

SAVING **THE NEWS**

Ethics and the fight for the future of journalism



Ethical
Journalism
Network

EDITED BY CHRIS ELLIOTT AND TOM LAW

Saving the News: Ethics and the fight for the future of journalism

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This is the eighth EJM report on the state of ethics in journalism. Previous publications include:

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- Innocent mistakes: A controversial film finds journalism caught between image and reality (2013)
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- The trust factor: An EJM review of journalism and self-regulation (2015)
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INTRODUCTION

Saving the News

Ethics and the fight for the future of journalism

Dorothy Byrne

“There are journalists in the Philippines who believe that these alleged drug pushers and addicts should be killed without being given due process. Unfortunately, not everyone believes that these victims have the same basic human rights as they do.”

The words and pictures of Raffy Lerma, the distinguished Filipino photojournalist, whose stark images of the nightly killings by the security forces in President Rodrigo Duterte’s ‘war on drugs’ leave a reader winded by their force, also test some fundamental ideas about ethical journalism.

Was he inadvertently being used by the state to send a message? Does it matter that he wasn’t able often to get consent from the devastated families of the dead?

These are just some of the questions that were raised and answered when I interviewed Raffy at the sixth of our series of “Ethics in the News” events at the Frontline Club in London, and from which his quotes are taken.

Manipulation is a theme that runs through many of the 18 essays in this magazine, which is devoted to six key areas of ethical journalism.

These begin with the most basic ideas of ethics or, journalists’ lack of them as Alan Rusbridger, the former editor of the *Guardian* points out in his forward. He says: “There has always been a strand of amorality in the attitudes of some journalists and editors. They are neither very moral, nor terribly immoral. They don’t necessarily believe in doing bad things. But newspapering is (they might say) a ‘rough old craft’ and in the end, it’s the story that counts.”

His is a heartfelt plea for a return to ethics, from an editor who broke the story that convulsed the UK media industry when some national newspapers were shown to have a culture of illegally hacking mobile phones.

However, in the UK journalists and editors have a much safer environment in which to exercise ethical journalism than many colleagues elsewhere in the world, who face dismissal, detention and even death for doing their jobs.

Chris Elliott and Aidan White tackle the difficult question of how journalists should work in an authoritarian environment, what can, and should, journalists do, and not do, while working under regimes, which think press freedom is a dangerous ideal.

Two of our contributors know exactly what that is like. Wendy Funes is an award-winning investigative journalist in Honduras, one of the most dangerous countries in the world, for journalists where 75 have been killed since 2001. Three of those who died have been women, and Funes focuses on the stories of other women journalists who not only risk their lives but also have daily battles to retain their jobs and their dignity in a male-dominated society. Gai Alier John, who writes under the pen name of John Actually, reports on what life is like for journalists in South Sudan, where threats from the security services, subtle and very unsubtle, are a daily accompaniment to their daily life.

The EJN is committed to ensuring that the issue of gender is built into all our programmes. Hannah Storm, who became the EJN’s new director on 4 April, lays out why gender should be on every agenda:

“We cannot have truly ethical journalism, until gender is on the agenda in a fair and sensitive way, in newsroom practices: be that in the people we hire, retain and promote, or in the work we produce.... Gender is not just a women’s issue. We all benefit from rejecting harmful stereotypes, clichés, and prejudice. We all gain from greater balance and context, and from amplifying the voices and experiences of vulnerable communities which have traditionally been marginalised.”

We have two reports from the US, where President Trump appeared to strand conventional journalism on the spot as he made journalists the foe using social media. His deft, direct appeals to nativism left many of the nation’s journalists targeted as the enemy to his millions of adoring supporters. Journalists have been attacked verbally and physically but now they have regrouped and are fighting back and this has fired a new debate about ethics. Alison Bethel McKenzie and Tom Kent set out the battleground.

We return to the theme of manipulation but this time of images in an article by Salim Amin, son of the legendary photojournalist ‘Mo’ Amin, who looks at the dangers of technology and the way it can be used to undermine the authenticity of images. He says: “As photojournalists, we must understand that the odds of us being the first to get images of any crisis is almost the same as winning the lottery! Technology has not been our friend when it comes to breaking news. The first pictures of any major story will now come from a citizen with a mobile phone.”

It has been another tough year for journalists and journalism in many parts of the world. For some that has meant physical



The coffin of 17-year old Kian delos Santos is carried by hundreds of friends, relatives, and sympathizers during his funeral at La Loma Cemetery in Caloocan. Kian's death sparked a nation-wide condemnation on the governments brutal 'war' on drugs as it happened during a bloody week of police operations and vigilante-style killings, from August 15 to 18 in 2017, where at least 81 people were killed nationwide.

According to the police, Kian was a drug courier and was killed in a police operation after supposedly firing a gun. This narrative, however, took an unexpected twist after a CCTV footage revealed that Kian was seen being dragged by police in plain clothes to a dark vacant lot in 160 village, Caloocan City. Photo ©Raffy Lerma

threats or increasingly oppressive laws; for others, it is the existential threat of a broken business model as media tech giants garner an ever-increasing share of advertising revenues.

However, it was also a year when governments finally woke up to the threat to a healthy, open and democratic society posed by 'big tech'. Aidan White charts the backlash and James Ball points up the potential dangers of rushing to new laws to combat them.

But there are also hopeful developments in journalism. Lina Ejeilat charts the rise of 7iber, a portal that began in 2007 aiming to combine the "authenticity of blogs and the standards of journalism to produce alternative narratives about Jordan". It now has 14 full-time staff members and has shown its commitment to ethical journalism by undertaking an ethical audit of itself, in partnership with the EJN.

It's a story with a happy end, as they feel stronger and more confident as a result. The debate about unhappy ends being too much of the focus of conventional journalism with too little time reflecting on 'solutions' is explored in an article

by Tom Law, the EJN's deputy director, in which he reflects on the EJN's fellowship scheme with the International Labour Organisation, which aims to give journalists a different way to cover the usually grim stories of labour migrants in Jordan, Lebanon and the Gulf.

There is much else besides in our annual look at ethics in the news, which seeks to balance the difficulties faced by journalists with the emergence of hopeful signs for the future.

Without strong and independent journalism you can't have a free society. The lies of some of those populist politicians whose tirades captured so much of the public imagination over the last year are being found out; the public around the world are also waking up to the fact that much of what they see on social media is piffle.

If journalists have, perhaps, been too slow to stand up for the importance of our trade and too defensive, journalists across the globe are now speaking out more strongly in support of how vital truthful, ethical journalism is to society.



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Analysis

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Foreword

Alan Rusbridger

There was a pantomime moment in the 2012 Leveson Inquiry into the British press when the proprietor of the *Daily Express*, a newspaper which once sold 4m copies a day, was asked about his attitude to ethics.

“Ethical?” queried Richard Desmond, who had made a fortune from publishing soft porn magazines before buying himself a mid-market tabloid. “I don’t know what the word means, perhaps you would explain what the word means.”

Desmond was playing to the gallery as an honest geezer who just tried to make a tidy profit out of journalism, and who left highfalutin moral questions to others. But there was an unintended truth in his reply. There has always been a strand of amorality in the attitudes of some journalists and editors. They are neither very moral, nor terribly immoral. They don’t necessarily believe in doing bad things. But newspapering is (they might say) a ‘rough old craft’ and in the end, it’s the story that counts.

The Leveson Inquiry was set up in response to a giant ethical catastrophe in the British press – the discovery that newsrooms, in their desperation to get the story, had collectively embarked on mass-scale illegal intrusion. If technology allowed you to eavesdrop on people’s private communications, then, frankly, why wouldn’t you? Ethics didn’t come into it.

But that was six years ago – a lifetime in the timescale of the revolution we are now in the middle of. Since 2012 a few British journalists have gone to jail and many victims of intrusion have, between them, collected a few hundred million in damages and costs. But the debate has moved on... and the ethics of communications have suddenly become a bit larger and quite a bit more interesting.



It begins by pointing the finger at others, which is usually a more comfortable stance than self-examination. The “others” are the tech giants who have, in the space of a decade, begun to eat the breakfast, lunch and dinner of the legacy players. No-one takes kindly to seeing their livelihoods disappear, and journalists starting asking some tough questions about the methods and beliefs of the new kids on the block.

This was an entirely reasonable thing to do and produced rich pickings. The engineers who built Facebook were, in their own way, geniuses – but they seemed to have given relatively little thought to the societal, political and moral implications of allowing two billion people to donate to the biggest bran tub of personal data in history.

For a long time, Facebook clung to the hope that they could define themselves as pipes, or neutral delivery mechanisms. Sure, people might be sending hateful, violent, pornographic, deceitful, malign and lying material down their tubes – but that was not their responsibility. You wouldn’t ask the Post Office to steam open every letter to see what was inside and to accept responsibility for the contents. AT&T can hardly monitor every phone call. So why pick on Facebook, which was essentially doing the same job, even on an unimaginably huge scale?

That argument was sustainable for a while, but will hardly hold for long. The engineers have belatedly woken up to the democratic and societal consequences of the machines they have built and are being forced to take

Set aside the politics and ask, what message do we want a sceptical public to believe about journalism? Is it primarily a craft of verification or opinion? Is it there to give a factual basis for debates society needs to have or is it there to push the beliefs of an individual proprietor or editor?

some measure of responsibility for the content they enable as well as the pipes.

But throwing rotten eggs at the west coast giants is to some extent a convenient distraction for editors trying to work out how to create a sustainable future for journalism. We know there is low trust in social media as a reliable source of news (34% in Europe in the latest 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer.) No surprises there.

But why – a few pages later in the same survey – do we find a slide pronouncing that “media remains least trusted institution.” Yes, there have been modest gains in the last year. But trust in the UK media, for instance, still languishes at 37 per cent – just three percentage points above trust in the much-criticised new tech platforms. That should surprise and disturb us. Surely journalism is better than that? Surely we deserve more trust and support?

In writing my recent book, *Breaking News*, I picked on a couple of examples where traditional approaches to the news were – in my view – failing a public that otherwise keenly appreciates the need for trustworthy information amid oceans of chaotic misinformation.

The first is Brexit – the crucial decision for Britain over whether to sever its trading, legal, regulatory and political ties with its nearest neighbours. It was surely obvious to most people – almost regardless of which side they instinctively supported – that this was by no means a simple question. And so it has transpired.

What was the duty of news media in advance of such a vote? By 2016 I was a reader, not an editor, and I was pretty clear what I wanted: to be presented with the arguments on both sides, with as much complexity and context as the issues demanded. Only then could I make a reasonable, and reasoned, choice on the ballot paper.

That’s not what most British newspapers did. For too many editors Brexit was a simple question, not a complex

one. And for too many of them, the object of their coverage was to advocate for one side of the argument, not explain both. Overall, the Leave coverage outgunned the Remain coverage two to one. Desmond abandoned all pretence at neutrality, writing a £1m cheque to the main Leave party, UKIP, at the start of the campaign. Another newspaper had to register as part of the Leave campaign after printing a poster for readers to stick up in their windows. Hundreds of front pages bellowed and bullied their support for Brexit.

Set aside the politics and ask, what message do we want a sceptical public to believe about journalism? Is it primarily a craft of verification or opinion? Is it there to give a factual basis for debates society needs to have or is it there to push the beliefs of an individual proprietor or editor?

Or take climate change, probably the most consequential story of our times. Given its importance – and the remarkable scientific consensus about the urgency of the threat to humanity – you’d think that it would force its way onto the front pages with depressing regularity. Only it doesn’t. It is either missing altogether or, worse still, is presented in tones that drip with scepticism. That matters because, in the short to medium term, politicians are going to present electorates with difficult choices about necessary and radical alterations to their lives. If the public has not been informed – or, worse, misinformed – about the need for change then democratic decision-making becomes infinitely harder.

These are ethical choices about the public interest we claim to be serving as journalists. We’ve moved from an age of information scarcity to one of almost infinite plurality. Only those with the highest professional and ethical standards will rise above the oceans of mediocrity and malignity and survive. It won’t matter to Richard Desmond: he has long since made his millions out of the Express titles and moved on. But it really, really matters for the rest of us.



Ethics and safety

“There comes a moment for many journalists when he or she is faced with a decision as to whether to write a story that may put their job, liberty or even life at risk”

How men and women journalists balance ethics.



When ethics can cost a journalist work, liberty and even life

Chris Elliott and Aidan White

An organisation with the word “ethical” in its title can expect to face some tricky questions about how worthy aspirations fit with the real-world threats of political pressure, corruption and even physical dangers facing journalists and news media.

What advice does the EJN have for journalists committed to ethical journalism who work in oppressive and dangerous conditions?

Such a question was posed last October at the end of an EJN presentation in Sri Lanka to a distinguished group of journalists at a session boldly entitled ‘Ethical Journalism equals Sustainable Journalism’.

In the audience were broadcasters, writers, reporters and editors with many years of experience of an island with a turbulent past and present. Since the end of the war against the Tigers of Tamil Eelam in 2009, in which it is estimated that more than 150,000 people were killed, Sri Lanka’s press freedom ranking has improved – up 10 points to 131 in the global listings published by Reporters Without Borders (RSF).

However, journalists still face serious obstacles and dangers. As RSF says: “A few months after being sworn in as president in January 2015, Maithripala Sirisena said he wanted to reopen all the investigations into murders of journalists. Some progress has been made in the investigation into Lasantha Wickrematunga’s murder, but almost all the others are still unpunished. The new government also said that journalists no longer had anything to fear because of their political views or their coverage of sensitive subjects such as corruption and human rights violations by the military.

“But attacks on journalist Freddy Gamage in June 2016 and in early 2018 fuelled the doubts of both the public and media freedom defenders. The Tamil media, often the target of attacks and censorship both during the civil war and after its official end in 2009, are still on their guard. In March 2016, the ministry of parliamentary reform and mass media ordered all news websites to register with the government or become illegal.”

Just weeks after the EJN presentation in October, Sri Lanka faced a fresh constitutional crisis when President Sirisena sought to replace prime minister Ranil Wickremesinghe with the former president, Mahinda Rajapaksa accused, among other things of attacks on the media. One person was killed and two were injured after the bodyguards of a Sri Lankan government minister opened fire on a crowd. But, the island’s institutions, especially the judiciary, held firm and prime minister Wickremesinghe was reinstated in December.

Posing the tricky question to the EJN in October was Wijith DeChickera, a journalist and editor, for more than 20 years. Later he expanded in an email:

"It seems to me that in applying the principles you discern to the practice of 'sustainable ethics' in journalism, we are guilty of several errors.

"First, we treat 'the media' as some kind of monolith – when, in actual fact, there is a traditional dichotomy between 'publishers' and 'editors'.

"Then, when you add the 'state' to the trifecta of journalist first, owner second and politician third, it seems to me that ethics can often be caught between a rock and a hard place – and that's leaving out the sharp political practice associated with political chicanery.

"So, what advice – drawing from both theory as well as your own experience – can you give Sri Lankan journalists who work daily in a dangerous and compromised milieu?"

DeChickera's question is apposite, not least because of Sri Lanka's troubled past and present. But we have also heard similar questions in other troublespots – China and Turkey, for example, which are just two of the other 30 countries in which the EJN has worked since its inception.

Another question is how does the EJN justify working in those countries – and often in partnership – with organisations with links to the state that is to blame for the difficulties that journalists find themselves in.

Put simply, how does the EJN keep the ethical flame alive when working in countries like China and Turkey, two of the world's leading jailers of journalists, where self-censorship is rife and political mischief is made daily through propaganda and disinformation?

In China, for example, to gain access to mainstream newsrooms and working journalists the EJN works with state media and with institutions that are government-friendly, if not directly part of the state apparatus.

For the past five years we have been working with the All-China Journalists Association, for example, a group with historic links to the Communist Party structure. We have exchanged delegations, established a sound working relationship and recently we together launched a programme with China's flagship journalism training institution, the Communications University of China.

Our aim is to work together to develop tools for teaching ethical journalism, to launch a Chinese-language website on the virtues of ethics, good governance and self-regulation in media, and to hold debates with Chinese groups on ethical issues, such as tackling hate-speech, reporting migration and reporting on gender issues.

No-one is naïve about the challenges here. Whether we are working in China or Turkey, the EJN recognises the threat of a political vision that subordinates journalism to propaganda and governmental influence.

But we take opportunities whenever they arise to talk to journalists at the grassroots; to engage with students and young people; and to debate with state media and policymakers the differences in our approaches to the theory of journalism.

We have no illusions that change will come about quickly or easily, but we understand the value of dialogue between

journalists and media leaders and we will always take advantage of the freedom we are given to speak openly and to develop training and information tools on key ethical principles.

Returning to the specific question of our Sri Lankan colleague, when it comes to ethical challenges of individuals working in an oppressive environment the EJN will provide what support it can, but it is not our purpose to encourage journalists into acts of rebellion or to actions that may get them sacked, imprisoned or worse.

People at the EJN have learned to talk with journalists, not at them, sharing knowledge and tools that we hope they may find useful, for instance what the EJN defines as the five core principles of journalism.

Of the five, independence is perhaps the hardest to achieve in oppressive states, either in terms of ownership of the news organisation or nature of the material being demanded.

However, journalists should never be propagandists and it is clear that many reporters and editors have chosen to leave their organisations because of political threats rather than tolerate a working regime too remote from what journalism should be.

The other fundamental EJN core principles – accuracy, impartiality, humanity and accountability – are all values that can be practised, to some extent, in even very tough conditions.

For instance, accuracy is key to anything a journalist writes, whether it is in a challenge to a government or coverage of a charity football fund-raiser.

Authoritarian states are usually worried about challenges to their authority, not the rules about interviewing or identifying children under 16. There is always room for sensible ethical guidelines in the breadth of a news organisation's coverage: the idea that ethics can obtain in even the simplest human exchange is, within those regimes, subversive in and of itself.

There comes a moment for many journalists when he or she is faced with a decision as to whether to write a story that may put their job, liberty or even life at risk. There is no magic formula to make that decision; it is a decision of conscience, which the EJN would never presume to make or criticise.

Faced with these realities most journalists learn to compromise and survive. They have families to support, they need to earn a living, and so taking a stand on high principle and quitting their job is not a viable option for most.

But there are limits. No journalist, for example, should ever knowingly tell untruths or report in a deliberately deceptive manner.

Sometimes, it will be impossible to carry on, particularly if biased journalism is targeting the rights and lives of others. Journalists should know where to draw the line and where compromises cannot be made.

In summary the EJN encourages journalists to do what they can, when they can, where they can, be alert to threats and jealous of our standards: slowly we believe this is the path for a better future for journalism.

Honduras: Women in the front line of journalism

By Wendy Funes

Working as an investigative journalist poses a daily risk in a nation living in a post-coup d'état period and in the aftermath of an election branded as electoral fraud by the opposition of incumbent president, Juan Orlando Hernández.

The risk for the press stems not only from a disregard for the law and mounting corruption, underlined by the launch of a Mission to Support the Fight Against Corruption and Impunity in Honduras (MACCIH), backed by the Organisation of American States (OAS)¹, but also from narco-politics.

This is also obvious from the extradition of congressmen and mayors and the indictment of army and police officers.

To date, the highest-level extraditions for drug trafficking involve the young Fabio Lobo, the son of former president Porfirio Lobo Sosa, and ex-congressman Antonio Hernández, alias Tony Hernández, the current president's brother.

Both are on trial in New York for drug trafficking. Witnesses who trafficked with these politicians, the drug cartel Los Cachiros, told a US court that they gave an alleged bribe to president Lobo Sosa.

In the New York courts, Los Cachiros admitted to their participation in a crime against journalist Aníbal Barrow, who was kidnapped, dismembered and later thrown into an alligator-infested lake. His body was found by the authorities after days of searching.²

In December 2018, the former chief of police, Ricardo Ramírez Del Cid, declared that in the case of the journalist Alfredo Villatoro, murdered under the Lobo Sosa Government, there was high-level involvement. He was subsequently dismissed for investigating the crime.

Villatoro, a radio broadcaster in Honduras, was kidnapped, tortured and executed, according to the forensic report read out during an oral hearing. His body appeared in police clothing with a red neck scarf and one hand deliberately placed in his mouth as a symbol of silence.

¹<http://www.oas.org/en/spa/dsdsm/maccih/new/mision.asp>

²<https://reporterosdeinvestigacion.com/2018/12/18/calidonio-y-oscar-alvarez-trabajaban-con-los-cachiros-y-mi-destitucion-ocurrio-por-investigar-el-crimen-contra-el-periodista-alfredo-villatoro/>



These two crimes happened during Lobo Sosa's four-year term.

"Journalism has become a high-risk profession for those working in it because it puts the lives of journalists and their families at risk, particularly when there is coverage at social protest marches condemning problems such as organised crime, drug trafficking and gangs," states the National State Commissioner for Human Rights in its 2017 Annual Report.

The widespread assault on women

For female journalists there is a barely visible, unequal drama, in which they are generally victims of forced displacement, sexual harassment, and smear campaigns on the basis of their appearance, age, and sexuality, not to mention murders, attempted murders and the murder of their children.

The life of journalist Karol Cabrera took a '3,000-degree turn', as she puts it. In 2009, she lost her daughter and grandson in a criminal attack. Her mother died by suicide in 2016, just a few years after Cabrera had been forced to leave the country after surviving a shooting in 2010.

When her mother died, Cabrera wrote a message on her Facebook page, which included the words: "Mother it pains me, down to my soul, because I can't set foot in my own country. I can't say a final goodbye".

"After having the basics I had to start from scratch. It's hard in a country that isn't yours. You don't feel as though it's your country anywhere and are always reminded of that," Cabrera now says. She has been living in asylum in Canada for the past nine years.

Cabrera has not had the right to the truth and does not know how the crime was ordered that killed her daughter, nor the subsequent attempt on her life, in which journalist Joseph Ochoa, who was with her in the car, was also killed.

"We know there were two attacks, one on my daughter and my grandson," she says. She believes these attacks are linked to a congressman very close to a former president of Honduras. And she says officials closed down the investigation into the attempt on her life.

"The people who shot at me were national police officers under orders from that congressman," she alleges. "When

they were investigating that issue, the congressman was removed and my case was made confidential," she says. The only arrest in relation with the attacks so far has been one in connection with Cabrera's daughter.

Cabrera said she was told "we're going to cut off your tongue", with the persecution starting when she began to investigate and divulge alleged cases of corruption in the Honduras State telecommunications company under Zelaya's government and the gifts of cars, jewellery, trips, and travel expenses from the Presidential Palace.

"I thought I was reporting normal corrupt politicians, and today we know the press are denouncing corrupt politicians who are also drug traffickers", she said. Cabrera filed this report in the midst of a full-blown political crisis during the coup d'état of 28 June 2009 perpetrated against Zelaya Rosales.

Another female journalist uprooted from her country: Leysi Flores

"I honestly try to pretend I'm okay and act as though nothing has happened, but behind this grinning mask hides a woman whose hopes have been destroyed; I had to leave my father, because my mother had died, and my two brothers, the only thing I have left in my country. Believe me, I suffer when I see everything I'd built with so much dedication and effort destroyed. I feel my life will never be the same, and that's hard; I cry every day over the excruciating situation I've lived through," Leysi Flores explains.

Flores had been a reporter for UNETV since 2015, a channel which is critical of the current government, supporting the opposition led by Manuel Zelaya Rosales, and whose broadcasts reveal and address issues that are censored in other media outlets.

The journalist fled by taking the migrant route after the 2018 elections and is without work and seeking asylum in the USA.

The journalist's father was beaten and told "if she doesn't leave that fucking channel we'll kill her". They turned up at her house, attacked her with tear gas, with her children also suffering the effects of the gas. "Everything points to it happening because of journalism," Flores said.



Karol Cabrera's Facebook message about her mother's suicide.



Leysi Flores interviewing a businessman in Honduras in 2017.

“In our current situation either you keep quiet and become complicit or you take a risk and do real journalism. You either take the right or the easy road”.

– Karol Cabrera, Surviving journalist

“For women working in a country like Honduras, any profession is difficult for different reasons; it is, I should say, a huge challenge, but when a woman decides to become a journalist, to become a correspondent and stay true to her convictions and ideals, it’s an achievement. Having children makes us ‘less competent’; in short, women have to overcome so many things when they decide to work in journalism and that’s a reality I’ve experienced as a result of the violence and the criminality of a regime that kills, day after day”.

Since March of 2017, explains Flores, assaults began to escalate: first an assault on the whole UNETV team, and then phone calls saying they were being watched, car attacks... Basically, different types of threats.

The defence of female journalists

Journalist Miriam Elvir was attacked on 13 December, 2011 by the Honduras Presidential Honour Guard, together with 12 other women journalists. Tear gas was thrown at them as they protested, calling for justice for the crime against the first female journalist murdered in Honduras. Elvir was at the march to defend the freedom of the press.

Since 2011 she has organised different trade union initiatives to bring together the press around their self-protection, for instance the Association of Environmental and Agroforestry Journalists of Honduras (APA AH) and the Newscasters Network of Drinking Water and Sanitation of Honduras (REDCOAGUASH). From 2011 to 2018, they have been in charge of registering warnings in relation to freedom of expression in Honduras. This work has left emotional and psychological scars, yet the clearest is the perpetual feeling of impotence.

Based on her experience, Elvir believes that investigative journalism in Honduras is “really complicated because there is an ailing ecosystem that endeavours to ensure there are no investigations. This occurs from a logic of the interests of leaders concerned with keeping us in permanent crisis to avoid investigative journalism. Additionally, this ecosystem has conditioned the consumer to call investigative journalism any notation or even comment”.

“The most positive thing in this setting is that it has awakened a generation of media professionals who see journalism through a more committed lens”.

With regard to women, Elvir says, the media requirements are for women to be a journalist before they are a mother, daughter, wife, girlfriend; even before they are a woman. This disloyal competition means that in most cases female

journalists give up their professional growth to leave the space open for men. “Ironically, behind a good journalistic investigation there is always a woman, even when male journalists take all the plaudits, and here I go back to what I mentioned a few moments ago, because as women we give way, which means we also give up on the spotlight,” she explained.

Over the course of this period, Elvir documented the reality condensed in official reports. According to the National Human Rights Commissioner (CONADEH), between 2001 and 2017 75 journalists were murdered. The figures of murders against media workers began to grow between 2009 and 2017, according to Conadeh. Only five deaths were recorded before 2009 when there was a US backed military coup; all others have died since. Of the total number of crimes, three were against women.

In 2015, a ‘Protection Mechanism’ was created in Honduras, as part of the mechanism of the political body, the National Council for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, Justice Workers, Journalists and Communications Professionals.

In May 2018, the Mechanism reported that 37 journalists were being protected under the National Protection System.

State attacks with regulations

Since 2018, in the Public Prosecutor’s Office the Special Prosecution Office for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, Journalists, Communications Professionals and Justice Workers has been established: yet risk and impunity persist.

Through Resolution DGF-339-2018 of 8 November 2018, the Prosecution Office responded to a request for public information about case statistics, by stating that it did not have the requested information. The information requested was a list of case statistics referred by the Protection Mechanism, the date of reception, beneficiary types, cases with sentences and litigated cases.

The Prosecutor for Crimes Against Life was asked for an interview to gain an idea of how the investigations into the deaths of journalists were progressing, but to no avail. CONADEH revealed that only 8 percent of cases have ended in a sentence.

Through the request to the Right to the Access of Public Information made to the Public Prosecution Office, in 2015 it was revealed that that no perpetrator had been tried for these crimes.



Impunity and intimidation

The muzzling of independent journalism in South Sudan

By Gai Alier John (John Actually)

Since our independence from Sudan in 2011 after decades of civil war in the name of freedom, 11 South Sudanese journalists have been killed. Seven in 2015 alone.

Despite calls from the UN and others for those responsible to be held to account, not one person has been prosecuted and no single case had been tried in the court of law.

Unless the world rises up against this intimidation and ends impunity for the enemies of a free press, journalism will soon lose all meaning and purpose in South Sudan.

Journalists have no judicial protection. The system is undermined by rich and powerful individuals who consider themselves to be “right-thinking members” of the state.

The law allows the security services to arrest and detain anyone for questioning without prior notice. But some

security officers go even further, by torturing and even killing journalists whose reports fall within their banned categories.

A source who works for the national security services described to me how they handle journalists that appear on their blacklist.

“If you are marked for any reason, we first give you warnings three to four times”, he explained.

“The warnings can be sent as a text message, or your close friend can be used to deliver the message or drop a warning letter to your doorstep. If you don’t change, then action can now be taken. You can be arrested and taken to a place where you will never see the sun again. Others can be killed without arresting them”.

The suffering of South Sudanese journalists at the hands of ruthless security agents has deeply affected us psychologically and physically.

“Unknown gunmen”

The term “unknown gunmen” is widely used in South Sudanese media to describe those who have killed or attacked journalists, activists, or others, even if the suspect is obvious and could be traced.

Law enforcement rarely makes arrests and often try to hide the fact that state-led killers are the suspected to be perpetrators, claiming the assailants were “unknown gunmen”.

Intimidation through killing, kidnap and beating of journalists is the bluntest but far from the only method of control the government uses to muzzle the free conduct of journalism.

Corruption

In 2012 President Kiir wrote a letter to 75 officials who were believed to have pocketed four billion dollars from the public purse. When media reported on the story, security officers responded by summoning editors and journalists from private news outlets and warning them not write anything about the letter or risk being jailed.

Source: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southsudan-corruption-idUSBRE8530QI20120604>

In the same year, two private newspapers, The Citizen and Al Masir, faced a costly court case after Pagan Amum, who was then Secretary General of the ruling party, was named in a corruption scandal. Each newspaper was ordered to up to pay damages of \$37,000.

Source: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2013/south-sudan>

Tipping off the gatekeepers

Many journalists are convinced that national security agents have been deployed undercover to their media workers as employees.

“We are being taken one by one” - Oliver Modi, chairman of the Union of Journalists of South Sudan, after seven journalists are killed in 2015.

Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2015/aug/21/south-sudan-reporter-murdered-the-seventh-journalist-killed-this-year>

“We had a guy who was working as a language assistant at our station. Two months after we hired him, lots of our stories had been leaked to the security before airing them”, James Moga, a senior editor for Peace Radio FM explained.

“As a result, we had been raided by security more than two times and our station was closed for some days (26-28 August 2016 and 16-17 January 2017), and some of our staff were ordered for questioning”.

Stories about corruption and human rights abuses perpetrated by senior members of the government and military are most likely to trigger sanction.

Security agents also order the printed press in Juba to scrap news stories that are critical of the SPLM-led government and army in Juba.

These accumulative threats have caused a paradigm shift in media coverage of sensitive political stories. Journalists who no longer want to be targeted chose non-controversial angles to report on and avoid some stories altogether.

With the exception of Radio Mirraya, which is run by the UN mission, journalists are paid extremely poorly and have little security for their families, especially considering that one income often has to support an extended family.

Many of my colleagues have left the profession for safer more lucrative jobs with NGOs and UN agencies.

The result of all this is that journalism in South Sudan often fails to live up to ethical standards and act independently of government narratives.

However, some online media outlets that operate from outside the country are able to tell meaningful stories with more independence and less fear of reprisals.

But to do this they have to make a huge trade-off in terms of transparency. Bylines are hardly ever used and their reporters often file their stories in the evening once their day job is over with one of the media companies based in Juba.

While this can be a way around self-censorship, the anonymity of the author and the knowledge that the article has been edited in a neighbouring country, or even Europe or North America makes many distrustful. Their ownership

and funding are often hard to ascertain. There are arguments for this way of operating but it makes them easier to discredit by those who want to question what they publish.

Working in this way also inhibits the usual editorial process and proximity to your colleagues that helps editors to spot biases and inaccuracies that can easily creep into reporting

in such a polarised and insecure environment.

It is imperfect but, for now, there are no better options available.

Note: CPJ claims that 7 journalists have been killed since 2011 as they apply stringent criteria about whether they were killed in the line of duty.

An abridged history of attacks on journalists in South Sudan

9 July 2011 South Sudan became Africa's 54th independent nation state after a six-year peace process that had ended decades of civil war against various the Sudanese government. South Sudan's government is formed from the main armed rebel movement (SPLA) its political wing (SPLM).

18 November 2011 Ngor Agut Garang, editor of the Juba-based English-language daily *Destiny*, and Dengdit Ayok, one of his reporters are released from prison in Juba. They were held for two weeks after criticising the President's daughter's choice of groom.

<https://rsf.org/en/news/two-destiny-journalists-released-after-two-weeks>

31 May 2012 Bonifacio Taban, a reporter for the Sudan Tribune website, is arrested and detained for six hours by an army general after he wrote about the poor conditions that widows of soldiers were living in. Taban was warned, upon his release, that he shouldn't write a story of that kind about SPLA if he valued his life.

<http://www.sudantribune.com/Over-500-SPLA-widows-complain-of-42759>.

5 December 2012 Unknown gunmen kill Isaiah Diing Abraham Chan Awuol, a popular journalist and political commentator in Juba. His relatives say Abraham received anonymous text messages asking him to stop writing critically about the government.

<https://cpj.org/data/people/isaiah-diing-abraham-chan-awuol/>

2 January 2013 South Sudanese security agents arrest and torture five journalists in Wau who are accused of not covering a speech delivered

by President Salva Kiir in the town on 24th December 2012. Some of these journalists worked for a government-run television.

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/05/03/south-sudan-stop-harassing-detaining-journalists>

25 January 2015 Five journalists (Adam Juma, Boutros Martin, Dalia Marko, Musa Mohammed, Randa George) are murdered around Wau town while travelling in a convoy with local officials.

Source: <https://ipi.media/randa-george-adam/>

15 December 2015 South Sudan plunges into a civil war triggered by a power struggle between President Salva Kiir and his then Vice President, Riek Machar.

20 May 2015 Radio Tamazuj journalist, Pow James Raeth, dies after being caught in gunfire between warring groups after leaving an NGO in Akobo.

<https://cpj.org/data/people/pow-james-raeth/>

5 August 2015 Three independent media outlets are shut down by the government.

<https://cpj.org/2015/08/south-sudanese-authorities-silence-three-media-out.php>

17 August 2015 President Kiir threatens to kill journalists 'working against the country'. It is later claimed his words were taken out of context.

<https://radiotamazuj.org/en/v1/news/article/kiir-threatens-to-kill-journalists-working-against-the-country>

<https://cpj.org/2015/08/south-sudanese-president-salva-kiir-threatens-to-k.php>

20 August 2015 Peter Julius Moi, of The New Nation newspaper in Juba is shot dead by "unknown gunmen". Moi's murderers approached him in a

numberless vehicle. He was shot in the back three bullets times.

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-34008089>

<https://cpj.org/2015/08/cpj-condemns-killing-of-south-sudanese-journalist.php>

11 July 2016 Community radio John Gatluak Manguet is killed by government forces during an outbreak of violence in Juba between government and rebel forces.

<https://www.internews.org/updates/memory-john-gatluak-manguet-nhial>

26 September 2016 The body of the renowned journalist, Isaac Vuni, is found near his home. He had been kidnapped three months earlier on 4 June 2016 by men armed in military uniforms, according to his family.

<https://cpj.org/data/people/isaac-vuni/>

10 October 2016 Malek Bol is found struggling for his life after being kidnapped by security agents and taken to an unknown location for three days. Bol's editor at the Almugif Arabic newspaper said that his captors accused him of abusing the president on social media. He had been beaten and had hot plastic dripped onto his body.

<https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-southsudan-security/south-sudan-says-rebels-kill-21-civilians-in-ambush-idUKKCN12A183>

26 May 2017 US freelancer Christopher Allen is killed while covering the conflict.

Source: https://www.cjr.org/special_report/christopher-allen.php

9 March 2018 Authorities suspend UN-backed station Radio Miraya.

<https://cpj.org/2018/03/south-sudan-suspends-broadcast-of-un-backed-radio-.php>



Solutions Journalism

One of the oldest saws of journalism is that people are more interested in bad news than good because that is the exception. However, there is a growing movement that seeks to balance that view with the concept of “solutions” or “constructive” journalism; exploring not only what’s wrong with the world but the serious attempts to change it.

Mexico

What is media's role in the midst of murder and mayhem?

Elva Narcía

At the end of January 2019, US President Donald Trump asserted that violence in Mexico is worse than in Afghanistan.

On Twitter he said that homicide cases in Mexico increased by 33% in 2018 compared to the previous year, reaching a total of 33,341. "This is a big contributor to the humanitarian crises taking place on our southern border then spreading throughout our country worse even than Afghanistan. Much caused by drugs. Wall is being built".

The hard facts appear to back up Trump's declarations. According to national and international organisations, between January and September 2018, Mexico registered nearly 90% more violent civilian deaths than Afghanistan. The conflict in Afghanistan claimed 3,804 civilian lives in 2018 according to a report by the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA).

Added to this is the high number of disappeared people, a total of 40,180 according to Roberto Cabrera Alfaro, the former National Commissioner of the Search for the Disappeared.

For her part, Dr. Carolina Robledo, co-ordinator of a research group in Social and Forensic Anthropology, Mexico is facing multiple kinds of violence, not always related to organised crime. She talks of a crisis in human rights and the rule of law.

"The context is one of grave human rights violations in which the public forces of law and order, from the municipal up to state level, have enforced security by means of abuses and the use of violence as a way of controlling territories and populations, but also as a way of doing business and benefitting private interests thanks to this illegitimate use of force."

Robledo says that Mexico suffers from institutional, economic, hereditary, and gender violence.



Another way in which the media have helped the fight against crime and violence is through the collection of testimonies, images, recordings, interviews, and news items that have been used to solve cases and bring the perpetrators to justice.

It also exists in the realm of information: “there is a deliberate system that aims to hide the truth and crimes, to erase the evidence.”

What is the role of the media in this context of multiple violence? Can the media contribute to creating an atmosphere of peace, can they contribute to the fight against crime and violence? In order to find answers to these questions, I consulted twenty experts, including lawyers, academics, activists, journalists and human rights defenders.

In the specific case of forced disappearances and hidden mass graves, the media have played a very important role by making the problem visible and forcing it onto the public agenda. The victims’ relatives, like Mirna Nereyda Medina Quiñones, who heads the *Rastreadoras de El Fuerte* organisation – a group of mothers searching for their disappeared children in the state of Sinaloa, says that the support of the media has been fundamental in their efforts to find the truth and justice: “they have helped by spreading the word and speaking out with us.”

Nereyda founded the *Rastreadoras* following the disappearance of her son Roberto Corrales Medina. He was abducted on July 14, 2014, and his remains were found in a hidden grave three years later. She says that the media push groups like hers to make contact with the authorities and institutions, and to document the replies they get from them, which can then be used as case histories that can be consulted when necessary.

Cristina Avila Cesati, founder of *Corresponsales de Paz*, stresses the importance of ethical journalism, as sometimes journalists can hinder investigations, lead to people being made victims of a second time, distort information or publish it without permission.

Another way in which the media have helped the fight against crime and violence is through the collection of testimonies, images, recordings, interviews, and news items that have been used to solve cases and bring the perpetrators to justice. This is the view of María del Carmen Alanís, a former magistrate in the Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación, who has used this kind of evidence in cases of political gender violence.

Several of the journalists consulted affirm that the press is neither the police nor the Public Prosecutor in the pursuit of violence and crime. They do however agree that by following up on previous cases so that cases do not

disappear with impunity, as well as insisting the authorities should be transparent, and offer access to information and rapid, expeditious and efficient justice, the media are contributing in a way that demonstrates the ethical dimension of their profession.

Adela Navarro, editor-in-chief of the weekly *Zeta* magazine in the border city of Tijuana in Baja California, says the role of the media is to make public the information the government is hiding: “our journalism is one of analysis, investigation, challenge: we try to tell people who are the ones harming us as a society.”

“Our commitment must be to publish information and contribute to the maturity of a well-informed society so that when the moment comes to take decisions, people consider these positions. I believe that in this way we can be part of this society that is demanding changes, demanding the authorities respond as they should, that they investigate and work hard so that we can overcome the lack of security and violence we have been experiencing in recent years.”

Yet this kind of work has consequences, and it has not been easy for *Zeta*. In the 38 years since its foundation, three of its journalists have been murdered, and one, its founder Jesús Blancornelas survived a 1997 attack when he was hit by four bullets, although his driver and bodyguard was not so lucky.

With a total of 144 journalists killed since the year 2000, Mexico is the most dangerous country in the Americas for the profession. Ana Cristina Ruelas, regional director of Article 19 for Mexico and Central America, states that Mexico is a “country not openly at war where journalism constantly has to confront attacks, murders, disappearances, being shot at.”

Despite this, there are attempts to practise a journalism of investigation, accusation, a journalism of hope and of finding solutions. The media in Mexico have found ways to protect themselves when exercising the profession, sometimes openly choosing “silent zones” – in other words, self-censorship to protect their security and lives.

Some media outlets have decided to sign their work collectively: news reports bear the name of the editorial team, thus helping keep the spotlight and the danger off individuals. Networks have also been created to carry out collaborative investigations in order to create resistance and conquer fear.

The editorial decision has also been taken not to show the messages left by organised crime on mutilated bodies, or on what in Mexico are known as “narco mantas” (narco blankets) hung from bridges, often alongside lifeless bodies.

However, narco-traffickers have found a way to get their message out. Organised crime has taken over media outlets, they publish their own communiqués, send messages and videos on Whatsapp groups. “Social media have become the high-speed, low risk channel for organised crime,” explains the journalist Urbano Barrera, who has been covering security issues for twenty-five years.

Barrera says that organised crime had infiltrated many different spheres of power: legal experts, the police, in all sorts of institutions, and as soon as a journalist starts to investigate, he or she is immediately identified. “National media can hide to some extent, we can camouflage ourselves in urban centres. But in the provinces, where all our colleagues are clearly identified, where their home addresses and their families are known, they are not able to publish.”

And yet according to the experts consulted, it is by publishing information, creating spaces to clarify the truth regarding grave human rights violations, journalism that involves in-depth investigation, contextual analysis, establishing reliable databases, setting the agenda for public debate and writing the first drafts of history that is one of the main functions of the media, especially in the context of violence in Mexico.

“There are intelligent, conciliatory and responsible ways in which perhaps we can avoid creating more confrontation,” says Marcela Turati, founder of the Red de Periodistas de a Pie and of the Quinto Elemento Lab, a project aimed at encouraging investigative journalism.

“Among the things the media can do and can be held responsible for is for their information to provide a context,

for it to explain to people what is happening and why, insofar as that is possible, because when there’s violence everything becomes enveloped in fog.”

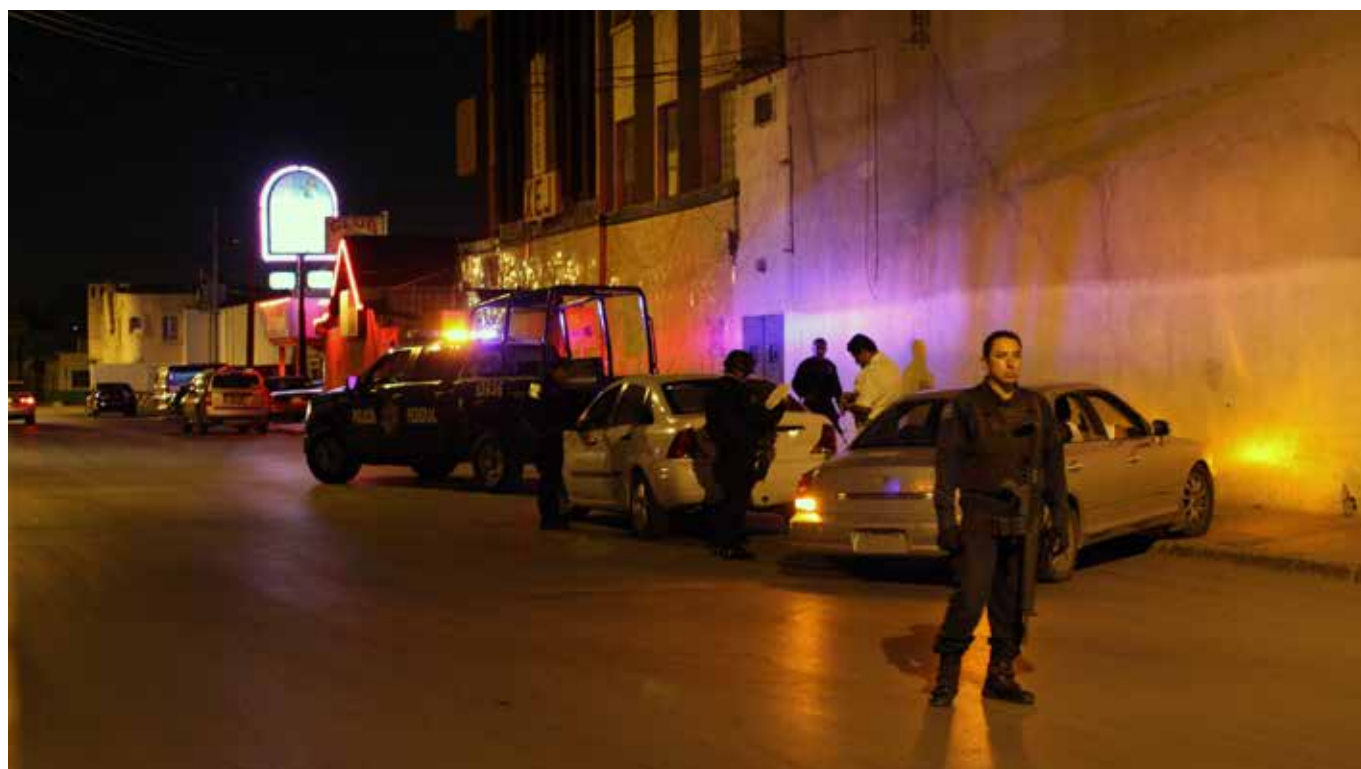
Turati also stresses the importance of showing the logic behind the violence, and not only publishing horror stories but trying to find patterns to it, insights that can help people. Something else that can be done, she says, is to publish stories that hold up a mirror to similar experiences taking place in other cities, other states, other countries.

“Our investigations should be about what is possible, what we can aspire to in order not to fall into despair, so that not everything we see on the news is horrible and paralyses people. Instead, it should help them reflect on possible ways to intervene, and for people to demand from the government a change of strategy or for them to be able to make informed choices.”

For his part, Sergio Aguayo, a professor at the Colegio de México, a columnist and defender of human rights and democracy agrees on the need to contain the perpetrators of violence by explaining them. He says that by understanding their logic we can give information to those formulating public policies or to the families searching for their lost loved ones. It is also important, in his view, to empower those who are not violent by giving them information.

Aguayo believes that there are stories that need to be told but which are not at the moment sufficiently reflected in the media. “A deficit that exists in the media is that we haven’t said enough about the different peace processes”. He adds that there should be more reporting of concrete experiences, of what is already happening.

“In my experience, Mexican society has not stood by and done nothing. It’s not passive, it’s done what it could to defend itself, sometimes successfully and sometimes not. It’s paid a huge cost in lives, and those are the stories we should also be telling.”





Gender on the agenda for future of ethical journalism – not just for women

Hannah Storm

Women account for almost half of the global population. Yet to look at the constitution of newsrooms or news reporting, you might think that figure was wrong.

Ethical journalism is rooted in humanity, built on transparency and advances work that is accountable.

We cannot have truly ethical journalism, until gender is on the agenda in a fair and sensitive way, in newsroom practices: be that in the people we hire, retain and promote, or in the work we produce.

Gender is not just a women's issue. We all benefit from rejecting harmful stereotypes, clichés, and prejudice. We all gain from greater balance and context, and from amplifying the voices and experiences of vulnerable communities which have traditionally been marginalised.

In my new role at the Ethical Journalism Network, I hope we can support partners everywhere to integrate

ethical gender considerations into their news reports and newsrooms, and to recognise the roles they can play in positively shaping public discourse.

Change can't and won't happen overnight. But it needs to happen quicker than it has been.

In 2015, the Global Media Monitoring Project warned that: 'Progress towards equality of women and men in the news media has virtually ground to a halt'.

The GMMP is carried out on one day every five years. Across the 114 countries analysed in its last study, women accounted for 24 percent of those heard, read about or seen in newspapers, television and radio news. The figure was unchanged from 2010. The picture was scarcely better online, with women making up 26 percent of people in internet news stories and media news Tweets combined.

The number of women reporting stories was less than two out of five: **the same as in 2005.**

It will be interesting to see if the 2020 figures differ. The

#MeToo movement has raised awareness of the need for more gender sensitivity across the board, but I don't think there has yet been the sea change needed.

The International Women's Media Foundation has a number of pioneering projects to support women journalists. A handful of programmes have emerged with a specific gender focus, like France 24's *The 51 Percent*. The BBC's *Outside Source* ensures that at least 50 per cent of its experts are women, something it ensures through self-monitoring. In Poland, Newsmavens collates news from across Europe and reframes it from the perspective of women journalists.

<https://www.poynter.org/tech-tools/2018/this-journalist-created-a-system-to-make-sure-more-female-experts-got-on-air/>

In late 2017, the Wall Street Journal announced an effort to overturn gender inequality at the paper. Several years ago Bloomberg initiated a strategy which now includes the family-friendly policies, a mentoring scheme, media training for women executives across different industries, and an index measuring gender equality for more than 100 companies.

But despite these – and a number of other – efforts and a number of others, outdated stereotypes continue to be perpetrated, often focussing on a woman's appearance or associations instead of her ability or achievements.

This is particularly the case when women reach positions of influence in male-dominated industries.

In August 2015, the Associated Press published a tweet, linked to an article about the trial of Al Jazeera journalists in Egypt, which read: 'Amal Clooney, actor's wife, representing Al-Jazeera journalist accused in Egypt of ties to extremists. The tweet was later deleted, but not before it had implied that one of the world's most successful international human rights lawyers was only newsworthy because of her husband.

In January Nancy Pelosi, the highest-ranking elected woman in US history, resumed her role as Speaker of the House of Representatives. The New York Times tweeted a photograph, captioned, 'Nancy Pelosi, wearing a hot pink dress, ascended to the marble dais.' Later the tweet was deleted, with the paper calling it 'poorly framed'.

It's not just appearance or association that implies the achievements of some women are an aberration. It's common to read demeaning language with gendered connotations, like 'hysterical', 'feisty', 'bossy', 'whining'. For women of colour or those who belong to other marginalised communities, it's often worse. Stereotypical language is directed against men too and can be just as damaging in terms of reinforcing stereotypes, especially for men of colour.

This language, labelling, reliance on tropes and stereotypes is lazy journalism and at its most egregious, this can have a significant effect on public perception and the individuals involved. This is particularly the case in the coverage of gender-based violence.

As the survivor of sexual assault, I have been working to help journalists understand the harm caused by perpetuating stereotypes, by a lack of context, by using inappropriate language and images. I hope to be able to develop this work further at the EJN.

<https://www.poynter.org/business-work/2018/shamed-into-silence-female-journalists-are-disproportionately-targeted-for-sexual-harassment-and-assault-%C2%97-and-im-proof/>

Too often, the media shapes the narrative as if the abuse was the fault of the individual affected. Survivors are approached, identified, portrayed and interviewed without consideration of the pattern, context or scale of sexual violence. Too often, the language casts the perpetrator as a monster and not a human who chose to commit a crime, and describes the abuse with euphemisms that apply to consensual sex and not an act that is instead an abuse of power. Too often there are questions about why individuals stay silent for years, only to be objectified and disbelieved if they are brave enough to do so.

It's so important that as journalists we know how to report ethically on such a relevant and sensitive issue as gender-based violence.

If we want to look at changing the way the media reports on women and the issues which are important to them, we can't ignore the constitution of newsrooms in Europe and North America, and the unconscious and conscious biases held by an industry which is systemically male, white and privileged.

Women frequently lack other female role models and without the support they need to break through the glass ceiling, the pipeline to progression is well and truly broken. For the most part, women tend to be more vulnerable, less able to call the shots, and more likely to be exposed to abuses of power, both in the newsroom and in the field.

In my previous role at the International News Safety Institute, I often heard from men about the extra risks faced by women in hostile environments, rather than the extra perspectives they could bring. But sadly, women are still regarded as the problem rather than the solution.

I have heard anecdotes of women being taken off stories because their male colleagues were not to be trusted or because they were brave enough to speak out about their experiences of harassment and well-meaning editors thought they were not capable of covering the same kind of stories again.

Women do face a greater likelihood of abuse than men. But this doesn't mean they shouldn't report. Far from it. Without women, we lack the voices that represent one half of the world's population. When those voices are silenced, there is a significant knock-on effect.

One of the most wide-ranging current threats to women journalists is online harassment. They are much more likely to be attacked online than their male colleagues and when they are this is often sexualised. This takes its toll, especially because the abuse often hits when women are most vulnerable, like first thing in the morning when they turn on their phones. I know many women who are now self-censoring, whilst others are considering giving up journalism.

The best and most successful ethical journalism understands the importance of collaboration and amplification. The volume of a hundred voices resonates more than one solitary shout.

Until women are valued in the same way as men, there can be no equality, be that in the newsroom or in the words and images we use to shatter stereotypes and truly reflect the communities we serve. And until that is the case, I really believe we cannot really call ourselves ethical, no matter what our gender.



Journalism, activism and the fight for migrant rights

Tom Law

“I’m a feminist. I can’t see a woman going through these problems without standing with her.”

In October 2017 when I first met Sawsan Tabazah, a freelance journalist from Jordan, she hadn’t written about the rights abuses of domestic workers in Jordan, let alone realised the scale of the problems facing migrant workers in her country and the wider region. Since then Sawsan has dedicated herself to investigating labour migration in Jordan and advocating for reform on a national level, and behavioural and attitudinal change across Jordanian society.

“My perspective has changed 180 degrees. I didn’t have a clear view of Jordan or the Middle East [...] It is shocking that we are living with people who are living like slaves of the modern age.”

When the EJN started a fellowship scheme for journalists in the region in partnership with the International Labour Organization our goals were modest in comparison. We have now been able to support over 20 journalists to produce in-depth reporting that not only shines a light on the human stories of the workers that are the backbone of these economies but also points to technical and policy solutions at the local and international level.

Following her story on suicide among domestic workers in the *Jordan Times*, Sawsan introduced the women who contacted her asking for help to local support groups such as Tamkeen, a Jordanian NGO, which works to combat human trafficking and protect the rights of migrant workers and refugees. But things really changed after she left her phone number with one of the women she interviewed for her third story about a woman who said she experienced ‘slavery’ at the hands of her employer.

Her phone number spread quickly among African domestic workers in Amman and soon she was inundated with calls and messages asking for help.

The EJN/ILO Labour Migration Fellowship

The EJN’s fellowship programme with the International Labour Organization has run since 2017, supporting journalists who are reporting on labour migration in Jordan, Lebanon and the Gulf States.

The fellowships are part of the ILO’s Regional Fair Migration Project in the Middle East (FAIRWAY) which works to promote fair migration (including fair recruitment) and eliminate forced labour and trafficking for labour exploitation.

Over 20 journalists have taken part in the programme, conducting investigations, producing podcasts series and writing op-eds in publications as diverse as the *Jordan Times* to the *New York Times*, from *BBC World Service Radio* to Arabic podcast startup – SOWT and much else besides.

To read all the stories produced in the fellowship, see: ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/ilo-journalism-fellowship

3.16 million migrant domestic workers in the Arab states of the Middle East

1.6 million female migrant domestic workers in the Middle East and Gulf region

19 per cent of the world's domestic workers live in the "Arab States"

Source: ILO - Domestic Workers and Employers in the Arab States: Promising practices and innovative models for a productive working relationship (2017) https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_619661.pdf

Since that moment, these women became far more than sources. Sawsan has taken on the issue of the rights of women working in Jordan as a personal cause, trying to persuade friends and family to recognise the rights of domestic workers as well as throwing herself into wider advocacy on the issue.

"I'm not standing in the street with banners calling for change. But on a social level, I am advocating for that cause. By drawing a line between work as an activist and work as a journalist you are able to do both roles properly."

Sawsan has taken some practical steps to avoid the appearance of having a conflict of interest, for example by not writing while she was actively involved in the "My Fair Home Campaign" a joint initiative of the ILO and the International Domestic Workers Federation aiming to change attitudes and behaviours among employers of domestic workers.

While Sawsan's change in career trajectory has been an interesting outcome of the fellowship, it has also raised

The Kafala System

"Domestic workers, like all migrant workers in the Arab States (with a small number of exceptions), are regulated by a sponsorship system often referred to as kafala. Under this system a migrant worker's immigration and legal residency status is tied to an individual sponsor (kafeel) throughout his or her contract period in such a way that the migrant worker cannot typically enter the country, resign from a job, transfer employment, and in some countries may not leave the country without first obtaining explicit permission from his or her employer."

ILO https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_619661.pdf

questions for me about whether journalism and activism can ever be comfortable bedfellows.

Such compartmentalising may be possible for freelancers like Sawsan – so long as they are transparent about their other roles and continue to approach their journalism with rigour and due impartiality – but the challenges of working in newsrooms are quite different as Lina Ejeilat of Jordanian news website 7iber explains in her article. (Add Chapter No. or Page No.)

Finding national titles willing to accept stories that question the *kafala* system (See Box 2) and human rights abuses can be problematic, with some fellows choosing to publish some of their stories outside their country or even under pseudonyms.



This is a still image from *The Workers Cup*, a film about the African and Asian migrant workers building the facilities for the 2022 Qatar World Cup. The EJN has used the film as part of the training programme for fellowship and held screenings in London and at the Arab Reporters For Investigative Journalism (ARIJ) conference in Jordan. Credit: <http://www.theworkerscupfilm.com/>



The activist versus journalist dichotomy was one of the hottest topics of debate during the workshops that accompanied the fellowship programme, especially when we focused on “solutions” or “constructive” journalism. While the constructive and solutions journalism movement has gained momentum in recent years many journalists remain uncomfortable with the concept.

The main hurdle for some of the fellows, and many others, about solutions journalism, is the misconception that advocating for more solutions journalism means that problems and negativity should be avoided, or not remain the vast majority of news reporting.

In her new book, *You Are What You Read*, researcher and campaigner Jodie Jackson writes that advocating for more solutions journalism should not be confused with calling for the eradication of what she terms “problems-focused journalism”.

She argues that “including solutions is not to be seen as a manipulation of the media to create a false impression of the world. In fact, it is quite the opposite. At the moment we are confronted on a daily basis with a pathological report of the world that is heavily geared to get our attention and to provoke a reaction through negative news reporting. Solutions-focused journalism advocates are not suggesting the pendulum swing the other way [...] Instead, we are advocating a better balance in the new narrative, in order to have a more accurate and complete understanding of the world and its affairs.”

If I had had that argument to hand, I may have been able to make a more convincing case to those who remained sceptical and have a better response to what, in hindsight,

Constructive Journalism

Constructive journalism is rigorous reporting about responses to problems focusing on how those problems might be solved. Rather than merely investigating what’s going wrong, constructive journalism explores what’s going right too, offering a fuller picture of our world. Journalists look for evidence of why responses are working – and also not working. This approach aims to spark constructive dialogue and collaboration, it is forward-looking and shows change is possible. Constructive journalism isn’t about ignoring negative news or covering fluffy, feel-good stories. On the contrary, it covers stories with importance to society.

Source: Constructive Voices <https://www.ncvo.org.uk/guide-to-constructive-journalism>

seem quite reductive reactions: “So you want me to cover the planes that land safely, rather than the one that crashes?”

Many fellows did embrace the concept. Laura Secorun Palet’s op-ed in the *New York Times* addressed not only the legal and logistical reforms needed to improve the rights of migrant workers but also made it clear that “to eradicate forced domestic labor, we must confront the rampant prejudice behind it.”

The article points to the work of NGOs and efforts of migrant women to unionise and become leading voices fighting for their own rights. It also gave examples of ethical recruitment practice as an alternative to the many unscrupulous companies that encourage vulnerable people to leave their families with promises that they cannot or do not intend to keep.

Journalism like Laura’s does not shy away from the mistreatment of migrant workers, but it also gives examples of practical solutions and initiatives that can be an inspiration for governments, activists and migrants. We have to shine a light on how problems can be addressed, not just human suffering and injustices. Providing one without the other does a disservice to our audiences and those whose lives we are reporting on.

Solutions Journalism

- Can be character-driven, but focuses in-depth on a response to a problem and how the response works in meaningful detail
- Focuses on effectiveness, not good intentions, presenting available evidence of results
- Discusses the limitations of the approach
- Seeks to provide insight that others can use

Source: Solutions Journalism Network <https://www.solutionsjournalism.org/>

Sources:

Recruitment agencies under fire for ‘demeaning’ domestic workers ads (Jordan Times)

The dark side of domestic ‘servitude’ (Jordan Times)

Domestic worker says she experienced ‘slavery’ with her employer (Jordan Times)

<https://www.journalism.co.uk/news/how-a-solutions-focused-media-diet-can-improve-news-audiences-mental-health/s2/a733972/>

<https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/tag/sawsan-tabazah>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/06/opinion/international-world/domestic-workers-middle-east.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fopinion>

<https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/challenges-reporting-domestic-workers-jordan>

https://www.ilo.org/beirut/projects/fairway/WCMS_550151/lang-en/index.htm



Alleged drug peddler Rabby Lopez's son demonstrates at the exact location how his father was killed by police after allegedly resisting arrest and fighting back to authorities ("nanlaban" in Filipino) at their house in Barangay Ermita, Cebu City.

He was one of the 14 recorded fatalities during the "One Time Big Time" police operation that swept through Cebu and Talisay City on October 4, 2018.

Photo: Raffy Lerma

Ethics through the lens

Photographing The Drug War In The Philippines

Raffy Lerma

In May 2016, Rodrigo Duterte, then-mayor of Davao City, won a landslide victory in the Philippine presidential elections in a campaign centered on the eradication of drugs in the country; a goal which the President maintains must be achieved even if authorities resort to violence.

“Forget the laws on human rights,” he said at his final campaign rally. “If I make it to the presidential palace, I will do just what I did as mayor [of Davao]. You drug pushers, hold-up men and do-nothings, you better go out. Because I’d kill you. I’ll dump all of you into Manila Bay, and fatten all the fish there.” Since then, a wave of killings has engulfed the country.

By January 2019, government figures revealed that 5,104 “drug personalities” have been killed in anti-drug operations – mostly from poor families in urban centers across the country. 23,327 homicide cases are still under investigation, including those killed by unidentified gunmen and vigilantes.

In the sixth of the EJN’s series events at the Frontline Club in London, Dorothy Byrne spoke to award-winning Filipino photojournalist Raffy Lerma about his experiences documenting the killings and their aftermath. What follows is an edited summary of their conversation.





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During Duterte's third State of the nation address, families of victims wore masks during a stage play in protest against the killings, outside Congress. As the names of those who were killed in the drug war were being read, I took this photograph. In his speech, the president said the drug war would not stop, and that it would be as ruthless as the first day it began.

Raffy Lerma: “During Duterte's presidential campaign, he said thousands would be killed. He fulfilled that promise. After almost three years, the government has owned up to 5,000 killings from police operations, although there are still over 20,000 homicides that are under investigation.

“When the killings began, I was a staff photographer at the Philippine Daily Inquirer. I asked my boss to put me back on the night shift when most of the killings were happening. I started covering the drug war in July of 2016.

“Some nights that I was on duty, there were no bodies found. But most nights there were at least one, two even five or ten.

“After six months, I was pulled out of the beat even though I didn't want to stop. I knew it was an important story. I thought that reporting it might eventually end the killings.

“But until now, it has not stopped.

“Every night for almost an entire year, I would do the night shift with a group of photojournalists, reporters and filmmakers. We were an informal group of journalists helping each other report the story. One night, an L.A. Times reporter came to join us in our nightly rounds and dubbed us the “Night Crawlers of Manila” after the Hollywood film. The name stuck.

“Soon after, we were also called many other names by the President's supporters: EJK journalists (extrajudicial killing), the yellows, the paid media, presstitutes. They even claimed the drug lords pay us.

“At the start, I think the perpetrators wanted us to photograph the dead bodies. They were dumped in public areas and left for us to find, probably to send a message. It was a disturbing task to fulfill, but we felt that we had to do our jobs.

“When you’re taking photographs for a news agency, you don’t always have the opportunity to investigate, to verify if he is indeed a drug pusher or someone who is linked to drugs. Often, you have no choice but to use the police’s description. Until, of course you come back and follow up.

The grey areas of consent

“There are many instances where family members are not around to give consent for photographs. So what we do is go to the wakes or funerals and try to get the narrative of the families correctly.

“But there are journalists who don’t do this and only report the police side of the story. This is why some families turn us down. They often brand media as a whole.

“If the photograph’s caption uses the term “alleged drug pusher” the families will accuse you of generalizing.

“You’ve called our son like this a ‘drug pusher’ without really knowing him”.

Risks

“I’m aware of the ethical issues around photographing dead bodies, but this is what’s happening and as journalists, we have to show what’s happening.

“I don’t dwell on the risks of my job. It’s my obligation as a Filipino. I live here. These are my countrymen.

“Thousands of people are getting killed and what’s sadder for me is how many Filipinos don’t see anything wrong with it. There are other solutions to the drug problem. And I hope that when they see these images, they do something about it. I hope in some way my work can help end this dark period.

Revenge

“There’s a lot of stigma around families whose loved ones were killed in the drug war. I’ve met several children who until now cannot process the trauma from the deaths in their family. Some of them want to be policemen when they grow up. They say they want to take revenge.



Photo: Philippine Daily Inquirer/Rafly Lerna

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This is Jesus Jonas. He was an alleged drug pusher in Quezon City. It was the police who informed us where to find his body.

“For some families who have accepted they cannot get justice, a story or a photograph of what happened is enough.

Ethics on the frontline

“The newspaper I used to work for has ethical guidelines when it comes to what photographs they can publish. But as the photographer on the field, you’re always confronted. Sometimes when I try to look at my photographs, I ask myself, if I cannot look at the photograph, will anyone else be able to? And I’m already used to seeing the horror of these images.

“What I try to focus on is not the gore or the blood, but the emotions that I hope connects to more people.

Many of my photographs weren’t published in my newspaper. For them, it was too graphic. But for me, some photos should have been published. It’s not meant to shock

people. In a country where the majority of the people support what’s happening, these photos should be a wake-up call. That’s one of the reasons why I left the newspaper. These photos should be shown so that society could see it and in some way reflect if they really are for this.

“This violence and impunity in the Philippines has moved from alleged drug users being killed on the streets, to activists, lawyers, and priests being gunned down at work. People are so numb that it’s just normal.

“When I was covering other news stories before, sometimes four or five stories in a day, I would come home and my family would ask me, “what did you cover today?” Sometimes I wouldn’t know how to respond because they have just become mere photos to me. But when this story came along, it brought me back to why I wanted to be a



Photo: Philippine Daily Inquirer/Raffy Lerna

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This photograph shows the first time the family of Paul Lester Lorenzo was able to see his body after being killed. His wife is holding their child, his brother hugging him; you have the whole family. I do not have the luxury of sound in my chosen medium. What you can’t hear are the synchronized screams of these people seeing their loved one dead.

It was heartbreaking to witness and I felt helpless. It was the least I could do to take the family to the morgue where I knew his body was being kept.

photojournalist in the first place. I know the names of these victims. I know their children. Every time I talk about my photos I don't need a script. I know what happened to them.

"There are journalists in the Philippines who believe that these alleged drug pushers and addicts should be killed without being given due process. Unfortunately, not

everyone believes that these victims have the same basic human rights as they do.

"Duterte promised a solution to the drug problem. People were so desperate for change that they supported it. But I think public opinion is changing. They are now questioning Duterte's methods. And that's a big step.



Photo: Philippine Daily Inquirer/Rafly Lemna

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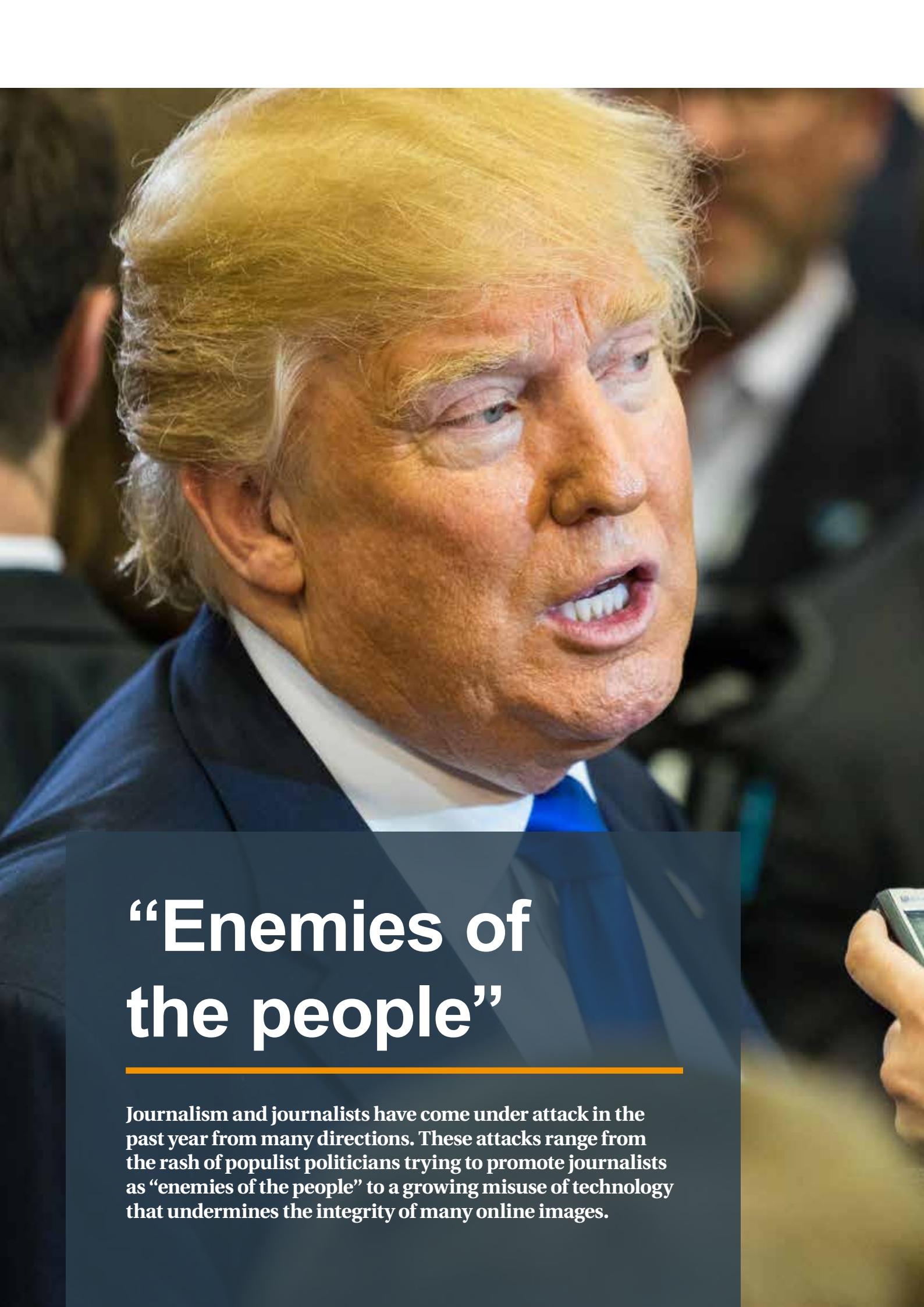
This is Jennilyn Olayres holding her partner Michael Sharon, a pedicab driver and an alleged drug pusher. It's rare to see a family member in a crime scene because they're not allowed in. When I interviewed Jennilyn later on, she told me that she forced her way to go inside the police cordon because she wanted to see if Michael was still alive.

She was there with him for around 30 minutes. She was screaming at us to stop taking photographs and help them instead. We couldn't. We kept taking photos. I felt like a vulture then, but I also knew that it was important too to take this photo.

When it was published, people started to compare it to the Pietà, Michelangelo's Renaissance sculpture. I never called it Pietà, people did. I just wrote a simple caption. It was quite fitting too as it is also the Italian word for pity. That was the message of the photograph. Pity for the victims and pity for the victim's families.

That night, the family didn't like what the media did; feast on them like that. When I visited Michael's wake to follow up and find out who he was, I was not welcomed the first time. But I saw a copy our newspaper in one corner, so I picked it up and introduced myself to Michael's father. I told him I was the photographer who had taken the photo of his dead son on the frontpage.

He welcomed me and said: "I was actually waiting for you." Then he took me to meet his son's wife. I approached her and said, "I'm sorry". She just nodded. I think she understood why I took the photograph.



“Enemies of the people”

Journalism and journalists have come under attack in the past year from many directions. These attacks range from the rash of populist politicians trying to promote journalists as “enemies of the people” to a growing misuse of technology that undermines the integrity of many online images.



Fear trumping the First Amendment in the US

Alison Bethel McKenzie

There was a time in the United States when a journalist would, in response to a written invitation, make time in their busy day to stop by the local elementary school to talk about reporting with wide-eyed school children whose only real interaction with a journalist was reading the comic strip of glamorous journalist Brenda Starr or watching the investigative exploits of Superman's girlfriend Lois Lane.

But today there are very few elementary school visits, and finding anyone do-eyed about journalists is like finding a needle in a haystack in America today.

In 2018, there were over 100 press freedom violations in the United States. Journalists were murdered, attacked while covering rallies and protests, jailed, subpoenaed and stopped at borders, according to Press Freedom Tracker.

Prior to the horrific murder of four journalists and a newsroom administrator at the offices of the Capital Gazette in Maryland, located on the Eastern Seaboard of the country, the last time a journalist had been murdered on U.S. soil was in 2015 when reporter Alison Parker and cameraman Adam Ward, who worked for a CNN television affiliate in Virginia, were gunned down during a live broadcast by a disgruntled former colleague. Before that, my former colleague Chauncey Bailey, an investigative and editor-in-chief of a newspaper in northern California was murdered to stop him from reporting a story.

If you don't have a mainstream media in this country, then you don't have a democracy. Every day we are seeing that that's a fact...

But today, my home country is a very different place.

While we don't see large numbers of journalists being murdered, we are seeing unprecedented numbers being attacked and assaulted.

"One thing for sure is that I remember in the old days you would go out and talk to people and they were really welcoming. They would welcome you into their homes because for them it was an honour and an opportunity to be in the newspaper. They saw it as a good thing," recalls veteran journalist Andrew Skerritt, a former editor with a Gannett newspaper in Florida. He, along with many others at the nation's largest newspaper chain, was laid off from his position at the start of this year.

Today, America is a place in which many journalists work in fear. And not only fear of physical and verbal attacks – the President of the United States, Donald Trump, has referred to the media as "the enemy of the American people" – but also fear of losing their jobs. Just since November 2018, more than 6,000 journalists have lost their jobs in America, through layoffs and the closure of some media houses.

"I definitely think about the issues a lot more. Part of it, too, is being married to a photojournalist," says Anna G. Bahn, communications coordinator for the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press in Washington, D.C.. "I think there is inherently more risk." Bahn said she never knows when there is breaking news and her husband must go out, "whether we will encounter someone who will want to harm him because they don't like the media."

Both Bahn and Skerritt agree that the loss of journalism jobs and the threats to journalists, particularly in a country where press freedom is written into the U.S. Constitution, could have a significant impact on democracy in America.

And, adds Bahn, "It will eventually deter people from going into journalism. There aren't that many jobs, it is not well paid and on top of that, everyone hates you."

Bahn tells me that in other high-risk jobs, there are incentives and a recognition of the risk involved in doing your work. Not so in journalism, she says. "A lot of people

don't think of journalists as first responders, but they are. They are there with everyone else when something happens," she said.

There are many reasons why trust in the media is at an all-time low in the United States. Polls have shown that many Americans are sceptical about what they read in newspapers and what they see on television. The Pew Research Centre in June 2018 reported that only 49 percent of those surveyed had "some trust," that 29 percent have "not too much" trust and a meagre 21 percent have "a lot of trust."

Attitudes toward the media have changed in large part because of this idea of "fake news," the belief that many journalists simply make up news or other information to feed to the public. Citizens have also questioned the media's ethics, complaining that journalists have erred on the side of political partisanship and "little white lies" and, in the rare case, making stories up altogether.

The truth is that the clear majority of journalists hold journalism ethics and go into the office everyday striving to produce good, truthful and impactful journalism. Have there been cases where a journalist has gotten it wrong? Sure. But that is by far the exception and not the rule. And it is no reason to attack journalists.

"Backlash is so much a part of the landscape [today]," Skerritt said of the work environment for journalists in the United States. "There is a disdain that did not exist before. It's been sort of coming for a long time. On one side you have this whole network whose reason for being is to question the integrity of the mainstream media. And what we are seeing is that decade of hostility paying off."

As of the writing of this piece (mid-February), two journalists had been arrested and one attacked in the United States.

Recently, I was contacted about a journalist who attended a public school board meeting and, as is customary, placed his tape recorder at the podium to record the speakers. In his haste to grab a source for further comment after the hearing, he inadvertently left his recorder at the podium. When he went back to retrieve it, the room was locked, and



he was told that he would have to come back the next day to get the recorder.

Upon returning the next day to pick up his recorder, he found that the tape recording of the public meeting had been erased. When he asked about it, he was told that there was some sensitive student information on the recording.

Where is the democracy in that?

As Skerritt so emphatically notes during our phone conversation: “Journalism is the one essential thing to American democracy. Nothing works in America without journalism.

“If you don’t have a mainstream media in this country, then you don’t have a democracy. Every day we are seeing that that’s a fact,” he said.



Ethics holds the key in battle against Trump attack on journalists

Tom Kent

U.S. news media are going through a severe stress test. News companies are struggling financially, and deeply trusted by few. Sometimes journalists seem unsure of their own principles.

At the same time, rarely has there been as much discussion of journalistic ethics. Whether it's critics saying the media have none, or defenders portraying journalists as models of professionalism, the meaning of ethical journalism has become a constant focus of public attention. Uncomfortable as it is to be under the microscope, journalists should be proud to join the debate and defend ethical reporting.

The layoffs in January of more than 2,000 journalists working for large national news companies were only one sign of the financial crisis in the industry. Smaller newspapers and websites, critical to keeping local officials and businesses publicly accountable, are also struggling to survive.

All this is happening against the background of relentless accusations by the Trump administration that most mainstream media are purveyors of fake news. Republicans are angrier at the media than are Democrats, but Trump's party has no monopoly on skepticism toward the press. Overall, according to the Pew Research Center, only one in five Americans has a lot of trust in national news organizations. Two-thirds think the press favors one side in covering political and social issues.

The best response of journalists is to continue to work every day to be ethical and credible. We should reject baseless criticism, but be open to becoming more open and inclusive. Unless we're content to live in a bubble with readers who share our views, we should build strong bridges to readers of different backgrounds and points of view. Audiences find media much more credible when they can see themselves and their concerns in it.

Kyle Pope, the editor-in-chief and publisher of the Columbia Journalism Review, called on the press this winter to secure its future "by becoming immersed in the world, not staying apart from it; by imagining alternative ways to develop a picture of a community; by seeking to understand and, painful though it might be, adjusting our perspective."

One way to gain more perspectives is through more diversity in hiring, something U.S. outlets have struggled with even as they make some progress.

Another is to ask readers for more input on stories ("Help Us Cover The News," says *The New York Times*), and to demystify what happens in our newsrooms. (I'd like to see news companies routinely invite diverse groups of readers into their news planning meetings, and ask them what we think about the stories under discussion.)

Some newspapers are also winning positive attention in their communities by creating "good news" sections – not happy-talk fluff, but real reporting about how people have made their communities better. Such stories can range from straightforward coverage of happy events – not everything has to have a grim side – to extensive solutions journalism projects that help organize communities to tackle problems and then join in the celebration when problems are solved.

U.S. journalists have also been growing more interested in industry-wide efforts to increase media quality. One is The

Trust Project, which establishes transparency standards that news outlets can adopt to raise their credibility. A 2018 startup, NewsGuard, directly judges more than 2,000 news and information sites, rating them on factors like the truth of their content and how they separate news from opinion.

As for mission, some journalists continue to question whether objective, balanced reporting – long a fundamental value of U.S. journalism – can or even should exist. Certainly there's a place for opinion journalism, and even "objective" news organizations can be more transparent about their writers and sources. But when journalists publicly despair about whether it's even possible to write a story that's fair to all sides, it can lead even more readers to believe that press cannot be trusted.

Ethical, effective journalism costs money. It means sending reporters into the field instead of reading Twitter back at the office. It means investing in copy editors and fact-checkers to make sure we indeed aren't spreading misinformation. It means carefully assessing new technology, like robot-written news stories, to make sure it doesn't cut corners on perspective and accuracy. It means saying no to content that blurs news and advertising.

Some believe that as news media raise their quality and ethics, there'll be a payoff not only for society, but for news companies' bottom lines. Ev Williams, a co-founder of Twitter and CEO of Medium, argues that if media start competing for audience dollars instead of advertising dollars, they'll find plenty of people actually willing to pay for news that is true, ethical and intelligently produced.

Williams notes that although the world is full of free music and television, people readily pay premiums for the music and TV they really want. Why not pay similarly for news?

What a nice outcome it would be if news ethics saved the news.





Verification and deep fakes

The Ethics of Modern Photojournalism

Salim Amin

As photojournalists we must understand that the odds of us being the first to get images of any crisis is almost the same as winning the lottery! Technology has not been our friend when it comes to breaking news. The first pictures of any major story will now come from a citizen with a mobile phone. Our job now is to provide background and context and analysis and to investigate and verify the content we are looking at is not fake.

Photographer Michael Kamber who has covered Iraq and Afghanistan and conflicts in Africa for *The New York Times*, did an exhibition in 2015 entitled “Altered Images: 150 Years of Posed and Manipulated Documentary Photography.”

The exhibit, a selection of well-known images that have been altered, staged or faked, is an indictment of some modern practices, and practitioners, of photojournalism. At a time when veteran photographers are being replaced by newcomers or untrained “citizen journalists,” it also raises important questions about the profession’s future amid increasing doubts about the authenticity of images.

The exhibit, which consists of more than 40 images, catalogs some of the darker moments in the history of photojournalism. And there is enough material to leave many news organizations red-faced: *National Geographic* for digitally moving the Egyptian pyramids; Time magazine for darkening O.J. Simpson’s skin color; Associated Press and Reuters for moving digitally altered scenes from the Middle East; and *The New York Times* for

publishing a posed photograph in 2002 of a boy holding a toy gun outside an Arabian-foods grocery.

To bring this closer to home, a few hundred yards away from my home and office in Nairobi, Kenya, on 15th January 2019 a group of Al Shabaab terrorists launched a bold afternoon attack on a building complex that housed the international Dusit Hotel as well as dozens of multi-national company offices, banks and restaurants. They went in literally guns blazing at 15:00 on a busy Tuesday and spent more than 18 hours in the complex fighting off Kenyan security forces.

Both local and foreign correspondents were at the scene minutes from when the explosions and gunfire started and many went into the complex both before and with the security forces.

The photojournalists that captured some of the most graphic images of the deaths and destruction have come under immense criticism from the Kenyan public for transmitting these images.

Singled out amidst the criticism was the Bureau Chief and Photo Editor from *The New York Times*. They published the images of dead patrons slumped over their tables and chairs, laptops open, at the Secret Gardens restaurant. The outcry was vicious from a very active online community in Kenya. The NYT's response was to defend their Nairobi Bureau Chief and their Photo Editor and they didn't pull down the images. There is still an online Twitter campaign to try and get the Nairobi Bureau Chief deported from Kenya. However, Marc Lacey, one of the senior Editors at the NYT and former Nairobi Bureau Chief has said that this incident would cause them to look very hard internally at their guidelines and photo standards.

But the authenticity of the images was never questioned. Speaking as a photojournalist that has covered conflict around the African continent, I think the images were quite superbly taken under very extreme and high pressure circumstances. I know some of the photojournalists that were in the complex and who took these images. Had I been there I would have taken exactly the same images without any hesitation.

The outcry was over the ethics of publishing those images. Kenyans, and Africans in general, have always felt we are always negatively portrayed by the international media and there is an element of "racism" in the way Africans are treated versus how Westerners would be treated in the same circumstances.

The NYT, or any major Western media outlet for that matter, did not publish images of dead bodies from the 9/11 attacks, from the bombings and attacks in London or in Paris, or from school and public shootings that happen on an almost weekly basis in the United States. My question was why did they publish these images so quickly and, when over 9,000 tweets were sent criticising this, why did they so vociferously defend their decision? Is there a difference between African dead bodies and Western dead bodies?

I personally would have no hesitation publishing those images, but I would also have no hesitation publishing

images of dead bodies in New York, London or Paris, as this is the reality of a terrorist attack. I am not suggesting the NYT picture editor consciously thought that he or she was crossing some ethical line. But I have known enough photo editors from Western media outlets that subconsciously would differentiate between an African dead body and a Western dead body.

Manipulating images

To return to the altering or manipulation of images that would change the meaning or context of the story, this has become increasingly easy to do because of the current technology, and, by the same token, increasingly more difficult to detect again because of the current technology!

Photojournalism students are spending more time learning Photoshop and the digital enhancement of images than they are learning how to actually take good pictures. In essence they are being taught how to "cheat" in the classroom which is completely against every fundamental I was taught as a photographer from childhood! (Salim's father was Mohamed "Mo" Amin MBE, a Kenyan photojournalist noted for his pictures and videotapes of the Ethiopian famine that led to the Live Aid concert).

How much does the means by which a photographer arrives at his or her final image really matter? I have heard many photographers being labeled "cheaters" by other photographers over the liberal use of Photoshop to finish an image. For those who see things that way, I guess the perceived overuse of Photoshop invalidates the work as genuine photography and casts it into some other form of art; I look at my father's photography and I strongly believe that a "real" photograph is made strictly at the moment of capture and that any sort of alterations and enhancements made later amount to lying or cheating.

But how far is too far in terms of manipulating and enhancing photographs? Are we limited to correcting white balance before we begin down the slippery slope of handing over our artistic integrity? Ethics matter, but so do aesthetics. And let us not forget that everything we create as photographers, as artists, is an interpretation of what we see around us. Choice of camera, choice of camera settings, composition; we're constantly imposing ourselves in one way or another upon "reality." In this sense, there's no such thing as absolute truth.

But the manipulation of images to change the meaning, context and representation of the event amounts to fraud in my eyes. I have been privileged to look through hundreds of thousands of images of my father's work and what strikes me is the raw truth in every photo, the objectivity and honesty with which he portrayed every image he captured. I do use Photoshop on his work, but purely to clean and touch up any scratches or dirt that are the result of age and inadequate storage, never to alter the context and meaning.

"Different news organizations have different standards and different contexts have different standards," Michael Kamber said. "This is a discussion that we must have before we've destroyed all credibility in photojournalism."



Hate speech

2019 marks 5 years since the EJN's "Turning the Page of Hate Campaign" was launched in Kigali and 25 year's since the Rwandan genocide in which media played a deadly role in promoting violence. Our hate-speech campaign continues in the Europe, Middle East, Africa and this year reached the Caribbean for the first time.



Hate by omission silence and exclusion

A Caribbean Perspective

Zahera Harb

The integrity of journalism is under attack. “Fake News” is a political term coined to undermine credibility and trust in Journalism. Hate speech is on the rise, fuelled in many cases by a series of fabricated and unfounded stories aimed at individuals or identified groups. It is hate aimed at the different “other”, largely in relation to race, ethnicity, religion, gender or sexual orientation.

In August 2018, I worked with some of the great minds in the media sector across the Caribbean Islands. Journalists, media managers and workers came together to produce an action plan on reporting hate speech and violence in the Caribbean.

We discussed news and media content concerns and established that disinformation, fabricated stories, lies – re-labelled as “fake news” – generate hate speech. It became evident to us that fabricated stories, presented as credible news, lead to hate speech. The relationship between the two has become symbiotic. Hate, in turn, might lead to acts of harm. We agreed that as journalists, media workers and managers, we need to equip ourselves with the ability and tools to detect hate speech, using the Ethical Journalism Network’s Hate Speech Five-Point Test as an example.

Journalism as an institution operates differently in different parts of the world and in different cultural contexts, hence, the ethics of journalism might have a different emphasis and variations on what matters to one nation or another. However, accuracy, accountability and building trust are three values, that we in the Ethical Journalism Network call the core principles of journalism, in addition to fairness, humanity and independence.

The intellectually stimulating discussions we had in Kingston Jamaica, led us to assess the notion of hate by omission. Reflecting on certain news practices in some of the Caribbean Islands, stories emerged about how news related to LGBTQ individuals and groups, for example, are omitted from the news agenda intentionally. We came to the conclusion that hateful expression can also be by omission. In psychology, omissions represent failures to act that result in certain consequences. Omission, silence and exclusion can lead to the marginalisation of certain groups or individuals and the normalisation of certain acts of violence against them.

A ten point action plan on reporting hate speech and violence in the Caribbean was achieved at the end of the conference. It is a plan that speaks to Caribbean

journalism issues and challenges, but, in many of its points, is not unique as it relates to challenges facing journalists and media workers across the world.

Journalism comes with responsibility. Freedom of expression or the right to offend are core human rights values, but freedom of expression should not allow freedom of hate expression, causing harm to individuals and identifiable groups. Not repeating or sharing hate content is not censorship, it is responsible journalism. We have a responsibility towards our readers, audiences and users whatever the platform and that responsibility requires us to be active in combating hate speech and hate content; to make sure we are as accurate, truthful and transparent in our gathering and disseminating of information as possible; to being accountable and in building trust between us and our audiences and readers. Verifying information before broadcasting, publishing, posting or sharing is our responsibility. Responsibility enhances audience trust. And as we begin to realise in our current digital era: trust is journalism’s most precious commodity.

Another highlight of the action plan that applies to journalists across different cultural contexts, is a call for journalists not to propagate a prejudiced position nor to be manipulated to be a biased voice. Language and semantics matter in that respect. As journalists, we need to be mindful of the language we use and to ensure contextual relevance to a story when identifying an individual as a member of a particular group in society. Examples, in this case, are many and each one of us can find several within their national and regional context. A simple question, for example, as to whether stating the race, religion, sexual orientation of a crime perpetrator is contextually relevant to the story becomes necessary.

The workshop sponsored by UNESCO and held in partnership between the Public Media Alliance and the Ethical Journalism Network called upon journalists and media organisations across the globe to support the fight to keep media content free from lies and hate speech.



Islamophobia in Spain in 2019

Felipe Maraña Marcos (Pen name: Felipe Sahagún)

“Over the centuries, there has been an incessant struggle in Spain’s imagination between ‘Maurophobia’/Islamophobia and ‘Maurophilia’/Islamophilia which, to date, has settled on the overriding negative image of Muslims in general and Moroccans in particular (Arabians, Arabs, Moslems, Saracens, Mohammedans, Berbers, Turks, Moors, Maghrebis, Islamists, and so on)”.

Until very recently, this struggle, described by professor Eloy Martín Corrales in the journal CIDOB d’Afers Internacionals in October 2004, was barely acknowledged in Spain, despite the countless references substantiating it in Spanish history and literature.

In Spain the Muslim has been demonised as the main domestic enemy from the 8th century, with the arrival of Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula, to the present day; until 1492, across eight centuries of evil coined the Reconquista; in the hundred years that followed with the confrontation between the Spanish Empire and the Ottoman Empire in the name of Christianity, until the Battle of Lepanto in 1591; for the three subsequent centuries of war with Muslim corsairs, or pirates, in the Mediterranean, until Spain’s

Treaty of Peace with Tunis in 1791; and over the past two centuries, which have been peppered with conflicts with Morocco.

The main cause of the conflicts between Spain and its southern neighbour comes from Spanish-occupied territories in North Africa and the inevitable friction between two neighbours separated by one of the widest political and cultural gaps and per capita income (10:1) anywhere on the planet.

The shared threat of terrorism by Al Qaeda, Daesh and their franchises in Maghreb since 9/11, the common alliance with the United States and the strong bilateral economic, legal and police ties established over the past 30 years has eased the historical tensions and Islamophobia stemming from these tensions. They have not disappeared altogether, however.

With the death of Franco in 1975 and democratic consolidation, new values of solidarity and tolerance took root, and chiefly in the media, on school curriculums and in political discourses there has been the eradication of the most offensive and hostile reference towards Muslims and Muslim immigrants in Spain, around a third of whom have arrived since migrants started to be imported, not exported, in the 1990s.

Maurophobia is the specific dislike and hatred of Moroccan people, or those who identify as such, and **Maurophilia and Islamophilia** are the opposite, the unconditional love of Moroccan people or of Islam.

This spirit of tolerance was bolstered through the traditional amity between Spanish governments – under Franco's dictatorship and with the monarchy that has succeeded it at the head of State – and the main Arab regimes through Spain's mass support of the Palestinian cause (the Palestinians have been the beneficiaries of Spanish development aid for some time) and the equally mass rejection of the invasion of Iraq in 2003, despite Spanish president, José María Aznar, in power from 1996 to 2004, being Europe's biggest defender of George Bush in the invasion, along with Tony Blair.

Millions of Spaniards still believe that the terrorist attacks on 11 March 2004, one of the worst to date on European soil (190 dead and 2,000 injured) were largely the result of direct retaliation by Muslim extremists over Aznar's support of Bush. One of Spain's leading experts in this case, professor Fernando Reinares, refutes this claim.

Across dozens of texts, videos and audio pieces, the leaders of Al Qaeda and later Daesh have justified including Spain among their terrorist targets, considering it 'occupied land' (their idealised al-Andalus in classical Arabic), due to the ties with Israel that have grown since 1986 and/or commitments as a loyal ally to the US and the major European powers of NATO and the EU.

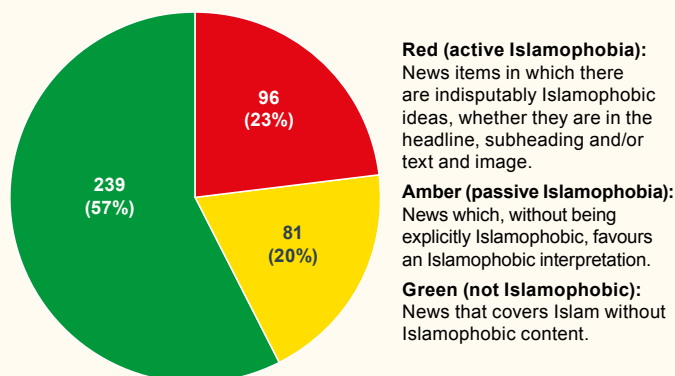
In fact, Spain has participated in all foreign operations by the EU, and almost every one by NATO, over the last twenty years. For the propaganda of Muslim extremists this is reason enough to justify attacks such as 11M in Madrid in 2004 and the attacks in Catalonia in 2017. Each attack has been followed by cases of mounting Islamophobia in Spain, although fewer than in the United States after 9/11, in the UK after 7/7 in London, and in France in 2012 after the Charlie Hebdo shooting in Paris and the attacks in Nice and Nantes.

In its last quarterly report, corresponding to the period from October to December 2018, the Observatory of Islamophobia in the Spanish Media analysed articles written by Spanish journalists and two of Spain's biggest newspapers, El País and La Razón, and the two biggest news agencies, EFE and Europa Press, in their digital editions.

With eight terms (Islam, Muslim(s), Jihad, Jihadism, Jihadist, Islamism, Islamist and Islamophobia) and eight indicators by the Runnymede Trust (based on the effects of the article), researchers have concluded that almost one in every four news articles on Islam published in Spain is still Islamophobic.

The level of Islamophobia is more conspicuous in the agencies than in the newspapers and in news articles than opinion pieces, and swells in the conservative press (La Razón) and escalates in the news and/or related images – in this order – with references to radicalisation, terrorism, veils, refugees and women.

The problem, however, is not only in the wording. In 2017, the Citizen Platform Against Islamophobia in Spain



Source: Observatory of Islamophobia in the Spanish Media

detected 573 Islamophobic attacks (cases or incidents, it calls them) in the whole country. Catalonia, with 51 cases (31.8%), was at the top, followed by Andalusia with 22 cases (13.7%), the Community of Valencia with 20 cases (12.5%), and Madrid with 17 cases (10.6%).

No two Spanish media outlets are the same, nor are two territories or Regional Communities. On television, reporting is worse than in the written press and in the most conservative media and on social media it is much worse than in traditional media.

Of the 269 reports of cyber-hate analysed by the Platform in 2017, the majority (135) were made on Facebook (100), Twitter (12), WhatsApp (11) and YouTube, (5), Change.org (4), ForoCoches (2) and Instagram (1). Yet this is just the tip of the iceberg given that a mere fraction of the cases of cyber-hate on social networks are reported.

In the presentation of the report, Bárbara Ruiz Berajano, in charge of the Platform's International Relations, summarised the serious problems of Islamophobia in the Spanish media under five headings:

- Growing Islamophobic bias among leaders of political parties or groups, particularly the extreme right and neo-nazis.
- A constant stream of mosque attacks.
- Campaigns organised against mosque openings.
- Increased Islamophobia against women.
- An escalating discourse denying the historical legacy of Islam in Spain.

If the standards of major news outlets' main style guides were upheld, a large part of the problem would be solved. With better training for journalists, sources that are larger in number and more diverse, less confusion between information and opinion, a better filtering system and the verification of truth in texts and images, and the closer cooperation between civil and political institutions we would all be better off. Today the same networks facilitating multiplied Islamophobic attacks offer digital tools for effectively fighting against them, but very few make use of them.



Monitoring and addressing hate speech in Arab media

Aida Al-Kaisy

Governments across the Middle East and North Africa are attempting to pass new laws under the guise of addressing what they call 'hate speech' in the media. However, many civil society activists and journalists, believe these laws are being promulgated simply to stifle freedom of the press.



The new laws include a draft new cyber crimes laws in Jordan¹ and Saudi Arabia² and extreme defamation laws and penal codes in Tunisia³ and Egypt⁴. As a reaction to this, a number of local civil society organisations across the region have launched initiatives of their own in order to deal with the growing incidence of hate speech in the Arab media as well as support freedom of the media.

Lebanon

The Maharat Foundation in Lebanon has produced a number of reports that monitor the Lebanese media for hate speech and violent incitement, in particular incitement of religious hatred, which in the context of Lebanon's polarised religious groups becomes extremely relevant. An initial report produced in 2016 as a part of the United Nations Development Programme's 'Journalists' Pact for Strengthening Civil Peace in Lebanon' has been supplemented with a number of subsequent content analysis studies examining both legacy media and their social media platforms as well as social media in general during the recent elections.⁵

Jordan

The Jordanian media credibility monitor, Akeed.jo, tracks content across the Jordanian media for everything from hate speech to accuracy in the media. Their monitoring reports have focused on a number of key topics that are used to promote hate speech in the Jordanian media, for example, coverage related to Syrian refugees living in Jordan and anti-Christian rhetoric. Akeed.jo focuses on professional principles that guide ethical journalism, such as accuracy, balance, fairness and humanity, in analysing content in order to determine whether they can be considered hate speech.⁶

Syria

In September 2017, the Syrian Centre for Media and Freedom of Expression (SCM) launched a project, Observatory of Hate Speech and Incitement to Violence, in partnership with UNESCO. A group of trained media monitors not only analysed media content for hate speech but also assessed the impact of this hate speech on Syrian audiences and developed tools in order to help the Syrian media community to avoid using hate speech. The Observatory focuses on violent incitement and discrimination towards women and marginalised groups as well as the on-going religious and politically incendiary rhetoric, which has become endemic in much of the Syrian media. SCM has also produced a study on the use of hate speech in Syrian media with detailed numbers and percentages for each outlet (soon to be published) and, a dictionary of terms was also produced with 134 terms included.

Iraq

The Iraqi Media House, a civil society organisation that monitor hate speech and violence in the Iraqi media, has begun work to develop a hate speech glossary, which takes into account the challenges that come with trying to define the term 'hate speech' as well as acknowledging the limitations of media monitoring. Their glossary focuses on words and phrases that call for 'murder, violence, revenge, exclusion, humiliation, discrimination and insult'⁷ from across the media and social media landscape. They have attempted to include influential blogs in their analysis.

The Ethical Journalism Network is continuing its work on tackling hate speech in the Middle East and North Africa through its on-going project, the Arab Media Hub Against Hate Speech. It is currently supporting the development of hate speech glossaries in Jordan and the Occupied Palestinian Territories in collaboration with local partners, Jordan Media Institute and CARE Palestine.

¹ For further information on the draft Jordanian cyber crimes law can be found here, <https://privacyinternational.org/state-privacy/1004/state-privacy-jordan> and also here <https://www.accessnow.org/cybercrime-law-in-jordan-pushing-back-on-new-amendments-that-could-harm-free-expression-and-violate-privacy/>

² A more detailed Chatham House report on Cyber Crimes laws in the GCC is available here <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2018-07-04-cybercrime-legislation-gcc-hakmeh.pdf>

³ Further information on the Tunisian legal framework can be found here https://www.menamedialaw.org/sites/default/files/library/material/tunisia_chp_2018.pdf

⁴ A 2016 report by the EU-funded Media Conflict and Democratisation programme looks in more detail at the use of defamation laws and penal codes in Egypt to stifle free expression in the name of tackling hate speech and can be found here http://www.mecodem.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Elliott-Chuma-ElGendi-Marko-Patel-2016_Hate-Speech.pdf

⁵ The report can found here at <http://www.maharat-news.com/Temp/Attachments/8853938d-7475-42b3-8559-cf0634685adf.pdf>

⁶ A selection of Akeed's monitoring reports on hate speech on other topics can found in English on their website at <https://akeed.jo/en/home>

⁷ Glossary available here in Arabic, <http://www.imh-org.com/%D9%85%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B9%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%82%D9%8A>

Governance

Self criticism rarely comes easily to anyone but traditionally journalists find it harder than most. But for one progressive Jordanian online magazine the experience of an ethical audit of their organisation has made them stronger. In Kosovo and South East Europe an editor paints a darker picture where “New technology and online based media, including the social networks, have all worked more in favour of those who use journalism for their own benefit...”

Walking the walk

What does it mean to be a progressive media outlet?

Lina Ejeilat

It was early December 2006, and I was on a bus heading from the Dead Sea to Amman after attending some tech conference that I got invited to in my capacity as a “blogger”. The person sitting next to me was this guy I had met only once before when he interviewed me for a story about the Jordanian blogging community. His name was Ramsey Tesdell, and he was freelancing for the *Jordan Times* back then and maintaining a low-key personal blog on the side.

“I have this idea for a website,” he said, “that combines the authenticity of blogs and the standards of journalism to produce alternative narratives about Jordan”.

We spoke with excitement about this idea on the 45-minute drive to Amman. Less than six months later, along with fellow blogger Naseem Tarawnah, we launched 7iber.com with the tagline “people-powered journalism”.

I smile when I look back at our 23-year-old selves in those days. I doubt we had any idea what we meant by these “standards of journalism” that we wanted to combine with the “authenticity of blogs”.

Our tagline soon changed to “What’s your story?”, and 7iber (pronounced Hiber, meaning Ink in Arabic), remained a volunteer-run “citizen-media platform” for almost five years before turning in 2012 into a professional online magazine with full-time staff that produces “in-depth multimedia journalism and critical analysis on Jordan and the region”.

That transformation was not easy. Our team today includes 14 full-time staff members, and the challenges we faced reminded us time and again that building a trusted and progressive media organisation is as much about the journalism we produce as it is about the internal governance practices we institute and the team culture we create.

We’ve had many introspective conversations about our core mission and our values, about what kind of journalism we are working to produce, and about the controversial lines between “journalism” and “activism”. And while this latter issue sparks heated debate in our editorial team from time to time, we have made peace with it in our daily practice.



A visualisation of 7iber's editorial team. Credit: 7iber.com

...we quickly realised that this is actually a “self-audit” based on the criteria that we agree upon, rather than an audit where some external evaluator comes in to assess the adherence to certain agreed-upon standards.

When you work in undemocratic contexts that lack proper systems of checks and balances, where rulers rule with total impunity and where basic rights are constantly violated, practising credible journalism is in itself an act of activism; bearing witness, digging deeper, telling stories that those in power do not want told, and questioning dominant narratives.

In these contexts, “balance” cannot be achieved by giving equal space to two opposing views. Thorny questions on ethical practice cannot be resolved through a straightforward code, but through ongoing conversations that help navigate difficult terrains.

This is why when our long-time partner and supporter International Media Support came to us last year with a proposition to work with the Ethical Journalism Network on an “Ethical Audit” of our organisation and our work, we were sceptical at the beginning. We definitely were not keen on someone coming in with a textbook checklist by which to assess what we do.

But as our team gathered for a presentation and discussion of what is meant by this “ethical audit”, we quickly realised that this is actually a “self-audit” based on the criteria that we agree upon, rather than an audit where some external evaluator comes in to assess the adherence to certain agreed-upon standards.

The Ethical Audit turned out to be a tool for us to help frame some of our own internal evaluation and to address questions that had already started coming up inside our team; what does it really mean to be a “progressive” media organisation, as we often like to define ourselves? Are we a truly progressive space? And how is this reflected in our HR policies and work environment, not just in the content we publish?

A couple of years after 7iber made the transition to a professional media in 2012, one of the key strategic issues that we started thinking about was sustainability and reducing dependency on grant funding. This is obviously a challenge faced by many similar media outlets in the region

and around the world, and while we haven't yet found the right formula or business model, we were very conscious from the start of the need to push back against the "NGOization" of media that often results from dependency on grant funding.

One example of that is our employee contracts. Even though we were only able to grow the team and create new positions when we secured funding for them through a specific grant, the employee contracts were always regular long-term contracts as opposed to short-term project contracts that end when the project period ends. We believed that once we hire a journalist or editor, it becomes management's responsibility to secure continued funding for that position.

I bring up this example in the context of the ethical audit because at the time we started the audit we happened to be working with an external financial consultant to upgrade our financial management system.

His first advice was to change all contracts to short-term contracts. He said that it makes it easier to let people go when funding for their positions runs out, without having to incur any extra cost. Perhaps this is the "business-savvy" approach, but because we were doing the ethical audit at the same time, we pushed back against this advice.

Although this is something we had done all along, we had never consciously framed it as a practice of ethical governance. Seeing it from this angle, we realised that job security is a key catalyst for independent journalism, as it protects journalists from the pressures that arise from not knowing whether or not they will still have a job in six months. It also gives them the security to hold me to account as their editor and to work towards our long-term goals, not just focusing on short-term deliverables attached to projects.

Another example is internal budget transparency. Conversations about governance brought up the question of why the detailed budget reports are not shared with the entire team every year.

"How can we demand government transparency and accountability when we don't implement this in our own organisation?", one journalist asked. And so, in our end-of-year team meeting where we usually share numbers and highlights related to editorial performance, we added a section about the organisation's budget. As simple and self-evident as it sounds, we hadn't thought about it before, and it really felt like a big step towards more trust and accountability.

The audit also helped challenge our assumptions about our editorial output. For example, we had long assumed



Press cards of 7iber journalists. Credit: 7iber.com

To build a more a trusted relationship with a loyal and engaged audience we have to show them that when we say that 7iber's core values are to be progressive, professional, and critical, we really walk the walk.

that we have a good gender balance of writers, but we were surprised to find that only 38 per cent of our content was produced by women. Knowing this means we are now working to reverse this disconnect between our progressive and inclusive mission and what were actually doing in this and other areas.

This internal reflection is an ongoing process and we still have so much work to do. But it's also exciting in the possibilities it opens. We plan to share much of this reflection with our audience this year. And as we, like many other media outlets, are considering launching a membership programme (where content remains free but where loyal readers who believe in our work support it), this process feels more timely and important than ever.

To build a more a trusted relationship with a loyal and engaged audience we have to show them that when we say that 7iber's core values are to be progressive, professional, and critical, we really walk the walk.



The dark clouds over us...

An Editor's view of the state of the media in Kosovo and wider region of South-East Europe

Agron Bajrami

2018 ended with more dark clouds hanging over media professionalism and ethics in Kosovo and the wider region of South Eastern Europe.

Continuing political, economic and financial pressures, coupled with increasing lack of experience, disrespect for the professional standards, unfair competition, have all led to a growth in untruthful and biased content in large areas of the media.

New technology and online based media, including the social networks, have all worked more in favour of those who use journalism for their own benefit; politicians, businessmen and various interest groups have all acquired more instruments to control and influence media reporting to suit their needs and aspirations.

Paradoxically, instead of increasing professional competition the increased number of new media and journalists is producing more unprofessional and unethical journalism.

Also, the trend of declining public trust in the media has continued. Media are being perceived less as “seekers of truth” and more as – to use the technology writer Dan Gillmor’s phrase - “loudspeakers for liars”.

All this has put more pressure on professional journalists, who have already been struggling to find a way towards sustainability without compromising the standards of the profession. With their existence being endangered and their credibility being questioned, professional journalists and media are finding themselves between a rock and a hard place: left with a nearly impossible mission to maintain ethical principles in a market that favours unethical reporting.

The situation appears even worse, when things are put into the actual political and social context: Kosovo and the whole South East of Europe are seeing an increase in authoritarianism, government control and populism, that in turn puts added pressure on professional media and journalists, who by doing their job properly run the risk of

being labeled and targeted as “traitors”, “foreign spies” or “enemies” of the nation and the state.

The number of verbal and physical attacks and threats against journalists continues to be high, with authorities still unable or even unwilling to prosecute rigorously such cases. According to the Kosovo Journalists Association there were 16 attacks on journalists last year reported to the authorities. Two of these were physical assaults: one journalist was attacked in the north of Kosovo and another at the University Clinical Center of Kosovo, reported the English language website, Balkan Insight.

Too many attacks on journalists remain unsolved, which only increases the feeling that those targeting media can count on impunity. Even worse, institutional and political leaders themselves don’t hesitate to verbally assault journalists labeling them “liars” and “traitors”, thus making it appear legitimate to target the media.

Oddly enough, the attacks on journalists occur mainly in cases when reporting has been meticulous and well-researched, while the unethical and yellow-press media are targeted much less by politicians and powers that be.

The aforementioned global trend of declining democracy is reflected also in lesser care of international missions and representations for the worsening state of the independent and professional media in South Eastern Europe. While in the past, a government attack on media would have been met with immediate rigorous and uncompromising response from the representatives of the West, particularly from the European Union, these days the reactions are much softer, sometimes even lacking.

The reasons behind this attitude are two, at least.

First, many governments of what we call the West are themselves more prone to view the media as an “enemy”. The fact that there are countries within the EU in which governments can control and regulate the media, or that the president of the United States can openly attack credible journalism as “fake news”, makes it easier for the West to accept that pressures on free media and free speech in the Balkans are a “natural part” of the political debate.

And second, the local leaders in the Balkans are “partners” to the West, willing to make and break important deals, but only if foreign diplomats are ready to turn a blind eye to what are considered to be “internal affairs”. This “unspoken deal” has led to corruption still being endemic, rule of law still being selective, democracy permanently remaining “under construction”, and independent media being freely targeted.

These are particularly apparent in Kosovo, where Western diplomats and various international missions still yield great influence over local institutions and society. But in countries such as Serbia, Albania or Montenegro, where the Western world has lesser presence and clout, the situation seems to be even worse.

However, this grave picture of the state of the media does not mean that there’s no hope. Despite the fact that the

number of media and journalists who ignore the standards of the profession is greater than those who don’t, credibility and professionalism is still valued and cherished by many journalists and among the public, in Kosovo and the wider region. And, not all Western representatives are ready to turn a blind eye to government pressurizing the media.

As far as Kosovo is concerned, there’s still a fair number of media and journalists who adhere to journalistic standards and accept responsibility to report professionally and in an ethical way.

There’s also a general acceptance that while the truth might not always be fully available, it is the duty of the journalists and media to make the best effort to seek and find it, report it without distortion, always honouring the obligation to consult all relevant sides of the story.

This responsibility and obligation is best reflected in the work of the self-regulative Kosovo Press Council, which reviews complaints against press and online media, based on the Code of Ethics accepted by the industry itself.

Of course, the self-regulated nature often means that agreed principles and the Code are not respected by all members. But, even so, institutions like the Press Council and the Kosovo Journalists Association help keep the media community focused on continuous debate about ethical and professional issues.

Parallel to this, there is a growing understanding among the media in the wider region that common problems are best tackled jointly. This understanding is bringing to life initiatives, such as the Media Association of South-East Europe, established in January 2018 by independent media from the six countries of the Western Balkans.

All these initiatives and organizations, with many others that function in all the countries of the region, prove there’s still a will to fight for better journalism.

And, more importantly, there’s awareness about the particular issues that will determine the outcome of this endeavor.

First, **ethical journalism** needs to be upheld and improved upon, so we can make a clear distinction between the professional media that respect standards, and the ones who don’t.

Second, **media literacy** needs to be improved, so that the wider audience in society is capable of critically analyzing and evaluating various media and their influence.

And third, we need a **comprehensive reform of the media**, so that new technology can be used to the advantage of professional and ethical journalism. In this endeavour particular importance should be put on the need to build alliances between professional media and various social networks and technological platforms.

We need to start acting today, so that we can impose a change.

The future of the media will not be defined by the pressures we face. It will be defined by our response to that pressure.



Tech and journalism

Governments all over the world are taking steps to combat the Tech giants that wield enormous power while denying responsibility, from paying tax to allowing hate speech on their platforms that costs lives. What is to be done? Aidan White celebrates the move to more regulation and new laws while James Ball cautions a rush to the statute books.



Good news for journalism in the backlash against Big Tech

Aidan White

After years of plenty in which Internet giants have accumulated unimaginable riches by hoarding and then selling off the personal information of billions of users, the social media bubble has finally burst.

Since the US election and the Brexit vote tech companies like Facebook and Google have faced a creeping barrage of criticism.

Issues ranging from the proliferation of “fake news”; complacency over abusive communications and hate-speech; and interference of foreign actors in democratic elections using social media platforms has finally brought regulators to breaking point.

Across the world technology giants face hostile Parliamentary inquiries over their self-regulation, their business models, their often curious approach to taxation rules, and the threat they pose to fair competition. Governments have woken up to the threat to democracy posed by routine manipulation of our media environment and the creation of an information landscape dominated by multi-billion dollar companies that are too big, too toxic and too powerful.

The past decade has been one of unprecedented success for an online business model that trades free services in exchange for mass exploitation of personal data. But it has been a miserable time for journalism.

Hundreds of newspapers have closed; thousands of journalists and editors are out of work; news coverage of corporate and political power, particularly at local level, is diminished; investigative journalism is on life-support; and people everywhere struggle to know the difference between truth, myth and malicious lies.

Growing calls for regulation to curb the tech giants’ abuse of monopoly power addresses only one part of the information crisis; there’s also a massive task to repair public confidence in the public information sphere, which is highlighted by decline of access to trustworthy and reliable journalism and the rise of populism, propaganda and disinformation.

Changing the Rules of the Game

The global backlash against tech companies is led from Brussels where European Union officials have already carried out a ground-breaking investigation into Google, leading to a record 4.3 billion Euro fine for abusing its monopoly control of the smartphone search advertising market. The EU has also ordered Apple to pay €13bn in underpaid taxes.

Meanwhile, at national level lawmakers are also putting their foot down. In Germany, new rules force Facebook to meet strict deadlines to take down abusive comments and there are now regulations to limit their capacity to force users to agree to virtually unrestricted collection of non-Facebook information in their user accounts. In January 2019 the French data protection regulator slapped a £44 million fine on Google over a lack of transparency. A month later an independent report in the UK, commissioned by the government, called for a public investigation into the dominance of Facebook and Google in the advertising marketplace.

¹*Sunday Times*, October 28th 2018

Even in the heart of Silicon Valley there is recognition that the time has come for change. In October 2018 Apple boss Tim Cook called on the US government to introduce privacy laws as tough as those operating in the European Union, warning “our own information, from the everyday to the deeply personal, is being weaponised against us with military efficiency.”

These are the opening shots in a global battle for regulation of the information landscape that also signals an opportunity to restore public trust in democratic systems and to strengthen journalism. It will take some years for this new regulatory regime to take shape, but it's long overdue and necessary to rebalance the public information sphere in favour of democratic and human rights. As James Williams, a former Google executive who quit to become an Oxford philosopher, commented in his book *Stand Out of Our Light*: “I realised how impoverished was the model of humanity that the tech industry had been working with.”



The European Union sets the pace in regulating Big Tech

Over the past year EU has taken three important steps towards regulating the internet:

First, new rules have been introduced covering the handling of personal data as well as objectionable content. The General Data Protection Regulation rules affect everyone, but they are a welcome first step in ending the wholesale and secretive exploitation of personal data which has been at the heart of the big tech business model;

Secondly, the EU approved new copyright rules that will force Google and Facebook to stop users uploading copyrighted content and to share revenue with writers, journalists and musicians;

Thirdly, in September last year the EU announced a voluntary code of practice agreed with tech companies to counter disinformation and fake news. The deal includes solemn commitments to extend transparency in political advertising; to close fake accounts; and to end all profiteering in lies and false information.

The EU promised that this would not be another exercise in window-dressing by demanding regular reports on whether the code is working.

However, the first reports, made at the end of January 2019, were not up to scratch. European Commission Security Chief Julian King criticised what he called “patchy, opaque and self-selecting” reporting from Facebook and other tech companies. If they don't shape up the EU has threatened new laws to force compliance.

Getting Journalism Back on Its Feet

The funding calamity that has overwhelmed news media has caught the attention of media policymakers across the globe. In Europe more than 15,000 journalists have lost their jobs as billions of Euro in advertising revenue has been drained away by the tech monopoly.

And in January 2019 the online news leaders who we imagined might provide a digital route to safety for cash-strapped journalism – BuzzFeed and HuffPost, for example – announced their own swingeing cuts in newsroom staffing.

The question for policymakers is not just how to regulate social media companies, which have become the world's most powerful publishers, but how to pay for the journalism that feeds the information engine of democracy?

There are no simple answers, but it is becoming clear that the financial future of journalism will not resemble the market-driven models of the past. The future is likely to be one in which journalism is paid for through multi-stream forms of funding.

The Guardian, for instance, accepts subsidies from charities like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation for its reporting on poverty, health and development in Africa and elsewhere; it encourages donations from readers (with a million on the books already); and it makes the best it can from online advertising.

Many other established brands are looking to diversify their income channels, but some are reluctant to admit it for fear of creating the perception that they are compromising editorial independence.

This lack of transparency is best illustrated in the woeful acceptance by many media brands of “native advertising” that disguises promotion and sponsorship in the news pages.

Across the United States and in Europe there are dozens of examples of journalists and communities working together to create a new wave of public interest journalism. These enterprising and creative initiatives, often small, but fiercely independent, are laying the foundations for the future of reporting, investigation and news analysis in a new non-profit marketplace of news and beyond the reach of oligarchs and special political interests.

Increasingly, news media have to accept that in a world where public interest journalism itself is no longer a sustainable product on the traditional open market, subsidies and public support – whether through grants from foundations, public donations or levies on technology and the profits of super-rich tech companies – will be essential to its survival.

The first signs of this new reality in the UK came with publication of *The Cairncross Review: A Sustainable Future for Journalism*, referred to earlier.

Commissioned by Britain's Conservative government, it was carried out by the distinguished academic and former journalist Dame Frances Cairncross. She is no impulsive revolutionary, but her report, which took evidence from the Ethical Journalism Network and scores of others across the British media scene, contains some radical thinking.

It is a refreshing attempt to remind media policy makers and democrats that journalism is vital to a functioning democracy and that it needs support – including government funding – to sustain it.

Although this report is focused on the collapse of local news media, leading to the absence of independent reporting of councils and courts across the UK, the wider strategic objective is mercifully clear – to secure the future of journalism in the public interest.

Setting the Standards for Trusted Journalism

A further tricky question remains: which media or members of the journalism community are eligible for support?

Clearly, public dosh should not be handed out without diligent scrutiny of proposals, projects and agency values.

As the landscape changes, news media and journalists will have to ensure that their work is distinguishable as journalistic. This means a commitment to democratic values; the recognition and practice of ethical principles; transparency in their ownership and management; engagement with the public; and support for credible self-regulation.

The Ethical Journalism Network has been focused on helping media and journalists to define and create trusted brands to meet these standards. In the Western Balkans and Turkey over the past two years we have been promoting internal ethical media audits to strengthen media transparency and

commitment to independent journalism.

We have also been working with a European project – the Journalism Trust Initiative – which brings together more than 100 organisations representing news media, journalism support groups, press councils and news media, with the bold objective of defining minimum standards for public interest journalism.

The initiative has been working for a year to prepare a detailed process for self-certification that will create a model for ethical journalism and industry self-regulation.

It brings together academics, international organisations and media leaders and is linked to The Trust Project, a similar initiative launched in the United States with the support of leading media and academic groups.

Both groups are developing trust marks and indicators for excellence in journalism and news management. They share a vision of media regulation that does not rely upon the law, but which can be forged by a community of reporters and editors who feel comfortable with the future and who want their work recognised in the chaos of the public information landscape. They also know that, when the time comes to apply for financial support from public sources, they will have a head start.

Blueprints for change in Europe and the UK

In many countries of Europe policymakers are looking at measures to strengthen news media to help deal with the democratic deficit caused by the impoverishment of newsrooms.

In Norway, for example, where public subsidies for journalism have been around for many years, a government-appointed inquiry into the news crisis made a unanimous recommendation in 2017 to strengthen support for public interest journalism through cash grants to promote innovation projects and to stimulate journalism of vital importance to society and public discourse. In Sweden, too, existing media subsidies have been strengthened with plans in place to expand public support.

The 2019 Cairncross Review in the United Kingdom has proposed a radical change in government thinking on how to support public interest journalism. As well as recommending more investment in news and media literacy, the report calls for substantial regulatory reforms, including:

- New codes of conduct to rebalance the relationship between publishers and online platforms with the appointment of a supervisory regulator, with powers to insist on compliance and particular skills in understanding both economics and digital technology;
- New forms of tax relief for news media to encourage payments for online news content and the provision of local and investigative journalism;
- The establishment of an Institute for Public Interest News, a dedicated body that will strengthen efforts to ensure the future sustainability of public-interest news. Its governance should ensure complete freedom from any undue political or commercial influence
- Direct financial support for public-interest news with public funds to be used to support reporting of local democracy.

The plan envisages an organic transformation of the way journalism is paid for with a system for distributing much-needed assistance from public and other non-traditional sources of income.

Good law or seriously flawed

The hidden threats in taming tech by law

James Ball

The last year has marked the point where everyone agrees something must be done about big tech – but no-one actually seems to agree on what, exactly, that “something” should be.

That puts us at serious risk of being in a situation highlighted decades ago in the British sitcom “Yes, Minister”: “Something must be done. This is something. Therefore we must do it.”

The EU is passing two new laws which affect how big tech handles journalism and other media material – Article 11 and Article 13. The first of the two, dubbed a “link tax” by its critics, would require Google and other search engines to pay for the short snippets of news stories it includes in its search results and similar.

The rationale for this for the publishers who support it, and the lawmakers who passed it, is that Google makes revenue from these extracts of publishers’ original work – and so the people who produce it should have a share of it.

The problem is that there’s a fairly straightforward way out for Google, which is just not to show the snippets for any site that hasn’t expressly given permission to use them for free. That risks making quality news even harder to discover – against a backdrop of misinformation and low-quality junk news sites.

Given Google is still the biggest traffic driver to most global news websites – and in the developed, English-language online media – the days of easy traffic and audience growth appear to be ending, Article 11 and the fees it brings appears to risk publishers cutting off their growth to spite their foes. Making Google slightly less effective won’t, in itself, save journalism.





The time where we could treat the internet as a playground or a testing ground are past: it is now essential infrastructure, and needs to be treated as such.

Another measure the EU is considering is its Article 13 provisions – which extend copyright enforcement and reduce the defence of platforms when they are found to be hosting it. At present, platforms such as YouTube are required to act in a timely fashion once copyright violations are reported to them – but have a defence until that point.

The problem here is that even though such provisions don't explicitly require the platforms to introduce "upload filters" – tools which automatically scan and analyse content before it's made public on the platform – it is hard to see any other way in which they could comply with the law.

The risk here is that it could make it a lot harder to use copyright materials in ways which are currently considered culturally and legally legitimate – such as fair news in the public interest for news reporting unearthing old clips with new relevance, or remixing material for satire, or even creating memes.

Legislators insist they have tried to include measures to soften the impact of the laws, but in practice many internet activists – including people who are not naturally friends of Facebook, YouTube, or others – are alarmed at the potential for the two measures to stifle free expression online while giving little upside to the publishers such steps supposedly protect.

Cory Doctorow, the internet activist and longtime blogger at BoingBoing (despite the name, one of the oldest and best respected blogs on these topics), greeted the measures – which are now almost certain to become EU law – contemptuously.

"This will kill off every service that lacks the hundreds of millions of euros it will cost to build and maintain these filters," he wrote. "This is Internet As Cable Television: millions of sites and services collapsed down to hundreds, each a mere distribution arm for media companies, with the public relegated to 'viewer' status, unable even to communicate with one another."

This is the danger of regulation done before we understand the internet, and the consequences of our actions. It has become a utility, an essential channel for journalistic outlets to reach their public, for reporters to reach and communicate with their potential sources, and for the public as a whole to communicate with each other.

Making rules to suit copyright holders trying to return to a pre-internet status quo is unlikely to benefit media conglomerates as much as they might hope, and risks doing a lot of harm in the meantime. The time where we could treat the internet as a playground or a testing ground are past: it is now essential infrastructure, and needs to be treated as such.

That's where the flipside of internet regulation comes in: if we believe the internet is a utility, is something that now

has to be treated similarly to electricity, gas and water, we need to make sure it has rules to make sure it's available freely and fairly.

This is the principle known as "net neutrality", and at its simplest, this principle states that all data on the internet is treated in the same way. When a message leaves a server or a computer, it is broken up into packets of data (that's their official name) – and then it doesn't matter whether those are audio, video, text, or something else. Nothing takes priority and everything has to be carried.

That principle has been built in by design to many of the internet's protocols, but it's one that's now possible to ignore – cable companies and other ISPs can introduce hardware to analyse what type of data is in each packet, and give some paying customers priority, or even ban some types of content. A mobile phone provider could, for example, try to make it impossible to use Skype or FaceTime, so that its customers have to use their cellphone plan.

This is what net neutrality forbids, and it's heavily supported by most open internet advocates both as an important consumer protection against getting ripped off, and also as a means of protecting and extending free expression, in line with the early promise of the internet as it expanded beyond established Western democracies – it is the same technology that undermines net neutrality which can be used to enable the most sophisticated forms of online censorship.

Until we have got a better understanding of the internet, and the ways we can use regulation to expand free communication, free media, the logical choice is to use regulation solely to try to preserve the open internet, rather than risking the kind of overstep and backlash the EU laws propose.

Unfortunately, regulators are causing headaches here, too – this time in the US. President Trump's appointment as chair to the FCC, which oversees US internet and telephony, has already rolled back protections introduced under the Obama presidency extending net neutrality powers, and many fear that these will be rolled back still further as Ajit Pai, Trump's FCC chair, is a public and outspoken critic of net neutrality.

This is the backdrop against which the public mood has shifted against tech, and entered a kneejerk mood looking to change the status quo. Few would doubt that more should be done to make sure the power of the dotcom giants is made accountable, that they pay their fair share of tax, and they keep their own services legal and free of toxic material.

Neither side of the Atlantic seems to be in a place to make sensible rules yet. Sometimes, until you know what will work, it can be better to do nothing – even if that's the hardest decision of all.

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Aidan White is the Founder and President of the Ethical Journalism Network. White founded the EJN in 2012 after he left the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) where he was General Secretary for 25 years. He has written extensively on human rights, ethics and journalism issues and played a leading role in establishing International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX), a global network of free expression campaigners and the International News Safety Institute (INSI).

Alan Rusbridger was editor-in-chief of Guardian News and Media between 1995 and 2015. He is now Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford and chair of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Rusbridger's career began at the *Cambridge Evening News* before he joined the Guardian in 1979. During his tenure *The Guardian's* journalism won multiple awards, including being nominated newspaper of the year five times between 1996 and 2006. Rusbridger has been named editor of the year three times.

Alison Bethel McKenzie is Executive Director of the Society of Professional Journalists, based in the United States. Celebrating its 110th anniversary, it is the oldest and largest broad-based, membership journalism organisation in America. The SPJ Code of Ethics is widely used by journalists throughout the US and around the world. Bethel McKenzie is an adviser to the EJN.

Chris Elliott served as the readers' editor at *The Guardian* having been appointed managing editor in February 2000. Elliott has worked as the home affairs correspondent for the Sunday Telegraph, chief reporter for the Sunday Correspondent and assistant news editor for the Times. He has also served on the board of the International News Safety Institute (INSI) and the Nomination Committee of the Reuters Founders Share Company until 2015. He chaired the UK's major journalism training body, between 2010 and 2016. Elliott was the EJN's interim CEO and

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Dorothy Byrne is Head of News and Current Affairs at Channel Four Television. Films she has commissioned have won numerous International Emmy, BAFTA and RTS awards. She is a Fellow of The Royal Television Society and in 2018 won the Outstanding Contribution Award at the Royal Television Society Journalism awards. She has also been awarded Scottish BAFTA and Women in Film and Television awards. Byrne is a Visiting Professor at Leicester De Montfort University and in 2018 she was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Letters by Sheffield University. Byrne is the chair of the EJN.

Elva Narcia is a journalist and media development specialist who has worked in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Norway, Pakistan, UK, Spain and South Sudan. After more than twenty years living and working overseas, she returned to Mexico, and founded Glifos Comunicaciones A.C - a media for development social enterprise - and launched a women's national network to promote and encourage female civic and political participation. For 15 years she was a senior journalist with the BBC World Service. Narcia is an adviser to the EJN.

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Hannah Storm became the new Director and CEO of the Ethical Journalism Network in April 2019. Storm, joined the International News Safety Institute (INSI) in 2010, becoming its director in 2012. Before joining INSI, Storm spent more than a decade working as a journalist for television and radio, online and print for outlets including the BBC, *The Times*, Reuters and ITN, and Oxfam.

James Ball has worked in political, data and investigative journalism in the US and UK for BuzzFeed, *The Guardian* and the *Washington Post* in a career spanning TV, digital, print and alternative media. His reporting has won the Pulitzer Prize for public service, the Scripps Howard Prize, the British Journalism Award for investigative reporting. His latest book, "Post-Truth: How Bullshit Conquered The World" was published 2017.

Lina Ejeilat is a co-founder and Executive Editor of *7iber*, an award-winning online magazine that publishes in-depth multimedia content and critical analysis on Jordan and the Arab region. She holds an M.S in Journalism from Columbia University in New York. Ejeilat teaches Digital Media at the Jordan Media Institute and regularly leads workshops and training programs on multimedia journalism in Jordan and across the Arab region. From 2009-2011, Lina worked as a reporter with Thomson Reuters in Amman, Jordan.

Wendy Funes won the Index on Censorship Award for her fearless pursuit of investigative journalism in Honduras in 2018. Working for C-Libre, a freedom of expression organisation in Honduras, she has highlighted the continued murder of journalists. On May 31, 2017 Funes retired from C-Libre to found her own research newspaper and promote investigative journalism in her country, using data with a gendered approach and promoting transparency and access to public information.

Raffy Lerma is a freelance photographer who focuses on documenting the “war on drugs” in the Philippines. He began his career in photojournalism as a student of the College of Fine Arts in the University of the Philippines Diliman and finished his Diploma in Photojournalism at the Konrad Adenauer Asian Center for Journalism at the Ateneo de Manila University. For 12 years, Lerma worked as a staff photographer for *Philippine Daily Inquirer* covering the daily news beat in Metro Manila.

Salim Amin is Chairman of Camerapix, Chairman of The Mohamed Amin Foundation and co-founder and former Chairman of Africa24 Media. Amin’s father was Mohamed

“Mo” Amin MBE, a Kenyan photojournalist noted for his pictures and videotapes of the Ethiopian famine that led to the Live Aid concert. He is a Fellow of the African Leadership Initiative and a member of the Aspen Global Leadership Network. In December 2012, Salim was named as one of the “100 Most Influential Africans” by the *New African* magazine, which also named him in their “top 50 Under 50” Africans in May 2013. Amin is a trustee of the EJN.

Tom Kent is the former Standards Editor, Moscow bureau chief, international editor, and deputy managing editor of the *Associated Press* news agency. After working for AP for over four decades, Kent was the president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty from 2016 to 2018. Kent is an adviser to the EJN.

Tom Law is the deputy director of the EJN, which he joined in 2015 to lead the organisation’s international media ethics campaigns and educational programmes. Prior to joining the EJN Law worked as a freelance journalist and media development consultant specialising in Sudan and South Sudan and for four years was an associate editor of *Sudan Tribune* news website. In 2005 he was part of the team that founded *The Juba Post* – an independent newspaper for South Sudan.

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About the Ethical Journalism Network

The Ethical Journalism Network is an alliance of reporters, editors and publishers aiming to strengthen journalism around the world. We work to build trust in news media through training; education and research because we believe that fact-based communications delivered by well-trained and ethical media professionals are essential to help people better understand the world around them.

The EJN is a coalition of more than 70 groups of journalists, editors, press owners and media support groups from across the globe and we are growing.

We are a registered UK charity and supervised by a Board of Trustees and an international network of advisors.



From left -- Thomas Spence (Trustee), Randi Ogrey (Trustee), Kjersti Loken Stavrum (Trustee), Jeannette Gustafsdotter (Trustee), Dorothy Byrne (Chair), Salim Amin (Trustee), Aidan White (Founder & President), Ashok Gupta (Treasurer), Zahera Harb (Trustee), Bernt Olufsen (Trustee), Chris Elliott (Director), Aida Al Kaisy (Programme Consultant), Tom Law (Deputy Director)

Missing from this picture: Hannah Storm (Incoming Director), Danica Ilic.(Programmes Officer)

For more information about our team and our list of advisers see:

<https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/who-we-are/our-people>

For details about our network of the supporters see:

<https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/supporters>

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