challenges such as HIV and AIDS, the importance of education, gender concerns and agriculture. The local audience, as well as refugees, have a feeling of membership of the radio since it began to pay serious attention to them. Hence, the radio has become a uniting factor and has helped to create a greater understanding of each other.

Thirdly, in 2004 UNCHR incorporated RK as its main implementing partner in an information campaign aimed at helping refugees make informed choices on whether they should or should not voluntarily repatriate.

RK, with its professional staff, started the bi-monthly publication of a news bulletin called *Refugee Information Gaps* through which refugees not only got information on repatriation but also used it to raise issues that they could not raise in public forums for fear of being reprimanded. This bulletin became the most popular news outlet for both the humanitarian organisations and the refugees in discussing pressing issues between them.



Emmanuel Buhohela editing a programme in one of the studios of Radio Kwizera

Besides, RK produced and still produces special radio programmes, among them *Ukuri Ahabona*, *Wakati ni Huu* and *Refugee Information Gap* that gave refugees a chance to discuss, question, or even respond to some sensitive issues that people would have wanted to discuss but were hesitant, such as “what do I do with the wife I have married here in the camp since I have another one in Burundi?” In Burundi, the law requires that a man is married only to one wife. Through radio shows, people learnt to address their fears and got better informed to make decisions on matters related to repatriation.

In an evaluation of Radio Kwizera, realised in 2006, it is confirmed that “Radio Kwizera has developed a remarkable capacity to give hope to refugees who have been without hope. The essence of this capacity is to enable the people themselves to recover their human dignity and rebuild their abilities to live a new life. The work of Radio Kwizera has been very largely educational: educating the refugees to build a community and communication among themselves, educating the Tanzani-

an host population to receive and empower a people without hope, and educating the many agencies that work with the refugees, to respect the human dignity of these people caught in the whirlwind of history" (Evaluation report, 2006).

Content for refugees

RK has a mission to 200,000 Burundian refugees still in Tanzania, and the Congolese refugees. In accompanying and serving the latter, we aim at:

- providing information on the DRC situation, especially the eastern parts of the country where most of the refugees come from. This includes information on the peace processes between warring factions and the registration and repatriation processes by UNHCR. The Congolese need to know services available in order to settle and integrate should they opt to voluntarily repatriate
- producing radio programmes such as *Vijana mambomambo* (youth and how to cope with life upon repatriation), *Maisha Ugeni-*

„Despite of the undesirable experiences of the past, the local people across the borders, the remaining refugees, the returnees and naturalised have a great hope for the future.“



ni (life in exile — discussing different issues affecting refugees while in exile) which are very important in helping refugees making informed choices in their everyday lives and on repatriation

- providing news and information on peace talks. The Radio Kwizera 2003 audience survey revealed that the greatest desire of refugees is to get as much news and information about their countries and the progress of the peace agreements as possible
- offering a platform for refugees to be heard by the relevant authorities
- being an agent of justice in case the rights of refugees are dishonoured in the process of repatriation
- carrying out campaigns on the importance of building peace.

Content for local communities

RK programming for the local community continues to have the objectives of linking residents with the rest of the country in terms of national public discourse. Additionally though, RK lays special emphasis on education programmes in farming and formal education. RK aims at:

- providing information on the refugees' status and their rights and obligations towards the local communities to ensure that an already volatile situation is not further fuelled by misinformation
- ensuring that interests of the local community and the civil society are formulated and the right of expression and articulation is promoted
- promoting developmental activities in the local community

- engaging the host community in the process of building peace and promoting the reconciliation of the neighbouring countries
- promoting religious values that the local community cherishes

Desires and dreams

There is no shortage of evidence that Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda and to some extent Uganda as well as the whole region forming the Horn of Africa, namely Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Kenya, have had political conflicts whose root causes are yet to be comprehensively addressed. Rwanda has made noticeable progress in this area but there is still a long way to go in stabilising the Great Lakes Region. Kenya recovers after the unfortunate 2008 post-election violence but also the causes of this conflict are yet to be targeted. As a radio, experienced in working in conflict areas, our limited coverage blocks a service that people would benefit from. Our warm working relationship with a range of UN agencies such as UNHCR, UNICEF and WFP or with the Red Cross and other interested partners gives a desire to transform RK into a satellite linked station that can reach people in need wherever they are. And, our coverage is not so much to the global world as to helping refugees and people in rural areas finding ways of developing themselves within their political and socio-economic structures.

However, since the *Jesuit Refugee Service* is withdrawing its financial support for the station, the refugees of the Great Lakes Region return to their respective countries, and the local residents are too poor to give any commercial business, RK will considerably shrink its services to a limited local audience.

The Jesuits who run Radio Kwizera have professional competencies to reach out to

even more people through educational programmes, which means to the formal sector (schools) and informal sector through soap operas, dramas and live debates. Such programmes could be aimed at rural people who are cut off from access to quality information in areas such as health, farming, and participation in public debates. Ideally, given the technological advancement of today, a satellite television would supplement the work of the radio in empowering millions of people locked up in perpetual poverty and conflict.

Role(s) and perspectives

Despite of the undesirable experiences of the past, the local people across the borders, the remaining refugees, the returnees and naturalised have a great hope for the future. Local communities are seeking for a peaceful neighbourhood, for development, for peace



„... to respect the human dignity of these people caught in the whirlwind of history“

and security. They need to be informed in their decision-making and to be involved in the development of their communities. They need to participate in political debates on issues of their concern, to vote and be voted for different positions of political leadership.

They also need to increase their agricultural output and boost their incomes through income-generating activities. They need to be educated and educate their children.

Hence, the role of Radio Kwizera is to link different local activities and initiatives that are responding to the community's needs. It is here to give hope, to facilitate the peace pro-

cess and reconciliation, to establish a good neighbourhood and to be the mouthpiece of the people; a place where they can air their views, opinions, suggestions and share ideas in their continual process of establishing and building durable solutions.

Radio Kwizera will continue to broadcast for the remaining refugees in the camps but also to those who have returned home to Rwanda and Burundi and also to the naturalised living in the Tanzanian community. The promotion of peace and reconciliation in the Great Lakes Region continues to be a priority for RK and will continue even if all refugees return home.

Radio Kwizera journalists stuck on a research trip to a refugee camp in Mpande





Fostering social action through radio drama:

Migration stories “from here and there”

By Seidy Salas Viquez



*“There they go,
Rivers of People heading north
Looking for the towns where they will sleep
Looking for the infinite peace of heaven
Looking to find a new, better life”
Rivers of People, Perrozompopo
Soundtrack of the drama “Pueblo de Paso”*

According to the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), the Latin American migrant population rose from 21 to 25 million between the years of 2000 and 2005.¹

The Caribbean countries, Mexico and Colombia have more than one million of their nationals living outside of their borders. Another nine countries have more than half a million migrants, among them Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, where migration has reached higher levels than during the 80s, when war and repression forced thousands of Central Americans to migrate.

Rivers of People

Poverty affects more than 40% of the Central Americans, while the investment in education and health is still among the lowest in Latin

America. 41% of the jobs in the region correspond to under-performing self-employment, and just 28% of the working population enjoy an employment with certain social guarantees. Access to qualified jobs is limited by the low qualifications in craftsmanship, but also by the disarticulation between the supply and demand of work. “Central America faces a new imperative and pressing international situation due to the load of important historical deficiencies: a cheap and non-qualified craftsmanship, poor majorities, a large emigrant population, a devastated environment and weak constitutional states”²

The number of people taking the decision to migrate is escalating, forced by extreme poverty, the loss of agricultural jobs, the vulnerability in the face of natural disasters and the absence of local development opportunities.

Meanwhile the majority of the migration flows continues to be from Latin America to the United States. There are also important interregional movements from rural to urban areas and from poor countries to those that offer better job opportunities. International migration is no longer limited to men, but

Seidy Salas Viquez holds a University degree in journalism (University of Costa Rica, 1999). She is a trainer and facilitator of communication processes, a researcher in social sciences, a teacher, scriptwriter and producer of didactic materials. For more than 10 years she has been active in national and international environmentalist and feminist movements. Since 2001 she has been working in the *Centro de Comunicación Voces Nuestras (Communication Centre Our Voices)* in the field of training and facilitation, and since 2006 she has been in charge of production.

has also extended to women and even to the migration of teenagers and non supervised children.

Migration has become a burning issue, and the Central American societies are to reflect and to discuss the multiple aspects of migration, e.g. migration laws, integration of multinational families, xenophobia, the use of remittances and their impact on the local economies.

But to put these topics on the public agenda within a framework of human rights and solidarity, requires the participation of multiple actors within well articulated structures: civil society organisation networks, public institutions and media.

There are many Central American organisations working on this. In addition, the region has a wide range of local media, especially community radios that according to their mission could engage in these processes.

The radio drama: *Pueblo de Paso* aims to in-

cite reflection and discussion by the means of educational entertainment.

Once upon a time there was a town...

Somewhere in Central America, very close to the borders of the great frontier city, the town of "Pueblo de Paso" is located. Surrounded by orange plantations, the town has been the destination of migrant workers that arrive, find temporary jobs to earn money and continue on their trail.

Migrants come and go, put themselves up in José's Hostel, make deals with Rafa the coyote, look for medical attention from Elena and receive the support of the Grandma and her grandson Alberto who dreams about going north... but one day, a government ordinance comes in to change the game, penalising all those who offer help to undocumented people...

This is the beginning of the main story of *Pueblo de Paso*, a radio drama consisting of 10 chapters of 30 minutes each, produced in 2006 by the *Voces Nuestras Communication Center* in Costa Rica with the support of the *Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst* (EED, Germany), the *Royal Embassy of the Netherlands*, and the *Latin American Association of Educational Radio* (ALER).

Under the premise: "everyone of us has a migration story in our lives, and independently of where they are, every single person deserves to be treated with respect and consideration", *Pueblo de Paso* promotes solidarity, equity, respect and integration, in the recipient communities as well as among the people who come into contact with the migrants along the route.

All through the everyday stories of *Pueblo de Paso* these values are expressed naturally

Pilgrim people...



- Somewhere in Central America, near the big Border City you can find this town, Crossing Town... Pueblo de Paso
- The migrants come and go, stay in José's Hotel, arrange business with Rafa the "coyote", receive medical attention from Elena and find support and affection from the Grandma and her grandson Beto, a young boy that dreams of going north... That's life in Pueblo de Paso, but suddenly a governmental ordinance comes to change everything...

by the different characters of the series with their certainties and contradictions, echoing the life experiences of the audience. We are not looking to “dictate lessons”, but to feed people’s reflections with stories that question myths and stereotypes and that show different ways of living social relationships, recognising cultural diversity and the importance of local development and collective action.

Pilgrim stories: the Pueblo de Paso Campaign

Pueblo de Paso was made collectively. The *Jesuits Service for Migrations* and ALER contributed to the background research, a team of scriptwriters wrote the stories and an outstanding cast of actors and actresses gave them life. A soundtrack interpreted by a popular Nicaraguan singer and songwriter was added, and we complemented the chapters of the radio drama with documents, press notes and more music allusive to the migration theme.

The main challenge was to get the stories rolling, make them travel the roads of migration themselves. So we organised a campaign that kept the radio drama on the air throughout the year 2007 and part of 2008.

Our main objective was: “To generate an articulation process involving civil society organisations as well as public institutions and media to realise actions of awareness raising around the subject of undocumented migration, using the *Pueblo de Paso* radio drama as a means to accomplish that objective.”

The *Pueblo de Paso* campaign achieved this objective quite well: 184 radios in Latin America broadcast the drama, 93 of them in Central America. Launching events were hosted in 5 countries, and we got coverage in the written press, on radio and television. Besides that, this was the first time that one

of our radio dramas was broadcast by Latin radio stations in the United States.

In every single country in Central America a network of organisations got involved with the campaign as counterpart, and more than 44 organisations accompanied the radios. In some cases, these organisations developed workshops and increased their contacts with journalists. In Guatemala the community radios from the border region of San Marcos replayed and shared the radio drama with other radio stations, schools and other organisations.

The effects of the campaign varied from country to country. For example, in Nicaragua *Pueblo de Paso*, made the concretisation of the migration issue on the electoral agenda of the NGOs easier, while in Panama, the civil society organisations saw the radio drama as a chance to work on a subject which does not get enough attention in society. Maybe the country which took the most advantage of the campaign was El Salvador, as several NGOs, the ARPAS community radio network

The campaign



and the Catholic University joined efforts and brought to life forums and local workshops which had repercussions on distinct media.

During the evaluation process carried out at the end of this campaign, the radios and civil society organisations were actually the ones that motivated us to extend the radio drama and tell new stories about migration. Therefore, we are now working on the second part of *Pueblo de Paso*; which will go on air in 2009.

Combining radio dramas with social action

Since the year 2000 *Voces Nuestras* has been promoting radio drama campaigns as a strategy that enables them to reach huge audiences with proposals for reflection on social action, using an edutainment format.

From mapping radios and organisations potentially interested in participating, we started actions that allowed a coordinated launch of the drama in every country, and we are also creating workshops for the radios and organisations to define the remarkable aspects in the campaign and to plan complementary activities.

The opening of the campaign and the announcement of the simultaneous broadcast of the drama by several radio stations turns into an interesting event for the press, therefore sponsoring the debate concerning the campaign theme.

As a requirement to participate in the campaign, radios and organisations sign an agreement in which they commit themselves

to the guidelines and to broadcasting the drama for a specific period of time, to promote other campaign actions and to inform *Voces Nuestras* about the obtained results.

For the radios, participating in the campaign implicates scheduling new slots in their programming and producing special programmes and advertising materials. This represents a challenge for many local radios as they are used to broadcasting music and other simple formats. Offering a current, modern and good quality radio drama at the same time, means bringing “fresh air” into the regular programming, and this attracts more listeners and stimulates the imagination of the local production teams. For well-established radio stations with a sales or advertising department, the campaign is also a business opportunity.

In the same way, for the expert organisations working on the specific theme, the campaign opens a gateway to local media and brings them closer to the radios in a relationship that, in most cases, never existed before. At the same time, it represents an opportunity to meet with other institutions and NGOs, to share experiences, to refine speeches and to evaluate the possibilities of joint work.

How is it done?

The main elements of a campaign

1. Work out a proposal. A communication centre, a radio, or a production team does not need to be expert on the matter to elaborate a radio drama, but has indeed, to get together with those entities and organisations that truly are. Subsequently the building of the conceptual proposal, the focuses, and the main stories need to be the first things to be done in a joint effort by specialists and knowledgeable people. At this moment, the mapping of potential partners can also be taken on.

Our achievements

• Diffusion

- 184 radios in Latin-America broadcasted the series (93 in Central America)
- Launching events in 5 countries with the participation of institutional representatives and the media
- Press reports, interviews and mentions in papers, magazines, and TV



2. Managing the resources for the production and campaign. The campaign requires considering time and the resources for the investigation, the production of the material, the coordination work and the follow-up process. In our experience, we are talking about approximately one year. The costs differ depending on the expected scope.

3. Production of the radio drama. This stage includes the creative process of script construction, the pre-production, the recording and the post-production of the material. At this stage also the advertising materials are elaborated (posters, stickers, etc.), and it is convenient to start the planning of the national workshops and the launching events.

4. Presentation workshops. This is about meeting the contacted radios and organisations in order to present the materials, think about this topic in order to raise awareness in every country, and to plan the launch and the rest of the local activities of the campaign.

5. Implementation of the campaign. This includes the launching events, the debut of the drama on air, and the local activities planned in each country.

6. The feedback. If it is true that we try to stay in contact with all the participating radios and organisations throughout the campaign, then it is actually at the end that we receive some major feedback. The radios and organisations fill in our evaluation questionnaires and, if possible, focus groups with audiences are hosted.

Working with ALER

Voces Nuestras is part of the Latin American Association of Radio Education (ALER, *Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación Radiofónica*), a network of 120 radio stations and production centres in 17 countries.

ALER is developing several initiatives to promote the reflection and stimulate the production of diverse programme formats on migration issues. ALER maintains a *Migration and Communication Network* that brings together producers from different countries. This network produces the electronic bulletin: *Ciudadanos del Mundo* (Citizens of the World) and the bi-national programmes: *Cayos y Guatitas* (the names of some traditional Ecuadorian and Spanish dishes), *Semillas al Viento* (Seeds in the wind) and *Estación El Mundo* (The world station).

Once a year, in September, ALER's continental radio satellite network (*ALER satelital*) launches a campaign about migration. In 2008 the campaign included the broadcast of *Pueblo de Paso*, the *Migration with 'M' (mujeres) for women* series, and the *Families on the move* series of articles.

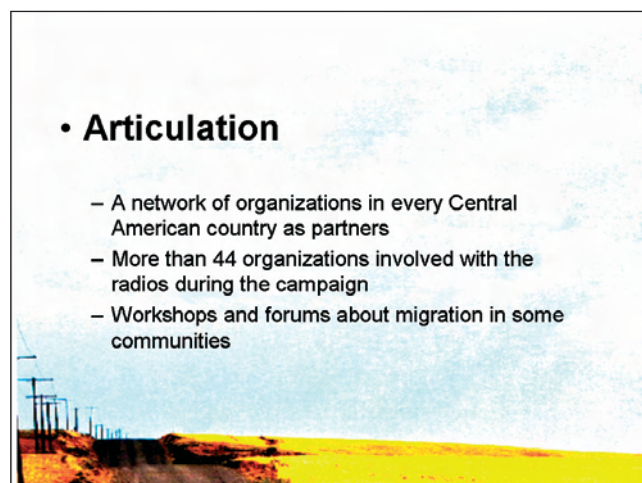
Throughout the year, *ALER satelital* broadcasts programmes on migration issues like *The move: dreams and efforts in a migrant world*.

The ample experiences of ALER in the field of community broadcasting and its support for the transmission of *Pueblo de Paso* were especially important for the success of our campaign.

Lessons Learned

The principal lessons we have learned from the *Pueblo de Paso* campaign as well as from previous ones, are:

- Radio drama is a timeless genre, it allows reaching large audiences and is well received by local radio stations which in general are in no position to produce their own radio dramas.



- The production requires sufficient time and resources to develop real impact stories as radio dramas require much creativity to make them compete in quality and appealing compared to other entertainment products.
- Radio drama campaigns allow generating synergies between radio stations and civil society organisations locally and nationwide, for putting certain topics on the public agenda as well as for the promotion of concrete actions. But it requires time and resources to complement these still incipient processes.
- The well-established radio stations and the ones with a clear vision and mission benefit most from the campaign, while the weak radio stations barely broadcast the drama without treating the subjects in depth.
- Social organisations know that they are in need of space in the media, but are not always prepared to have a major presence; therefore it would be convenient to incorporate training sessions regarding the development of public relations skills.

- The additional materials and the activities complementing the broadcast of the radio drama enrich the campaign. Better planning would facilitate the integration of sponsoring activities already programmed by different entities (and even by the radio stations).

Challenges

There are various challenges for continuing radio drama campaigns. One of the main challenges is to know the effects. So far, we have been relying on observations and comments made by the participating radio stations, and we have not been able to develop impact studies that really bring us closer to the Latin American public.

Another challenge is to create radio dramas for a young public. The new generations, daughters and sons of television and Internet, have a different relation to radio. However, for rural youths radio continues to be a very important medium. Building stories for and with young people is something we want to do in the near future.

Finally, we need to share production experiences with other radio stations and production centres in Latin America. That implicates developing pedagogical tools and managing additional resources.

1 CEPAL 2006 in Acuña Guillermo. *La Transición Inconclusa. Taller Centroamericano sobre medios y migración*. San José, Costa Rica. 2008

2 *Informe Estado de la Región 2008*. San José, Costa Rica. 2008

Some challenges

- We need to know how our campaigns are impacting people (audience studies)
- We want to create radio soap operas with and for young people.
- We want, (and we were often asked for), to share our experience producing radio drama. We are invited to impart a workshop on it, next year in Chiapas!!!





The Radio 1812 project:

Getting migration on air

By Myriam N. Horngren



Radio 1812 is a public relations event organised by December 18, the Brussels-based international advocacy and resource centre on migration (www.december18.net). Every year on the 18th of December, Radio 1812 brings together as many radio stations as possible worldwide to celebrate International Migrants Day. Radios are asked to produce and broadcast programmes on 18th December and to share this content online by uploading their audio contributions on the Radio 1812 website (<http://www.radio1812.net>) after their own air-waves broadcast.

Radio 1812 is the result of a reflection by the December 18 team on the impact and potential of International Migrants Day. Whilst the day was designated by the UN in 2000, few countries and organizations participated and the Day itself is not that well known, even amongst migrant organizations themselves.

Radio 1812 in 2006

In June 2006, Radio 1812 was officially launched at the *2nd World Social Forum on Migrations* (<http://www.fsmm2008.org>) in Rivas/Madrid. For the rest of 2006, the December 18 team developed and implemented the pilot version of the Radio1812 initiative. Over a period of seven months the team contacted radios around the world to encourage them

to take part in this new initiative. With limited financial resources, significant volunteer input, and great support from the participating radio stations, the first-ever global radio event on migration was a success. In total, 53 radio stations from 27 countries participated in the 2006 edition, ranging from community radio stations to public broadcasters and international stations.

Radio 1812 in 2007

Following the success of the 2006 initiative, the December 18 team decided to renew the experience with the 2007 edition of Radio 1812. With over 150 radio stations from 34 countries participating, 74 audio files produced on the day and gathered by the team and 1800 visitors to the site on the day, the second edition of Radio 1812 was undoubtedly a success. Participation more than doubled on the previous year with content produced, broadcasted, shared and exchanged from Australia to Ecuador in more than 15 languages from Arabic to Vietnamese. Average programme downloads have gone over one thousand in the past nine months.

The site has stayed live throughout 2008 and audio content was added by both staff and radios that took part in the previous edition. The site now is becoming a vault capturing

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some of the content produced on migration around the world throughout the year. However, the key element of Radio 1812 remains the broadcast event on 18th December: and for this a new site was launched for the 2008 edition.

The real story behind this project though lies in the fact that so many radios have wanted to take part, especially national and international public broadcasters that have shown an interest in participating in an event organized by an unknown and fairly small organization with no previous track record of working with the media. This shows that many in the media are ready for this kind of engagements with civil society as long as the roles and responsibilities of each are clearly defined. A key strength of this project is that a) it is not a competitor to media but a platform to media and migrant groups and b) it does not interfere with the content or the editorial input on the day, as long as it takes place within the context of celebrating International Migrants Day. It is that understanding and the formidable dedication of the team that is at the root of the Radio 1812 success. These are encouraging signs that it is possible to engage effectively on a global scale on a difficult and emotional subject. Those who wish to see change take place should take heed and support courageous and exciting initiatives such as these.

Such projects, however successful they are, raise real challenges:

- Working with various types of radios from different parts of the world speaking different languages creates a high demand on coordination and outreach, and requires trained staff and significant staff time. Key requirements are: language skills, understanding of the issues, online technological know-how and the capacity to understand communication with media as different to more traditional civil society type of relationships.
- Beyond the challenge of working with a significant number of radios in a wide range of countries, the project is also having to deal with an extensive range of radios, from small community radios, students radios, international broadcasters, online broadcasters, national broadcasters, etc. requiring an understanding of each kind of media and developing the relevant types of messaging to encourage the widest distribution participation on the day.
- Difficulty to gather the audio files produced on the day despite having an extensive

Radio stations regional breakdown

Africa	50
Asia (including Australia)	7
Europe	71
Latin America (including Mexico)	18
North America (excluding Mexico)	4
Middle East	1
Global (UN Radio)	1

broadcast programme: out of one hundred and fifty radios participating only 74 programmes were recovered. Whilst some radios participate in different ways, such as simply playing the Radio 1812 jingle or by re-broadcasting a programme from the site, it is clear that more content has been produced than

recovered. The reasons are varied but accessing online audiences may not always be a priority for some of the radios. Some of them seem unwilling to share programming whilst others are often unable to do so because of poor Internet connectivity. The latter is a reality for many of the participating radios in the South and especially in Africa. This means that our audiences are unable to access the experience, stories and perspectives of many around the world on the issue of migration. On an issue that is a global concern, the content divide on the net is a serious challenge to anyone wishing to enhance the voices of those that are the most vulnerable.

- It is difficult to define the audience reached beyond the information gathered through the website statistics and the numbers of participating radios. In 2008 the team will try to survey web audiences to find out who downloads the programmes from the site. If they are radios, the team is particularly interested in finding out what they broadcast and to whom (audience numbers). However, extensive data collection would help define more what the reach of such initiatives is.

- Poor participation of the migrant communities at the level of migrant organisations can be explained by both a lack of understanding of the role of communications with regard to migration and a lack of capacity in the sector on the use of communications for social change.

- Whilst the project has done very well on a small budget (Euro 30, 000), the reality is that corners have to be cut. The

team is unable to ensure that a project that relies on volunteer input will carry on in the future or that it reaches its true potential. As a specific example, the poor participation of migrant groups in the project is partly due to the fact that not enough time is spent on outreach and training of civil society to effectively mobilise them to participate in the project. Additionally, for a project that requires a certain level of publicity to get the attention of all the actors (media, civil society, donors, international institutions and governments) the team is unable to implement an effective media strategy.

Considerations for the future

In the context of the above, there are two key areas of consideration for all those who wish to work with communications on the issue of migration.

1) Whilst it seems that a large amount of research and documentation exist around media and migration, specifically with regards to the coverage of migrants in the media in some older destination countries (France, UK, Germany, etc. . .), this seems less the case in newer receiving countries such as Spain and Greece. At least until 2006, Spain had only one centre related to the University of Barcelona looking at how the media conveyed the national discourse and experiences on migration in the country; this research, unfortunately, has not been communicated either in Spain or abroad. It is unclear whether the situation is similar in other receiving countries outside Europe and in particular in the South. However if there is a gap at this level, then it is a key need that should be addressed. Radio 1812 is one of the resources where such content is held and it could be part of a broader content analysis initiative on the coverage of migration in media globally.

2) What the December 18 team has discovered through its own experience with Radio 1812, through research and coordinating online forums, is the lack of understanding on communications and Communication for Social Change that can help support and render the migration rights movement effective in its tasks to protect and promote the rights of migrants. The transnational advocacy movement necessary to such a task, in the face of ever growing security focused policies, is not strong enough. There is an understanding that public opinion needs to shift or that the current environment globally on these issues needs to be transformed to some level, yet there seems to be no knowledge on how to do this. This does not mean though, that there is no communication taking place on the issues. Migration is very present in the media-sphere everywhere, it is just that the migrants' rights movement is very absent from the debate or unable to engage the media on coverage or quality

of the debate. The kind of global discourse that exists now in the public sphere around the environment or economic and social justice does not exist at the level of the rights of migrants. This is the challenge that Radio 1812 tries to address, but it is a drop in the ocean. Whilst projects such as Radio 1812 can be done on Euro 30,000 once or twice, they cannot exist in the long term without some greater level of sustainability.

In the European context, the reflection around what's needed to protect and promote the rights of migrants and the contribution of communications in this arena, is not there and when it is there, there seems to be no input from other areas where communications have proved key to influencing the environment or ensuring participation. There is a complete absence of lessons learnt from other areas of Communication for Social Change that is being used in this sector. And when there are initiatives around they are few and far between, poorly funded and un-networked and not lasting enough to really have a long term impact.

Key recommendations therefore evolve around the need for

- encouraging co-production of content to ensure that those that have more difficulty accessing the Internet are still heard;
- supporting research around media and migration, including content analysis and impact of programming;
- ensuring the exchange of knowledge on tools and programmes that have been key to protect the rights of migrants;
- facilitating greater networking between organisations interested in these activities;
- educating migrant groups and civil society organisations working on these issues to engage with media and understand the need for better use of communication tools and processes for the protection of the rights of migrants.

SABC — Broadcasting in a diverse society:

Equal or equitable?

By Fakir Hassen

This paper is not an academic study but provides insights into the guiding principles and policies of the *South African Broadcasting Corporation* (SABC) and its practical handling regarding minorities and diversities. Minorities in South Africa relate not only to race or ethnic origin, but also to groupings such as religion, language, disability and even children sometimes.

The SABC

The *South African Broadcasting Corporation* (SABC) is the national public broadcaster of South Africa. It broadcasts on 18 radio stations, including a 24-hour service in each of the country's eleven official languages; and on three national television stations, all using these languages in an equitable way.

The services of the SABC are divided into two areas — the *Public Commercial Services* division (with three radio stations and one TV channel), aims at subsidizing the *Public Broadcasting Services*; the latter making up the bulk of the services.

Within the mandate of the SABC is the promotion of a national identity and catering to the diverse cultural, educational and social developmental needs of the citizens of South Africa.

The eleven separate language stations of the SABC were originally started by the minority apartheid-era government as a propaganda tool to address indigenous audiences in their home languages. At the advent of democracy, the SABC inherited all these stations and the infrastructure going with them, as we embarked on the process of transforming the SABC into a true national public broadcaster in a democratic society. The main role therefore was to change the content approach away from one of propagandistic messaging.

There was a huge debate at the time on whether in fact, we should even continue having radio stations in different languages individually, and some were claiming that was a divisive factor in the new attempts at national reconciliation. However, in a broad public opinion campaign in 1996, the citizens themselves decided that this should be retained, but that the ethnic language name that the stations had borne for decades needed to be changed. That was how we arrived, after public competitions at each station at the current names (such as *Radio Sonder Grense*, *Ukhozi FM* and *Lesedi FM*) for the services.

For television, due to cost and capacity constraints, we could not have equal time for all official languages. Therefore we adopted principles of equitability rather than equality, sharing languages across the three channels.



Fakir Hassen is the acting general manager of the *Broadcast Compliance Unit* in the *Policy and Regulatory Affairs Division* at the *South African Broadcasting Corporation* (SABC). His current tasks as the designated complaints officer of the SABC with the *Independent Communications Authority of South Africa* (ICASA) include overseeing compliance by the *SABC Radio and Televisions Services* with legislative, regulatory and policy requirements, and dealing with complaints about the content broadcast by the SABC across its various radio and televisions services. Fakir Hassen has also served as a Commissioner on the first *South African Commission for UNESCO* when it was revived after the first democratic elections in the country which took place in 1994. As a hobby Fakir writes and reports — for more than three decades — on affairs of the *South African Indian community* for local and international publications and has received numerous honours from various organisations for this.



Legal environment

The SABC as a public broadcaster is fully subject to the regulatory framework of the broadcasting industry and, in this regard, is answerable to the *Independent Communications Authority of South Africa* (ICASA), which issues licences to every broadcaster. The SABC is also answerable to the *Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa* (BCCSA) with regard to complaints on content, and to the *Advertising Standards Authority* (ASA) with regard to complaints on advertisements aired. Non-compliance with regulatory requirements may lead to punitive measures such as fines and could, in extreme cases, lead to the revocation of the broadcasting licence or the non-renewal of the licence.

In addition to these regulatory bodies, the SABC also sets internal commitments, through its editorial policies, with which it must comply. But even before all these, certain clauses of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa take precedence in everything that we do.

Clause 9 relates to equality, and reads thus:

- Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.
- The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

Clause 16 on freedom of expression states that:

Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes:

1. freedom of the press and other media;
2. freedom to receive or impart information or ideas;
3. freedom of artistic creativity; and
4. academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.

The right in subsection (1) does not extend to:

- propaganda for war;
- incitement of imminent violence; or
- advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

Clause 31 on cultural, religious and linguistic communities reads:

Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community:

1. to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language; and
2. to form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

The rights in subsection (1) may not be exercised in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the *Bill of Rights*.

Emanating from the constitutional imperatives is the Electronic Communications Act No. 36 of 2005 which governs broadcasters:

54. (1) The Authority must review existing regulations, and prescribe regulations setting out a Code of Conduct for broadcasting service licensees

(2) Subject to the provisions of subsection (3), all broadcasting service licensees must adhere to the code of conduct for broadcasting service licensees as prescribed.

There is currently a *Code of Conduct* for Broadcasters which is administered by the *Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa* (BCCSA), which was set up by the *National Association of Broadcasters of Southern Africa*

(NABSA) in 1993 as a self-regulatory body to adjudicate and mediate complaints against a broadcaster which has signed its Code of Conduct. The obligations created by the Code are that all stations/channels must abide by the clauses of the Code in respect of all content broadcast, especially in respect of audience advisories and the watershed. ICASA is currently considering the introduction of a Code of Conduct for broadcasters who are not members of the NABSA or signatories to the BCCSA Code of Conduct.

SABC editorial policies

The SABC compiled a set of editorial policies in a wide range of areas following lengthy public input in 2003. Two of the more relevant areas for the purposes of this paper, discrimination/stereotypes and language policy, are detailed here.

Discrimination and stereotypes

Given South Africa's past, and the role of public broadcasting in healing divisions, it is imperative for the SABC not to broadcast programmes that promote discrimination or stereotyping on the grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, gender, sexual orientation, age, or disability.

To this end we are committed to avoiding language and images that reinforce stereotypes, and offend communities or individuals. The SABC is further committed to reflecting diversity positively. We undertake to include in our programming non-stereotypical representations of the disabled, women, black and homosexual people, and of any other South Africans who have often been marginalised by the mainstream media, or represented in narrow and stereotypical terms.

We further undertake in this policy:

- To treat every part of society with respect

- Not to identify people solely by ethnic origin, and to mention colour only when it is relevant to the topic under discussion
- To avoid any unnecessary reference to disability, as it is often seen as insulting or implying deficiency, and not to use language that could add to such an impression: e.g. "deaf" or "hard of hearing" should be used, and "a person who has a disability" instead of "invalid" or "cripple" or "retarded"
- To use non-sexist language so as to avoid giving offence, or creating the impression – through repetition – that certain activities are associated with only one sex.

Since humour could also create and reinforce stereotypes, our policy is to avoid humour that is excessively exploitative, uncalled for, cruel, or designed to prejudice a person or group. These requirements are not intended to preclude broadcasting of factual material, or views expressed in satirical or dramatic works.

Some random examples from programmes actually broadcast on SABC television services are listed below to show how issues of race, violence, xenophobia and dignity are treated by audiences, regulators and the SABC itself.



BROADCASTING COMPLAINTS COMMISSION OF SOUTH AFRICA (BCCSA)

- The Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) regulates the content of programmes broadcast on SABC services.
- Set up by the National Association of Broadcasters of Southern Africa in 1993 to adjudicate and mediate complaints against a broadcaster which has signed its Code of Conduct.
- The obligations created by the Code are that all stations/channels must abide by the clauses of the Code in respect of all content broadcast, especially in respect of audience advisories and the watershed



1) A music video by the artist *Zubs* (seen in the foreground on picture one) with a military theme in which he encourages the audience to rise up against colonial oppressors, included images of weapons and soldiers (in the background here). It was deemed unsuitable for broadcasting on the airwaves by the *Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa* (BCCSA), but sales of the album rocketed following that ruling!



2) A popular daily soapie, *Isidingo*, which among other issues, aims to reflect the reality of South African life as it comes to grips with racism, came under fire in a scene where this woman (see picture two) was referred to by a Black character in the series as “white thrash”. The concept was, however, further developed in the series to show how terms like these are as unacceptable in a democratic South Africa as the derogatory terms for Blacks, Indians and Coloureds were in the apartheid era.



3) A promo clip (picture three) for the FIFA 2010 World Cup to be hosted in South Africa (the first time on the continent, in fact) showed South African and Nigerian players in action (picture four). A passing reference to how the South African team was set to “kill” the Nigerian side in a rematch was deemed by sensitive viewers to be inappropriate, given the xenophobic violence that occurred in South Africa at around the same time (in May/June 2008).



4) Fleeting scenes (picture five) of violence in Zimbabwe when opposition supporters were being attacked and killed were considered necessary in a news item to reflect the reality on the ground. At another level, an advertisement by a mobile company (picture six) in which people could download a video clip showing a thinly disguised Robert Mugabe as a primate, had to be adapted after intervention by the relevant regulatory authority, the *Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa*.



Perhaps one of the most pertinent aspects of the role of the SABC in nation building presented itself during the recent unexpected xenophobic violence in South Africa, when, as a result of the violence, more than 50 people died and tens of thousands of people were displaced during 2008. The SABC saw itself as having to play a vital role as the national public broadcaster in countering the xenophobic attacks that took place across the country and promoting nation building, integration, and reintegration. We put together a series of radio and television broadcasts, using the voices of recognised community leaders, as well as both repentant perpetrators and victims of the violence to highlight the futility of such actions.

Language policy

As South Africa's public broadcaster, the SABC embraces the constitutional duty to treat all the official languages equitably, and with equal respect. The Constitution also recognises the need to promote South African Sign Language and “the Khoi, Nama and San languages”, the oldest indigenous languages of the region that are facing extinction. The SABC has in fact started a radio service for this smallest ethnic minority in the country, called XK-FM.

This language policy is derived further from the Corporation's commitment to freedom of expression, which is protected by the Constitution, including the right of all South Africans to receive and impart information. We recognise that freedom of expression can be realised fully only when every South African can inform and be informed in his/her language of choice. Access to meaningful information also empowers South Africans to participate effectively in every facet of society.

Language plays a crucial part in promoting and attaining the goals of building our de-

mocracy and our nation, and protecting and developing our uniquely diverse cultures. This is because the use and development of language is closely linked to the enhancement of culture and identity.

These matters are particularly important in our relatively new democracy (the first democratic elections took place in 1994), where language will be instrumental in its growth and development. Owing to its virtually universal accessibility and use, the public broad-

caster has a unique responsibility to broadcast programmes that promote the development of a national identity while supporting promotion of our languages and cultures.

South Africa, and consequently the public broadcaster, is faced with a further challenge — that of bringing marginalised national languages, cultures and identities into the mainstream, so that they can develop and flourish, and become a core part of our nation building project.





Media Monitoring Africa:

How media monitoring can change the world

By William Bird

William Bird is the Director of *Media Monitoring Africa (MMA)*, formerly the *Media Monitoring Project, MMP*. The MMA is an independent human rights based non governmental organisation.

William has overseen or been directly involved in over 95 media monitoring projects on subjects ranging from gender based violence, HIV, and racism to children and the media and the SABC. William and the MMA have made numerous submissions both to the independent regulator (ICASA) as well as to parliament and broadcasters on a range of broadcast legislation and policy issues. William also completed overseeing the data analysis of the *Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)*, and he has been involved in numerous SABC focused monitoring projects.

His work focused on children monitoring the media resulted in him being awarded an Ashoka fellowship (<http://www.ashoka.org>) towards the end of 2008.

There are some people who believe that media monitoring – used in combination with civil society, a human rights based approach and working with media – can change the world. I am one of those people, and I therefore make no apology for the pro media monitoring position taken in this article.

The act of media monitoring can be understood to be, a standardised method of gathering data from a range of different media, or taking newspapers, radio or television programming and breaking the content up into understandable, and measurable pieces of information. While these activities provide almost limitless delight for methodology fundi's, the excitement and exceptional power of media monitoring lies in it's diversity of applications.

Key aims of *Media Monitoring Africa (MMA)*, formerly the *Media Monitoring Project, MMP* determine our approach to undertaking media monitoring. Our aims include the desire to build and promote an open democratic society that respects and promotes human rights, including the rights to freedom of expression, dignity, privacy, and equality. MMA also supports the development of informed and critical citizens and media consumers. MMA

also holds the view that media monitoring is itself an inherently positive exercise, in that it entails, in our experience, mostly ordinary citizens actively engaging with the content of the media, coding and capturing the information, analysing the results and then taking action based on the trends and findings identified, in an effort to build an open, diverse, democratic, human rights based society.

Media operate under difficult circumstances

Given the scope and complexity of challenges being faced in Southern Africa and Africa more broadly, not only is the importance of the role of the media in reporting these challenges clear, but also that the media have an incredibly difficult task to perform. The task is made even more difficult when the conditions that many journalist and media houses operate under are considered as these often include, significant levels of stress, inadequate resources, the juniorisation of newsrooms, as well as state and commercial interference.

The responsibility placed on the media's shoulders is made even greater if it is assumed that in most instances people rely on the media as their key source of information

as to what is happening in their worlds. This element is critical as it is often the case that the issues that are covered by the media are the ones that are also commonly seen to be of greatest importance, and in most instances the issues that governments tend to act on, formulate policy and address. The suggestion that the media does not tell people what to think but rather what to think about is crucial; for the converse also applies. It is often the case that those issues, or people or groups of people that are seldom covered or addressed are often regarded as being of lesser importance, and are also less likely to be the focus of government policy and activities. The result is that in many instances these needs are inadequately addressed. What the media covers and does not cover are vital indicators not only of the media but also of what issues and which people are considered to be most important and prioritised.

How do we know what's in the news?

One of the best and most efficient ways of finding out what the media covers and does not cover is to monitor the media. Perhaps one of the most striking examples can be seen by looking at who speaks in the media. A simple breakdown of people who speak in the news by sex shows that, globally in spite of women making up 52% of the world population they make up only 21% of the voices. These are the results of the *Global Media Monitoring Project* (GMMP) organised by the *World Association of Christian Communication* (WACC), with the results produced by MMA and analysed by Margaret Gallagher in 2005. In Southern Africa the GMMP shows that women account for 19% of the voices with men making up 81%. There are numerous reasons for the inequality of representation but this finding (supported by several other research projects) serves to highlight that there is a clear gender inequality in the medias' coverage.

One of the key advantages of media monitoring is that it enables vast amounts of data to be coded and analysed. To use print as a rudimentary example. A newspaper in Southern Africa will have on average approximately 45 stories in each edition. Multiplied over a week and then across four more newspapers for a sample of five, there will be 900 news stories in one week, if this is then multiplied by 10 countries in the region it takes the number to 9000 stories in one week.

How can media monitoring help?

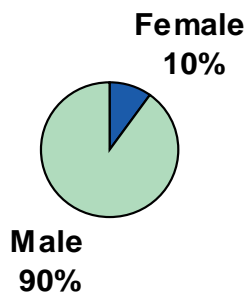
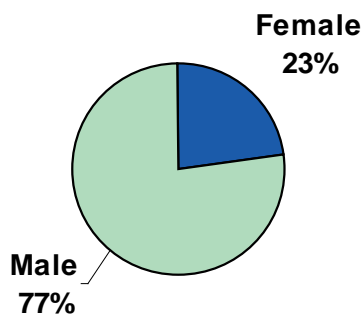
Breaks up lots of information into manageable pieces

Provides clear quantitative and qualitative results

Indicators for complex questions

In order to get a fair picture of which issues the media cover and which receive less coverage it is necessary to monitor over a period of time. Thus it is through monitoring the media over a month for example that trends emerge as to what and who makes the news and what and who do not. In addition, media monitoring frequently also enables these trends to be quantified.

Monitoring over time has another distinct advantage; it enables time periods and trends to be compared and analysed. In 1999, MMA monitored the coverage of South Africa's second democratic national election across print, radio and television media which covered more than 7000 news items. The number

Sources: SA 1999 Elections**Sources: SA 2004 Elections**

of women who spoke in the news comprised a mere 10% of the total.

In 2004, MMA monitored the coverage of the national elections again, monitoring coverage in print and broadcast media in just over 6000 news items. This time, female sources comprised 23% of the total number of people who spoke in the news. While the number of female sources is still low, it indicates a more than double increase in the number of women speaking in the news, over a five-year period. This is a positive trend that could not have been tracked without media monitoring.

Media monitoring can thus provide, accurate, fair and quantifiable evidence of

how the media covers a range of issues over time, enabling trends and projects to be tracked.

How issues and people are represented

Not only does media monitoring highlight the amount of coverage, it is also able to provide insight into how issues, people and countries are represented. There may for example be a relatively high number of stories about Africa in Southern African media but, research undertaken by MMA and others has shown that often coverage of Africa perpetuates negative stereotypes, portraying Africa and its people as perpetual victims of disease, poverty, war, corruption, famine and helplessness. This is not to suggest that the media should

not report these key issues but that there is a pattern of coverage that serves, over time, to perpetuate negative stereotypes.

In addition to the quantitative data that can be presented, media monitoring also enables more qualitative elements including fairness, ethics and stereotypes to be coded and analysed. What is done with the monitoring results that are produced? They can be used in many different ways and for different purposes. Internationally, regulatory bodies often monitor the media to assess compliance with licence conditions. Where these conditions are clearly set out and do not negatively infringe on the editorial independence of the media such monitoring can be extremely valuable and assist in developing vibrant and effective media. Two examples are the *Independent Communications Authority in South Africa* (ICASA) as well as the *Rwandan Media Monitoring* team in Rwanda.

By highlighting the trends in media coverage, both positive and negative, media monitoring can also be used in the following ways:

- To assess whether the media coverage of election periods has been free and fair;
- To help protect and respect human rights in the media;
- To unpack and challenge the perpetuation of negative stereotypes;
- As the basis for developing new policy;
- For developing training for media professionals as well as providing numerous examples;
- To benchmark media houses, as well as offer comparisons between media and other countries. To assist this process MMA developed a first methodology for South Africa by developing a media rating system where media houses rated against each other based on the monitoring, thereby offering an effective means of encouraging healthy competition and benchmarking of media houses. The



ratings were well received and similar rating systems were designed for coverage of gender and these too proved successful.

In order to undertake media monitoring it is important that people are able to analyse and code the media content, to do this media monitors require critical media literacy skills. These skills are acquired during media monitoring training and are then enhanced as they continue to do media monitoring. Once the monitoring has been completed and results presented, groups are then able to present these to the media and in so doing empower themselves and their organisation. Monitoring also works to unite people along common human rights focused principles. A clear example of this was the GMMP where members of civil society in 76 countries around the world all united to monitor gender in the media. In doing so not only were all these groups united in wanting to address the representation of gender in the media but it was also a positive demonstration of the collective power of civil society.

What makes the GMMP stand out even more is that all the organisations that undertook the monitoring did so on a voluntary basis. A quick look at the overall breakdown of participating countries shows that there was a significantly high level of participation in the southern African region. There are numerous reasons for this but one of the most significant ones is that a host of NGO's have developed working partnerships in the region, a feature that is both enhanced and supported by media monitoring.

Like all forms of research there are some limitations

While media monitoring offers almost limitless capabilities empowers citizens and encourages collective action, its limitations also need to be acknowledged. Media monitoring

requires substantial human and other resources as well as rigorous standardised methods and accuracy and attention to detail by monitors. When monitoring is undertaken on a regional scale each of the components requires greater resources to be devoted to ensure that the results are fair and accurate. In addition to these, media monitoring opens up a host of possibilities for training, policy development, best practice and media support but for these possibilities to be successfully utilised they often require area specialists to carry them out.

Fortunately, most of these limitations can be addressed through working in partnership with other organisations and by dedicating area specialists to each field.

The issue of the sustainability of media monitoring projects is often raised. On the surface it would seem that media monitoring is not in fact sustainable. Undertaking monitoring projects, especially regional ones requires substantial human and financial resources, long term commitment (for indeed much of the value of media monitoring is that it allows us to see trends over time) and if the projects are human rights focused, they will not make any money. Indeed if successful, spin offs of monitoring projects usually require even more resources to be devoted to policy development training, support etc.

A closer examination of the sustainability of media monitoring shows that it is not only sustainable, it also lends itself to replication, development and growth. MMA celebrated its 15th year of existence in 2008, which in addition to the wealth of monitoring expertise it has accumulated also points to monitoring projects being sustainable. If the skills development and empowerment of each person participating in media monitoring as well as the training and benefits derived by media organisations and NGOs are translated into

monetary terms, then it is clear that monitoring projects are indeed sustainable. Given the range and diversity of activities and functions media monitoring fulfils it is clear that not only are they sustainable but also essential for the growth and development of media in democracies. And one of the outcomes of the regional monitoring projects as well as projects like the GMMP, combined with a growing desire by members of civil society to 'watch the watchdogs' is the growth of media monitoring projects in the region and around the world. In addition to fine key organisations like the MMP Zimbabwe there are monitoring organisations in Rwanda, Zambia, Mauritius, Swaziland and more NGO's are gearing up to start new ones.

Xenophobic violence in Johannesburg: a case study

In May and June in 2008 around Johannesburg, South Africa there was an outbreak of violence which was soon identified, by media, government officials and NGO's as being xenophobic based violence. The violence was located largely in townships around central Johannesburg and in most instances took the form of violence expressed against African non-South African's by African South African's. In a three week period over 60 people were killed and 50 000 were displaced from their homes. The authorities were seemingly caught off guard and media reported their delayed response to the violence. In many instances it was reported that NGO's were operating more efficiently and effectively than formal government response services.

MMA monitors a selected number of media on a daily basis and it would be fair to suggest that the media coverage during this period was extraordinary. The majority of media were able to emphasise the brutality of the violence often through the use of graphic visuals. Media coverage ranged from extraor-

dinarily good, and detailed to extraordinarily crass and xenophobic.

All of the media monitored, with one glaring exception, clearly condemned the violence – "We are all to blame" *Sunday Sun*, 18/05/08, p.18, and "Act now, or it won't end" *Sunday Sun* (01/06/08, p.18). The condemnation was given extraordinary prominence in some cases through the use of front page editorials, "Sowetan says: Do unto refugees as you would them to you", 14/05/08, p.1.

The media coverage of the violence was typified by a diversity of issues being covered, from dealing with the violence, to response from authorities, to shelters and emergency service stories. Media monitored carried special sections in their newspapers, they had special debates and discussions on radio, and even public debates with experts that aimed to understand some of the causes of the violence.

Media in general terms made efforts to ensure that coverage wasn't just focused on the hatred and xenophobic violence. Some media carried stories focused on communities where all people were getting along. "Hatred and mayhem shatter SA, but... in Bokfontein love transcends borders" *City Press*, 18/05/08, p.4-5. This included an article, accompanied by photographs, which focused on positive relationships between foreign nationals and South Africans in an area with high unemployment and poverty. Another article "Khutsong vows to support its comrades in 'demarcation struggle'" (*City Press*, 01/06/08, p.7) drew attention to a community whereby the local residents' forum and Merafong Demarcation Forum had pledged that they would live in peace and not involve themselves in attacks against foreign nationals. It highlighted the history of South Africans and foreign nationals living together in that area, and sharing the same cause. One forum member

is quoted as saying: "These comrades from other countries have been on our side in the demarcation struggle. They have been living with us for more than 20 years and have not done anything wrong to us".

The media's general response to the violence even went beyond the traditional news media with local soap opera stars and musicians and other celebrities coming out and calling for an end to the violence. There were even a few stories about rape as a form of xenophobic violence. Although as will be discussed further on, the absence of a gender perspective was a significant area of weakness in the coverage.

Giving the victims a voice

Other stories served to humanise the victims of the violence, largely by giving the victims a voice and telling their stories. In doing so the media helped to challenge stereotypes about non South Africans and also served to highlight the consequences of the violence. For example, "Foreign nationals are marooned between a rock and a hard place as former neighbours go berserk" (*City Press*, 18/05/08, p.4) tells the story of a "naturalised South African citizen" a "municipal employee", who had lived in Alex since 1994, who could not go back to Zimbabwe due to lack of jobs, and a Zimbabwean with a South African wife who had lived in South Africa for 11 years. Numerous articles, with a similar focus, can be cited in *City Press*, including "Dreams of prosperous life in SA shattered" (25/05/08, p.14), "I'd rather die here than go back to Zim" (25/05/08, Gauteng Section, p.5), "Refugee life is not a bed of roses" (01/06/08, p.6), "Shop owners forced to abandon their business" (01/06/08, p.7), and "A Blessing taken away, at only 4 months" (01/06/08, p.7).

Other media stories focused on the perspectives of children in their coverage which

made for particularly powerful stories and also served to demonstrate the impact of the violence. A story in *City Press*, "I am 12 and I am always scared" (25/05/08, p.2) was written from the child's perspective and talks about the impact of the violence on the child. Another story in the *Sowetan*, "Hope beats fear" (25/05/08, p.1) also examined the violence from a child's perspective and also demonstrated how despite the circumstances the children found themselves in they were hopeful that things would be resolved. For

'I am 12 and I am always scared'

Born to a Mozambican father and a South African mother, a little girl is caught up in the crossfire of the xenophobic attacks. She tells MOHAU MOKOENA how her family has been torn apart by the madness

'MY name is Belinda Johnson and I am 12 years old. I am a Grade 6 pupil at the Lakeside Primary School in Reiger Park. I live in extension five in Ramaputse section - at the RDPs. I see all this happening in this area but I still don't understand how people can be so bad. My dad is originally from Mozambique. He had to leave us at home and now he lives at St Vincent Anglican Church where it is safe for him. Living at home without him has been difficult because now we are running out of food and my mother doesn't work. I have even heard her

complain about not having enough money for my baby brother who is eight months old.

As I understand it, the situation at Reiger Park is caused by some South African people who are angry with people like my father because they are originally not from this country.

The fights that have started because of that have caused many problems. We cannot go to school because we are scared. Even our parents don't feel comfortable with us going to school because it is not safe in the streets.

The last time I went to school was last week Friday. I really miss going there and seeing all my friends.

The only people I have spent time with since last Friday are my parents, though my father isn't living with us at home right now.

We visit him at the church and we take him clothes. We spend the whole day with him and in the afternoon we go home. We can't stay with him because it gets too cold at night. Leaving him doesn't make me happy because we miss him at home.

I wish this whole thing would stop so we could go back to living the way we used to, but I really don't know."

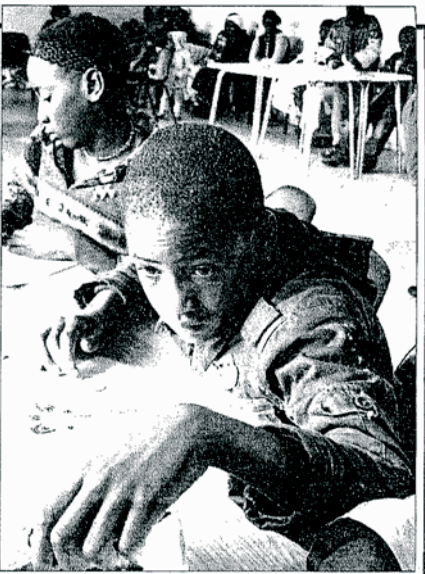
* Not her real name. *City Press* Gauteng cannot identify her for fear that her family could be attacked as the situation in the area is still tense.

the first time since MMA has been monitoring the *Mail & Guardian*, it used the drawings of children of the violence on its front page and was accompanied by powerful accounts of the experience of children during the vio-

XENOPHOBIA

HOPE BEATS FEAR

Refugee kids turn police station into their classroom **PAGE 8**



HUNGRY TO LEARN: Eleven-year-old Gael Kabonde hard at work at Cleveland police station. PHOTO: VATHISWA RUSSELL

lence. "Tell them we are from here." (Mail & Guardian 24/05/08 p.1)

In many instances media crossed traditional lines of ethics and responsibility by setting up their own initiatives and actively encouraging help and assistance from their readers viewers and listeners. Some media like *The Star* set up their own fund and encouraged companies to donate. Other media provided information of where people could make donations while other media professionals, journalists and

camera people continued to work in the communities after filing their stories.

In crossing traditional boundaries of media roles and responsibilities, where media didn't merely report and provide information, media in some instance crossed ethical boundaries as well. One example was the use of a crying girl child to help raise money for *The Star's* fund. While the money may well have been beneficial to victims of violence using the girls distress and trauma to raise money does appear unethical and not in the girls best interests. "Please help this little girl", (*The Star* 27/05/08, p.1)

There was also extensive public debate generated over the use of a particular series of photographs of a man who had been set on fire. The man can be seen in the foreground bent over double while his flesh burns. Subsequent images show police officers extinguishing his burning body; all the while the man was alive. Some media argued that the use of such images were essential to bring home to brutality of the violence while others argued the pictures were offensive and undignified.

The media's response to these images and the violence in general terms demonstrated how difficult covering such violence can be and also highlighted how media can and sometimes do clearly adopt positions opposing violence and clearly engaging with the issues and not merely reporting on them from a distance.

Of course while there were many truly remarkable instances of in depth reporting as well as clear rights based position adopted there were also significant gaps and weaknesses in the media's coverage.

Sadly in most instances the gender dimensions were not considered around the violence. While the media can shoulder some part of



MEDIA MONITORING AFRICA

the blame for failing to consider the gender dimensions of the violence civil society including institutions like the *Commission on Gender Equality* failed to raise or highlight the gender dimensions.

While the coverage of the violence was extensive the causes of the violence received relatively little explanation. Of the 62 people that died in the violence 21 of the people who were killed were South African. How and why there were so many South African included in the number who were killed was seldom explained. Also it was clear from several of the incidents being televised that the violence was not simply mob violence but that it was organised – this raised several questions that again largely went unanswered in the media – who was behind the violence? Who was organising it and with what aims and intentions? In some articles the sense was that poverty was the cause of the violence. The explanation went something along the lines of: because people were poor and non-nationals came in and took their jobs this explained why South Africans became violent. While such an explanation may be soothing there are too many other communities living under almost identical circumstances around the world which don't result in an outbreak of xenophobic violence. There were in MMA's view simply too few pieces that analysed or sought to explaining or expand on the causes of the violence.

Perpetuating negative stereotypes

And then there was the reporting by the *Daily Sun*. The *Daily Sun* is a tabloid and is South

Africa's biggest selling daily newspaper with a daily readership of over 4.5 million readers.¹ *Daily Sun* is also owned by one of the largest media houses in South Africa, *News 24*. Unlike all the other media monitored, including other tabloid media, the *Daily Sun's* position on the violence was ambivalence at best and tacit support at worst. MMA has for the past four years been raising concerns with the *Daily Sun* through its daily monitoring over its perpetuation of xenophobic stereotypes.

In the period of the violence the *Daily Sun* only condemned the violence two weeks after it had started. This was in stark contrast to the overwhelming condemnation from the majority of media. In addition *Daily Sun* clearly and callously perpetuated negative stereotypes of non South African's by referring to them as aliens and also implying both directly and indirectly that they were in fact the ones to blame for the violence.

As MMA we believed that the *Daily Sun's* coverage violated the self regulatory Press Code enforced by the *South African Press Council*. Our views were shared by the *Consortium for Refugees and Migrants South Africa* (CoRMSA is an umbrella group of many organisations that deal with a variety of issues relating to non South Africans) who partnered with the MMA in submitting a formal complaint to the Press Ombudsman.²

What made the *Daily Sun's* coverage so deeply disturbing was that as complainants we were not concerned about only one or two stories but a whole series. Accordingly as part of our complaint we submitted a list of more than

50 stories that we felt in through their use of the term Alien clearly perpetuated negative stereotypes of non South Africans. Some examples:

- “Raped by alien boss” (19/10/2007 p. 4)
- “Married – to an alien!” (19/10/2007 p. 8)
- “Aliens bust for housebreaking” (01/10/2007 p. 4)
- “Gang of alien hijackers bust!” (10/10/2007 p. 8)
- “Alien boss attacks alien employees!” (02/11/2007 p. 2)
- “Bloody end of alien lover” (09/05/2008 p. 2)
- “They wait for dark before they attack! Aliens use muthi to steal our cattle!” (09/05/2008 p. 11)
- “It’s war on aliens! 20 bust for attacks!” (13/05/2008 p. 4)
- “Cops said I was an alien! Homeboy angry after jail horror” (14/05/2008 p. 1)
- “War against aliens! Thousands forced to flee Alex” (14/05/2008 p. 2)
- “Aliens: The truth! Daily Sun tells why Alex exploded” (15/05/2008 p. 1)
- “Alex aliens want to go home” (15/05/2008 p. 2)

In our complaint MMA noted that the usage and negative framing of non South Africans is not only a current trend. The list also clearly highlights not only a trend in the usage and negative stereotyping of non South Africans but it also indicated something far more sinister and dangerous – a clear bias to actively negatively represent non South Africans. We noted that any such bias is a clear violation of the press council’s fundamental principles of fairness and accuracy.

The case was dealt with by the press ombudsman and in the first ruling MMA’s case “could not be entertained” by the press ombudsman. MMA and CoRMSA then took the case on appeal.

The Appeal was heard before the *SA Press Appeal Tribunal* on Wednesday, 22 October 2008. MMA’s Counsel, Advocate Steven Budlender argued for the MMA and CoRMSA against one of South Africa’s most well known and respected Advocates, Gilbert Marcus. It was clear that in spite of the complaint being submitted by a small monitoring NGO the media group that owned *Daily Sun* wanted to do all it could to make the case go away and threatened to take the matter to the high court should they lose in the appeal of the Press Council.

At the close of the hearing and presumably because of the manner in which MMA presented its case and the validity of its complaints against the *Daily Sun*, the *Daily Sun*’s legal representatives approached the MMP and CoRMSA’s representatives and indicated that their client wanted to settle the matter and not await the ruling of the *Press Appeals Panel*. MMA considered this and determined that the long term benefit of settling and improving the *Daily Sun*’s coverage of Foreign Nationals was worth settling the matter.

As a result, the matter became settled on the following basis: The *Daily Sun* was to print the following statement in the *Daily Sun* on 27 October 2008 (which it duly did):

„The Media Monitoring Project (MMP) and the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) lodged a complaint against Daily Sun concerning its use of the word ‘aliens’ to describe foreigners. The Press Ombudsman, Mr Joe Thlolo, found in favour of Daily Sun. The Chairperson of the South African Press Appeals Panel, Judge Ralph Zulman, then granted the MMP and CoRMSA leave to appeal against that finding.

After a hearing of the appeal before the Press Appeals Panel, on 22 October, the parties agreed to settle their dispute on the basis that



Daily Sun will no longer use the word „aliens“ to describe foreigners. Daily Sun regards itself as bound by the Press Code. The dispute is now finalised.”

The effect of this settlement is that the *Daily Sun* is not, in the future, allowed to refer to foreigners as „aliens“ in any article printed in the *Daily Sun*. That the *Daily Sun* was prepared to spare no legal expense in challenging MMA speaks volumes of the credibility of MMA as a monitoring organisation but it also clearly indicates a failure of the newspaper to take any responsibility for its offensive coverage.

The other major victory for MMA and monitoring is that while it seems to only be about the use of the term „alien:“ it means that they have been put on notice and know we will be monitoring them and will not hesitate to hold them to account should they go against South Africa’s constitution and the South African Press Code again. In addition to this it should be noted that this monitoring has followed on previous monitoring conducted as well as a formal inquiry into how the media reported on race and racism, which while controversial resulted in significant changes in the way race and especially how race was mentioned in reporting.

The settlement is also a clear example how the fundamental process of media monitoring can have a positive impact on a country’s biggest daily newspaper and result in a move that will go some way in restoring dignity and respect for all people.



¹ See: <http://www.ads24.co.za/DailyNewspapers/DailySun/tabid/1247/Default.aspx?PageContentMode=1> for the companies readership figures.

² You can read our full complaint and read the other documents submitted by going to: http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/index.php/news/entry/media_monitoring_project_submits_complaint_about_daily_sun_reporting_on_xen/



Indonesian diaspora and minority media:

Mirroring me daily

By Edith Koesoemawiria

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Indonesian diaspora media in Hong Kong and Mandarin or Tionghuan media in Indonesia¹ are similar in that they empower communities.

In this context, the former refers to media developments following the wave of Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong, while the latter focuses on the Mandarin media following a new wave of Chinese consciousness in Indonesia. The main commonality between the two is the attempt to mirror their communities' daily lives.

Historical Background

To label Indonesians of Chinese, Arabic or Indian ethnicity as a foreign diaspora is debatable.

Technically speaking, the term "bangsa Indonesia" or Indonesia started being used in 1928. At the time youths from various ethnicities in the archipelago declared themselves as Indonesians, uniting in the fight against colonialism. Most of the aforesaid foreign diaspora, have lived in Indonesia for more than four generations. That is before 1928, when their forefathers came, mainly as traders, farmers and workers from the Asian mainland, then intermingling and settling down in the

archipelago. Many of them were part of the movement to build Indonesia.

On the other hand, *New Order* policies in the mid-sixties placed Indonesians with foreign or partially foreign ethnicity as being "non-native". Unlike Indonesians with Arab or Indian forefathers, those of Chinese descent faced much more discrimination. For example, the *New Order* regime banned the use of Chinese languages and repressed Chinese cultural practices into the private domain. These bans were lifted only after the fall of the *New Order* government in the late 1990s. Since then, within the so-called Tionghuan diaspora, a renaissance towards understanding the Chinese language and culture started. With China as a global economic player an interest in learning Mandarin also exists within non-Tionghuan Indonesian communities.

Indonesian diaspora in Hong Kong

In Hong Kong with a population of about eight million people, Indonesians form the second largest ethnic minority group after Filipinos.

Immigration from Indonesia to Hong Kong began in 1960 when Indonesians with Chinese ethnicity tried to escape discrimination

and anti-Chinese measures. But this is not a homogenous minority group. Indonesians in Hong Kong can be anything from trainees to professionals working for major companies. Or, they work for the embassy or the government, have a permanent right of residence through marriage or are migrant workers, which in fact is the largest of this very diverse group.

An Asian Migrant Study in 2006 estimates that 80% to 90% of the Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong are women, have a smattering of Cantonese and work as home helpers. What started in the sixties as a small group of Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong increased to thousands in the nineties and was almost tenfold by the turn of the century. In the early 2000s, some 70,000 Indonesian migrant workers lived in Hong Kong. After a while, many of them joined one of the two big migrant workers unions in Hong Kong. Some people, including those in the media, regard this phenomenon as a business opportunity.

In November 2006, Indonesia's *Antara News Agency* in Jakarta posted an article titled "Ribuan BMI di Hong Kong Protes Standar Gaji" which translates as "One thousand migrant workers in Hong Kong protest against salary standards". Describing migrant workers demands, the article explains that the Indonesian and Hong Kong governments have cooperated on employment placement programmes since the 1980s. The text continues to quote the coalition of Indonesian workers in Hong Kong, Kotkiho. Stating that 42% of Indonesian workers are not paid the current minimum wage for foreign home workers. According to this article, 102,100 Indonesian migrant workers were employed in Hong Kong in September 2006 and each year approximately 150 workers bring their case to the Hong Kong Employment Court. The outcome is generally negative, although



Hong Kong's laws stipulate that an employer who is proven to underpay his/her employee would have to serve a 1.5 year jail-term and pay a fine.

On the other hand, this also shows that Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong, are a group of people with an income, literate, understand their rights and can organise themselves facing issues that are not only referring to Hong Kong, but also to their home government and family at home.

***Suara*: an Indonesian newspaper in Hong Kong**

The first Indonesian language medium in Hong Kong was *Berita Indonesia* (Indonesian News). At least eight other newspapers followed. Including *Berita Indonesia*, only five still exist. They are, *Apa khabar* (What's up?), *Rosemawar* – (Mawar is rose in Indonesian), *Indo Pos* (Indonesian Post) and *Suara* (Voice). Except for the bi-monthly *Suara*, the others are monthly publications. Generally these papers carry (business) news, entertainment

An Asian Migrant Study in 2006 estimates that 80% to 90% of the Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong are women, have a smattering of Cantonese and work as home helpers

and features, but have no real target group. Contrary to *Suara* which targeted migrant workers from the beginning.

In 2003, *Suara* started its circulation with 16 pages and 16,000 copies. Eight months later the Hong Kong publisher, Muhammad Fanani, took over. Shortly after, *Suara* had a print run of 25,000 copies. According to Fanani, the rise in the number of Indonesian migrant workers to more than 120,000 in 2008, opened the door for *Suara*'s expansion. Now this purely commercial tabloid has a circulation of 35,000 prints and is still growing.

Regarding its empowerment aspects, the few people who started this paper play a major role. Some were activists supporting migrant workers' unions. *Suara* has been distributed to its readers free of charge since it was first published. It is distributed through two main channels, i.e. Indonesian shops and migrant workers' organisations. Currently the tabloid has three staff members. They cover the editing, advertising, marketing, distribution and administration. Two of the staff, including Fanani, are professional journalists. Fanani admits that advertisements play a huge part in filling this 36-40 page bi-monthly tabloid. In 2007, Australian journalist Duncan Graham wrote in *Jakarta Post*, "Muhamad Fanani: Publish and be profitable". Pointing to *Suara*, the article says: "*Suara*'s ads promote mobile phones, banking and remittance services, and labour agencies. Lawyers are also starting to advertise, indicating there is money in representing distressed home helps who are not getting the aid they need from the nation's officials."

Besides advertisements, *Suara*'s content focuses on educational material which discusses and analyses migrant workers' problems. *Suara* also exposes domestic violence and contract rip-offs. Furthermore it keeps an eye on the implementation of Indonesian

government policies and migrant worker related activities at the Indonesian embassy in Hong Kong.

On top of this, *Suara* reserves up to eight pages for migrant workers to tell their personal stories and to publish their writings. In Hong Kong it is the only Indonesian language tabloid that pays migrant workers professional fees for their stories, which depending on length are around HK\$50.- to HK\$ 200.- which corresponds to US\$ 6.45 up to US\$ 26.-.

Interestingly enough, in the last four years several writing groups were created within the migrant community, concentrating on developing writing skills. They published several compilations of their stories and won awards. Fanani reported that one migrant worker, having the chance to hone her skills with *Suara*, ended up changing her profession. Returning to Indonesia, she applied to work as a journalist. Now she works in the marketing section of *Republika*, a daily newspaper in Jakarta. Her new skills opened additional job opportunities.

Besides the print media, there used to be a radio station in Hong Kong which broadcast a programme in Indonesian once a week, called "nongkrong bersama". This, like other radio broadcasts, hones in on the migrant workers' market. Now there are two one-hour broadcasts weekly, both are run by *Metro*, a Jakarta-based Indonesian commercial broadcaster working with two Hong Kong partners.

Tionghuan demography in Indonesia

At the beginning of this century there were about 8 million Indonesians of Chinese descent living in Indonesia. This accounts for about 3% of the Indonesian population of 240 million.



There were several waves of people moving from China to the archipelago. Not all come from the same area nor do they speak the same Chinese language. A 2007 study on ethnic languages states, there are about 5.7 million Hakka speaking Indonesians, 7.8 million Teo Chew and over 8 million Hokkien speaking Indonesians. Possibly there is some overlap here, with people speaking more than one Chinese language and others not speaking Mandarin.

In 1967 the Indonesian government banned the public use and teaching of Chinese languages. Therefore, there is at least one generation of Tionghuas that does not speak any Chinese language at all. After 2000 these languages regained footing, when Indonesia's fourth President, Abdurahman Wahid, revoked the 1967 Presidential Decree which had banned Chinese culture from the public sphere. Then a renaissance of Chinese languages and culture took place. Communities began organising cultural activities open to the public, Internet discussion groups started and schools teaching in Mandarin reopened, some with volunteer teachers from China.

Tionghuan (Mandarin) media in Indonesia

There is more written material available on Tionghuan media in Indonesia than on Indonesian media in Hong Kong. Before being banned in the mid-sixties, Tionghuan media functioned like any other news-oriented media. According to its readers, now contents of some Tionghuan newspapers are more similar to community media which mainly report on community activities. This is definitely not a reflection of all Tionghuan media in Indonesia, but it does intersect with some of the functions carried out by *Suara* in Hong Kong.

Besides its regular Indonesian and English emissions, *Metro TV* broadcasts in Mandarin

with Tionghuan and native Mandarin speakers. *Cakrawala Radio*, a 24-hour radio station which began to broadcast in 1971, started relaying mainly Chinese pop music and light discussions in Mandarin. In the print section, besides several magazines, newsletters, community bulletins, about seven newspapers in Mandarin began to circulate. Two of them, the now defunct *Shijie Ribao* (basically a Taiwanese daily) and *Heping Ribao* were joint ventures.

From those still in existence, three are Jakarta-based: *Yinni Xingzou Ribao*, formerly *Harian Indonesia*, has recently been bought by a Singaporean group, *IndonesiaShangbao* with 10,000 copies is the Mandarin edition of *Bisnis Indonesia* and is distributed in Medan, Batam, Bandung, Surabaya and Ujung Pandang. Interestingly, it is said to be one of *Bisnis Indonesia*'s strongest competitors, while *Guo Ji Ribao* is part of the Jawapos Group, a nationwide active media group.

Apart from that, local papers exist in three cities with a visibly high percentage of Tionghuans.

Qian Dao Ribao is a local newspaper in Surabaya, East of Java. *Xunbao* is printed locally in Medan, Northern Sumatra, and according to Wikipedia, *Kun Dian Ribao* circulates in Pontianak, Borneo. Apparently another one exists, and I quote from the *Sin Chew* website which says that *Sin Chew* used to be called *Harian Indonesia* and is: "an established newspaper with a history of more than 40 years. It was the only Chinese newspaper allowed to be





Scenes from *Berbagi Suami*, one of the most meaningful films about current Indonesian society. Here, parallels are drawn between the positions of women from various ethnicities and how Tionghuans are actually a normal part of Indonesian life

published during the Suharto regime. Today the paper is run privately by *PT Emas Dua Ribu*, an associated company of MAHAKA MEDIA. On 17 January 2007, *Harian Indonesia* was relaunched as *Sin Chew-Harian Indonesia*, with editorial content management from *Sin Chew Media Corporation Berhad*. Within a short period, circulation sales of *Sin Chew-Harian Indonesia* grew to 30.000 copies per day in the Jakarta region alone, with a readership of over 100.000."

Public presence is not the problem of Mandarin media in Indonesia. The difficulties lay elsewhere. For instance, most Tionghuans who read and write any of the Chinese languages are generally over 55 years old. The younger generation needs time to learn this extremely difficult language. Only few people have the ability to write well enough for printing. In Indonesia, there are currently not many Mandarin writing journalists.

Newspapers, bulletins and publications that attempt to encourage public participation may end up having to fill the empty pages themselves. Readership is also a problem, a few have tried using both languages to encourage younger Indonesians of Chinese descent to take an interest. To remain in circulation, it is said that *Gui Ji Ribao* with its 60,000 copies is subsidised by the *Jawapos Group* which controls about 100 newspapers across Indonesia. While *Indonesia Shangbao* survives basically because it caters also for Mandarin speaking foreign businessmen.

In fact what seems harder to diffuse is the feeling of latent discrimination against Tionghuans. This is due to a multitude of factors, including historical roles, chauvinism within Indonesian society, an inept or inherently corrupt administration which often uses any argument to make a buck. Besides this, before the reformation era, Tionghuans

were the scapegoats for many ill conditions faced by the Indonesian people.

Differences and challenges

Suara in Hong Kong is exceptional as it is for free and truly a means towards empowerment. Its readers can get both local Hong Kong news and news from Indonesia, entertainment offers and information on policies affecting their livelihood. They are given a forum to share their experiences and solve problems. Besides this, they get an opportunity to express and self-fulfil themselves, i.e. by writing and developing writing skills.

As a member of *AJI* (Alliance of Indonesian Journalists), Muhammad Fanani, the publisher of *Suara*, has strong contacts to Indonesian journalists in Indonesia and several Jakarta-based NGOs. Many stories occurring in the migrant worker community in Hong Kong reach major newspapers in Indonesia. However, migrant workers have no presence in the Hong Kong media. Possibly because they are considered as people who will at some point return to their home country.

The invitation to write (which *Suara* in Hong Kong offers) is something that Mandarin media in Indonesia still have problems with because of language competency and the fact that their public is more heterogeneous. However, this might change in the future. Another difference is that Indonesia is the home to Tionghuans.

Many of them have been active media practitioners even during the time when the use of Chinese languages was banned. In the media, they work as journalists, behind the camera, at the microphone or in the editing rooms. In some cases they are founders and owners of Indonesian language media. Tionghuans, through representation in Indonesian national media, i.e. newspapers, television, ra-

dio, Internet and film, actually have more of an opportunity to overcome ethnic cultural barriers. In this, films can play an important role.

In the early 2000s, Tionghuan problems became the subject of several films. In 2002, *Ca-bau-kan* also known as *The Courtesan* was released. The film by a local director, Nia Dinata, is based on a book by the same name, written by Remy Silado. In search of her roots, the heroine opens the door to a romantic saga surrounding the fate of an Indonesian courtesan to a Chinese man during the Japanese occupation. Another film *Jangan panggil Aku Cina* (Don't call me Chinese) shows the cultural conflict both within the Padang and Tionghuan ethnicities. In a somewhat patriarchal manner it attempts to solve the conflict arising when the two ethnicities mix. In 2005, another female film director, Riri Riza, directed *Soe Hok Gie* (1942-1969), a film about Tionghuan activist Soe Hok Gie who opposed the successive regimes of presidents Sukarno and Suharto. But perhaps the most meaningful film about current Indonesian society is Nia Dinata's 2007 film, *Berbagi Suami*. Here, parallels are drawn between the positions of women from various ethnicities and how Tionghuans are actually a normal part of Indonesian life.

Time is also a winning hand, unlike migrant workers who have a limited residence permit, Tionghuans are not under pressure to leave the country. More than other minorities they are placed under strong pressure to realise themselves as full-fledged members of society.

For a private enterprise, economic and social viability is a primary reason to embark on a long-term investment. These enterprises came to the fore only as pro-people government policies, both in Hong Kong and Indonesia, came into being. And in their own

contexts both Indonesian media in Hong Kong and the so-called Tionghuan media achieve empowerment by opening access to information, giving a platform for representation and the growth of acceptance in society.

¹ Tionghuan here is used only for Chinese-Indonesians to differentiate from Chinese diasporas in other countries.

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Jangan Panggil Aku Cina (Don't call me Chinese) shows the cultural conflict both within the Padang and Tionghuan ethnicities. In a somewhat patriarchal manner it attempts to solve the conflict arising when the two ethnicities mix



In the early 2000s, Tionghuan problems became the subject of several films. In 2002, *Ca-bau-kan*, also known as *The Courtesan*, was released. The film by a local director, Nia Dinata, is based on a book by the same name, written by Remy Silado. In search of her roots, the heroine opens the door to a romantic saga surrounding the fate of an Indonesian courtesan to a Chinese man during the Japanese occupation

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Approach — Models — Impact:

Strategic support of Roma media initiatives

By Marie Struthers



"We also wanted the magazine to be a space for increasing the self-confidence of the Roma community, increasing sensitivity in relation to its own identity as well as a space in which the community could be presented to the majority and thus change the depiction of itself... In the beginning phase our respondents were ashamed to speak the Roma language on television, to speak about themselves as Roma, and the like. We no longer have this problem; in fact, the opposite."

(Kristina Magdolenova, "Notes on the work of the Roma Press Agency/RPA", September 2008)

Europe's largest minority

The Roma¹ are Europe's largest minority population, and its fastest-growing. Their numbers are usually estimated between eight and ten million, with the majority – estimated at up to six million – based in Central and Eastern Europe. Despite their prominence in numbers, however, they remain the minority group in Europe that suffers from the highest levels of discrimination, racial violence, social

and economic exclusion, and severe poverty. Some recent statistics make this latter claim clear: a 2005 UNDP report, for example, stated that 69% of Roma in Romania, 61% in Serbia, and 51% in Bulgaria lived below the poverty line.²

As such, the Roma have for centuries been subject to prejudices, negative stereotypes and hostility among mainstream populations. And in turn, this negative portrayal has been strongly reinforced by mainstream media. Effectively, this means that the Roma are denied a voice in mainstream media. The recent example of Italy is a case in point. In May 2008 riots around Roma camps and arson attacks occurred following allegations of a Roma girl's attempt to kidnap an Italian baby, inspired not in the least by anti-Roma and anti-immigrant rhetoric from the current government. The outcome was a campaign to fingerprint inhabitants of Roma camps, a clear violation of European data protection provisions.³ Anti-Roma speech, qualified by some as hate speech, is widely reproduced in Italian media and has come under criticism from international bodies including the OSCE.⁴

Marie Struthers worked for Canada's Immigration and Refugee Board before moving to Human Rights Watch, where between 1997 and 2004 she acted variously as director of the Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Moscow offices and made frequent research missions to Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Ingushetia. Marie joined the Media Program of the Open Society Foundation in 2004. There, she oversees the media and minorities portfolio, advocacy events and initiatives, and media donor policy and coordination. The Media Program of the Open Society Institute (OSI) seeks to promote independent, professional, and viable media and quality journalism, primarily in countries undergoing a process of democratization and building functioning media markets.

OSI support to Roma media projects

The *Open Society Institute* (OSI) has supported Roma media initiatives since the mid-1990s.⁵ The strategy is two-fold: first, to empower and give voice to Europe's most disadvan-

proved coverage of Roma in the mainstream media, as mainstream media makes ample use of widespread prejudices and negative stereotypes and also under-reports on Roma issues.⁶ From the outset, OSI has tried to cover a holistic range of projects: media outlet development, programme exchange and networking, education and professional development, content production for the European mainstream press, and advocacy.⁷

Outlet development and programming

Up to twenty-five media outlets and production companies in eleven countries have been supported, among these television, television production, radio, and news agencies. In recognition of high rates of illiteracy among Roma and potential for wide outreach OSI support for media outlets has focused on broadcasters. Broadcasts in both the mainstream and Romanes languages have been supported.⁸ Until 2005 media agencies received comprehensive assistance, i.e., funding for core operations and capacity-building, including journalism and management training. In 2005 core operational support from OSI ceased and outlet development has since been supported via a new *Roma-Mainstream Media Co-Production Fund*.

The Co-Production Fund aims to improve the quality of Roma programming in the mainstream media and to strengthen the capacity of both mainstream and minority outlets through sustained cooperation. It also aims to positively impact on attitudes towards Roma inclusion through better coverage of Roma in the mainstream media.⁹ The original comprehensive assistance approach for outlet development has been incorporated into the Co-Production Fund to the greatest extent possible: funds for the co-productions themselves; mentors; on-site trainers; some equipment upgrade; and a significant over-



Sound technician of RTV Nišava producing a radio programme

tagged and largest minority. This part of the strategy has as a core belief that Roma media projects are a vital tool for strengthening Roma identity, human rights, culture, language and self-esteem. The strategy also aims to promote Roma inclusion via im-



head cost allowance, to compensate for a lack of core funding from which all outlets suffer.

Education and professional development

Roma mainstream media internship programmes have as a main goal to ensure better access for Roma to the journalistic profession and the creation of a European corps of professional Roma journalists.¹⁰ A not less important goal is to empower individuals and inspire leadership. The internships typically span a period of eight months to a year, and offer participants an intensive skills training course followed by several months' work in a mainstream media outlet. The interns' supervision by mentors, themselves professional journalists, has proven essential; and the mentors are often graduates of the internship programmes. Roma journalists have also been supported to write syndicated articles on Roma issues for the mainstream European media.

Networking

Rrommedia.net, a Roma media network, was created in 2005 and at the time represented close to twenty-five Roma media outlets. Goals of the network have been to encourage programme exchange, bolster cooperation with non-Roma media, strengthen Roma media, and conduct advocacy and policy on national and European levels. Member outlets' ongoing institutional fragility has prevented the network from developing into a full-fledged operational effort, yet, the network aims and code of conduct are to be admired.¹¹

A difficult operational context

Any discussion of support to Roma media projects would be incomplete without mention of the difficult operational context.



RTV Nišava (Serbia) staff at work

Most Roma journalists and media managers made their appearance only some ten to fifteen years ago. They were born into a post-Berlin Wall development environment marked by large-scale donor intervention and a corresponding overblossoming of new outlets throughout the region. Competition for resources and audiences amongst all media outlets was at a premium, and the Roma media outlets had and continue to have, arguably, the least resources of all.¹²

The lack of resources is compounded by the fact that the outlets' primary audience since their inception has been only a small part of the overall target audience, and one severely constrained by ongoing or even increasing poverty.¹³ The outlets' capacity to develop high-quality news and educational programmes has in consequence been severely limited.

Donors also have provided insufficient or inefficient funding. Monies from a handful of donors have been almost exclusively directed to programming, with significantly less for operational costs and infrastructure. Funds for capacity-building have been sporadic.

Professional capacity from the beginning was also weak: in the majority of cases, media projects started from scratch, i.e., staff either had skeleton or no training as journalists or were full-time human rights activists, and some media managers had never confronted a business plan. Chronic institutional instability has meant that overall professional capacity within Roma media outlets remains low.

The lack of a favourable legislative environment has also put Roma media outlets at a significant disadvantage. Media legislation which does not accord proper status to minority and community media, and inappropriate or politicised licensing procedures, is widespread in the region. Those outlets which would do best with a community license (accommodating a genuine mission-based approach), have, in the absence of such a opportunity, struggled to make this mission and a commercial format match up. Further, operations for many outlets are confined to localities given licensed areas of transmissions.

Finally, a climate of generalized donor withdrawal hasn't helped. Donors have in recent

years significantly curtailed their support in the region. Following the accession to the EU of several countries in 2004, the U.S. and some western European states further reduced their civil society funding, and in consequence for Roma media. National governments have not demonstrated that they are willing or able to cover the gap created by donor withdrawal.

It should not be forgotten, however, that while throughout the region other minority outlets regularly receive support from private donors or state subsidies, in reality few are fully viable commercially.¹⁴

Long-term support has brought the best results

Media outlets

The development of Roma television and radio outlets has seen mixed results. Those located in smaller communities and with a clear community service orientation have overall seen more success. But those in larger communities, tainted by ongoing issues of institutional fragility, in direct competition

After the Roma Mainstream
Media Internship Program
final exam, May 2007,
at the Center for Independent
Journalism, Hungary



with more secure mainstream outlets, have been able to achieve basic survival only; they have been unable, in general, to provide consistently relevant news and information, or educational information. For the most part the lack of an enabling environment, lack of a favourable legislative structure, too limited resources, an absent state funding structure, and a very poor principal target audience—has been to blame, but a lack of donor collaboration and non-strategic funding is also at fault. On the whole, to date, it has been unrealistic to expect self-sustainability of Roma media outlets.

Nonetheless, if one goal of support to Roma media was to strengthen identity and improve self-esteem, then a measure of success is the fact that community leaders, Roma journalists, and Roma policy-makers have started their careers in Roma media. Roma communities express a marked pride about the existence of Roma media outlets and are appreciative of those that serve their needs. *Radio Cerenja* in Stip, Macedonia, has been repeatedly praised by the small 5000-strong Roma community it serves, as well as by media developments experts. *Radio Cerenja* provides a typical community media service: direct community and audience participation via live discussions and phone-in programmes.

If another goal has been to promote inclusion of Roma within the larger society, then most Roma media outlets supported exemplify this goal. They have made it their mission to reach out to mainstream and Roma audiences; they broadcast in the mainstream and Roma languages; they cooperate with mainstream outlets; and they retain ethnically mixed staff.

News agencies, nonetheless, have shown that they can have both an agenda-setting function and that mainstream media makes use of their products for story ideas or view-



Roma Press Agency (Slovakia), staff and colleagues recording an interview

points.¹⁵ The *Roma Press Centre* in Hungary in the late 1990's had a good deal of its output published in the mainstream press and was a regular collaborator with mainstream print agencies. The *Roma Press Agency* in Slovakia has consistently produced original news pieces which, while reliable quantitative data is absent, have served to influence and inspire mainstream reporting on Roma. The *Roma Press Agency* has also developed into a production house and concluded an unprecedented collaboration with *Slovak National Television*.

Finally, the output of production companies like *Romania Dunia* in Bulgaria, which places

its programmes on *Bulgarian National Television*, is watched and well-known to audiences. The same is true for the *Roma Press Agency* in Slovakia, through its collaboration with *Slovak National Television*.

Education and professional development

Long-term investment into educational and professional development opportunities has borne fruit. A cadre of professional Roma journalists exists in all countries where the *Roma Mainstream Media Internship Programme* has run, the programme has proven sustainability by replicating itself in different countries or through integration with the media industry or academic realm, and at least 20% of graduates are employed by mainstream media (about 40% work in media-related fields).¹⁶

The internship programmes have also improved participants' chances of gaining meaningful employment in general, as many graduates subsequently undertake higher education courses. In Hungary, for example, close to half of internship graduates have done so. Also in Hungary, the journalist internships have seen integration with the industry: major mainstream outlets have provided cost-sharing and committed to hiring Roma

of ten graduates of Hungarian journalism and communication departments obtain employment in journalism after graduation).

In Macedonia, Roma stories broken by interns have regularly made their way to the top of the mainstream media agenda, and the *Macedonian Media Institute* incorporated its internship programme into the newly-founded *School of Journalism and Public Relations* by offering three-year journalism scholarships to Roma students. In 2009, a new initiative will support alumnae of the *Roma Mainstream Media Internship Programme* to begin graduate study programmes in journalism in the U.S.

The training of Roma journalists to produce articles on Roma issues for the mainstream European media has led to an expanding network of such correspondents; in the near future they will participate in regular reporting missions with colleagues from the mainstream media.

Co-production fund

While in its current form a very labour-intensive initiative, the *Roma-Mainstream Media Co-Production Fund* has proven successful. Impact achieved includes increased audiences for both Roma and mainstream media, improved quality of programming, heightened interest by mainstream media in Roma issues, and a new and positive representation of Roma. Audience outreach for co-productions made between 2006 and 2008 was 1.4 million for radio and 3.5 million for television.

The co-productions have also had direct advocacy and policy impact. When *Nisava Radio and Television* in Nis, Serbia, broadcast a series of reports on a muddy, unserviceable road located in a Roma community, local authorities responded by sending out a paving

Roma Press Agency (Slovakia), staff on a shoot



journalists, and internship programmes run by the *Center for Independent Journalism* have been replicated at the national television and radio. 42% of graduates work in the Hungarian mainstream or minority media (by contrast, reportedly, one out

crew. In Romania, a television documentary about a Roma Holocaust survivor who became a traditional Roma conflict mediator was broadcast to a national audience of about two million and was shown to about 5000 schoolchildren. And in Slovakia, television magazines broadcast on the national channel helped to galvanize the office of the Plenipotentiary for Roma to standardize the Roma language.

A crucial factor hinders the continued high-quality production, however: Roma media must produce high-quality programming on a continual basis, above and beyond the Co-Production Fund, to remain viable partners for mainstream media.

Rrommedia.net

As noted above, *Rrommedia.net* has not developed into a fully-functioning operation. Yet, some initiatives demonstrate its potential for important policy and advocacy work; this potential is particularly important within the framework of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015. In September 2004, lobbying from *Rrommedia.net* on the inclusion of Roma media as a fifth priority pillar in the Roma Decade of Inclusion led, among other things, to the inclusion of media as one of three top priorities in the Romanian government's presidency of the Decade, while members of *Rrommedia.net* are part of national Decade strategic working groups.¹⁷

Some lessons learned

Long-term (institutional) support: Environmental obstacles to the continued and healthy development of Roma media initiatives are many and should be expected to continue for some years yet. Long-term commitment and institutional support from donors, particularly as regards to outlet development, is crucial. Otherwise, chronic in-

stability and lack of development is in store. But support should be premised on clear and realistic criteria.

Since their inception, many outlets have functioned on the brink of closure, with weak management structures, a lack of professional fund-raising skills, no market advertising, and scarce resources.



TV Thumende (Romania) screens their film for the general public

Community-based outlets: In general, given overall structural constraints (licensing, funding structures, market conditions, etc.), these outlets have the best chance of attaining sustainability, financially and in terms of relevance to the audiences they serve. Advocacy efforts to improve structural constraints should be supported.

Donor coordination: More cooperation and coordination among donors is required, not the least to maximize the impact of donor support. But more donor resources are needed, too.

Enabling environment: Work is needed on domestic policy issues relating to Roma and minority media in the region: legal status, licensing procedures, funding structures,

best practice. This includes work with public service broadcasters on requirements to carry Romani-language programming.

Networking: This is to be encouraged. It requires strengthening, however, and increased collaboration with other Roma networks.

Positive examples: Audience feedback, and Roma journalists themselves, acknowledge that the provision of positive examples help to counter stereotypes.

1 The Roma are a people of Indian origin whose thousand-year history in Europe has been marked by oppression, slavery, and systematic persecution. In recent years, Roma in Europe have faced lynchings, pogroms, racist denial of access to basic social services, and other serious violations of fundamental human rights. A Romani Holocaust, or "Porraimos," saw hundreds of thousands of Roma perish during the World War II; it was only in 2007 that the Romanian government issued an official apology for having sent tens of thousands of Roma to extermination camps.

2 OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), "Implementation of the Action Plan on Improving the Situation of Roma and Sinti within the OSCE Area," October 2008, p. 68.

3 Open Society Institute, "Security a la Italiana: Fingerprinting, Extreme Violence and Harassment of Roma in Italy," July 2008.

4 See, for example, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, "The Image of Asylum-Seekers, Migrants and Refugees in the Media," Doc. 11011, 10 July 2006; and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Decision No. 566, "Action Plan on Improving the Situation of Roma and Sinti within the OSCE Area," 27 November 2003.

5 Support has been provided in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia and Slovakia. OSI overall support to Roma, including in the areas of education, health, employment, etc., began in Eastern Europe in 1984.

6 OSI commissioned an independent evaluation of its support to Roma media projects in 2006. The evaluation report, "Roma (in the) Media: An

Assessment of Relevance and Impact of Support," was written by Yasha Lange, media development consultant. As well, the Swiss media development organisation medienhilfe has been an institutional partner to OSI on Roma media projects since 2003. Much of the information provided in this paper is based on Yasha Lange's evaluation report, and on research and input on Roma media development provided over several years by Nena Skopljanac at medienhilfe.

7 OSI support to Roma media outlets was implemented jointly with medienhilfe 2003–2005.

8 Some print media outlets have been supported in Bulgaria, Ukraine, and Russia.

9 The Co-Production Fund was designed by OSI and medienhilfe in 2005 and has been implemented by medienhilfe. Co-productions supported thus far have been mostly radio and television.

10 Internship programmes have been supported in Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Macedonia and Serbia.

11 See www.rrommedia.net.

12 Media development donors did not prioritize minority media in this period, not to mention Roma media.

13 The Roma as an ethnic group display few elements of homogeneity – to the contrary, they epitomize diversity, for example as regards language, religion, cultural traditions. The Roma language consists of a wide variety of dialects; no one standardized version is broadly used. On the level of language, then, broadly speaking, it is difficult to target them as a group. Almost all Roma however speak the language of their home countries. As a result, many Roma media outlets have competed with mainstream outlets for audiences.

14 Miklos Haraszti, Representative on Freedom of the Media of the OSCE, as quoted in South East Europe Media Organisation (SEEMO), press release, "SEEMO to Publish Book on Media and Minorities in South East Europe," 30 June 2006.

15 Both the Roma Press Centre in Hungary and the Roma Press Agency in Slovakia have made the mainstream their principal target audience.

16 Lange, Yasha, "Roma (in the) Media: An Assessment of Relevance and Impact of Support," p. 52.

17 Rrommedia.net, "Open Letter to the International Steering Committee for the Decade of Roma Inclusion," 25 September 2004.



Europe's Ethnic & Diversity Media:

Beyond mere visibility

By Reynald Blion



The main ideas shared in this paper are based on results of programmes and projects developed at European level linked to a new *Council of Europe* anti-discrimination campaign¹ focusing on media professionals and their organisations.

There are various ways of gaining greater coverage of intercultural issues and fighting against discrimination in the media. The first is to encourage the media industry to give ethnic and minority people greater access to the media professions and media productions. The second is to consider the promotion of intercultural dialogue and the role of the media created, produced, disseminated and broadcast by and for ethnic minority groups: the Ethnic & Diversity Media. Another complementary and innovative approach could be to explore ways mainstream media and ethnic & diversity media can collaborate to provide qualitative and professional information on intercultural issues and on the diversity of today's European societies.

Making diversities visible and heard

For many years the mainstream media in some European countries have initiated seve-

ral initiatives to allow greater on-screen visibility of ethnic and minority groups. Until the end of the 1990s this greater visibility was aimed at through specific shows dedicated to immigration and intercultural issues, aired by the public service broadcasters, especially in France but also in Germany.

In the United Kingdom, at the beginning of the 1990s, and more recently in France, voluntary policies for the mainstream media have been developed in order to facilitate the access of ethnic and minority people to the media professions. These voluntary policies aim to contribute to a more balanced representation and thus visibility of the diversity of today's societies in Europe.

Hence, in the 1990s a debate began – which has, in fact, never stopped and is still growing – on the visibility and representation of ethnic and minority groups in the media. An overview of the main initiatives introduced in France, in the United Kingdom, in Germany and even in the USA, shows that the presence and representation of ethnic minority groups challenges issues such as colonial history, immigration and integration policies as well as communication and audiovisual mechanisms of regulation.

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After 15 years of such voluntary policies, it must be recognised that few analyses, if any, are available to measure their impact within the media industry. Scientific research on the media is still not sufficient, especially in France, on the topics of content production, symbolic messages or the social imagery created by these voluntary actions by the media on ethnic and minority groups and issues. Even if in some cases, namely in the United Kingdom, it is recognised that the visibility of minorities has increased, ethnic and minority groups still express their disappointment about the way they are portrayed on screen as the presence of minorities on screen cannot be limited to seeing someone of the same skin colour. Ethnic and minority people recruited by the mainstream media are still not being considered in the context of their professional background. They often are reduced to representatives of the population groups they belong to and which the mainstream media want to show.

Even today, ethnic and minority groups are regularly presented as a threat to the security of the “national” population, as they are often mentioned in relation to issues of crime, terrorism, drugs, etc.

At the end of the 1990s, the mainstream media made attempts to change this situation and to show some positive images of ethnic and minority persons linked to success stories. But these figures were limited to sport or the arts and did not counterbalance the daily negative treatment of migratory flows, Islam or the “banlieues”...

What is the impact of the more visible presence and the increased expression of minorities in the mainstream media on issues such as intercultural relations or migration? This is difficult to answer because there is a crucial lack of reception studies in Europe and in particular in France.

A more balanced representation on screen as well as in the press and an appropriate participation of minorities in the media is important not only for the mainstream media themselves but also for a more democratic management of society as a whole.

The main challenge is to go beyond the sole issue of the “physical visibility” of ethnic and minority persons on screen. This visibility is a necessary condition to gain better media representation of minority groups but it is a not sufficient one. It is urgent to look at programme and information content, the way they are developed, the place accorded to minorities in the production process, their impact on public opinion... To meet this challenge, a “new” category of media tries to play its role and could have a greater place in the media area: the Ethnic & Diversity Media.

Multiple terminologies

The term ethnic & diversity media is used for all media that:

- have an editorial approach that is principally oriented towards the ethnic diversity to be found within European societies,
- address one or more of the constituent groups that make up this diversity,
- are mainly produced and disseminated in Europe,
- are produced by journalists and staff that are representative of the ethnic diversity of European societies,
- are directed by or belong to persons who are representative of this diversity.

These media may be television, radio, print media, or the Internet.

In France and in French, the term ‘media of diversity’ has been preferred to other usages, such as ‘community media’ or ‘ethnic media’, which have been adopted in the English-speaking world. The term ‘media of diversity’

seems to correspond better to the way these media see themselves and the contributions they make within their respective worlds, i.e. giving a voice to the diversity of the components of contemporary European societies.

A heterogeneous world

One main characteristic of ethnic & diversity media is their extraordinary diversity. In France there are about a hundred newspapers and magazines, of which around fifty appear regularly. In Paris and its surrounding region, a quarter of local radio stations are so-called ethnic stations. However, there are far fewer ethnic television stations and even fewer have their own policy of production and broadcasting. The publication frequency of ethnic & diversity print media is also extremely variable. Many appear quarterly, some monthly, but very few fortnightly. Those published weekly are usually magazines and newsletters distributed via the Internet.

The kinds of organisations that run ethnic & diversity media are also very diverse. While local radio stations are often run by non-profit associations, ethnic & diversity media may also be privately owned and hence commercial. This is especially the case for national radio networks and many print media. Nevertheless, there are major differences between European countries in the way these media are organised. In the United Kingdom there are ethnic & diversity media groups such as the *Ethnic Media Group*, which publish several different titles but they are virtually non-existent in continental Europe.

However, ethnic & diversity media in Europe do have one unfortunate characteristic in common — their vulnerability. They encounter genuine difficulties in accessing both financial and human resources, which hinder their capacities to develop and limit their range of influence.

Council of Europe Campaign

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SPEAK OUT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

If you are a media professional this site Click the following links for and

Multimedia

The "Speak out against discrimination" campaign is committed to ensuring that both new information technologies, such as webcasts and podcasts, as well as traditional forms of communication such as articles and training packs are used to disseminate information.

Webcast

Interview with Gabriella Battaini-Dragnoni about the World report on International dialogue

Podcast

Anti-discrimination campaign, interview with Gabriella Battaini-Dragnoni

For more podcasts please visit www.coe.int/podcasts

ALL DIFFERENT ALL EQUAL

Twitter

Endorsement

Arsène Wenger - Football manager (France)

"My whole life I have suffered from discrimination, having my disability seen before my abilities."

Interview: Jozef De Witte, Director of the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (Belgium)

"We must keep stressing the fact that Europe has always been a diverse continent and that exactly that diversity has made it into what it is now." (more...)

The Campaign

Campaign launch in Portugal
July 2009
On 9 July, the campaign will be launched in Lisbon in cooperation with the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue of Portugal (ACIDI). (more...)

Campaign launched in Spain
June 2009
On 29 June, the anti-discrimination campaign was launched in Madrid. The local council has endorsed the campaign which uses some 230 billboards in an effort to raise awareness and promote good practice in the reporting of intercultural and discrimination-related issues among journalists. (more...)

Seville conference: Video and blog report
21 - 24 April 2009
A team of journalists has produced a video and blog report of the Council of Europe conference in Seville (21-24 April 2009) which debated perspectives on intercultural dialogue and the fight against discrimination. (more...)

Roma photo exhibition on Flickr
13 February 2009
Sixteen snapshots of the Roma experience in Europe are now available online. (more...)

More campaign news

Kadin Magazine - a Turkish community media innovation in the Netherlands
Kadin, which means woman in Turkish, is written for and by Turkish women between the ages of 16 and 60 who live in the Netherlands and support the publication's upbeat message on the benefits of diversity to Dutch society. (more...)

Themes

Ana Cruz - Board member, SOS Racismo (Portugal)
2 June 2009
"We are not educated from a young age to accept differences. On the contrary, school is seen as having a homogenising effect over different cultures, which has its consequences on the self-consciousness of individuals and on acceptance of difference as a positive factor." (more...)

Sunny Hundal, Editor, Asians In Media (UK)
25 May 2009
"Hundal's move into online publishing was perfect timing. It coincided with a period in British society when the country's most important institutions were increasingly receptive to the need for greater diversity." (more...)

Interviews

Network

Minderhedenforum: Video release
Belgium - March 2009
A Youth Network video entitled "When colour holds you back" seeks to raise awareness about the impact of racism and discrimination on young people at work, in education, in the media and in society in general. (more...)

Priorities and content

Ethnic & diversity media, by definition, target mainly one or more ethnic and minority communities which have a need for specific kinds of information not usually found in the mass media — which of course are aimed at the general public.

Main topics covered by ethnic & diversity media include: immigration, foreigners' rights, culture, integration, housing, education,

Council of Europe Campaign

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SPEAK OUT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Analysts

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Kadın Magazine – a Turkish community media innovation in the Netherlands
26 May 2009

ECRI reports on Belgium, Germany and Slovakia
26 May 2009

The Future Of Multiculturalism
20 April 2009

Thomas Hammarberg: "Anti-Gypsyism continues to be a major human rights problem in Europe"
27 April 2009

Free Expression And Multiculturalism
27 April 2009

Media perspectives: Intercultural dialogue and the fight against discrimination
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Thomas Hammarberg: "Italy should eradicate discrimination"
16 April 2009

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14 April 2009

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6 April 2009

Parliamentary Assembly: Not enough news coverage of women
27 March 2009

Combating racism in sports: ECRI's advice to governments
19 March 2009

Queen Rania of Jordan: "We've never been further apart"
18 March 2009

Homophobia In Serbia
17 March 2009

Hungary: "Rule of law is failing to protect Roma"
17 March 2009

Multimedia

The "Speak out against discrimination" campaign is committed to ensuring that both new information technologies, such as webcasts and podcasts, as well as traditional forms of communication such as articles and training packs are used to disseminate information.

Webcast

Interview with Gabriella Battisti-Dragoni about the White Paper on Racism and Xenophobia

Podcast

Anti-discrimination campaign, interview with Gabriella Battisti-Dragoni

For more podcasts please visit www.coe.int/podcasts

ALL DIFFERENT ALL EQUAL

twitter

Endorsement

"I believe everybody who loves football should just enjoy how great the players are and nothing else."

Arsène Wenger - Football manager (France)

"My whole life I have suffered from discrimination, having my disability seen before my abilities."

health and citizenship. Another content priority is the countries or regions of origin of the different ethnic and minority communities.

Some analyses² have been carried out to compare content in ethnic & diversity media and mass media. One of these studies focused particularly on the G8 summit of July 2005 and its results provided a better understanding of the respective editorial priorities and positions, as well as the manner in which international and intercultural relations are treated by ethnic and diversity media.

Ethnic & diversity media also help to promote ethnic and minority groups and their initiatives, whether they are related to the economy, politics, society, literature, art or sport. Women's magazines, such as *Amina* and *Divas* in France for example, regularly feature women from the black community living in France, Europe, or elsewhere in the world. The mainstream media, in contrast, rarely do this, following the example set by mainstream French women's magazines such as *Elle* and *Marie-Claire*. Therefore, one of the primary contributions of ethnic & diversity media is to illustrate and express how diverse the components of European society are today.

One question that crops up regularly concerns the impact of ethnic & diversity media on in-

tegration. In other words, do these media help to reinforce the notion of separate communities, or at least the social isolation of the various immigrant groups? Our observations and discussions with those promoting these media suggest the contrary, meaning there is a genuine willingness to open up to the social and political environment in which they operate.

Targeting a diverse audience

Some ethnic & diversity media target, as a priority, a multicultural audience. In France this is the case of magazines such as *Respect Magazine* or *Cité Black* that focus on young people having migrant parents or grandparents or come from a mix of cultures. These magazines are as multicultural as other media in Europe, for example the TV show *Boter Kaas en Eieren* (MTNL) in the Netherlands, the radio programmes *Melting Pot* and *Etnoblog* or the magazines *Citta meticcica* and *Altri* in Italy.

Others address a more specific audience or public. In France, the magazine *Divas* focuses on francophone black women; the publication *Salama* or the radio stations *Beur FM* and *Radio Orient* target, even though not exclusively, ethnic minority and migrant people with a North-African or a Middle-Eastern background.

The website *Saphirnews.com* focuses on Muslims; the newspaper *Haiti Tribune* targets at the Haitian and Caribbean populations, living in Europe (France) or even the USA. In the Netherlands, the magazines *Sen*, *The Voice*, *M'Zine* and *Maroc.nl* address Mediterranean women, sub-Saharan migrant populations and the Moroccan communities respectively. In Italy, the TV shows, *Mosaic* and *El Noticiero* are dedicated to the Russian communities while the magazines *Expreso Latino* and *Los Andes* are linked to Latin-American ones.



Mainstream and ethnic & diversity media

Ethnic & diversity media cover a wide and diverse spectrum of audiences and publics.

But while they target primarily specific groups and audiences, ethnic & diversity media intend to make the general public aware of the main economic, social, cultural and political issues and dynamics arising from the diversity of today's European societies. They aim to publish, disseminate or broadcast complementary information to that produced by mainstream media. This gives ethnic & diversity media the role of a "relay" or mediator between the various groups that make up European societies.

In addition ethnic & diversity media contribute to intercultural dialogue by being direct or indirect areas of expression for population groups that are rarely taken into account by the mainstream media. For example, various ethnic & diversity media regularly invite experts or commentators from an ethnic and minority background to contribute to their news, shows, articles or reports as a way of reflecting the diversities of opinion linked to the plurality of the components of today's European societies.

One major challenge is to encourage the development of alliances, partnerships and collaboration between ethnic and diversity media and the mainstream media. These alliances and partnerships are a way of reaching a wider public and to promote a better understanding of the concerns, issues and dynamics of the various ethnic and minority communities living in Europe. The mainstream media's

interest in such a collaboration lies in gaining access to more diverse sources of information on international and intercultural issues, news subjects, and innovative ways of treating them.

From a long-term perspective this can strengthen the production and financial capacity of ethnic & diversity media and make the mainstream media more open. A collaboration of ethnic & diversity media and the mainstream media therefore can be of great value for both sides.

1 The Council of Europe Anti-Discrimination Campaign, run in partnership with media and their professionals, supports the human rights principles and the intercultural dialogue agenda defined by the Council of Europe in its "White Paper" adopted in May 2008. For the Council of Europe, the media can make a crucial contribution to raising awareness of intercultural and discrimination issues and to fostering public debate leading to a better mutual understanding between different communities. The campaign also aims to support the media sector's own efforts to play a constructive role in an increasingly multicultural environment. While fully respecting the independence and autonomy of media, their professionals and their organisations, the campaign pursues three interrelated objectives: 1. to provide information on intercultural issues and on policies against discrimination initiated at national and European level through local partnerships between mainstream media and ethnic & diversity media and their professionals; 2. to encourage good practice in reporting on intercultural and discrimination issues amongst media professionals working in a multicultural Europe; and 3. to contribute to increasing the expression of the diversities of European societies through strong support for the access of minorities to media professions and productions.
www.coe.int/antidiscrimination/

2 Blion Reynald, Parler de l'autre / Parler d'ailleurs. De la visibilité à l'expression des diversités en Europe in: Rigoni I., Qui a peur de la télévision en couleur? Paris, Aux lieux d'être, May 2007

Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB):

Strategies of an exile media organisation

By Khin Maung Win



Khin Maung Win, born in 1966, is the Deputy Executive Director and Deputy Chief Editor of the Burmese media organisation *Democratic Voice of Burma* (DVB) <http://www.dbv.no>. He was assigned to work for DVB when it was set up in Oslo, Norway, in 1992.

As a student he participated in the nationwide democracy uprising of August 1988 in Burma. The same year he left his country for the Thai-Burmese border after the military coup in September.

He completed his Master's Degree in Human Rights in Bangkok before moving to DVB's headquarters in Oslo. In addition he attended journalism training courses at several different training schools outside of Burma after he started working for DVB.

20 years ago, in August/September 1988, millions of Burmese from all walks of life and all over the country took part in a nationwide uprising. They demanded the end of the totalitarian regime and the return to democracy which Burma used to experience from independence in 1948 until 1962 when the military junta took over power. The repressive regime cracked down on the peaceful demonstration by killing 3,000 people and arresting several thousands. But worldwide neither the demonstration nor the casualties were adequately reported by the media.

Quite contrary, the international community was well informed about similar demonstrations led by the Buddhist monks in September 2007, known as the *Saffron Revolution*. Key international players, including the United Nations, the European Union and individual countries, timely responded to the Burmese situation so that the ruling military regime could not commit crimes against its own people as it did 20 years ago. Of course, thousands were put into prison this time but many of them were later released, and (only) about 100 persons were killed.

Why was the death toll and the international community's response so different? One key factor probably was the existence of media reports about the events and brutalities committed by the regime.

Making a difference

The *Democratic Voice of Burma* (DVB) which is based in Oslo/Norway was hardly known until it attracted the attention of mainstream international media because of its service during the *Saffron Revolution*. DVB played a



very important part in the dissemination of uncensored visual images from Burma. DVB's underground journalists in the country took the risk of capturing images of the demonstrations including the shootings and brutalities carried out by the troops. These images appeared on TV screens worldwide a few hours after the events had occurred.

The regime seems to have realised only on 27 September 2007, when the footage of the killing of Japanese journalist, Kenji Nagai, 50, circulated worldwide within hours after images were sent out of the country via Internet by people including journalists from the DVB. The authority then shut down the entire communication system (phone and Internet).

However, DVB survives and still manages to send images out. The regime could not stop its operation. But how does DVB do it? DVB works by using modern IT and satellite technology. This was not the case 20 years ago.

DVB network in Burma

The DVB is confident in saying that it has the largest news network inside Burma compared to other independent media. The DVB network includes:

- 40 committed underground and undercover journalists on the ground at the time of the *Saffron Revolution*. (DVB has 80 undercover journalists, in January 2009)
- Modern equipment including satellite technology for "safe" communication
- Communication technology and transportation channels to send news and information out of the country.

The military regime started a systematic crack down against DVB following the successful put down of the *Saffron Revolution*. During the press conference in Naypyidaw, the new capital of the military regime, Police




DVB TV studio in Oslo, Norway
Photos: DBV

Chief Major General Khin Yi said: "We are still investigating the role of DVB (in the demonstration). At this stage I prefer not to reveal the details of what we know about it so far. Nanda of DVB and people inside the country have made contractual agreements regarding sending out false news and images. So we can generally say that the DVB is the worst medium as it most effectively distributes false news." (Khin Yee, Police Chief, 03 December 2007).

Many DVB journalists have been arrested in the past 12 months, and not less than ten have been given heavy prison terms, up to 65 years. An important site of operation has been raided, and DVB has lost an enormous amount of equipment. Anyone with a camera is closely watched¹.

DVB's dual strategy

Transmitting information via the airwaves is the most effective way in the prevailing situation in Burma because the regime cannot block or stop it. The radio signal broadcast via shortwave reaches everywhere in the country



Millions of Burmese nowadays are tuning into many foreign TV channels via satellite dishes

and people with a shortwave radio receiver can pick up the signal. This broadcast strategy is cost-efficient and effective in terms of reaching the audience and creating impact. That is what DVB has been doing since 1992. There are also other well-known radio stations, namely *British Broadcasting Cooperation-Burmese Service*, *Voice of America-Burmese Service* and *Radio Free Asia-Burmese Service*.

However, DVB satellite TV, which was launched in May 2005, is the only independent Burmese TV channel that millions of Burmese inside Burma can rely on. Meanwhile DVB has become a major source for international mainstream media looking for images from Burma. DVB distributes images from Burma via international agencies including AP, Reuters, AFP and major networks including CNN and BBC.

Opportunities through satellite technology

Millions of Burmese nowadays are tuning into many foreign TV channels via satellite dishes. In the 1990s, people started putting up satellite dishes, and the government allowed it because it gains a certain amount of revenue from a registration fee. However, analysts believe that 95% of the dishes in the country are unregistered, technically illegal and can be removed at any time. It is estimated that about 10 million Burmese have access to satellite TV. (This figure refers to the audience, not the ownership of a TV set).

A huge number of satellite TV viewers in the country persuaded DVB to enter into satellite TV broadcasting. That is why in May 2005 DVB launched a weekly satellite TV programme that became daily in September 2007.

Due to DVB TV millions of Burmese people saw their demonstrations on a TV screen for the first time. DVB discovers and reports



about what the government is trying to hide, including the scale of disaster caused by cyclone Nargis which left 138,000 dead and 2.5 million homeless.

During critical times in Burma, like the *Saffron Revolution* and cyclone Nargis, international broadcasters including CNN and several Japanese TV stations monitored the DVB satellite TV which has a footprint on a large part of the globe, and get images directly from DVB TV for re-broadcasting on their TV stations.

DVB also uses satellite technology to dispatch images from Burma. While the regime totally shut down the telephone and communication system, the DVB satellite system remained the only functioning communication structure in late September 2007.

Modern satellite communication technology is key to the success of DVB operations and to keeping audiences inside and outside Burma informed.

The influence of DVB

The statement of the Burmese Police Chief, Major General Khin Yi, that "...DVB is the worst medium as it most effectively disseminates false news" (cited above) indicates the impact of DVB's operations. Probably he is right, as:

- Activists and the ordinary population are encouraged when their struggle for democracy is covered by the media. This contributes to an increased number of people who express themselves and participate in peaceful demonstrations demanding freedom
- Main opposition parties get a forum through which they can express themselves and explain their responses to government policies, which is not possible with the media in the country
- DVB broadcasts promote freedom of expression in a closed society

- DVB broadcasts help reduce corruption and malpractice by officials.

The international attitude towards Burma

Reactions of the international community regarding Burma are largely influenced by images appearing on screens and in publications. One indicator for this is that the Japanese government took immediate action, i.e. cancelling their aid to the regime, after the footage of the killing of their citizens appeared on Japanese TV screens. The international community gets proof of the situation in Burma, allowing no space for the regime's blatant lie regarding serious human rights violations happening on a daily basis. The international community saw images of the disaster caused by cyclone Nargis, which contradict the government's claims that the situation was under control. It is easier to convince the international community of the reality if supporting visual images are available.

Is the DVB strategy effective?

Until a new political atmosphere emerges in the country, the strategy DVB has been using is probably the most effective. Setting up a broadcasting station in exile is the only available option for an independent broadcaster like DVB. Because it is based in a democratic country, it can enjoy the freedom needed to function as a media institution. Of course, DVB depends on its local networks and roots to get news and information from the spot. While the latter come from local collaborators, the editing and broadcasting is done from outside.

Media failure in disaster prevention

The huge death toll caused by cyclone Nargis which hit Burma on 2-3 May 2008 is mainly due to the failure of the media to inform peo-

Democratic Voice of Burma

Monday, July 13, 2009

LET'S TALK

Time for intervention?

In recent weeks, the international community has grown stronger in its criticism of the Burmese junta following the trial of Aung San Suu Kyi. If found guilty, Burma's opposition leader will be sentenced to up to five years in prison, extending her current term of detention to 11 years.

Critics have said the trial is an excuse to keep Suu Kyi in detention beyond the scheduled 2010 elections, thereby eroding any promises of democratic reform from the ruling generals.

In this context, a debate has grown over the extent to which the international community should increase pressure on the junta. Many Western countries, including the United States and European Union, Australia and Canada, hold far-reaching sanctions against the Burmese government. Other Asian countries, particular those in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) bloc, have instead followed a path of engagement with the regime.

In light of Suu Kyi's trial, and ongoing human rights violations against perceived dissidents, there is a case to be argued that neither avenue has worked. The question now, then, is how else can the international community push for democratic reform in Burma?

Should sanctions be dropped in favour of total engagement, or vice versa? Should Than Shwe and his cronies be brought to the International Criminal Court? Should the West even consider military intervention in Burma?

We'd like to hear your thoughts.

Intervention is crucial for the Burmese survival as a people. Is the UN, too afraid of China to intervene on behalf of the Burmese?

linda (Canada/New York)

The Burmese Junta, has gone too far. The killings are beyond barbaric. We need to do something about it. Nations should start doing something real and save and promote life. That Government needs to be put down. Intervention is needed for the sake of the nations future. Violence has rage over the land and innocent children no longer dream of good tomorrows but of how to survive for the day. HELP. Their crys are too loud, as keepers of peace and bearers of democracy we should should do something about it.

LET'S TALK RESPONSE

Name:

Email:

Country:

Comment:

Attachment:

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PREVIOUS TOPICS

- Responsibility to protect?
- Voting for a change?
- Should tourists stay away?
- New hope for dialogue?
- What next for the protestors?
- Burma's monks lead the way
- Wish you were here?
- What's the answer to the fuel crisis?
- Are you superstitious?
- Remembering 88
- Rohingya: What's in a name?
- Ending the National Convention
- Another birthday behind bars
- Going nuclear?
- Should the 1990 election results still stand?
- Will the military free Daw Suu?
- Pressing for media freedom
- Defining Thingyan
- Playing politics

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ple in advance about the upcoming storm. In fact, it is the responsibility of the state media to report about it but they totally failed to do so. And, the international media as well as exile Burmese media including DVB were not paying attention to it. As a result, 2.5 million Burmese — mostly poor fishermen and farmers living in the most populated areas of the country — were unaware of the upcoming cyclone. If they could have been informed a few days in advance, which is absolutely possible, and if they would have been evacuated, the deaths of 138,000 persons could have been avoided. Media failure contributed to this enormous tragedy.

Nevertheless, DVB afterwards contributed to inform the world about the scale of the disaster caused by the cyclone by exposing images of the suffering of the surviving victims. Again the regime blocked the information outflow and pretended that the situation was under their control, as they were preparing for what many called the "Sham Referendum" on 10 May, one week after the cyclone, in which people were forced to endorse the constitution that legalises the military rule.

This is the biggest ever lesson DVB learnt in its 16 years of service. DVB and other media must find ways to avoid similar failures in the future.

¹ In November 2008 the documentary "Burma VJ" by a Danish filmmaker of Magic Hour Films was released. The film is about the DVB network and the role it plays during the Saffron Revolution and has won several awards in Europe and the United States.



The Zimbabwean:

Local news from abroad

By Wilf Mbanga*

Another day, another death list. Despite having an arsenal of anti-press laws at his disposal, the leader of Zimbabwe's military junta, Robert Mugabe, has resorted to using brute force and the threat of assassination to silence the independent media.

Zimbabwean journalists at risk

Yet another death list, prepared by Mugabe's much-loathed *Central Intelligence Organisation* (CIO) is doing the rounds of Internet websites. I take a cursory look at the list, and yawn. The same old names are there – all the stalwarts of our profession who endeavour constantly to bring to the world's attention through our writings the appalling atrocities being committed in the name of sovereignty by the Mugabe regime.

Mugabe has ruled the beautiful and well-endowed country he liberated from colonial rule since 1980. In the process he has reduced it to a begging bowl – with more than a quarter of the population in exile and where the world's highest inflation and lowest life expectancy have reduced the noble ambitions of majority rule to blood-stained tatters.

Nobody on that list panics – we've seen and heard it all before. Mugabe's dirty tricks de-

partment has been circulating similar ones since 2000. We know this is just another hazard of working as a Zimbabwean journalist – our so-called president wants to kill us. I'm sure other world leaders would like to silence the journalists who snap at their heels day by day, exposing their weaknesses, holding them accountable, bringing their dark secrets and craven self-serving into the light – but they don't actually send armed thugs on government pay out to thrash, maim and kill them.

Many of us have been harassed in numerous ways in the past 10 years. We've been arrested, some have been beaten and tortured. One has even been killed. This is the risk we take. If we don't – the story doesn't get told. And this story must be told – the world must know the full extent of Mugabe's cruelty. It's not just a job for us – it is a passion. We are men and women on a mission. Our words are our weapons.

Given this situation it is not surprising that most professional journalists have left Zimbabwe during the past 10 years. Many of them are unable to practice their profession abroad, either because they are undocumented or don't have the necessary qualifications and experience. Many work in menial jobs just to



Before the Zimbabwean journalist Wilf Mbanga went into exile in 2003. He was founder and chief executive of the now-silenced *Daily News*, Zimbabwe's only independent daily from 1999 to 2003. Wilf Mbanga is currently the editor in chief of *The Zimbabwean* and *The Zimbabwean on Sunday*. The latter was launched in February 2008 which, however, had to be shelved temporarily in June 2008. The weekly paper *The Zimbabwean* (<http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk>) was created in 2005 and is the largest circulation newspaper inside Zimbabwe today, and the only physical newspaper available to Zimbabweans in the diaspora: in contrary to other Zimbabwean media in exile which publish their contents exclusively via Internet, SMS or Podcasts.

keep body and soul together and send something home to help their relatives survive in Mugabe's ruined Zimbabwe.

Media repression

Since his power began to wane in the late 1990s, Mugabe has seen the independent media as his enemy. In 1998, the establishment of the country's first independent national daily, *The Daily News*, with its exposure of misgovernance and corruption and its huge public appeal, rattled his cage. He ordered the arrest and torture by the army of journalists Mark Chavunduka and Ray Choto. Both were eventually released, but Chavunduka died a few years later.

Then Mugabe lost the 1999 constitutional referendum and faced the spectre of electoral defeat at the general elections in 2000 by the newly-formed *Movement for Democratic Change*, (MDC). The battle lines were drawn. He unleashed an onslaught against the media that has worsened with each passing year. His regime bombed and banned newspapers, bombed radio stations, confiscated (stole) transmission equipment, kidnapped and deported foreign journalists, arrested, locked up and beat local journalists. The *Daily News* offices and printing press were bombed in two separate attacks. The offices in Harare of *Voice of the People* radio station were bombed. Transmission equipment belonging to *Capital Radio* was seized and a High Court order to return it was defied.

At the same time, Mugabe intensified his stranglehold on information by reducing the state broadcaster and television network, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings, as well as the country's only two dailies, to coarse propaganda mouthpieces. They were thoroughly purged of journalists deemed to be insufficiently enthusiastic about Mugabe and his ruling party, ZANU-PF.

Mugabe's battle against the media hit a new low in 2003 with the passing of the draconian and misnamed *Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act* (AIPPA).

This legislation made it mandatory for all journalists and media organisations operating inside the country to be registered (that is, policed) by the *Media and Information Commission* (MIC). Headed by an unashamed Mugabe apologist, Tafataona Mahoso, the MIC holds the dubious honour of having closed down five independent newspapers including *The Daily News* and its sister *The Daily News on Sunday*, in its first two years of existence.

During Mahoso's reign, countless journalists have been harassed, arrested, beaten, tortured, locked up and released without being charged. More reporters have been arrested in the past five years than during the first two decades of Independence. In all these cases, there has not been a single conviction. They have all been locked up, abused, and finally – reluctantly – released on the orders of brave magistrates.

The AIPPA legislation was also used to clamp down on international journalists, resulting in a virtual news blackout outside the country. A few brave western journalists from time to time made it into the country, usually masquerading as tourists, and their reports of economic and social collapse stunned the world. But after a brief glimpse, the curtain closed again, and Zimbabwe was absent from the international media for months at a time.

The 2008 general and presidential election, which Mugabe lost to the MDC and Morgan Tsvangirai, made the previous decade's media repression look like a grandmothers' tea party.

Exploiting a loophole: The Zimbabwean

Lined up against this Goliath was a small array of independent voices – the local weeklies *The Independent*, *Financial Gazette* and *Sunday Standard* (publishing less than 30,000 a week between them), the London-based broadcaster *SW Radio Africa*, South African-based *Voice of the People* and *Voice of America's* (VOA) Studio 7, a weekly radio news program specifically targeted for audiences in Zimbabwe.

They were joined in early 2005 by *The Zimbabwean* – a serious independent weekly tabloid. Exploiting a loophole in AIPPA, *The Zimbabwean* is printed simultaneously in London and South Africa and trucked into Zimbabwe for sale on Thursdays because the draconian anti-freedom of the press legislation forbids it being printed inside the country.

This soon became the largest newspaper in Zimbabwe, increasing dramatically during 2007 from 20,000 copies a week to over 100,000 – demonstrating the desperate hunger for accurate information on the part of Zimbabweans. Feedback, particularly from the rural areas, indicates that each copy is read by between 10 and 20 people.

Thanks to modern technology and brave MDC and civil society activists *The Zimbabwean* receives a steady flow of information and pictures of the junta's bloody reign of terror. The few remaining journalists inside the country play hide and seek with the police and do not sleep at home.

During the weeks leading up to the March 2008 elections and during their horrific aftermath, circulation increased further to 200,000 a week and such was the demand for news that *The Zimbabwean on Sunday* was added to the stable. Distribution of this title peaked

at 100,000 before the truck carrying 60,000 copies of the Africa Day (May 25, 2008) issue was torched by eight plain-clothes goons brandishing new AK-47 rifles, with which they beat the driver and his assistant before firing rounds into the petrol-soaked newspaper truck to set it alight.

A few days previously Mugabe's election agent, Emmerson Mnangagwa, had publicly blamed *The Zimbabwean* and other "foreign media" for Mugabe's humiliation at the polls. Despite this crippling blow, we managed to continue getting the newspapers into the country – using a hired South African trucker, some brave drivers and various routes, and on one occasion sending 40,000 copies in by air-freight.

But the Mugabe regime had a nifty solution up its sleeve – one that seems guaranteed to silence the voice of freedom once and for all. Punitive duties amounting to 70% of invoice value were gazetted in late May 2008. One bright spark amid the junta goons, presidential press secretary George Charamba, suddenly realized that thrashing drivers, torching trucks and breaking the fingers of journalists resulted in uncomfortable international opprobrium – although it had proved a successful strategy in getting Mugabe "re-elected" on June 27, 2008.

The first issue to arrive at Beit Bridge border post in June was slapped with the new



duty — £5000 for 100,000 copies — by the *Zimbabwe Revenue Authority*. We reeled at the audacity of it and fulminated at the injustice of this diabolical strategy. We slashed the print run for the Thursday edition to 60,000 and scraped together all our resources — meant to last the rest of the year — to get another three issues of the Sunday edition published and into the country. But we could not go on. Frantic project proposals to donors elicited funding for another truck and 100 tons of newsprint, but the figures were just too astronomical. We were forced to suspend publication of *The Zimbabwean on Sunday* after the issue of June 22, 2008. We have managed to secure funding to get 40,000 copies of *The Zimbabwean* a week into the country until the end of September 2008. After that — who knows?

Guerrilla journalism

Because of the AIPPA legislation, it is not possible for our reporters — who are not officially accredited — to operate as journalists within the Zimbabwean system. They cannot attend or cover official events. They cannot seek official comment from police or army spokesmen. They constantly run the risk of being arrested, beaten or worse.

In the past few years countless journalists have been harassed, arrested, beaten, tortured and locked up. Among them was Gift Phiri, chief reporter for *The Zimbabwean*, who was tortured and had his finger broken by Mugabe's goons in police uniform last year. A cameraman, Edward Chikomba, has been killed. In all these cases, there has not been a single conviction.

Under such conditions it is virtually impossible to operate as a professional newspaper. We do our best to get the story out, to break the silence, to expose the appalling human rights abuses and corruption. The finer points

of journalism have, regrettably, had to be compromised in the desperate battle for access to information. As in guerrilla war as opposed to conventional warfare, shiny boots and smart, parade-ground salutes have to be sacrificed to get the battle won — this is guerrilla journalism.

We gather our news from a variety of sources. Zimbabweans love to tell stories. There is no shortage of well-informed, thinking people to offer opinion pieces and analysis. We have countless contributors — all unpaid.

Leaks

In addition, there have been numerous “leaks” over the years from disgruntled intelligence and military officers. Many government officials at all levels were keen to provide us with information. Even cabinet ministers were happy to deep-throat to us on some occasions. There was only one way we could protect them from horrific consequences — anonymity. And we did.

The same applied to the various political parties on the scene — there was no shortage of someone with information to share. The trouble is, human nature being what it is, there is always the temptation to embellish information. Hence the need for corroboration and checking.

The only thing we could do was to ensure that, if ever somebody approached us with an alternative viewpoint, or the other side or a story we had published, we unreservedly give them equal opportunity to make their point.

There is always the niggling doubt that the information could be planted — that we could be being used to further some agenda or other. In a number of instances we have spotted government intelligence attempts to destroy our credibility. This is a constant worry.

Online access mainly for the diaspora

More than 100 different websites (including online-newspapers such as *ZimOnline* with its newsroom based in South Africa) are run by Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. All these websites are well visited by Zimbabweans – mainly abroad. Most of them offer chat forums where political issues are discussed and people comment on the news. They are very popular. But for people back home access is limited because only 100,000 people inside the country have access to computers and/or the Internet. Internet cafes are very expensive and watched by the secret police – the CIO.

Modern technology has been a wonderful advantage for *The Zimbabwean* – allowing citizen reporters to send news, information and photographs electronically. *The Zimbabwean* has received more than its fair share of this form of news – and today it is perhaps the main source of the information contained in our columns.

The Zimbabwean is a physical newspaper available in Zimbabwe as well as a website. The same stories are carried on paper and on the website – so *The Zimbabwean* forms a link between those at home and those outside – they are all reading the same material every week.

**Due to late entry permits Wilf Mbanga was not able to personally attend the Symposium "Media on the Move".*

The screenshot displays the homepage of *The Zimbabwean* website. At the top, the masthead features the title "The Zimbabwean" with the tagline "A VOICE FOR THE VOICELESS". Below this, there are logos for "LESLIE & CO SOLICITORS" and "Beadster". A navigation bar lists various sections: NEWS, BUSINESS, SPORT, ART & CULTURE, TOURISM, AFRICA, EDITORIALS, PICTURES, EVENTS, FORUMS, and INFORMATION.

The main content area is divided into several sections:

- NEWS:** Features an article titled "Hundreds of ZANU PF supporters stranded" with a photo of a group of people. Below it, a "HUMAN RIGHTS" section discusses "ZIMBABWE CONSTITUTION REFORMS RESUMES AFTER POLITICAL CLASHES".
- AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES:** Includes an article about "MALAWI'S CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR RESIGNS".
- EDITORIAL COMMENT:** Features a piece titled "CLOUD CUCKOO LAND".
- YOUR VIEW:** Contains an article "OUTSIDE LOOKING IN - A LETTER FROM THE DIASPORA".
- TRAVEL & TOURISM:** Includes an article "DEAL SIGNED ON NEW GAME PARK".
- SPORT:** Features an article "ZIMBABWE PREPARE TO HOST AFRICANISTAR".

On the right side, there are several smaller sections:

- This Week's Edition:** A summary of the week's top stories.
- This Sunday's Edition:** A summary of the Sunday's top stories.
- Picture:** A section for photo galleries.
- User Login:** A section for users to log in or register.
- Popular Articles:** A list of trending articles.
- Ad by Google:** A section for Google advertisements.
- Zimbabwe Cheap Flights:** A section for flight deals.
- Botswana Wildlife Safari:** A section for safari tours.

At the bottom, there are links to "Zimbabwe Cheap Flights" and "Botswana Wildlife Safari".



Online spheres of migrants in Germany:

How and why migrants use the Internet

By Kathrin Kissau

Kathrin Kissau studied communication and political sciences in Muenster (Germany) and did her PhD on “The Integrative Potential of the Internet for Migrants”. She formed part of the Research Project “Political Potential of the Internet” at the University of Muenster (2007-2008). Since October 2008 she has been a Senior Researcher at the Swiss Foundation for Research in Social Sciences (FORS) at the university of Lausanne. Her research interests include intercultural communication, migration and development, media and integration, and Internet research.

Over 40 million people in Germany presently use the Internet, which is about 65 percent of the population. Although 25 percent of the population are of foreign origin, annual studies of Internet use in Germany and elsewhere failed to survey the nationality (or migration background) of Internet users and so prevented that data on migrant Internet use existed. This is, however, not only a national problem, because according to the *Statistical Office of the European Communities* EUROSTAT, representative data concerning the use of the Internet by migrants is not available in other European countries either. Recently, representative data on the Internet use by migrants in Germany has become available due to a special analysis of the *(N)Onliner Atlas 2008* (Initiative D21 2008).

According to this report Turkish and Post-Soviet migrants¹ use the Internet even more frequently than Germans without any migration experience. There are also no great differences compared to Italians, Romanians or Poles who use the Internet only slightly less. These results show that against common belief migrants cannot be ascribed to the group of „off-liners“ in Germany. While this recent representative analysis of the *(N)Onliner At-*

las focused on the socio-demographic backgrounds of the migrants who use the Internet, this article aims to provide more details as to how and why migrants use the Internet to produce new forms of ethnic media as well as to participate in an online ethnic public sphere.

Research Project: Political Potential of the Internet (PPI)

The data presented here derive from a research project funded by the Fritz-Thyssen Foundation in 2007 and 2008 at the University of Muenster, Germany. It analysed², how the Internet is used by migrants for political purposes. The focus hereby lay on their participation in the online public sphere in the host country and in the country of origin. In the project we studied migrants from the former Soviet Union as well as Turkish and Kurdish migrants who together represent roughly 25 per cent of all foreigners in Germany. The focal points were:

- Dominant political topics and interests of users and websites
- Political orientations (home/host country)
- Online ethnic media productions and uses

- Online contact/communication patterns of migrants
- Language use by migrants online
- Relationship of their online-offline activities
- Possible effects of these online activities

The methodology of the study consisted of a content analysis of websites created for or used by migrants for political activities. In the course of the project over 300 websites with political content and interaction of migrants were analysed. Such websites can be understood as a new type of ethnic media, mainly produced by migrants for other immigrants, for the residents of their home country or for the residents of their host country. Additionally, an onsite survey of the migrant users of the analysed websites and an email survey of the administrators of these sites was conducted. In these surveys the research project explored the political online and offline activities, political interests, communication partners of the users from the former Soviet Union, Turkey and Kurdish Areas in the Middle East. During the analysis process it became evident that not only are the three groups very different from one another as to their online behaviour and their uses of the Internet, they are also within themselves heterogeneous. For this reason the study also took a closer look at different migrant “subgroups” such as Belorussians, Kazakhs, Alevis etc.

The differences might in part be ascribed to:

- Different situations of the countries of origin (political, economic situation as well as Internet usage there)
- Different situations of the migrant groups in Germany (political opportunity structures due to different legal status, existing ethnic offline media, the mainstream media and their coverage of the respective immigrant group)
- Different reasons for immigration, length

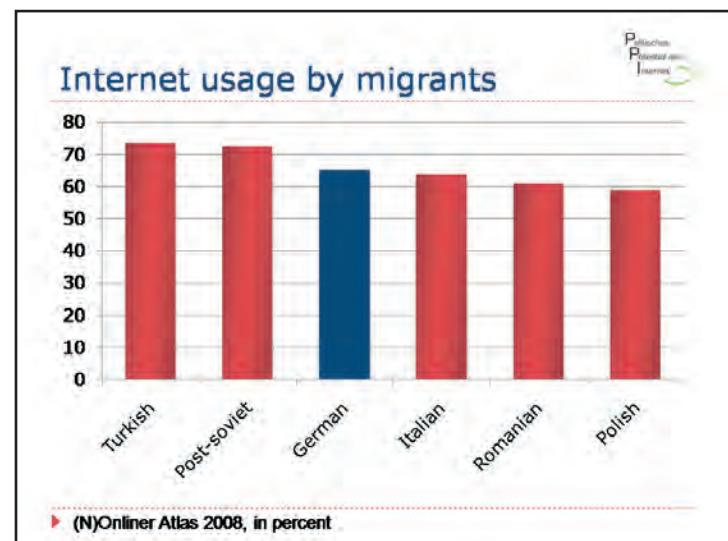
of stay in Germany and also the dispersal of the diaspora worldwide.

Four central elements of analysis show how the Internet is changing the (ethnic) media spheres of migrants:

1. Migrants’ main sources of information on the Internet

The project analysed which sources of information migrants used and preferred online.

The table shows that for all groups online newspapers and radio broadcasts played the most prominent role when looking for information about political issues online (this includes mainstream media as well as minority media). Additionally, Internet specific sources of information such as forums, NGO-websites or weblogs are visited. Official government websites or party sites play a very minor role as sources of information for migrants. Thus it can be said that on the one hand the Internet is a realm for the presentation of mainstream media productions (in new or different forms). On the other hand the Internet offers innovative possibilities



	Total (N=444)	Post-soviet study (N=134)	Turkish study (N=176)	Kurdish study (N=134)
Online newspapers/- radio stations	79,4	71,9	82,5	83,8
Forum	55,3	61,5	51,8	52,7
NGO- websites	40,5	26,5	51,7	43,3
Weblogs	32,6	38,8	29,6	29,3
Government websites	21,8	12,0	27,3	26,1

for new kinds of media productions, as individuals, NGOs or minority groups can produce media themselves more easily than before. Thereby they take part in the (online) public sphere and participate actively in the national and international flow of information.

2. Communication partners online

The websites studied were mostly visited by migrants in Germany as well as residents of the countries of origin or other migrants worldwide. This internationality of the online sphere was also mirrored by the favoured communication partners of the migrants on the Internet. In the survey most of the users

of the three migrant groups stated that they most frequently had contact to other migrants from their country of origin when discussing political topics online.

This also shows the added value of this new ethnic media sphere: the websites are not only a source of information but also give the users a platform for communication with one another and for the presentation of their own views and experiences to a broader public. While the migrants from the former Soviet Union then preferred to discuss politics with residents of their home

countries, Turkish migrants communicated more with Germans. In part these results are of course dependant on the possibilities of the residents of the countries of origin to use the Internet, which are for example quite low in Kurdish areas in the Middle East (Iran, Iraq, Syria and Eastern Turkey).

In comparison, the Internet usage rates in Turkey and the countries of the former Soviet Union lie at around 10 to 15 percent of the population. This again shows that ethnic online media users are international and that audiences are not restrained to one country.

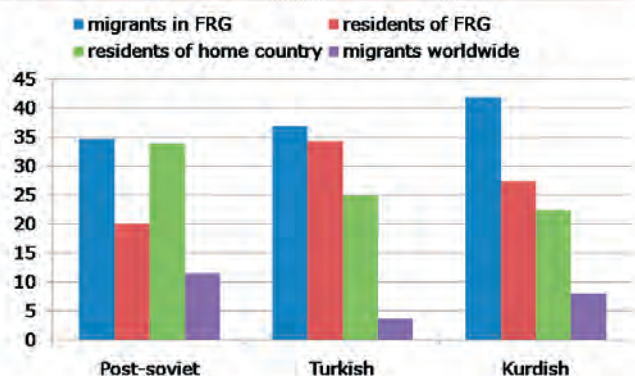
3. Orientation of websites

Another focus lay on the orientation of ethnic websites towards the country of origin and/or towards Germany. 70 percent of the websites studied are officially produced in Germany, they had the domain ending .de or it was explicitly stated on the website that migrants in Germany created the site and were responsible for the content.

As to the content, the results were quite different, comparing sites used by migrants from the former Soviet Union or by Turkish or Kurdish migrants: While websites used by Post-Soviet migrants are predominantly orientated towards politics worldwide and the international relations of their country of origin, the sites of Turkish migrants are centrally focused on German politics and only rarely on international political issues or Turkey. The Kurdish websites in contrast were focused more on their 'country' of origin; however, they tried to utilise or lobby German politics (whenever possible) to support their interests through boycotts or statements etc.

This orientation of the website is also mirrored or even clarified by the central political interests of the users:

Communication partners online



Orientation of websites

	Total (N=309)	Post-soviet study (N=99)	Turkish study (N=108)	Kurdish study (N=102)
Germany & country of origin	41,7	21,1	32,4	70,6
Germany	24,9	19,0	50,9	1,0
international	17,2	50,5	4,6	1,0
Country of origin	16,2	9,4	12,0	27,5

The graph shows that the interest in the country of origin is predominant in all three groups, and largest in the Kurdish study. Kurds seem to see themselves as a diaspora more than the other two migrant groups. Kurdish websites from all over Europe cooperate and try to influence the development of the 'country' of origin in order to enable Kurdish migrants to return.

4. Migrants' views on the potential of the Internet

The research project also explicitly asked the migrant Internet users, what they believed were the special characteristics of the Internet and where its potential for migrants lay.

The most prominent aspect mentioned was the simplification of keeping contact with their country of origin. The migrants also saw the ethnic websites on the Internet as a source of alternative information to the mainstream media, which is illustrated by this quote:

„As long as the mainstream media do not open, the Internet will be the only platform for migrants. . . Often I have felt the urge to do something about the circulation of false, one-sided, distorted media reports“

Apart from this the Internet is also much easier to use and inexpensive in contrast to other forms of ethnic media. The virtual sphere is used by migrants to try and balance the (one-sided) picture painted by the mainstream media.

As migrants feel fewer constraints on expressing their opinion online, they prefer this sphere to represent their point of view. Thus, they also believe that they have more possibilities to be heard on the Internet, because they themselves can fairly easily publish and publicise something that can be read by millions. In the existing ethnic spheres online

topics of special interest to migrants are and can also be addressed, as is pointed out in this quote:

„Online you have the possibility to contact like-minded people. That is great freedom. You don't have to speak or write perfectly, the "high crop" doesn't look down on you there. That is democracy pure“.

These characteristics and possibilities of the Internet have lead 70 percent of the interviewed users to become more involved and interested in political topics concerning their country of origin.

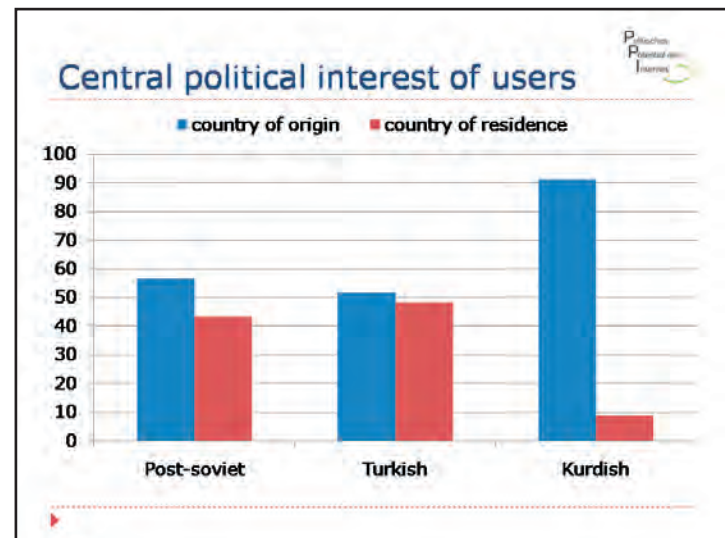
At the same time

70 percent also said, they had become more active regarding their country of residence. Thus it can be subsumed that the potentials of the Internet for migrants to influence and take part in political developments are not constrained to their country of origin but also refer to their country of residence.

Conclusions

Some conclusions can be drawn from the results of this study:

- There is a form of complementarity between online and offline media: E.g. if mi-



Potential of the Internet

	Post-soviet study (N=135)	Turkish study (N=174)	Kurdish study (N=134)
Easier contact to country of origin	85,8	84,1	86,7
Alternative information to mainstream media	61,9	69,6	72,8
Usage easy and inexpensive	71,6	67,8	61,7
Less constraints on expressing one's opinion	62,2	55,2	48,5
More possibilities to be heard and have impact	39,6	50,0	48,5
Addresses topics of special interest for migrants	61,9	38,8	32,8

grants have a large range of offline ethnic media and special interest information to choose from, ethnic online spheres are more focused on communication and organisation. If only limited offline ethnic media exist, the Internet is seen and used as a primary source of information by migrants and the Internet's communication possibilities are secondary.

- The Internet can contribute to the strengthening of ethnic and diversity media as ethnic media productions online have access to a larger and more international audience than offline ethnic media. Additionally, online ethnic media productions can attain a higher visibility in the public sphere by building online ethnic media networks through co-operations or links.

- Collaboration between mainstream and minority media can be strengthened online as it takes less effort on the Internet to connect with one another, share reports or invite comments or statements.

- Migrants' concerns can be communicated by migrants themselves online more easily and inexpensively. As migrants seem to feel freer to express their opinions and interests online, these online activities eventually result in the development of an ethnic media sphere, adding to migrants' self-esteem and empowerment.

- The Internet's potential for migrants or diasporas lies in improved and simplified communication and information possibilities as well as in an intensified participation in the public sphere. This potential of the Internet is, however, limited by low Internet penetration rates in the countries of origin as well as by the foreclosure of the public sphere towards migrants through mainstream society and mainstream media.

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1 In this analysis migrants are defined as people born in a different country than Germany or people who have at least one parent born abroad (see Initiative D21 2008).

2 This research project was conducted by Uwe Hunger, Marina Seveker, Bengü Murt, Menderes Candan and Kathrin Kissau. For further information on the project see <http://ppi.uni-muenster.de>

Mission Statement

The German “Forum Media and Development” (Forum Medien und Entwicklung) is a network of institutions and individuals active in the field of media development cooperation. It serves as the German platform for the exchange of experiences, research and further elaboration of concepts. It facilitates the dialogue between media practitioners, development politics and the scientific community.

The members of the German “Forum Media and Development” advocate the human right to freedom of speech. They are convinced that free and independent media are essential for the development of liberal democracies. Free and independent media ensure that all groups of society can participate in public opinion forming. At the same time they demand transparency and accountability from political, social and economic players. This is also of particular importance with regard to poverty reduction and the promotion of sustainable development. Therefore, the German “Forum Media and Development” endeavours to strengthen the importance of media aid in the context of development cooperation.

The activities of the Forum include:

- exchange of information and experiences among the members
- exchange with media representatives from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe
- cooperation in carrying out joint projects, research and evaluations
- coordination and representation of the interests of the non-governmental organisations that are concerned with media development cooperation – at national, European and international level
- further elaboration of the political and strategic framework of the German media development cooperation
- advice to the German government and its implementing organisations.

The founding members of the Forum Media and Development:

Dr. Christoph Dietz, Catholic Media Council (CAMECO)
Evelyn Ehrlinspiel, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES)
Dr. Hartmut Ihne, Center for Development Research (ZEF)
Andrea Sofie Jannusch, CAMECO
Jürgen Klußmann, Evangelical Academy of Rhineland
Michael Lingenthal, Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS)
Dr. Helmut Osang, Deutsche Welle Academy
Frank Priess, KAS

