



World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development



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Foreword by Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO 2014



Tectonic shifts in technology and economic models have vastly expanded the opportunities for press freedom and the safety of journalists, opening new avenues for freedom of expression for women and men across the world. Today, more and more people are able to produce, update and share information widely, within and across national borders. All of this is a blessing for creativity, exchange and dialogue.

At the same time, new threats are arising. In a context of rapid change, these are combining with older forms of restriction to pose challenges to freedom of expression, in the shape of controls not aligned with international standards for protection of freedom of expression and rising threats against journalists.

These developments raise issues that go to the heart of UNESCO's mandate "to promote the flow of ideas by word and image" between all peoples, across the world. For UNESCO, freedom of expression is a fundamental human right that underpins all other civil liberties, that is vital for the rule of law and good governance, and that is a foundation for inclusive and open knowledge societies. Freedom of expression stands at the heart of media freedom and the practice of journalism, as a form of expression aspiring to be in the public interest.

At the 36th session of the General Conference (November 2011), Member States mandated UNESCO to explore the impact of change on press freedom and the safety of journalists. For this purpose, the Report has adopted four angles of analysis, drawing on the 1991 *Windhoek Declaration*, to review emerging trends through the conditions of media freedom, pluralism and independence, as well as the safety of journalists. At each level, the Report has also examined trends through the lens of gender equality.

The result is a portrait of change – across the world, at all levels, featuring as much opportunity as challenge. The business of media is undergoing a revolution with the rise of digital networks, online platforms, internet intermediaries and social media. New actors are emerging, including citizen journalists, who are redrawing the boundaries of the media. At the same time, the Report shows that the traditional news institutions continue to be agenda-setters for media and public communications in general – even as they are also engaging with the digital revolution. The Report highlights also the mix of old and new challenges to media freedom, including increasing cases of threats against the safety of journalists.

The pace of change raises questions about how to foster freedom of expression across print, broadcast and internet media and how to ensure the safety of journalists. The Report draws on a rich array of research and is not prescriptive – but it sends a clear message on the importance of freedom of expression and press freedom on all platforms.

To these ends, UNESCO is working across the board, across the world. This starts with global awareness raising and advocacy, including through *World Press Freedom Day*. It entails supporting countries in strengthening their legal and regulatory frameworks and in building capacity. It means standing up to call for justice every time a journalist is killed, to eliminate impunity. This is the importance of the *United Nations Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*, spearheaded by UNESCO and endorsed by the UN Chief Executives Board in April 2012. UNESCO is working with countries to take this plan forward on the ground. We also seek to better understand the challenges that are arising – most recently, through a *Global Survey on Violence against Female Journalists*, with the International News Safety Institute, the International Women's Media Foundation, and the Austrian Government.

Respecting freedom of expression and media freedom is essential today, as we seek to build inclusive knowledge societies and a more just and peaceful century ahead. I am confident that this Report will find a wide audience, in Member States, international and regional organizations, civil society and academia, as well as with the media and journalists, and I wish to thank Sweden for its support to this initiative. This is an important contribution to understanding a world in change, at a time when the international community is defining a new global sustainable development agenda, which must be underpinned and driven by human rights, with particular attention to freedom of expression.



Irina Bokova,
Director-General of UNESCO

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Freedom of expression in general, and media development in particular, are core to UNESCO's constitutional mandate to advance 'the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication' and promoting 'the free flow of ideas by word and image.' For UNESCO, press freedom is a corollary of the general right to freedom of expression. Since 1991, the year of the seminal Windhoek Declaration, which was endorsed by our Member States, UNESCO has understood press freedom as designating the conditions of media freedom, pluralism and independence, as well as the safety of journalists. It is within this framework that this report examines progress as regards press freedom, including in regard to gender equality, and makes sense of the evolution of media actors, news media institutions and journalistic roles over time.

This report has been prepared as the basis of a summary report on the global state of press freedom and the safety of journalists, presented to the General Conference of UNESCO Member States in November 2013, on the mandate of the decision by Member States taken at the 36th session of the General Conference of the Organization.¹

The overarching global trend with respect to media freedom, pluralism, independence and the safety of journalists over the past several years is that of disruption and change brought on by technology, and to a lesser extent, the global financial crisis. These trends have impacted traditional economic and organizational structures in the news media, legal and regulatory frameworks, journalism practices, and media consumption and production habits. Technological convergence has expanded the number of and access to media platforms as well as the potential for expression. It has enabled the emergence of citizen journalism and spaces for independent media, while at the same time fundamentally reconfiguring journalistic practices and the business of news.

The broad global patterns identified in this report are accompanied by extensive unevenness within the whole. The trends summarized above, therefore, go hand in hand with substantial variations between and within regions as well as countries.

¹ 37 C/INF.4 16 September 2013 "Information regarding the implementation of decisions of the governing bodies". <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002230/223097e.pdf>; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002230/223097f.pdf>

FREEDOM

The convergence in all regions and globally around international norms of free expression can be seen in the prevalence of constitutional guarantees and regional declarations on press freedom, the adoption of legislations, such as freedom of information and journalistic source protection laws, and the decriminalization of defamation. On the other hand, there have also continued to be shortfalls in practice and implementation, amid the rise of new challenges such as internet censorship and the use of national security and anti-terrorism laws.

There is a clear trend of adopting Freedom of Information (FOI) or access to information laws even as there appears to be growing recognition that information control has become an increasingly important aspect of both global conflicts and local disputes. A slow trend towards decriminalization of defamation has been partly offset by the increasing use of civil defamation, with disproportionate fines and damages, particularly against some media that are critical of powerful individuals or groups.

In regions that have experienced democratic transitions, progress towards greater press freedom has lost momentum in some cases, and press freedom laws have not always been effectively implemented. National security, anti-terrorism and anti-extremism laws have been used in some cases to limit legitimate debate and to curtail dissenting views in the media, while also underwriting expanded surveillance, which may be seen to violate the right to privacy and to jeopardize freedom of expression.

Direct and self-censorship remain challenges to journalists worldwide, even as a trend towards private sector censorship as well as the privatization of censorship has emerged, with the increasing importance of technology companies and other intermediaries in the media ecosystem. A trend towards laws, policies and use of technologies to filter or block access to content online, and a parallel growth in cybercrime laws in some regions have in many cases not been compliant with the international norm that limitations on the free flow of information should be exceptional as well as be governed by the particular conditions and processes set out in international human rights law, namely of necessity, proportionality and legitimate purpose.

PLURALISM

The dominant trend with respect to pluralism of the media is the expansion in access to media worldwide, resulting in a quantum leap in the production, consumption and distribution of media, with an overall gain for media pluralism. Expanding diversity of news media content, the internet, digitalization and online-search capacities have enabled more people to participate in information production and news flows. A concurrent disruption in traditional forms of journalism practice, economics, advertising and ownership has upset traditional news media organizations and advertising trends and enabled new revenue streams and business models, with varied impacts on pluralism. The combined impact of the global financial crisis and technological disruption has led to divergent trends with respect to advertising revenue and its impact on the news industry worldwide amid the migration of news online, although television has remained the dominant focus of advertising spending worldwide.

Although the trend around the world is to turn increasingly towards online sources of news, traditional media institutions and traditional media platforms remain predominant in most regions, and television and radio remain the media by which most of the world's people get their news. There has been a continuing trend away from state-monopolies to market-based media systems and the privatization of state-owned media. In some regions, the concentration of players in commercial news media has limited pluralism in the dominant, mainstream media markets, while in other regions a decline in funding from media support groups has further compounded concentration. The trend is mirrored to some extent online through continued agenda-setting by major mainstream news media outlets and their content, even on social media. With some exceptions, there has been a lack of progress in supporting community radio and independent public service broadcasting as elements of a pluralistic media landscape.

Although there has been some improvement in representation of women in the news industry and in media content in some parts of the world, women remain significantly underrepresented and continue to often be stereotypically portrayed. Overall numbers of women in news employment have increased over the past six years, but gender imbalances in the institutional media remain acute in the upper echelons of management, and gains are not distributed evenly across regions. Although there are some regional trends towards news organizations adopting gender equality policies, implementation mechanisms are often weak or non-existent.

INDEPENDENCE

Media independence has been a struggle, as the operational independence of regulators has not improved amid recurring cases of political and commercial pressures and many have not adequately addressed rapid changes in media convergence. There are conflicting trends with respect to the extension of traditional media regulation to online media, with some States in some regions pursuing such measures, whereas this is not so much the case in others. Many existing regulatory and self-regulatory bodies have not adequately addressed rapid changes in media convergence.

Meanwhile self-regulation as a norm has remained weak, although some institutional progress has been seen in some regions. Women remain underrepresented in regulatory bodies, professional unions and media institutions' boards, although there are indications of an emerging trend in focusing more attention on gender dynamics and adopting relevant policies. Layoffs, worsening job security and collective bargaining rights, have been evident in many regions, although there has been a trend towards increasing availability of training and educational opportunities in most regions and online.

State licensing has remained for print media in several countries and extended in a growing number of cases to online media in many regions. Weak business models have led to overreliance on state or patronage funding of media content in some regions, while also prompting the emergence of new independent journalistic organizations, such as non-profit investigative journalism groups. State/public advertising has continued in many cases to serve as an instrument to influence independent journalism.

New issues of media ethics at the boundaries of journalism, security and privacy are emerging, particularly with the rising popularity of user-generated content, which increasingly competes with as well as supplements professional reporting and has tested both media and intermediaries in their ethical decision-making about the legitimate limits on free expression.

SAFETY

The past six years have seen both a rise in the killings of journalists and a significant increase in international awareness of the issue. Analysis of condemnations of journalist killings by the UNESCO Director-General between 2007 and 2012 shows an upward trend in the number of journalist killings, with nearly 30% of the 430 occurring in 2012, driven by conflict in two countries. Targeted attacks on women journalists are lower than their proportion in newsrooms, but appear to have increased in parallel with the multiplying of platforms for expression. Politically motivated killings remain endemic, and at least 75% of the journalists whose killings were condemned by the UNESCO Director-General in 2010 and 2011 had been targeted for murder. The period has reportedly seen an increasing trend concerning imprisonment of journalists and social media producers, and a declining trend in the number of journalists reported to have gone into exile each year. Citizen journalists have become targets alongside their professional counterparts.

With respect to bringing the perpetrators of killings or attacks against journalists to justice, impunity remains the dominant trend. Under half of the Member States where killings occurred responded to requests by the UNESCO Director-General for voluntary information on the status of judicial inquiry into the killings as of mid-2013. In general, less than one in ten killings of journalists has led to a conviction over the period. This demonstrates a potential failure of follow-up in judicial systems and points to an environment in which crimes against freedom of expression may continue and escalate.

International concern over killings has grown over the period, particularly with the launch of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, spearheaded by UNESCO, as well as resolutions on journalists' safety at the UN General Assembly and Human Rights Council.

GENDER

The last six years have witnessed some changes in regard to the situation of women in media freedom, pluralism, independence and safety. This has been due to in large part to online media that enable many more women to make direct use of media freedom to contribute news and opinion to the public sphere. At the same time, the relative exclusion of women in news content by mainstream media and even online media is an ongoing phenomenon that has seen little change. Research suggests that, overall, only a quarter of the people heard or read about in the news are female, just over a third of media industry employees are women, and the glass ceiling remains intact. Targeted attacks on women journalists are lower than their proportion in newsrooms, but appear to have increased in parallel with the multiplying of platforms for expression. Legal and policy trends of the last six years have begun to recognize gender-based exclusions and address structural inequalities in women's access to the media, including media professional and regulatory bodies.

BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

RATIONALE FOR THE REPORT

In 2011, UNESCO's 36th General Conference decision, expressed in Resolution 53, required the Organization to '(m)onitor, in close cooperation with other United Nations bodies and other relevant organizations active in this field, the status of press freedom and safety of journalists, with emphasis on cases of impunity for violence against journalists, including monitoring the judicial follow-up through the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) and to report on the developments in these fields to the biannual General Conference.'

To carry out this mandate, press freedom and safety are recognized as being an integral part of the wider landscape of freedom of expression and media development. Informed by this broader context, the current publication provided the basis for a summary report on trends to the 37th General Conference in November 2013, in the form of an overview document highlighting the relevant key findings of this publication.²

This report builds on the foundation of the UNESCO *World Communication Reports* of 1997, 1989 and 1999, the second of which assessed the state of the media within a world in which 'profound transformations' encompassing politics, economics and technology had 'modified frontiers, created new cultures and markets, and raised hopes as well as concerns.'³ In the last seven years, there have been various reports produced by a spectrum of institutions concerning media around the world. These have tended to cover snapshots of specific dimensions or regions, but there has been no systematic trend analysis of the whole picture that covers the emerging contemporary dynamics impacting the freedom, pluralism and independence of the media, and the safety of journalists, and with these issues being examined through gender-sensitive considerations. In this context, therefore, as a unique research project on the state for freedom of expression and media development, this report constitutes a significant contribution by UNESCO to international understanding. It is one of many examples of the vitality of the Organization as regards its role as a global clearing house for knowledge across a range of fields.

² 37 C/INF.4, op. cit.

³ UNESCO. (1989). *World Communication Report. The media and the challenge of new technologies*. Paris: UNESCO. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001112/111240e.pdf>

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE REPORT

The research in this report is founded on the international norm that freedom of expression and opinion is a general right for all citizens. As stated in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the right further includes the ‘freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.’ The universality of this has been reinforced in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) as well as General Comment number 34 on this article by the Human Rights Committee. In 2012, the Human Rights Council affirmed the applicability of the two articles 19 to the internet. In terms of international standards, the right should be the norm, and any limitations should be exceptional in nature. The latter should be justifiable in terms of international standards, which require any such constraints to be law-based, necessary and proportional, and for legitimate purpose.

For UNESCO, press freedom and the right of access to information are corollaries of the general right to freedom of expression and opinion. The status of press freedom designates the particular use of this right of expression on public media platforms, where its social visibility and significance means press freedom can be used as a barometer of the wider right to freedom of expression and access to information.

Press freedom necessitates media freedom, but the concept is also wider than this dimension, as was elaborated in the Windhoek Declaration, endorsed by the UNESCO General Conference in 1991. The Declaration underlined that effective press freedom needs to be underpinned by, and realized through, a media environment that is legally free, as well as providing for pluralism and independence. Press freedom, therefore, includes the freedom from illegitimate restriction, as well as the freedom to contribute to a plurality of media and the freedom to express oneself publicly without political or commercial interference. Over the years, it has become evident that another distinctive underlying component for press freedom is safety for public expression. It has also become evident that gender-sensitive considerations are required throughout all dimensions of press freedom. In this respect, it is important to note that gender equality is also one of UNESCO’s two Global Priorities, alongside Africa.

Press freedom in its dimension of media freedom is not limited to media institutions, as important as these actors are as users and symbols of freedom of expression (and as a major research emphasis within this report). More fundamentally, press freedom covers the freedom by all individuals or institutions to use media platforms in order that their expression may reach the public. ‘Media’ in this context is wider than traditional mass media institutions and wider than the traditional news media in particular. This is why, in this report, issues of media freedom, pluralism, independence, safety and gender also apply to media at large. The spectrum extends beyond media institutions, and encompasses

additional participants such as can be found on the public internet, although the emphasis throughout is upon the diverse actors who contribute to journalism.

The utility of this multi-dimensional conceptualization is that it encapsulates the interdependence of the four components (freedom, pluralism, independence and safety). It is evident that the state of media freedom sets the context for media pluralism and independence, and it is not possible to envisage these where media freedom is absent. Media freedom highlights the view of press freedom from 'on high', and independence provides a vantage point that recognizes bottom-up roles, including advocacy to defend this dispensation as well as adherence to professional standards in journalism. A pluralistic media landscape requires an independence component if a society is to benefit from news that is shaped by professional standards and ethical decision-making.

In the same vein, it is evident that media pluralism impacts on the situation of media freedom and independence. The former Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Representative on Media Freedom has observed that 'media pluralism is the key that unlocks the door of freedom of information and freedom of speech.' Monopolization (whether by state-owned or private media) may be seen to cramp media freedom by excluding would-be entrants. It may also affect the diversity and heterogeneity of information available to the public. Even where there is media freedom, pluralism, and independence, these may be hollow provisions if participants are not safe. Women have a right to be equally involved in the various dimensions of press freedom.

Press freedom in this conceptualization is particularly relevant to the production of journalism, which is a public exercise of freedom of expression according to professional standards and which frequently attracts hostility. Journalism is central to news media institutions across all platforms (print; broadcasting – whether by cable, terrestrial signal or satellite; cell phones; and the internet). It also encompasses a new network of open and distributed participants. Not all users of press freedom produce journalism as such, although the freedom applies no less to them and their use of media. On this basis, the current report considers press freedom issues across career journalists as well as others who make use of public media platforms. However, UNESCO also has a special interest in those whom Member States of the International Programme for the Development of Communication describe as 'journalists, media workers and social media producers who produce a significant amount of public-interest journalism.' It is this inclusive focus that underpins the meaning of the term 'journalists' in this report. The independence dimension of press freedom has particular relevance to this concern, in that it highlights not just the absence of pressures, but the value to society of voluntary subscription to professional journalistic ethics, such as verification, source confidentiality where necessary, fairness and public interest.

The existence of press freedom in its multiple dimensions of media freedom, pluralism, independence and safety strengthens peace as well as democratic and developmental processes. These social goods depend upon people being free to speak without fear and to be freely informed about public affairs. Press freedom as such helps to ensure participation, transparency and accountability. This recognition explains the value to a

society of having access to a free media, and of the importance of multiple information and communication choices enabled by pluralism. The perspective further highlights the significance of editorial independence from state or private owners or other external influences, and journalistic accountability to professional ethics which shape the quality of information available.

This conceptualization of press freedom underpins UNESCO's 'Media Development Indicators,' which were endorsed in 2008 by UNESCO's Intergovernmental Council for the International Programme for the Development of Communication. These indicators highlight the legal, economic, performance, capacity, and infrastructural aspects of media as pertaining to freedom of expression, and specifically the dimensions of press freedom. In this report, developments around these aspects are tracked under the thematic of freedom, pluralism, independence, safety and gender, and assessed at global and regional levels.

The following section further elaborates the structure and conceptualization of the publication.

STRUCTURE AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

The research for this report has been structured along the lines of the Windhoek Declaration framework, in that it analyses trends in freedom of expression and media development themes worldwide, as well as with respect to both gender and transnational as well as global media.

PRESS FREEDOM AS MEDIA FREEDOM, PLURALISM, INDEPENDENCE AND SAFETY.

The following concepts have underpinned the analysis in this report:

- **Freedom** is primarily analysed as a matter of the legal and statutory environment in which the media and journalism operate and which shapes public information flows. Key to assessing this are: the legal status of freedom of expression and media freedom, as well as how this is translated, or not, into practice; freedom of information; whether media are censored or banned/blocked; whether defamation is criminalized and whether it or other laws are used against media and those producing journalism in order to illegitimately restrict freedom of expression; the freedom and status of investigative journalism; and the protection of journalists' sources.
- **Pluralism** is conceptualized as a matter of economic ownership and control, as well as the diversity of journalistic content, and is considered for all media platforms. It refers to the types and numbers of media outlets available in a particular polity, and how this relates to the existing policy and regulatory regime in terms of limits on concentration of ownership and in terms of media sector support mechanisms. A register of pluralism is the existence of viable public, private and community media sectors, as well as public access to a range of media platforms and published news and views. Pluralism therefore incorporates considerations of content diversity as regards information and news, political views, etc., as well as representation issues, such as the equitable presence of women and the depictions of competing interests. Media pluralism is understood as enabling a wide range of social, political and cultural values, opinions, information and interests, underpinned by universal human rights, to find expression through public media platforms.
- **Independence** depends on the freedom from outside political or commercial interference. Of particular interest to UNESCO is the value of press freedom for journalism and, therefore, the professional autonomy of those who produce it and of regulatory bodies which shape this. In this regard, independence includes the state of professional ethics in practice which give content to it and which underpin quality journalism. Independence in this sense is impacted upon by the strength of journalists' professional bodies and by an ecology of organizations that supports autonomous journalism through advocacy and capacity building. Independence takes cognisance

of journalists as subjects and actors within a given media freedom and pluralism dispensation.

- **Safety** is a cross-cutting issue. Safety issues are central to press freedom, and they point particularly to the responsibility of the State in protecting media freedom and ensuring that there is not impunity for crimes against those who do journalism. Threats and attacks against journalists deny them their rights as well as jeopardize the right of society at large to be kept informed. With regard to incarceration of journalists and press freedom, data on the reasons for jailings are not always available. Incarceration for legitimate journalism work is unnecessary and disproportionate in terms of international standards of justifiable limitations and sanctions concerning the exercise of freedom of expression. The relevance of safety to media freedom is most glaring in the case of killings of journalists, which are the ultimate form of censorship. Safety issues are relevant to independence, because safety is a precondition for journalists to work without fear. The absence of safety can lead to self-censorship, which may compromise editorial independence and remove ethical choice, as well as limiting the extent of pluralism possible within the media choices available to a society.

GENDER

Throughout this research, the conceptualization of press freedom acknowledges the right of women, as well as men, to be informed and to have their voices heard. In 2010, a joint statement by diverse Special Rapporteurs on Freedom of Expression cited ‘discrimination in the enjoyment of the right to freedom of expression’ as one of the 10 key challenges to freedom of expression. Accordingly, particular consideration is given in this report to gender through chapter sections focusing specifically on gender dynamics related to media freedom, pluralism, safety and independence. In this, gender is primarily conceptualized as referring to women journalists’ experience and the representation of women in general. This research has been limited by an absence of data on women in relation to the various dimensions of press freedom.

GLOBAL MEDIA

The report includes three specific chapter sections that focus on the freedom, independence and pluralism of global media, with the aim of identifying developments that are specific to the supra-national mediasphere. The systematic study of global media outlets has become more complex due the internet and to the breakdown of traditional barriers to the dissemination of news. Prior to the advent of the internet, international newswire services and satellite news channels were the primary global media, but now even local outlets can reach a global audience online. Just a few years ago, ‘global’ or ‘transnational’ would have been characterized primarily by the geographic reach of a channel/newspaper/news agency, etc., but is now becoming characterised more by the cross-national and cross-regional focus and the linguistic reach of the content.

With this background, for this research, the phrase ‘global media’ refers primarily to media that reach a global audience, make use of global information sources, and/or use global platforms. Given the nature of the internet, however, the phrase also now includes transnational media, which is that media available to global audiences, even if this is sometimes unintentional and irrespective of the primary audience being targeted. In this sense, global media designates mainly international newspapers and many satellite television services, as well as their use of internet and mobile platforms. In addition, however, it also takes account of the quantity of other online media which can be accessed pan-regionally, even if in most cases their primary content characteristic is more narrowly targeted.

ANALYSIS OF TRENDS

By ‘trend’ this report refers to a general tendency, which is not necessarily a quantitatively measurable trend. The identification and analysis of trends within regions with diverse political and economic systems can be difficult to measure, because of the diversity of socio-political complexities that exist in each country, and how these conditions fluctuate over time. Although the research has focused on the past six years, essentially since 2007, many of the trends represent continuation or divergence from longer term developments. Nonetheless, this is a period in history that has witnessed significant developments affecting the convergence and proliferation of media, the rise of social and mobile media, technological disruptions, and the global financial and economic crisis.

The trends in freedom of expression and media development identified in this report highlight certain commonalities without suggesting that these are uniformly applicable globally, nor within a given region or country. The challenge of identifying trends is a complex process for many reasons, not least of which is the widespread lack of basic and systematically collected data on a range of key indicators of media development, access, economics, regulatory structures, occupational data, etc. Further, those data which are available are rarely disaggregated by gender, urban-rural character, or age. Nonetheless, through analysis of more than 800 quantitative and qualitative sources from a wide and global range of international and regional bodies, governmental and non-governmental organizations, academics, market research and consulting firms, and journalistic and scholarly articles, the report has been able to identify and extrapolate several types of trends at the regional and global levels:⁴

- Predominant
- Emerging
- Divergent
- Stasis

Given the pace of technological development and stalled or uneven economic recovery, it cannot be assumed that the trends identified in this report will persist. However, the information contained herein will provide a baseline against which future developments can be measured.

⁴ A list of selected references is available in the online version of this publication.

**UNESCO:
Fostering Freedom of
Expression and Media
Development**

UNESCO is the United Nations agency with a specific mandate to defend freedom of expression, instructed by its Constitution to promote “the free flow of ideas by word and image.” Freedom of expression, and its corollaries of freedom of information and press freedom, apply to traditional print and broadcast media as well as newer online and digital media. These freedoms are relevant to all UNESCO’s areas of competence and are critical for sustainable development, democracy and dialogue.

UNESCO promotes media environments that are conducive to free expression in terms of legal and socio-economic conditions. The Organization especially highlights that journalistic safety is a fundamental prerequisite for achieving freedom of expression and democracy. UNESCO works to promote press freedom and media development through advocacy and awareness-raising, capacity-building, monitoring, fostering the safety of journalists, and supporting media law and enabling regulatory frameworks.

The centrepiece of UNESCO’s awareness-raising for freedom of expression is World Press Freedom Day. Celebrated in more than 100 countries around the world every 3 May, World Press Freedom Day is an occasion to celebrate the fundamental principles of press freedom, to evaluate press freedom around the world, to defend the media from attacks on their independence and to pay tribute to journalists who have lost their lives in the exercise of their profession. The Day includes the awarding of the UNESCO / Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize, which honours a person, organization or institution that has made an outstanding contribution to the defence and/or promotion of press freedom anywhere in the world, especially when this has been achieved in the face of danger.

The Organization also works to raise awareness of the importance, for press freedom, of achieving gender equality in the media. Gender equality is one of UNESCO’s two Global Priorities, which it promotes through a two-pronged approach, involving both gender-specific programmes and gender mainstreaming within the Organization’s areas of competence. Among UNESCO’s ongoing actions to promote gender equality in the media are the development of resources, such as the Gender-Sensitive Indicators for Media, and global initiatives, such as Women Make the News. In 2013, UNESCO launched a Global Alliance on Gender and Media, which aims to intensify actions towards gender equality in media content and staffing, with more than 80 organizations.

To encourage the public to cherish and use the right to expression to the full, UNESCO promotes programmes in Media and Information Literacy (MIL) – particularly focused on young people. Media and Information Literacy empowers citizens to understand the functions of media and other information providers, to critically evaluate their content, and to make informed decisions as consumers and producers of information and media content. UNESCO’s strategy in promoting Media and Information Literacy has included the preparation of a model *Media and Information Literacy Curriculum for Teachers*, the facilitation of international cooperation through the Global Alliance on Media and Information Literacy, and the establishment of an International Clearinghouse on Media and Information Literacy, in cooperation with the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations.

UNESCO also provides support through technical and policy advice to governments and national stakeholders on laws, regulations and policies affecting press freedom. This work covers freedom of expression, freedom of information, media freedom, and self-regulation as fundamental components of the enabling environment for freedom of expression. UNESCO's special focus on Post-Conflict Post-Disaster (PCPD) countries and countries in transition recognizes the particular challenges and opportunities to update media policy frameworks so that they harmonize with accepted international norms and best practices.

Through comprehensive research using UNESCO's Media Development Indicators (MDIs), countries are able to gain objective information about gaps in the national media landscape which need attention. UNESCO has completed MDI-based assessments in 11 countries and is currently conducting assessments in 16 others. Recommendations resulting from MDI-based assessments can be related to legal reform, capacity building, strengthening self-regulatory systems or other steps.

For UNESCO, it is important to support improved elections-reporting and investigative journalism, and to boost the ability of journalists and journalism schools to navigate issues like climate change and new technologies. To empower journalists and journalism educators with the specialized literacies required to respond to new challenges, in 2013 UNESCO published 10 new syllabi on journalism education as a compendium to the 2007 *Model Curricula for Journalism Education*. UNESCO has also launched a Global Initiative for Excellence in Journalism Education, which aims to promote and support viable South-South and North-South partnerships among schools of journalism around a set of core principles of excellence in teaching, research and professional outreach. Actions in this regard help to contribute to free expression and its value to society.

Through the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC), UNESCO provides small grants to approximately 80 media projects in developing countries each year. The IPDC is the only multilateral forum in the UN system designed to mobilize the international community to discuss and promote media development in developing countries. The Programme not only provides support for media projects but also seeks to secure a healthy environment for the growth of free and pluralistic media. Over the last 30 years, the IPDC has mobilized some \$100 million for over 1,500 projects in more than 140 developing countries and countries in transition.

Many IPDC projects provide support to community media, which are characterized by their accountability to the communities they serve. UNESCO recognizes that the presence of community media is a sign of media pluralism, diversity of content, and the representation of a society's different groups and interests. Community media encourage open dialogue, local transparency and a voice to the voiceless. UNESCO's ongoing and recent actions in support of community media include empowering local radios in Africa with information and communication technologies and giving voice to women and minorities through community radio. Radio remains the medium that reaches the widest audience worldwide, and is celebrated each year on 13 February with World Radio Day.

On an ongoing basis, the Director-General of UNESCO – on behalf of the Organization's 195 Member States – issues public statements when there is a grave concern over the state of press freedom when a journalist has been killed. The Director-General's bi-annual *Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity* to the IPDC compiles the responses received from Member States to the requests for voluntary information concerning the outcome of investigations related to journalist killings.

Fostering the safety of journalists has gained even greater prominence in UNESCO's work with the adoption of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, spearheaded by the Organization and welcomed by the UN General Assembly in December 2013, and for which UNESCO is the lead agency. The UN Plan of Action has become a global reference point in the promotion of the safety of journalists and the fight against impunity, and UNESCO is building partnerships starting with four pilot countries to support their efforts in enhancing the safety of journalists. UNESCO has also developed Journalists' Safety Indicators, which are being used to research the situation in seven countries to pinpoint where action is needed and what impact is being made. UNESCO will continue to promote journalist safety, both on- and off-line, and is conducting research into specific dimensions of safety issues.

In the new information and communication environment, UNESCO has played an important role in the follow up process to the 2003 and 2005 World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). UNESCO has taken the lead on six WSIS Action Lines, including those related to access to information and knowledge and to media, and has led implementation of all WSIS outcomes, along with the International Telecommunication Union and the United Nations Development Programme. In 2013, UNESCO convened the first WSIS+10 Review Event, whose Final Statement reaffirmed the importance of universal human rights for the post-WSIS and post-2015 development agenda. Throughout its work in the WSIS process, UNESCO has promoted a vision of Knowledge Societies grounded in the four pillars of freedom of expression; respect for cultural and linguistic diversity; quality education for all; and universal access to information and knowledge.

Alongside its work in the context of the WSIS process and related fora such as the Internet Governance Forum, UNESCO has conducted extensive research on the opportunities and challenges for freedom of expression on the internet. Through its Internet Freedom Series, UNESCO published two important studies related to freedom of expression online: *Freedom of Connection – Freedom of Expression: The Changing Legal and Regulatory Ecology Shaping the Internet* (2011) and *Global Survey on Internet Privacy and Freedom of Expression* (2012). The Organization is now leading innovative research related to the digital safety of journalists and the role of internet intermediaries in fostering freedom of expression. These studies will help facilitate the creation and sharing of knowledge and best practices in this fast-changing domain.

As a result of a decision by its Member States taken at the 37th session of the General Conference, UNESCO will undertake a comprehensive study of the Internet-related issues within its mandate, including access to information and knowledge, freedom of expression, privacy and the ethical dimensions of the information society. The results,

based on extensive multi-stakeholder consultation, will be reported to Member States at the 38th session of the General Conference in 2015. In this way, UNESCO will continue to be a laboratory of ideas, contributing quality information resources that build towards inclusive Knowledge Societies.

UNESCO works closely with a wide range of partners at the global, regional and national levels. In partnership with governments, the wider UN family, other intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, private sector companies, foundations and media organizations, UNESCO will continue to be at the forefront of global efforts to foster an environment where media can work freely and in safety.

CHAPTER 1: FREEDOM

Freedom is primarily analysed as a matter of the legal and statutory environment in which the media and journalism operate and which shapes public information flows.

WHAT DOES... **MEDIA FREEDOM** ...MEAN?

LEGAL

**GUARANTEES FOR
FREE EXPRESSION**



A circular icon with a dark blue background and a red border. It features a pair of red scales of justice. On the left pan, there is a small blue figure. On the right pan, there are three small blue figures. Above the scales are two white speech bubbles: the left one contains a green 'X' and the right one contains a green plus sign.

RATIFICATION

**OF INTERNATIONAL
TREATIES ON
FREE EXPRESSION**



A circular icon with a dark blue background and a yellow border. It features a green megaphone on a dark green base. Behind the megaphone are several colorful flags (green, red, yellow, blue, white) on poles.


DECRIMINALIZATION

OF DEFAMATION



A circular icon with a dark blue background and a purple border. It features two crossed pencils (one green, one blue) with a pair of broken red chains and shackles draped over them.

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
LAWS**



A circular icon with a dark blue background and a green border. It features a hand holding a microphone with the word 'PRESS' on it, positioned over an open book. The background has a starburst pattern.

UNRESTRICTED ACCESS

**TO MEDIA PLATFORMS
AND THE INTERNET**



A circular icon with a dark blue background and an orange border. It features three stylized human figures (one orange, one green, one purple) standing on a blue globe. Each figure is holding a device: a smartphone, a tablet, and a laptop.

PROTECTION

**OF JOURNALISTS'
SOURCES**



A circular icon with a dark blue background and a blue border. It features a silhouette of a person in a hat (representing a journalist) in a speech bubble above a silhouette of another person (representing a source). A red exclamation mark is inside the speech bubble.

FREEDOM: INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

Media freedom, as one of the key dimensions of press freedom, is a matter of the legal and statutory environment in which media operate, and the legitimacy of any limitations in terms of international standards on freedom of expression. Key to assessing media freedom are: the legal status of freedom of expression and press freedom as well as how this is translated, or not, into practice; whether media are censored or banned/blocked; whether criminal defamation and other laws are used against media and journalists; and whether the profession is subject to licensing. Freedom of information is a significant contextual dimension. The current chapter describes key legal dimensions of freedom and summarizes the main regional trends.

The last six years in several regions have been times of unrest. There have been uprisings in parts of the Arab region and street protests in parts of Western Europe and North America, at a time of global economic crisis, when situations of conflict remain enduring along with violent extremism, and the use of legislative and other measures for national security. In the meantime, the technology revolution has accelerated, evidenced by the rise in online and social media as a major source of information and opinion for many people around the world, and technological convergence has created further unpredictability for traditional media as well as new potentialities for censorship.

According to two different longitudinal indexes of press freedom, although significant improvements took place in parts of the Arab region along with more modest ones in parts of the Asia and the Pacific region in 2011, by 2012, few countries had managed to maintain those gains. Modest achievements were recorded in parts of the subregions of South East Asia, the Caucasus, and West Africa. Trends limiting media freedom have been observed in parts of the Central and Eastern Europe region and South Asia. Media freedom declines over the past six years are reported across various regions and political systems, signalling that the proportion of people enjoying this right dropped in 2012 to its lowest level in over a decade.

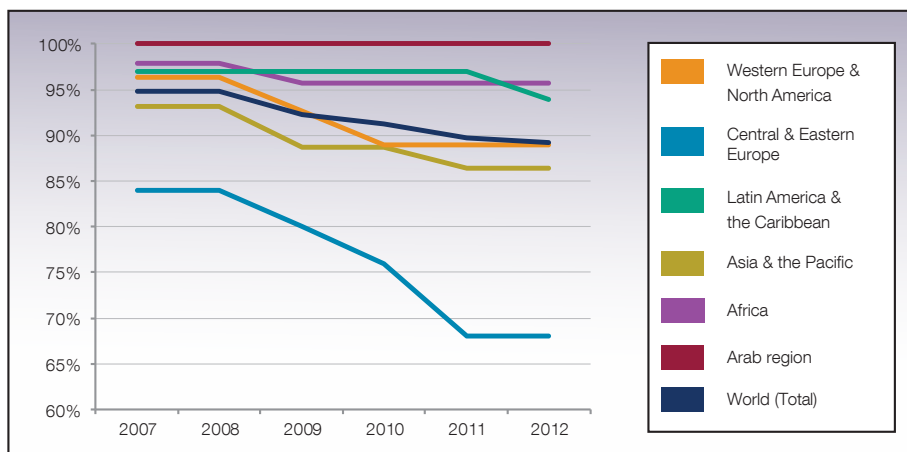
A DETERIORATING LEGAL AND STATUTORY ENVIRONMENT

With the exception of freedom of information and criminal defamation, the majority of legal reforms pertaining to press freedom over the last half decade have been regressive. A global trend of 'legal deterioration by imitation' can be said to have emerged, as restrictive legislation in one country or region on issues as diverse as the internet, social media, and anti-terrorism has tended to be mirrored by other countries around the world, often creating impediments to media freedom.

The vast majority of countries around the world have constitutional guarantees for freedom of expression, but over the last six years the media and journalists, including their online and citizen journalist counterparts, have faced growing legal constraints in many parts of the world.

Defamation, slander, insult and *lèse-majesté* laws, which do not meet international standards for legitimate limitations on freedom of expression, have remained a significant impediment across the world. As of 2012, 174 countries retained criminal penalties for defamation, with full decriminalization in 21 countries, according to ARTICLE 19. A slow trend towards decriminalization of defamation has continued over the last six years, however, with a majority of those 21 countries (13) fully decriminalizing defamation in the past six years. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights adopted in 2010 a resolution calling on member countries to repeal defamation laws, whose call was echoed in 2012 by the pan-African parliament. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has had an ongoing decriminalization campaign. UNESCO has also provided technical assistance to governments on revising legislation to align with international standards and best practices.

Figure 1
Percentage of Member States by region in which defamation was a criminal offense



Source: ARTICLE 19. *Defamation maps*. <http://www.article19.org/defamation/map.html>

A trend evident in the last six years has been the increasing use of civil defamation, often in lieu of criminal cases, resulting in disproportionate fines and damages, particularly against media and journalists critical of governments. 'Libel tourism' has enabled powerful individuals to limit critical and dissenting voices by 'shopping' around the world for the jurisdictions most likely to approve their defamation suits.

Prevalent as well has been the continued use of national security, anti-terrorism or anti-extremism laws to limit debate or restrict dissenting views. Studies show that imprisonment of journalists worldwide reached a record high in 2012 due in part to the widespread use of terrorism charges and other anti-state offences against critical

reporters and editors. As some countries were adopting progressive media laws on one hand, they were putting in place stringent national security provisions, which have been used to limit media freedom on the other.

During the period, in the Latin America and the Caribbean region, 19 countries adopted new media-related laws, partially related to media concentration, some of which have generated further discussions over media freedom. Jamming, a most notable trend of the past, has resurfaced over the last decade or so in several regions, prompted in part by the expansion of satellite television.

An ambiguous trend of the last six years has concerned the principle of confidentiality of journalists' sources. Although the recognition of the need for legal protections has been widespread at the national level⁵ and by regional bodies, it has been increasingly undermined on the grounds of national security or anti-terrorism. National security agencies across a range of countries have gained access to journalists' documents, emails and phone records, as well as to massive stores of data that have the potential to enable tracking of journalists, sources and whistle-blowers.

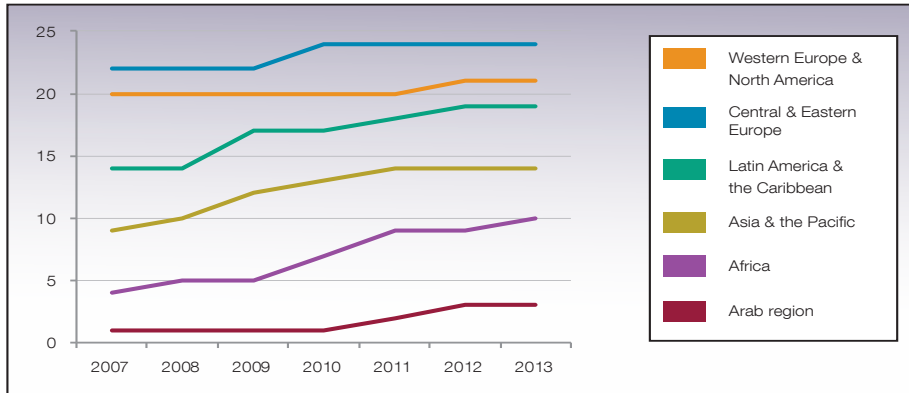
INCREASE IN FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

The predominant trend towards the adoption of freedom of and/or access to information laws (FOI) of the previous decade has continued.⁶ Since 2007, countries in every region have adopted FOI laws, so that more than 90 countries (including some independent jurisdictions) now have such laws, with several others under consideration, indicating a clear trend in this respect. A small majority of countries around the world still lack FOI recognition in their legislation or have not adopted a dedicated FOI law. This is evident in parts of the Arab region, where, nonetheless, a handful of countries have recently adopted such provisions. UNESCO's mandate as set out in its 1945 Constitution specifically calls on the Organization to "promote the free flow of ideas by word and image" and has been reflected in its strategic programme objective of enhancing universal access to information and knowledge.

5 More than 100 countries around the world have legally recognized the right of journalists to protect their sources, according to Privacy International. In nearly 20 countries around the world, this legal protection has been found in the national constitution.

6 This report uses the term freedom of information (FOI), which includes right to know or right to information (RTI) legislation.

Figure 2
Member States by region with freedom of information (FOI) laws in power



Sources: freedominfo.org. (2013, March). *Consensus list of 93 countries with freedom of information laws or the equivalent*; Vleugels, R. (2012, 30 September). *Overview of all FOI laws*. Fringe Special; Open Society Justice Initiative. (2013, March). *List of Countries with Access to Information (ATI) Provisions in their National/Federal Laws or Actionable Decrees, and Dates of Adoption & Significant Amendments*

The persistence and use of secrecy laws that do not meet international standards has remained a key challenge the world over. Only a handful of countries have repealed such laws, while a large number have adopted new security or anti-terrorism legislation that has impacted on media freedom. Such legislation, in conjunction with the culture of confidentiality common within most governments and civil services, has meant that the right to access official information has remained limited for the majority of journalists around the world. Efforts to produce more open governance have also emerged, such as the multilateral Open Government Partnership, with 63 governments, and the development of Global Principles on National Security and the Right to Information that were finalized in June 2013 after consultation with five Special Rapporteurs and more than 500 experts from more than 70 countries.

RELIGION AND BLASPHEMY

Generally, the last six years have seen increasing intolerance for opinions or factual reporting deemed by some to offend religion or morality. Limitations on the universal right to 'freedom of thought, conscience and religion' have often raised challenges to journalists and social media users. Laws against blasphemy, apostasy or 'defamation of religion' have continued to restrict freedom of expression and press freedom, with little change in national laws over the past six years. As of 2011, 47% of countries had such laws, including 32 with laws or policies prohibiting blasphemy and 87 with 'defamation of religion' laws, according to the Pew Research Center. This has been a contested issue at the international level. In some situations, such laws have reportedly been used to harass, intimidate and imprison journalists.

GENDER-BASED EXCLUSIONS: INSUFFICIENT PROGRESS

The last six years have witnessed some progress with regard to the experiences of women journalists of media freedom, and more generally the position of women within the media. Women's progress has been due in large part to online media that have afforded women, who have traditionally had less access to public means of communication than men the world over, channels to communicate their ideas, opinions, experiences, and knowledge. At the same time, gender-based exclusion from the news by mainstream media and even online and alternative media has remained with little change in recent years. Only a quarter of people heard or read about in the news were female, just over a third of media industry employees were women, the glass ceiling remained intact, and women have remained underrepresented in professional recognition. The legal and policy trends in media freedom of the last six years have done very little to recognize gender-based exclusions or to seek to address structural inequalities in women's access to the media both off-line and online [see PLURALISM: GENDER]. UNESCO's Global Priority Gender Equality has sought to change this by developing knowledge resources that seek to reduce barriers to access and full participation by men and women.

LEGAL TIGHTENING ONLINE

The convergence of media and communication technologies has radically transformed traditional models of communications and media. Mobile telephony and internet usage have emerged as the fastest-growing channel through which millions of people around the world access news and information. This new media landscape has raised significant challenges for traditional media and for governments. Many authorities have adopted new laws and policies or used existing laws to limit access or punish online media and internet speech with insufficient regard in both cases to international standards on limitations. The change has also created new intermediaries in the private sector. Their decisions, whether mandated or not by governmental authorities, have impacted information flows and privacy, and have contributed to censorship through blocking and filtering.

The development and multiplication of laws, policies and practices addressing online speech and media platforms have emerged as predominant trends over the past six years. Most of these developments have been regressive in nature and have imposed restrictions that do not meet the legitimacy conditions set out in international human rights standards. Recent studies, including the UNESCO publication *Freedom of Connection, Freedom of Expression*, show that that an increasing number of countries have taken steps to block or regulate internet access or content through measures such as blocking, filtering content critical of authorities and arresting users who had posted information deemed undesirable. Reports also indicate that internet surveillance has reportedly been growing at a faster pace than internet content filtering, since surveillance can enable authorities to monitor online activities and contacts rather than pushing them off-line.

At legal and policy levels, the developments of the last six years have included laws that seek to regulate online content and have often been used to suppress freedom of expression and freedom of the media online. Such laws have often included the registration of online sites, bloggers, and citizen journalists. As of 2012, at least 13 countries were reported to require registration for internet use. Many governments have adopted laws, policies and technologies to filter or block access to content online, including entire websites, IP addresses, ports, network protocols or types of uses. The reasons for blocking have been varied. Most common has been material deemed to be of an improper sexual nature (which has included materials relating to homosexuality or family planning). Also common in some States has been the restriction of materials that criticize the government.

Another trend of the last six years impacting on press freedom has been the growth of cybercrime laws. A United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2013 draft study highlighted a reported 250 existing and more than 100 new or planned pieces of legislation related to cybercrime, with criminalization the predominant area of focus for existing, new or planned legislation. Often vaguely worded and overbroad, cybercrime laws have required intermediaries to report alleged violations, imposed criminal liability on them, and required surveillance or data retention of online content.

The liability of internet intermediaries, by which private companies may be held responsible for content that is illegal or deemed harmful which is made accessible through their servers or services, has gained increasing importance over the last six years. Given cases of uncertainty of takedown procedures and the lack of legal resources, intermediaries have sometimes been excessively compliant with takedown notices, often outside the legal system and with little recourse for the affected content producer. Intermediaries have at times been held criminally liable for content posted by a user which others perceive as violating privacy or defamation laws. Such cases indicate an emerging trend of 'preventive censorship,' where companies conduct their own monitoring and filtering to avoid possible repercussions. This contributes to a process of 'privatized censorship,' in which some governments may come to rely on private sector companies to regulate online content outside of electoral accountability and without due process.

Another important legal development has been the adoption of laws that have criminalized the downloading and sharing of certain materials potentially protected by intellectual property (IP) rights or that have extended the implementation of existing laws to online content. IP-related laws or policies for online content have become hotly contested, with civil society groups organizing against a perceived overreach of IP legal initiatives and its potential to allow for censorship. In 2012, for example, civil society groups mobilized globally against related international agreements (ACTA, WCIT), as well as high profile national legislation.

New questions about press freedom have emerged from the 2010 Wikileaks release of an unprecedented quantity of confidential information on diplomatic affairs into the public domain, followed in 2013 by Edward Snowden's leak about mass surveillance of online communication by several governments in the Western Europe and North American

region. Online platforms and traditional journalistic outlets, particularly newspapers with a global reach, amplified the revelations. This raised public interest issues, as well as distinctions, within an expanded realm of media, between publishers, sources and journalists in regard to press freedom. Although for the most part restrictions have not been placed on the traditional media actors, searches of media outlets and the use of anti-terrorism laws to detain journalists and their associates have emerged as concerns. The 2013 surveillance revelations raised calls for governments that monitor and share digital information to provide sufficient safeguards against violating the right to freedom of expression as well as to privacy.

CONCLUSION

The last six years have seen further consolidation of the trends of the last decade, which has entailed a dramatic transformation of the media and of journalism. The development of online and social media as major sources of news and opinions has meant that many issues around the dynamics raised here have become increasingly relevant to the internet. This shift has been recognized by international bodies, including UNESCO, which has included consideration of bloggers, social media producers and new online actors in its reports and activities. In 2011, the UN Human Rights Committee defined journalism as an activity that consists of the collection and dissemination of information to the public via any means of mass communication, and which includes bloggers and others who engage in forms of self-publication.

At the same time, freedom for the broadcasting and the traditional press have remained important, as underscored by continuing legislation developments regarding their regulation and by the threats, imprisonment, and killings of 'traditional' journalists [see SAFETY chapter]. The period may thus best be seen as 'transitional,' with traditional and new media and communication forms and forces, along with governments and intermediaries, all contending to shape the media freedom environment of the 21st century. While the last six years have tended to present regressive legal and policy trends, it is also the case that many media, journalists, bloggers and other social media communicators around the world have built up norms of publishing freedom online, and have created a free and diverse online information landscape. At the same time, online expression has not always reflected professional journalistic standards, and there has remained insufficient critical media and information literacy among readers and users, including young people. However, among all these media and journalistic actors, there has been a continuing tradition of investigative journalism, which has helped to ensure that media freedom endures because of the service it provides in the public interest.

The following sections examine freedom trends with respect to global media and gender.

FREEDOM: GLOBAL MEDIA

OVERVIEW

The dominant media trend relevant to media freedom at the global level over the past six years has been the diversification and disruption of news production methods, publishing and distribution modalities and the growth of audiences for global media. The internet and satellite television have become more widely available, diverse, and influential, partially because most national and international news outlets now make content available online. There has been concurrently a return to tactics such as blocking and filtering that were common more than two decades ago and have now been applied to a wider range of media and by a wider range of actors. The trend towards increased opportunities for interactive journalism has blurred boundaries both between media sectors, and between journalists and news consumers, which in turn has disrupted traditional information flows and journalistic practices and challenged existing legal and regulatory frameworks.

The dominant trend towards technical convergence has meant that content originating in broadcasting, telecommunications, print and the internet can increasingly be accessed on multiple platforms (including computers and mobile phones), at more locations, by more users, and through a variety of new intermediaries and aggregators. This has also led to emerging challenges to the free flow of information and to privacy, including of journalistic sources and processes. Surveillance and data mining have become possible on unprecedented scales, source protection has taken on new dimensions, and new mechanisms of censorship, including the privatization of censorship, have become possible.

The dominant trend has thus been towards the internet and Web 2.0 applications and platforms greatly extending the quantity of both professionally published and user-generated content, the capacity for user interaction with content, and the redistribution of content to global audiences (within or outside of copyright constraints), while simultaneously raising novel challenges that have differed from the past in scale and scope and which have been transnational by the very nature of networked communication flows. These developments have had consequential effects relevant to media and press freedom in regard to traditional media, newsgathering practices and platforms, ethical considerations and professional norms.

ACCESS AND INFORMATION

Satellite television has added global or transnational alternatives to national viewing options for audiences, challenging governmental control of broadcasting and content where this has survived. Meanwhile, online media (including social media), sometimes

linked to satellite media, have enabled further distribution and new mechanisms of production. Global news providers, such as the BBC and Al Jazeera, have been able to draw on more extensive newsgathering operations and more effectively validate content from new media sources, such as blogs and real-time video, than national competitors. Trust in the media in several regions has reportedly increased slightly since 2007, with traditional media sources remaining the most trusted, but with a major surge in trust of social media.

CONTENT AND CENSORSHIP

The growth in information access and opportunities for expression enabled by new media has undermined existing censorship regimes while creating new forms of censorship and enabling new depths and reaches of surveillance. The reach of satellite and internet content has globalized audiences for content that were previously localised or regionalised, and thus intensified demands, from some quarters, to restrict such content on grounds of perceived local offence (such as religious offence). It has also encouraged what could be called ‘venue shopping’ for defamation and related lawsuits.

Private companies, including Internet Service Providers (ISPs), Online Service Providers (e.g. search engines and social networks) and news aggregators have come to play a critical intermediary role in access to content. Search engines’ algorithms have influenced what content is viewed, and have been manipulated at the request of some governments. Some governments have sought to make internet intermediaries liable for content carried on their networks or services that infringes on content controls, whereas others have legislated against intermediary liability. Some technology and media companies have sought to develop common standards on expression rights through the multistakeholder Global Network Initiative (GNI), which includes companies, investors and civil society from around the world, and other transnational efforts.

The measures taken by some governments and non-state actors (namely the private sector) to suppress or control expression have increased and become more sophisticated since 2007. As noted in UNESCO’s *Freedom of Connection*, “content control measures have become more prevalent around the world, and are undertaken for a wide variety of reasons, often with very good intentions.” A group of leading international broadcasters based in Western Europe and North America and Asia and the Pacific said in May 2013 that media freedom faced its greatest challenge since the period between 1945-1989, as satellite broadcast jamming had become a regular occurrence along with internet blocking, cyber-attacks on media organizations, shortwave jamming, and FM broadcasting disruption. In 2007, the independent academic OpenNet Initiative found evidence of state-mandated filtering of the internet in 26 of the 41 countries it analysed. At the end of 2009, the project estimated that 32% of all internet users were accessing a filtered version of the internet. In extreme cases but with rising frequency, this has included wholesale blocking of the internet, often with the purpose of preventing the flow of news out of a country during times of crisis. More commonly, censorial approaches have involved blocking – indefinitely or for limited periods – satellite television channels,

mobile networks and internet domains or websites, including social media sites that have been widely used for public expression. Most common has been the filtering of internet content, including broadcast and print content published online, to prevent access to particular categories of material. The most extensive internet filtering practices have reportedly taken place in countries in the East and Central Asia subregions and the Arab region.

Blocking and filtering have been applied to increasingly diverse kinds of content. Some governments have tended to use these techniques to inhibit expression and association, particularly since the 2011 popular uprisings in parts of the Arab region illustrated the potential impact of wider expression on political events. Other governments have tended to use these measures in contexts related to child sexual abuse images, and protection of intellectual property rights, as well as in the pursuit of national security and anti-terrorism efforts. For example, the Wikileaks website, in addition to experiencing unidentified distributed denial-of-service (DDoS) attacks, was denied services as a result of pressure placed on financial intermediaries and web hosting companies in a development that represented an extension of censorial practices that have been more typically reserved for online gambling or pornography.

While ISPs and telecoms have typically used blocking and filtering against spam and malware, there appeared to be an emerging trend towards using these measures, whether by government mandate or not, in ways not always fully congruent with international standards of law-governed, necessary and proportionate, and for legitimate purpose. In addition, there have been instances of transnational censorship decisions being made by the private sector, although there have not been enough cases to determine whether this represented an emerging trend.

An increasingly dominant trend has been surveillance and monitoring of internet traffic and content, as well as phone calls and text messages, by some governments and law enforcement agencies, including the possibility of using data-mining to track journalists and uncover their sources and information flows. Although this trend was noticeable prior to 2007 in a range of countries with different political systems, more States appear to want access to such data, and there has been an emerging trend towards requiring intermediaries/ISPs to keep user records and permit governments to access them, often without clear rules, a court order, independent oversight, or transparency in the numbers of access events. The widespread transmission of internet usage data by major global internet companies to some governments and the concurrent surveillance of metadata flows, coming on the heels of government surveillance operations against select news outlets and journalists, indicated a possible emerging trend of outsourcing surveillance, which could have implications for users globally, and particularly journalists and their sources. Recognizing the need to better understand these trends and their impact, Member States at the 37th General Conference in 2013 requested UNESCO to provide a study on this topic and the UN General Assembly adopted a consensus resolution on the right to privacy in the digital age.

Since all the world's millions of servers are housed within State jurisdictions, data on them can become subject to the laws where they physically reside. In this context, there has been an emerging trend to increase transparency about law enforcement requests by some global companies. Starting in 2010, companies began providing some information on government take-down or other requests, with Facebook, Google, Microsoft, Twitter and Yahoo all doing so by 2013. The GNI has encouraged transparency commitments from technology companies.⁷

In the environment of expanded media platforms, some state and non-state actors have increasingly engaged in disinformation and/or information manipulation campaigns, particularly online, as part of global public diplomacy. Such campaigns against journalists and bloggers have also emerged as a tactic to discredit the information they produce; these have often taken the form of sexual harassment when targeted at women [see SAFETY: GENDER]. The abundance of information and diversification of news creators poses challenges for users to establish what is credible, although it is unclear to what extent there is a trend towards more sophisticated media and information literacy.

DEBATES WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS

The challenges raised by these developments are complex and have been increasingly widely debated in global forums concerned with communications governance and human rights. As the internet has become increasingly significant over the past six years, disparate trends have emerged. Some governments have sought to increase governmental authority over the internet, while others have viewed government involvement as a threat to innovation, as well as freedom of expression. Discussions about whether telecommunication regulations should apply to the internet took place during the 2012 World Conference on International Telecommunications, but did not produce a consensus.⁸ At UNESCO, the emphasis has been on the need to understand changing paradigms and parameters of expression within a complex, changing social, economic and political ecology.

The past six years have seen intensified debate concerning whether internet access – including infrastructure provision – has become essential to freedom of expression (both information access and publication of ideas) and therefore mandated by the international rights regime. In this light, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression has argued that, while internet access has not yet become a human right as such, it is an enabler of rights, and accordingly governments should implement policies to make the internet widely available, accessible and affordable to all. The UN Human Rights Council and the UN Special Rapporteur have clarified the view that the ICCPR's Article 19 (expression) rights should be equivalent online and off-line.

⁷ The *Google Transparency Report* launched in early 2010, the *Twitter Transparency Report* in July 2012, and *Microsoft Law Enforcement Requests Report* in March 2013.

⁸ The Final Acts of WCIT-12 were signed by 89 of the ITU's 191 Member States.

Debate around “defamation of religions” and how this impacts on the right to free expression, has continued to be an issue at global level. In 2006, UNESCO’s Executive Board adopted at its 174th Session a decision on ‘Respect for freedom of expression and respect for sacred beliefs and values and religious and cultural symbols.’ Further calls for the strengthening of religious tolerance and the prevention of hate speech were agreed in the adoption at the Human Rights Council of Resolution 16/18 by consensus in 2011 and this was reaffirmed by similar resolutions in 2012 and 2013, as well as the agreement of the Rabat Plan of Action on the prohibition of incitement to hatred in 2013 by 87 governments.

FREEDOM: GENDER

OVERVIEW

The legal and statutory environment in which the media operate does not appear to have a dimension that singles out women. Women's journalistic experiences of media freedom since 2007 have been affected by expanding political, economic and social rights across the world since the 1970s, as well as access to online media, which have enabled women to enter into news and information in greater numbers. Yet the predominant trend over the past six years has been that gender dynamics of freedom of expression in traditional media have continued to be thwarted by entrenched forms of discrimination, which have manifested both subtly (e.g. the 'glass ceiling') and explicitly (e.g. the lack of laws and of policies, including at the level of media companies, that mandate gender equality) [see INDEPENDENCE: GENDER]. Women's freedom to express themselves over the period can also be measured in their visibility as news subjects and news sources [see PLURALISM: GENDER]. At the macro-level, laws deregulating markets have resulted in increasingly concentrated mainstream media in most countries today, with little benefit to women media professionals.

Although "gender" concerns both women and men, and discrimination against LGBT persons is a gender equality concern, this section focuses on women, as there are not enough data on the latter.

WOMEN AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

The lack of women's perspectives in news was first identified as a global problem at the World Conference on the UN Decade for Women, held in Mexico City in 1976. Nearly 40 years later, internet-based communication has helped women to fill that gap, particularly as the past six years have shown an increased trend towards women's increased communicative activities and participation in online news flows. One of the most dramatic expressions of this was women journalists and citizens who participated in the uprisings of 2011 in parts of the Arab region. Social media enabled women to become leading news sources in some events, creating websites and blogs to disseminate information and offer commentary.

There are several reasons why cyber activity matters to women's freedom of expression in media. Although gender inequality has remained prevalent in both access to ICTs and production of online news media, research has suggested that blogging and social networking sites have provided women a technological vehicle for personal expression and connectivity. Such platforms have enabled many women to share ideas and debate serious issues, thereby breaking down social privilege and engaging in public

discourse about matters of interest to them, as well as actively creating and disseminating knowledge. According to Technorati's annual *State of the Blogosphere* report, women's representation among bloggers remained at about two-thirds until falling off slightly in the past couple of years to about three-fifths of bloggers.⁹ Women have been estimated to represent about half of social media users worldwide. Most bloggers are believed to perform their work without compensation. Online and social media platforms have helped to increase women's access to means of communication, and a wide range of groups has worked to educate marginalised women in how to use new technologies in their interest, enabling them to create news by and about women in their local and national areas.

Recognizing that women's ability to take advantage of ICT is dependent on conducive policies, UNESCO has promoted an enabling environment, supported the extension of communications infrastructure to where women live, and targeted the gender divide in ICTs by raising awareness and supporting initiatives aimed at bridging this divide, including through direct assistance and media and information literacy programmes.

RECOGNITION FOR WOMEN JOURNALISTS

The UNESCO/Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize honours a person, organization or institution that has made a notable contribution to the defence and/or promotion of press freedom anywhere in the world, and eight out of the 17 laureates have been women (47%). But women's contributions to newsgathering have long been under-recognized by traditional professional and news organizations, a trend that has continued. For example, a list published by Pearson Education found that only 21 of hundreds of Pulitzer Prizes awarded in the years 2007 to 2012 went to women. The function of awarding recognition has recently expanded among national and international women's groups. These have recognized women journalists' courage in reporting, particularly in the face of physical danger or threats, as well as women's reporting on human rights, violence against women, peace initiatives, and a range of other gender issues.¹⁰ While some of the awards have been given annually specifically to recognize women's reporting, others have been more sporadic, depending on news events in a given year. Others have made an effort to recognize young women journalists' contributions at the beginning of their careers.

9 The *State of the Blogosphere* survey included bloggers from throughout the world, but was conducted only in English, and the United States of America was disproportionately represented.

10 For example, IWWMF's Courage in Journalism Award, the Women's Fund for Peace and Human Rights' Yavori Journalist Award, and the National Federation of Press Women's Communicator of Achievement Award.

CHAPTER 2: PLURALISM

Pluralism is conceptualized as a matter of economic ownership and control, as well as the diversity of journalistic content, and is considered for all media platforms.

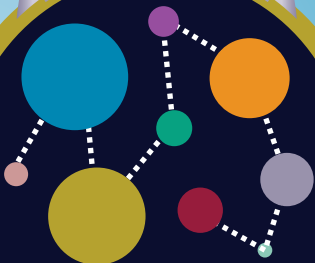
WHAT DOES... MEDIA PLURALISM ...MEAN?

ACCESS



TO A VARIETY OF
DIFFERENT TYPES
OF MEDIA

PLURALITY



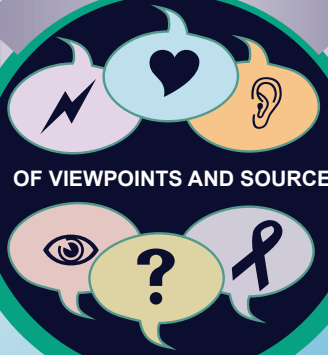
OF OWNERSHIP
STRUCTURES

SUSTAINABILITY




OF BUSINESS
MODELS

DIVERSITY



OF VIEWPOINTS AND SOURCES

BROAD SCOPE



OF COVERAGE

GENDER EQUALITY



IN MEDIA
ORGANIZATIONS

PLURALISM: INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

Media pluralism is both a matter of economic ownership (including the gender dimension), as well as of diversity of journalistic content across platforms. It refers in part to the range of media outlets available (access) and the varieties of ownership in a particular polity, and it can also be assessed at the level of global media. A register of pluralism is the existence of viable public, private and community media as well as access to a range of platforms (including online) and a diversity of news content. The ownership and control aspects of pluralism make the concept inextricably linked with considerations of independence, which is covered in the next chapter. This chapter describes key dimensions of media pluralism and summarizes the main trends identified.

In the past six years, there has been increased elaboration of the understanding of media pluralism as a multiplicity of media outlets, platforms and channels that are independent of each other and which compete for audiences, influence and content. In this, no central or severely limited number of owners – including the State – should dominate the media field, though there may be several big and many small economic actors in the field. Further, pluralist media are recognized as needing to be able to communicate with and represent all social groups as well as local communities. UNESCO's 26th General Conference endorsed this perspective on pluralism in 1991, specifically endorsing the end to media monopolies and the reflection of the widest possible range of opinion in the press. The *Joint Declaration on Diversity in Broadcasting* produced in 2009 by the international special rapporteurs on freedom of expression highlighted the importance of diversity in the media 'to the free flow of information and ideas in society, in terms of both giving voice to and satisfying the information needs and other interests of all, as protected by international guarantees of the right to freedom of expression.' From this perspective, plurality requires that a diversity of viewpoints are available and consumed across and within media enterprises, and necessitates preventing any one media owner or voice from having too much potential influence over public opinion.

Establishing a direct causal link between media concentration and media pluralism *per se* has always posed a scientific challenge, but the general assumption has been that an absence of monopoly in terms of ownership correlates with diverse content availability. The corresponding assumption is that when there exists concentration of media ownership in the hands of a few owners, and particularly when their identity and origins of capital remains undisclosed, there is an inherent threat to media pluralism. Not only is the public unaware of which interests shape media content, but the lack of ownership transparency can potentially lead to hidden monopolies and limit access and representation of diverse and critical views.

The predominant trend over the past six years worldwide has been towards expansion in access to media across all platforms, which has concurrently disrupted traditional forms of journalism practice, economics, advertising and ownership. There has been a quantum leap in the production, consumption and distribution of news and information around the world by more people than ever, leading to:

- New interactivity and innovation in journalism practices, media production and dissemination, deepening pluralistic possibilities;
- New sources and voices and the rise of citizen journalism, widening pluralism;
- Blurring distinctions between journalism, citizen journalism and activism and between advertising and editorial material, which makes media pluralism more complex to assess;
- Fragmentation and specialization of journalism, with increasing reliance on commentary rather than reporting of news. This expands the free flow of views, but may also be accompanied in some cases by the development of ‘information cocoons’ (where persons deal only in information that reaffirms existing views);
- Challenges to traditional news media business models which endanger their contribution to pluralism by exacerbating the downsizing of newsgathering staff in the most affected enterprises.

EXPANDING ACCESS AND GREATER PLURALISM OF SOURCES

Around the world, countries have adopted new broadcasting regulations over the last six years against the backdrop of the ‘digital switch,’ which is the process of moving from a system of analogue broadcasting signals to digital transmissions. This began in television in 2006, when a number of regions agreed to complete the transition to digital television by 2015. The switch enables an increase in the numbers of broadcast television channels on the airwaves, but digital licensing regulations have sometimes reinforced concentration of ownership of media channels, rather than promoting a pluralism of actors. UNESCO has provided policy assistance to States in the process of making the digital switch.

At the same time, despite very uneven developments and constraints, there is no doubt that worldwide access to media has expanded rapidly over the past six years, driven by growing access to internet and mobile technologies. This has also been the case as regards traditional broadcasting (including satellite) and the establishment of more than one national broadcaster as well as growth in the print media, particularly in parts of Asia and the Pacific, although print has experienced a decline in circulation and advertising revenue in parts of Europe and North America. The most rapid growth has been in mobile communication, particularly in parts of Asia and the Pacific as well as Africa, which has also reached beyond urban centres and has enabled media content circulation.

Traditional platforms have remained important as predominant primary originators of news, although the trend around much of the world is increasingly towards accessing

news flows online. Television has remained the dominant medium by which people worldwide generally get their news, although radio has continued to be most important in many parts of Africa and print remains significant throughout Western Europe and North America. The World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) reported that globally, the time individuals spent reading newspapers remained relatively constant over the past six years, while internet use levels have increased by approximately 20 minutes per day during the same period. There has been an apparent decline in radio consumption, at least in some regions, as time spent listening to this medium has fallen by 11% since 2007. Policy issues concerning whether the transition to digital radio and television broadcasting is enhancing pluralism or entrenching the control of existing operators have been raised. Renewed debates about the jamming of satellite television as well as newer debates about blockage of internet and mobile services have also emerged [see [FREEDOM](#) chapter].

ECONOMIC DYNAMICS AFFECTING INDEPENDENT AND PLURALISTIC MEDIA

There have been divergent trends with respect to media pluralism over the past six years. There has been a predominant trend away from state-monopolies to market-based media systems amid the privatization of state-owned media in much of the world, which has generally expanded the extent of pluralism. In addition, in some regions, the fall of long-serving leaders and a degree of opening up in other cases have also resulted in increased pluralism, as in parts of Africa, the Arab region, and Asia and the Pacific. On the other hand, the global financial crisis and technological disruption have also shaken traditional business models and advertising trends, causing closures or shrinkage for some outlets, and thereby curtailing pluralism. In addition, in parts of Europe and North America, the concentration of players in commercial media may be seen to have limited pluralism in the dominant media markets, at least in the mainstream media.

State ownership and direct or indirect governmental control of segments of the media have remained in parts of Africa, the Arab region, Asia and the Pacific, and Central and Eastern Europe. Indirect control, in which there are formally independent owners, but where government exerts pressure over editorial choices in order to exclude alternative or oppositional perspectives, has also remained in some regions.

Divergent trends with respect to advertising revenue have led to different dynamics in the news industry worldwide, with Western Europe and North America having experienced a sharp downturn, especially for print, whereas the Arab region and Latin America and the Caribbean have experienced relatively strong growth, although generally below pre-2008 levels. The trend has been more mixed in Asia and the Pacific. In parts of the Africa region, although a lack of data on advertising revenue has remained, there has generally been insufficient advertising to support a more pluralistic media landscape in the commercial media sector.

The finances of state-owned international broadcasters have impacted on pluralism in regard to foreign language broadcasts. There have been cuts at Voice of America (VOA), the BBC's World Service, and Radio Netherlands in the past few years, which have led to many languages being dropped at the same period in which Arabic-language news services were strengthened by some of those broadcasters and by others. Some countries have launched new English-language news stations, and several global broadcasters started news services in Spanish over the same period.

MEDIA CONCENTRATION TRENDS

There have been three types of concentration in the media industry globally: horizontal concentration (the common ownership of several firms and/or products in the same market); vertical concentration (along the supply chain of a single product); and diagonal or cross-media ownership concentration. There has been a marked trend towards increased concentration in media ownership globally, including notable horizontal concentration, as in the African radio sector and Central and Eastern European print industry, and vertical concentration, as in Western Europe and North America, due to liberal regulation and introduction of digital technologies. In parts of Latin America and the Caribbean, media ownership has been highly concentrated among a limited number of owners, and there has often existed cross ownership inside the dominant media groups in both the printed press and broadcast media. While there has been a tendency that some international firms predominate in flows of international news, actors from other regions have also increasingly become important and have increased pluralism as regards international TV news coverage.

Pluralism has been impacted by a lack of progress in supporting independent public service broadcasting, with the exception of Latin America and the Caribbean and parts of the South-East Asia subregion, where there has been some progress, and Western Europe and North America, where it was already strongest. The aim of such systems is to provide diverse and representative programming and thus entails that public service broadcasters are sufficiently provided for financially, and enjoy full editorial independence. The past six years have seen ongoing struggles over the role and position of public service broadcasters as regards organizational and economic models.¹¹

As a distinct sector in a pluralistic media landscape, community media have achieved greater legal recognition over the past six years, but have continued to face sustainability problems and have remained in a regulatory vacuum in many countries. Community radio is particularly important as regards media pluralism in rural areas and marginal geographic areas, as well as for religious groups and language minorities. This sector often represents

11 There are different models for financing state-owned broadcasters – licence fees without advertising, state subvention, a combination that also operates with advertising, and exclusively advertising. There also exist systems where a licence-based public service broadcaster competes with or may be cross-subsidized by two types of commercial players: 1. an advertising-based broadcaster with certain programme and marketing privileges combined with a public service remit; and 2. a commercial broadcaster that has no public service obligations.

the only media offering local news and programming in local languages, although not all such outlets are able, or permitted by law, to produce or broadcast news.

In many countries, daily newspapers have continued to stand directly or often indirectly for different political orientations. In some regions, religious media have played an important role in contributing to media pluralism.

MIXED RESULTS FOR CONTENT PLURALISM

Although it has been possible to some degree to ascertain the existence of ownership conglomerates, measuring the impact of media concentration on editorial independence and hence the pluralism of content has been more challenging. The continued predominance of media conglomerates, and the concentration of commercial media on serving monied audiences who are attractive to advertisers, has fuelled concerns over whether ‘market censorship’ may restrict the plurality of voices in the media field, particularly broadcast and print. Concentration has been compounded by a decline in funding for media monitoring and support groups, particularly in parts of Africa and Central and Eastern Europe.

The development of decentralized, personalized media technologies, however, broadens pluralism by allowing easy access for new players to an extended media market. On the other hand, it has been argued in some countries that the development of ‘social media’ and algorithmic personalization affords cases where the likeminded communicate with the likeminded in ‘information cocoons,’ and where there is little variety of news or views, but rather a steady repetition of the same information diet. Thus, the impact of pluralistic media sources online may not translate into pluralistic consumption practices and may sometimes run counter to effective pluralism.

Furthermore, increased availability of news content does not necessarily signal that a greater diversity of sources is being accessed, or portrayed in mainstream media. The trend towards concentration off-line has been mirrored to some extent online through continuing predominance of major media outlets and their news content, even on blogs and social media. Although systematic data collection of media representation has remained difficult and expensive to gather, data from yearly global monitoring of women’s representation in media have indicated that women remain under-represented as journalists, sources and experts in both traditional and newer media outlets [see [PLURALISM: GENDER](#)]. While in many parts of the world there has appeared to be some degree of improvement in relation to the representation of women and minorities, as well as ethnic and religious and immigrant populations, the general trend has still been under-representation among media employees, especially at higher levels, and stereotypical portrayals in mainstream media. In parts of the Arab region, a lack of pluralistic content has remained. There has been limited pluralism in parts of Asia and the Pacific due to a decline in quality public journalism, and the same result is evident in parts of Africa due to governmental influence over significant media outlets and political party ownership of others.

The development of online news and journalism via social media, coupled with the increasing financial pressures media outlets have experienced over the past six years, have also been associated with an increased tendency to blur the division between advertising and editorial material across all platforms. From the perspective of media pluralism, this has undermined editorial independence and may lead to a decreasing degree of news pluralism and also to an increased emphasis within news to that which is market- and entertainment-oriented. Assessment of online alternative and citizen media suggests that much of their news has been drawn from mainstream media, rather than representing original contributions to news. On the other hand, the mainstream has also played an important amplification role with respect to news first published in these other media.

The following sections examine pluralism trends with respect to global media and gender.

PLURALISM: GLOBAL MEDIA

OVERVIEW

The main global trend in media pluralism has been one of turbulence and disruption, with broad long-term shifts taking place whose outcomes remain highly uncertain and in flux.

The rise of the internet has continued to be the main trend shaping pluralism in the global media environment over the last six years. It has broadened the reach and brands of specialised global media outlets whose content originates worldwide, is distributed worldwide, has a worldwide character, and which is aimed at a global audience. It has also provided a stage for numerous other, often smaller, actors to do likewise and publish directly to global publics. Citizen journalism and other user-generated content, whether within or outside the mainstream global media, have propelled the trend towards diversification of source material, resulting in greater diversity of information sources and enriching reporting. Although the leading economic standing of a limited number of major media organizations from a single region has continued, new global media actors have become increasingly competitive and there are far more choices. Combined with the trend towards citizen journalism, and increased use and access to digitized media online that is available globally, economic status has not translated into equivalent standing with respect to content or consumption.

The incorporation of diverse content and actors into mainstream global and transnational media has partly obviated historical concerns that some countries have been dependent on foreign media for information articulation and dissemination and have lacked the means to originate news themselves. One of the main trends leading to greater pluralism has been the growth in niche media platforms and specialist content that are widely accessible, which would not previously have been possible without the technological affordances of satellite broadcasting and the internet.

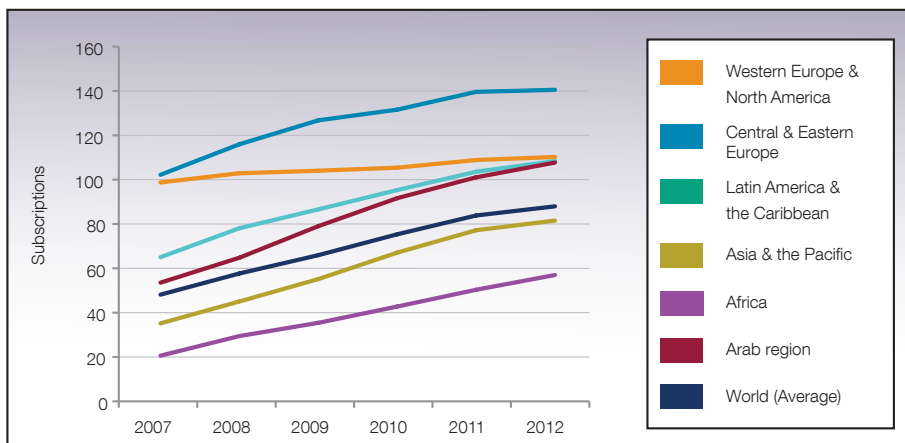
At the same time, although these technologies have enabled many more voices to be heard, the volume of voices and the focus of news attention means that previous media power structures and regional and gender patterns have continued to find a degree of replication in other outlets. Although data are inadequate, it also appears that news and frames in the global media that lead economically have often fallen short of heterogeneity around certain agendas and issues.

ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY

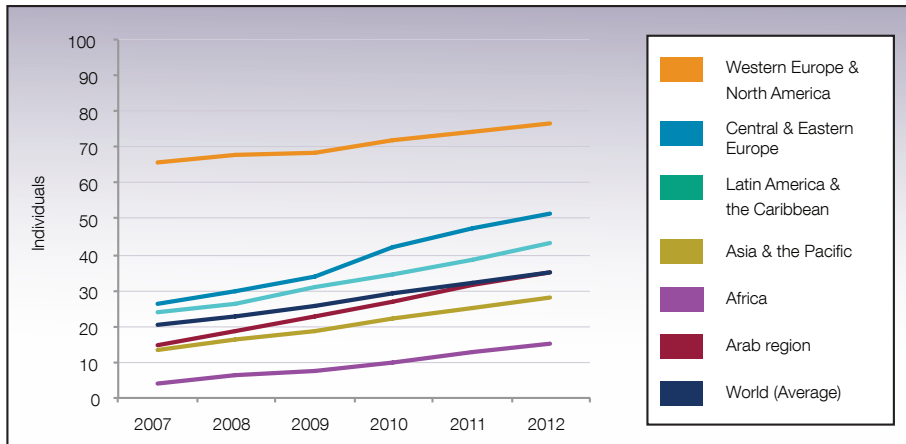
The global economic crisis has had an adverse effect on traditional media financing models, a trend reinforced by the technological shifts underway that are altering the production and dissemination of news and information. This has not meant that the widely perceived Western national media downturn has been global, as there were many countries in Asia and the Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean where the news industry has flourished and new newspapers and news services have entered the market. Globally, the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) reported that newspaper audiences grew by 4% between 2007 and 2012, although newspaper advertising revenue declined 25% over the same period. It found that television has remained the dominant medium economically with 40% of global advertising in 2012 and online advertising growing steadily. Although reports have found that the financial crisis took a toll on newspapers in some regions, the big newswires, in contrast, have expanded staff capacity. For example, while the *Wall Street Journal* cut down on staff, its sister company Dow Jones, a newswire, increased its staff. The Xinhua News Agency added dozens of overseas bureaus since 2007, when it launched its overseas strategy adjustment, and expanded its language offerings. Furthermore, the continuing centrality of the internet has been reinforced by a near doubling of the rate of global internet penetration over the last six years, from 21% of individuals using the internet in 2007 to an estimated 39% in 2013, according to data from the International Telecommunication Union (ITU). Over the same time period, ITU data show that the rate of mobile-cellular subscriptions grew from 51 subscriptions per 100 inhabitants in 2007 to an estimated 96 subscriptions per 100 inhabitants in 2013.

Figure 3
Internet and mobile cellular penetration per 100 inhabitants

Mobile cellular subscriptions per 100 inhabitants



Individuals using the internet per 100 inhabitants



Sources: For internet penetration rates and number of mobile subscriptions, International Telecommunication Union (ITU). (2013, June). 'Individuals using the Internet' and 'Mobile Cellular Subscriptions'. *World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators database 2013 (17th Edition)*. For population, World Bank. (2013). *World Databank: World Development Indicators*.

A predominant trend over the past six years has been the blurring of boundaries and distinctions between print media, broadcasters and news agencies in the converged media spaces of the global public sphere. This has put pressure on both print media and news agencies, which have increasingly cross-published their content in audio and video formats both on the internet and as broadcast products. Similarly, global broadcasters and traditional print outlets have increasingly moved towards posting content online and distributing via mobile phones, just as local and hyperlocal media have, which has problematized the concept of 'global' media in the online context and underscores the potentiality that exists for content to be seen far beyond its intended target audience.

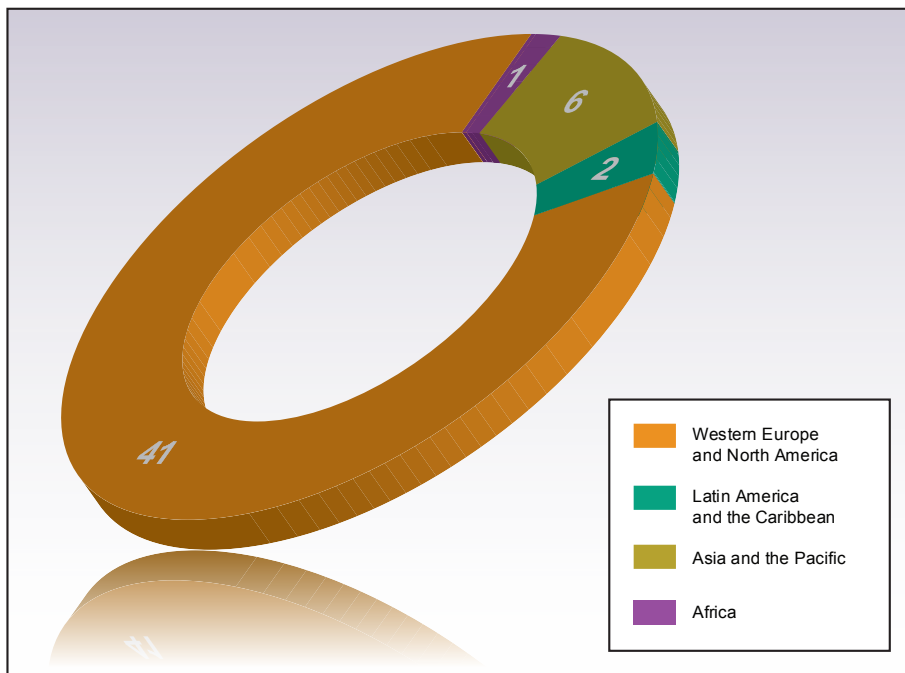
The diversification of major international news broadcasters over the past six years has accelerated the trend towards expansion, to include Chinese, French, Iranian, Qatari, Russian, Saudi Arabian and Venezuelan broadcasters, indicating greater pluralism in news producers as well as their economic models. This expansion has enabled increased influence of relatively newer entrants, like teleSUR, Al Jazeera, RT (formerly Russia Today), CCTV, and CNC World, that reach a transnational audience, often in several languages and across platforms (notably satellite and internet). One possible reason for this has been that newer entrants, like Al Jazeera and RT, have used social media and an open source philosophy to establish themselves. According to analysis by the Pew Research Center's Journalism Project, RT was the most popular news distributor on YouTube over a period of 15 months from January 2011 to March 2012, managing to supplant more well-established news outlets. On the other hand, the older, traditional state-backed broadcasters from Western Europe and North America, like Voice of American (VOA) and BBC World Service, have been cutting staff and languages, although they still broadcast in far more languages than any of their competitors.

The consolidation and increase in size of organizations that include news production as part of a financial package has been a noticeable trend, with Reuters merging with Thomson in

2008, and the financial services company Bloomberg increasing its original newsgathering as well as the expansion of Dow Jones. The reach of these organizations has increased through the advent of new technologies, as they have profited from their existing reputation, while taking advantage of online and mobile platforms.

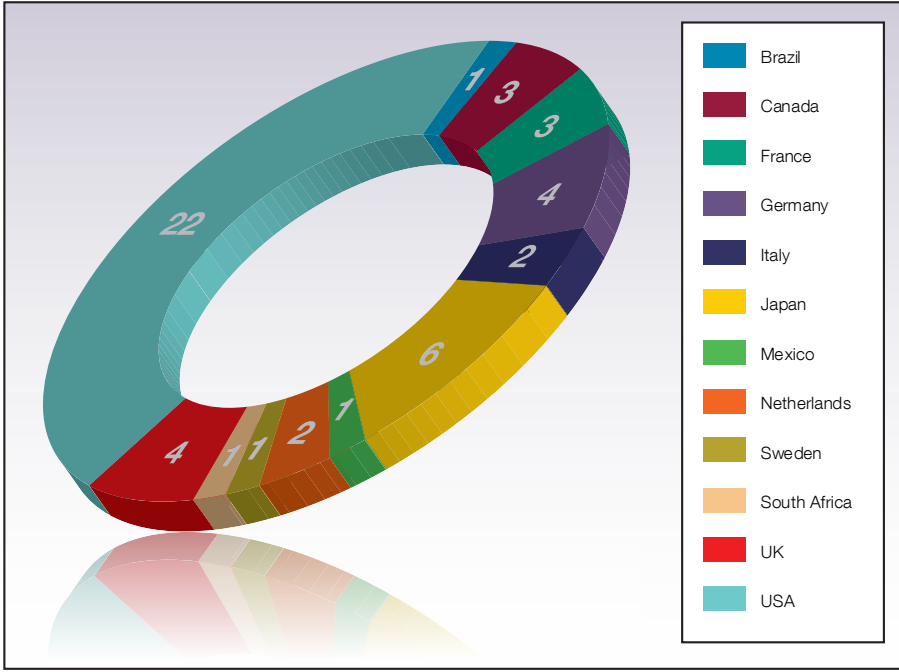
The rise of new global news broadcasters, along with new global platforms and citizen journalism, has not significantly displaced the existing economic position of major global media companies. A 2013 report by the independent Institute of Media and Communications Policy based in Germany found that of the world's top 50 international media corporations in terms of revenue (all of which owned news outlets or channels), 41 were located in Western Europe and North America. Most other regions lagged far behind, with Asia and the Pacific having six of the top 50 corporations, all in one country, and the Latin America and the Caribbean region two. Naspers Group constituted the only media company on the list with headquarters on the African continent. Similarly, in the more recent digital media domain, in 2012 the news website paidContent reported a list of the top 50 digital media companies, which revealed that they were also overwhelmingly based in Western Europe and North America, with 76% of those in a single country, along with Asia and the Pacific and one in Africa. However, despite the economic weight of these companies, there has not been evidence that this has translated into equivalent dominance in global media content and consumption that would undercut the new gains in media pluralism.

Figure 4
Top 50 international media corporations by region where headquartered



Source: Institute of Media and Communications Policy. *Media Data Base - International Media Corporations 2013*. <http://www.mediadb.eu/en.html>

Figure 5
Top 50 international media corporations by country where headquartered



Source: Institute of Media and Communications Policy. *Media Data Base - International Media Corporations 2013*. <http://www.mediadb.eu/en.html>

Pluralism in global media actors and offerings has also increased beyond new global broadcasters through the emergence of new outlets and business models, including community/volunteer-run and collaborative global media outlets. While in economic terms, the global media landscape has been dominated by both corporate and state-owned broadcasting, the increasing prevalence of alternative media options have impacted information flows and contributed to greater pluralism in terms of access, production and content. Such growth in alternative media cultures and spaces has also correlated with the global financial crisis. Examples of new actors have been Wikileaks and the subscription-based investigative news sites Mediapart and infoLibre, which all launched in 2007, followed in 2008 by the non-profit investigative journalism platform ProPublica. Alternative media, such as Indymedia, have remained an important source of information and commentary, albeit in a relatively limited subsection of world society linked to their self-identification as ‘counter-culture.’

Notably both the small alternative media NGOs and large global media businesses have trended towards greater integration of citizen-journalism in their reporting. Platforms such as Facebook, Mashable, Reddit, Twitter and Sina Weibo have become increasingly popular sources for sharing and repurposing news. This has not diminished the function of professional journalists, whose intermediary function has remained important in many parts of the world, but which is now complemented by citizen media. At the same time

some professional journalists and their editors have been sceptical of the ability of non-professional journalists to produce high quality media content.

CONTENT DIVERSITY

The financial downturn has had an uneven impact on news media and appears to have precipitated a complex reshuffling of resources. Research prior to the global financial crisis already indicated less original reporting in many television networks and increasing concentration in the global wholesale news system, while major news agencies and outlets remained influential. Platform convergence has also appeared likely to have increased the dependence of media organizations on wholesale suppliers of media content, and on third-party distributors of their packaged content. Unpaid citizen journalism and user-generated content have become increasingly integrated into the newsmaking process.

At the same time, external financial pressures on newsroom staff and the ease of reproduction and reuse of existing content has been a probable factor in limiting the number of agendas and frames, with increased thematic ‘agenda bandwagoning’ rather than new agenda-setting likely. This trend has been further enhanced by the expansion in the use, influence and content production of global public relations agencies that are increasingly influencing media content across the board. Another issue is that although media organizations were previously able to buy their own printing presses and can now create their own website, they cannot yet buy such major intermediaries like Google. The struggles around ancillary copyright in some Western European countries, for example, have underscored power struggles among media organizations in the new information architecture. Impacting on online pluralism at global level has been that search and personalization algorithms that have come to play a critical role in determining the flow of ideas and information in that news media are subordinated to these systems when relying on them for distribution of their content.

While it has been evident that news flows have been converging online in the last six years, there have been diverse trends that are significant for content pluralism. While much access to global media has remained in forms that are comparatively easy and cheap to access, such as broadcast and internet on feature phones, media production and dissemination of media content among elites has increasingly moved to broadband online over the past six years. The trend towards co-optation of participatory news reporting into traditional corporate media has meant that some citizen journalism has become corporate-mediated. The trends towards more expansive use of online social media platforms by news agencies and transnational news outlets may be leading to ‘disintermediation’ of news agencies, in favour of online intermediaries such as Twitter, YouTube and other social media and news aggregators.

Some of the most popular social media accounts in 2013 included mainstream media, which are able to attract a global audience, from various different regions and thus indicate that no one region’s media outlets dominate on social media. For example, the BBC’s Breaking News account on Twitter (6,053,980 followers), Xinhua Viewpoint

(5,413,895 fans on Sina Weibo), CCTV News (4,040,000 fans on Sina Weibo), and Al Jazeera Arabic (3,543,400 'likes' on Facebook).¹² This has also resulted in a trend towards direct communication by news agencies with individuals, as the social media statistics of Reuters (3 million Twitter followers) and AP (2.1 million Twitter followers) show. These subscribers thus bypassed traditional gatekeepers (the newspapers, television, and radio broadcasters) who were the news agencies' traditional client. The role of media institutions as intermediaries has increasingly been supplanted by private internet companies, creating new potential gatekeepers, each with their own standards (expressed in 'terms of use') for what kinds of speech are acceptable, and which are accountable only to their stakeholders or private owners. The implications for pluralism have yet to unfold.

Another trend reinforcing content convergence online, and which has gained momentum over the past six years, has been the diversification of sources and inclusion of user-generated content across all media platforms. The increasing use of internet platforms to access global media has considerably increased the number of actors able to participate in this system, both as content creators, sources and journalists. The proliferation of online and mobile platforms at the individual level coupled with the integration of social media into journalistic practices, such as tapping readers for news, means that reporters are no longer the only ones gathering news and turning it into a story. In the new networked and open ecosystem, information is exchanged between journalists, sources, readers and viewers in the production and circulation of news. Many global media outlets have pioneered the inclusion of citizen-generated content over the past six years. Al-Jazeera, BBC, *The Guardian* and CNN have been particularly noteworthy in this respect, diversifying the sources of news, certifying some as credible, and amplifying this content globally. In a global public sphere overflowing with information, a powerful 'credible information brand' is an important asset, which all of the notable international broadcasters possess to some degree. This status has an agenda-setting significance in other media at both global and national levels.

This phenomenon has become increasingly frequent in restricted information environments, as well as during times of political change, such as the uprisings in the parts of the Arab region, when much media content was sourced through 'citizen media' and uploaded onto internet video portals before being disseminated through more traditional media outlets. This flow has also gone in the other direction, as users reappropriate media content. Al Jazeera, for instance, has licensed many of its broadcast-quality videos, high-resolution photos, and blog articles under Creative Commons, allowing people to reuse them with attribution but without requiring permission to be obtained.

Increased competition between media outlets in an increasingly globalized mediasphere has led to considerable linguistic diversity of available content. Most large international broadcasters have provided their content in at least half a dozen languages, with some state-funded outlets broadcasting in more than 30 languages. Global Voices, an online citizen journalism and translation community that emphasizes voices that are not ordinarily

¹² As of 3 June 2013.

heard in international mainstream media, has regularly offered content in 27 languages, in order to redress inequities in media attention. Global Voices has also had extraordinarily balanced gender inputs, indicating the potential that such citizen journalism platforms have to contribute considerably to greater gender equity in global media [see PLURALISM: GENDER]. News aggregators and individual- or community-curated news platforms have also exemplified the trend towards improving access to existing valuable content and curating the ever-increasing amounts of information available.

The trend towards greater choice for the public has not necessarily meant that people have always been aware of, interested in, or able to exploit this choice. The situation has been dependent upon having the money to access various platforms, being aware that such media exist, having the time to properly consider them, and the level of education to differentiate and evaluate media content. The abundance of media content has underscored the growing need for effective media and information literacy (MIL) training. One response has been UNESCO's launch in mid-2013 of the Global Alliance for Partnerships on Media and Information Literacy.

Conflict reporting has both profited from the increased number of sources available to journalists but has also suffered from the difficulty of verifying those sources. This trend has been particularly notable in some of the most mediatized conflicts, in which the battle over the 'message' that gets out has been fought with great intensity. This has also led to structured responses by media organizations and other information producers, such as civil society organizations, that have taken ever-greater steps to verify digital content.

The global, though uneven, technical switch to digital TV terrestrial transmission appears to have had little impact on global media broadcasting. The switchover, in those regions where it has gotten underway, has provided more content on a national basis through multiple channels, while also creating costs and friction through changing hardware requirements. When looking at the overall media ecosystem, any short-term costs are likely to be offset by an increased number of broadcast channels in the medium and long term, with positive potential for pluralism. However, there have been concerns that new digital channels have been allocated to existing broadcasters, rather than opening up entry for new ones. The barrier to entry, for consumers of global television, has still been considerably lower on the internet, and as a result the struggle for viewer attention has been particularly intense.

PLURALISM: GENDER

OVERVIEW

The increasingly broad-based and nuanced interpretations of media pluralism available have highlighted the imperatives of diversity in general and inclusiveness in particular. Yet, despite the emergence of these varied and progressively holistic conceptions of media pluralism, perceptions of how gender fits into the evolving scheme have remained limited. There has appeared to be, however, an emerging trend towards recognition that 'gender equality is intrinsic to a pluralistic and diverse media' and thus needs to be incorporated more centrally into efforts to promote media pluralism.¹³ In 2010, UNESCO created the Gender-Sensitive Indicators for Media for assessing gender equality in the media, which have since been used in more than 20 countries around the world. In 2011, the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) conducted a global study of the status of women in news media, with the support of UNESCO. In 2013 the Council of Europe adopted a new Recommendation on Gender and Media which *inter alia* called on its member countries to adopt and implement national indicators for gender equality in the media, including media content as well as media management and decision-making. In 2013 UNESCO launched the Global Alliance on Media and Gender, a network of more than 80 organizations, with the aim of formulating collective and creative solutions to reduce gender disparities and to feed into the review process of the Beijing Declaration.

Women's ability to express themselves publicly is partly reliant on access to mainstream news and information channels, and this has generally meant being actors in news professions through reporting and decision-making roles. Many media organizations across the world are evidently not yet structured to effectively promote gender equity across the board. As a result, the role of women in determining and shaping the news agenda continues to be limited, especially but not only in traditional media organizations. The presence of women in traditional reporting roles has increased in many regions since 2007, as they were able to advance into top reporting and editorial positions in many media companies and managed to gain some ground in what have been traditional men's reporting domains, though gender disparities continue and are found across all media platforms. While women's employment rates have certainly increased significantly (though not to parity) in all sectors and areas of work, occupational discrimination continues and the representation of women in the media continues to be particularly lacking in decision-making roles and levels, including ownership, within the media industry. Women have made their presence felt more strongly in online reporting and blogging, but with unclear implications for impact beyond numerical expansion. The dominant trend remains that women in most mainstream media companies still face a

¹³ MISA was at the forefront among freedom of expression organizations when its 2002 gender policy explicitly stated that 'gender equality is intrinsic to a pluralistic and diverse media.'

glass ceiling above senior editorial ranks, with men still firmly in control of top management and governance functions [see INDEPENDENCE: GENDER].

Across the world, the overwhelming majority of public voices amplified by the media have continued to be men's, and as long as gender disparities in access and use have continued in online media, there has been little indication that this will change in the near future. Women have also remained severely under-represented as sources of information and opinion on a wide range of topics, including politics and economics, and especially as authoritative/expert voices. Despite the democratic potential offered by new media technologies, the presence of women in online news – as practitioners and as sources – has not appeared to be significantly better than in traditional news media, with some exceptions at the periphery. Alternative and community media, too, have tended to reflect old patterns of representation, except in cases where special efforts are made to ensure gender balance. Women's visibility as news subjects and news sources has not been proportionately reflected in the media, especially on certain critical issues and traditionally male-dominated subjects, such as politics and economics, although the trend has been improving gradually.

GENDER AND MEDIA OWNERSHIP

It is widely recognized that ownership and control are critical aspects of media pluralism, and that concentration of media ownership is a threat to pluralism. The current paucity of gender-disaggregated data on media ownership reflects the limited understanding of pluralism that has prevailed so far. But considerable evidence does exist of the under-representation of women in media professions, particularly in governance and decision-making positions within both management and editorial structures, as well as in media content. This suggests that they are unlikely to be well-represented among owners, and indeed a 2001 International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) survey found that women represented 0.6% of a category that included 'editors, heads of department and media owners.'

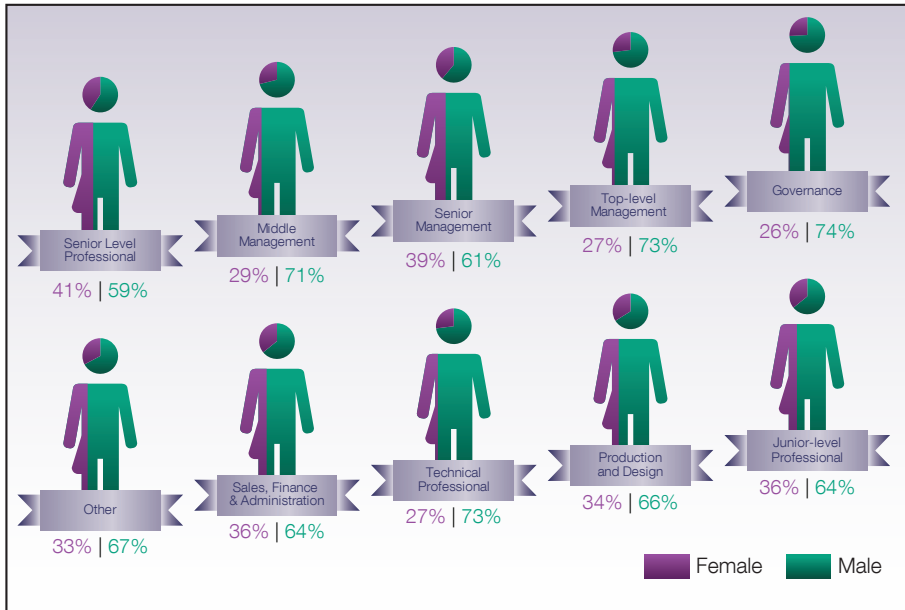
GENDER AND THE MEDIA WORKFORCE

There has been a steady upward trend of women's presence in news media employment although a persistent gender imbalance remains. Women's news media employment has more than doubled in the 16 years since the first global report on this issue, conducted with the support of UNESCO, found that women occupied only 12% of the top management positions. The 2011 UNESCO-supported *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* by IWMF, spanning 59 countries and 522 news media organizations, found that women make up just over a third (35%) of the total media workforce across the world and just over a quarter of the jobs in top management (27%) and governance (26%). This report also indicated that the news media sector had achieved some gender balance at various levels in less than a quarter of the countries (22%) mentioned in the report. Gender balance in top news media management and governance jobs was highest in Europe, with women in Central and Eastern Europe registering a presence of 33% and 43% and in Nordic countries 36%

and 37% respectively. Women comprised only about a fifth of those in governance positions and held less than 10% of top management jobs in Asia and the Pacific. Women were fairly well-represented (over 40%) in the senior reporting ranks, whereas their employment in the junior professional level varied widely between regions, from near parity in Western Europe and North America to a three to one disparity in Asia and the Pacific.

The effect of a glass ceiling has been most durable at the top of news organizations, where men have held three-fourths of these important policy and director-level positions in all countries, except for the Central and Eastern European countries and the Nordic countries. In the former group of countries, women were either in the majority or nearly even with men numerically in the newsrooms surveyed. After the Second World War, men in this region were reportedly less attracted to what was a low-paid profession where they had little status and women assumed the state functionary news roles and were therefore better positioned when the post-1989 transitions began. Women have long enjoyed equality across social institutions in the Nordic countries with long histories of social democracy and gender egalitarianism, which has resulted in government and civil society-led efforts to monitor and address gender inequalities [see INDEPENDENCE: GENDER].

Figure 6
Gender representation in news media occupations



Source: Byerly, C., International Women’s Media Foundation (IWMF). (2011). *Global Report of the Status of Women in the News Media*. Washington, D.C.: IWMF

The global data have been corroborated by findings from various national and regional surveys, including a 2009 survey conducted by the Southern Africa NGO Gender Links of 14 countries in Southern Africa that found women constituted 41% of media employees, although their

representation dropped to 32% if South Africa was taken out of the equation.¹⁴ The trend in some Western Europe and North American countries has seen women's representation in top management hover at about a third of such positions, although there have been some gains in the television industry, and women remained underrepresented in the newsroom overall.

Community radio is widely seen as one of the most inclusive of media, which has enabled a range of women (including poor, illiterate, rural women) in several countries to exercise their communication rights. But the importance of ownership and control even within such alternative media was underlined by the findings of a 2006 survey conducted by the Women's International Network of the World Association of Community Broadcasters' Asia Pacific (AMARC-WIN AP) in partnership with Isis International. The survey found that women occupied 28% of leadership positions of community radio stations in the Asia and the Pacific region, although their representation among the staff was more balanced. Several training workshops for women in South and South-East Asia resulted in the number of women participating in the annual AMARC AP conference growing by ten percentage points in the decade between 2001 and 2010.

GENDER AND VOICE IN THE TRADITIONAL MEDIA

While women's presence in news organizations has slowly, but steadily, risen over the past decade, the news media continue to depict the world as predominantly male. Women constitute less than a quarter (24%) of the people heard or read about in print, radio and television news across the world, according to the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), the world's largest and longest running longitudinal research on gender in the news media. This marks a rise of 3 percentage points since 2005 and a significant improvement from 1995, when only 17% of the people featured in the news were women. Nevertheless, only a fifth of the authoritative news sources quoted in the news worldwide are women (19% of spokespersons and 20% of experts), a trend that has remained consistent since the GMMP began its periodic systematic analysis in 1995. The picture was not significantly better in different parts of the world; although women's presence in the news increased from 23% to 29% in Latin America and from 21% to 26% in Europe between 2005 and 2010, other areas were reported to have either stagnated or registered minimal gains.¹⁵

Other regional and national studies have similarly found women to be under-represented as writers and as news subjects, indicating an intractable trend towards underrepresentation. The 2012 study *Arab Women in Arab News* of 100 Arabic media outlets found that they were largely 'silent about women,' with six of the sources accounting for 63% of all female references, and the remaining accounting for less than 1% of such references. The 2010 GMMP survey found that in Africa 19% of news subjects were women, in Asia 20% and in West Asia 16%, in the Caribbean and the Pacific subregions 25% of news subjects were

14 South Africa accounted for 40% of the population of the Southern African subregion and over half the employees in the sample of the study, and it had achieved 50/50 gender parity among media employees.

15 According to GMMP, in Africa 19% of news subjects were women, in Asia 20% and in West Asia 16%, in the Caribbean and the Pacific subregions 25% of news subjects were women, while the European average was 26%, North America 28%, and Latin American 29%.

women, while the European average was 26%, North America 28%, and Latin American 29%. In Southern Africa, Gender Links recorded a marginal improvement in the proportion of women sources in the news between 2003 (17%) and 2010 (19%). Women made up a fraction of the front-page bylines in studies of news media in some Western European and North American countries, and were seldom quoted in major news stories or represented as expert sources.

GENDER AND NEW MEDIA PLATFORMS

There have been divergent trends with respect to the extent to which the internet and digital technology has democratized media space and breached the boundaries of availability and access, especially for women. Consequently the impact on pluralism, particularly with respect to women, remains in flux. There appears to be little doubt that the distribution of communicative power and political voice is often influenced by socio-economic inequalities, including gender-based inequality, leading to disparities in the opportunities offered by new media. The most obvious disparity has been in access. According to estimates by the ITU, 36% of women around the world use the internet compared to 41% of men. While internet usage rates have reached near parity across the developed world (with just 2% fewer women than men estimated to be using the internet), an estimated 16% fewer women than men use the internet in the developing world. As web and mobile platforms become increasingly important to news production, consumption and distribution, the gender gap in access can have a ripple effect.

Nevertheless there has been a rising trend in women's use of online media worldwide. While one survey found that two-thirds of bloggers worldwide were male in 2008 and 2010, by 2011 the gap had narrowed somewhat and three-fifths were found to be male.¹⁶ Women have been more numerous on social media, with consistently more female users than male users present on the top social networking sites, including Twitter and Facebook, which both have the same gender distribution - 60% female users compared to 40% male, according to the website monitoring service Pingdom. There has not been, however, a clear trend related to 'new media' enabling women to bypass the gatekeepers restricting their access to older forms of media, as noted above.

There have been important regional disparities in women's access to online media. The dramatic rise in social media use during the 2011 uprisings in parts of the Arab region masked a persistent gender divide that has lasted over the past six years in which women have constituted only one-third of bloggers and Facebook users in the region. Studies in two South Asian countries by the Gender and Citizenship in the Information Society (CITIGEN) initiative by the Indian NGO IT for Change also found that women were significantly underrepresented in online media, comprising less than a quarter of local-language blogs and tending to post about personal issues. Although more than half of Facebook and Twitter users were women

¹⁶ The annual Technorati reports on the *State of the Blogosphere* have looked at gender representation from 2008 onwards. (This is an internet survey that relies of self-reported survey responses in English and disproportionate participation from USA-based participants).

globally, in many countries, particularly outside Western Europe and North America, fewer women use Facebook and significantly fewer women have Twitter accounts.

Women's use of new technologies has begun to give them greater potential for visibility and non-traditional entry into news flows. For example, the international citizen media news site Global Voices has provided a platform for individuals to write about politics and offer commentary. An analysis conducted by *The Guardian's* Open Gender Tracker team of the Global Voices archives since the site's launch in 2005 found that women produced 51% of all posts, with generally high representation across all regions. These figures were higher than for two prominent, traditional British newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*, where women wrote 33% and 19% of the stories, respectively, in the same time-frame. Similarly, voices of women in the Arab region have now become more readily available as news sources than ever before because of internet-based communications. There has also been a trend towards increased opinion writing by women since 2005 across media platforms, but more significantly in online media based in North America, with women writing 20% of op-eds in 'legacy' media but 33% in online publications in 2011 according to the OpEd Project.¹⁷ However, in both categories of media, women authored significantly more articles on 'pink topics' (food, fashion, family and furniture/home) and appreciably fewer than men on every 'general interest' subject other than health. Women have comprised a minority of political bloggers and been underrepresented in the political sections of English-language social news sites and online magazines, a trend that appears to have been constant over the last six years.

Despite increased access to media production and the ability to bypass traditional gatekeepers, the initial trend in the disparity of women's representation in online media has remained. When coupled with the gender divide in access, this has created a doubly reinforcing gender inequality with respect to pluralism. The findings of a pilot survey of internet news suggested that the under-representation of women in traditional news media has been carried over into the virtual news world. Globally, women comprised less than a quarter (23%) of the news subjects in stories from the 84 national and international news websites monitored by the GMMP in 2009. Other studies have similarly found that mainstream media overwhelmingly mention, quote and use male-authored blogs. Given the symbiosis between 'traditional' professional media and newer, citizen media, it is perhaps not surprising that the multiplicity of platforms has not resulted in a trend towards more equitable representation in mainstream news.

Despite the democratic potential offered by new media technologies, the presence of women in online news – as practitioners and as sources – has not appeared to be significantly better than in traditional news media. New communications technologies have undoubtedly lowered the entry barriers to the production of content and have facilitated the entry of new players – including women – into the media. However, their real impact on gender parity in media pluralism beyond the periphery – in both new and mainstream media – has yet to be felt.

¹⁷ The sample includes only US-based media.

CHAPTER 3: INDEPENDENCE

Independence means autonomy for professional journalism.

WHAT DOES... **MEDIA INDEPENDENCE** ...MEAN?

FREEDOM

FROM
POLITICAL & COMMERCIAL
INTERFERENCE



A circular icon with a red border. At the top, a grey ribbon contains the word 'FREEDOM'. Below it, the text 'FROM POLITICAL & COMMERCIAL INTERFERENCE' is centered. The main illustration shows a judge in a red robe and a man in a blue suit with a magnifying glass, standing behind a yellow and black striped barrier. Stacks of money are visible on either side of the barrier.


AUTONOMY

OF

PROFESSIONAL
JOURNALISTS

&

REGULATORY
BODIES



A circular icon with a yellow border. At the top, a grey ribbon contains the word 'AUTONOMY'. Below it, the text 'OF PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS' is centered. To the right is a large ampersand '&'. Below that, the text 'REGULATORY BODIES' is centered. The main illustration shows three stylized figures (one in orange, one in green, one in purple) standing behind a red desk. On the desk are a camera and a smartphone.

PROFESSIONAL



STANDARDS &
CODES OF ETHICS

A circular icon with a purple border. At the top, a grey ribbon contains the word 'PROFESSIONAL'. The main illustration is a simple drawing of an open book with yellow pages and a red cover. Below the book, the text 'STANDARDS & CODES OF ETHICS' is centered.

ADVOCACY & TRAINING

FROM
PROFESSIONAL
ASSOCIATIONS



ADVOCACY & TRAINING

A circular icon with a green border. At the top, a grey ribbon contains the words 'ADVOCACY & TRAINING'. Below it, the text 'FROM PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS' is centered. The main illustration shows a person in a blue suit speaking into a microphone labeled 'PRESS' to a group of diverse, stylized figures. A gavel is also visible.


QUALITY



INFORMATION

A circular icon with an orange border. At the top, a grey ribbon contains the word 'QUALITY'. The main illustration features a large red checkmark in the center, surrounded by several question marks in various colors (green, purple, blue, yellow). Below the illustration, the text 'INFORMATION' is centered.

INDEPENDENT



PUBLIC SERVICE
BROADCASTING

A circular icon with a blue border. At the top, a grey ribbon contains the word 'INDEPENDENT'. The main illustration shows a large white camera in the center, set against a background of a grid of smaller, darker cameras. Below the illustration, the text 'PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING' is centered.

INDEPENDENCE: INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

The term ‘independence’ refers specifically to the extent to which media outlets and journalists are able to function separately from the government and other external interests, and where professional ethics enable them to perform their public service role, including that of being a watchdog. This chapter elaborates on these conditions and summarizes regional trends.

Independence designates the conditions for journalistic professionalism and addresses the extent to which the collective (media institutions) and individuals (those who produce journalism) can operate with editorial integrity and autonomy from overt and covert influence. Relevant factors are the strength of professional organizations and peer review systems, and the degree of professional autonomy of individual journalists within (or outside) media institutions. An ecology of organizations that promotes autonomous journalism through advocacy, training, monitoring, etc. also impacts on independence.

Job security and legislated rights linked to trade union affiliations can affect the levels of independence in journalists’ decisions and professional conduct. Also important are ownership issues and the extent of respect by media proprietors for the specific nature and role of the profession, and the extent to which employees can do journalism according to editorial standards, rather than their employers’ broader business or other concerns. Further considerations of independence include the extent to which independent press councils and ombudspersons play an effective role in self-regulation, and the extent to which there is recognition of gender equality and inclusion in statutory and self-regulatory entities. This context affects how independence is reflected in journalists’ practical performance in regard to professional ethics. In this way, independence issues shape the performance of journalism (including whether there is self-censorship), and especially the quality of information emanating from the news media.

Independence is also substantially a function of the character of national media regulatory systems.¹⁸ Where state monopolies dominate, there is state control rather than regulation, while in a pluralistic media landscape regulation often covers state-owned as well as other media sectors. Particularly important for independence is whether a regulatory system enables self-regulatory mechanisms.

Regulatory frameworks also have a significant bearing on the strength or weakness of editorial independence, such as in how they reconcile market forces and interventions by

¹⁸ Many of the indicators used to gauge independence, such as those used by the IREX Media Sustainability Index, measure at the level of the nation-state. Few of these measures can be used to gauge the independence of transnational or global media.

public authorities. With respect to public broadcasting, for instance, regulation can provide legally guaranteed editorial independence as well as a business model that entails income from licence fees or other mechanisms, which insulate journalism from market pressures that might otherwise lead to distortions or the neglect of unprofitable content. This differs from broadcasters that are controlled by government and where the authorities exert influence on administration, production and programming decisions. Such regulation also differs from the case of broadcast services that are wholly commercial, although regulation in some countries prescribes parameters that ensure public interest obligations such as impartial standards for election coverage.

The issue of independence in regulation is also relevant for the allocation and management of broadcast frequencies, and the financial management of public service broadcasters, both of which may impact on the editorial integrity of journalism. The issue here is whether these types of functions are done by the government, or by independent authorities placed outside the administrative hierarchy and which are autonomous from political influence. Independence of regulation is also an issue beyond broadcast media, such as in cases where States license publications and/or journalists [see FREEDOM chapter]. Where internet intermediary platforms are required by authorities to act on content, or where they design and apply their own terms of service, there may be consequences for editorial independence.

Technological developments have further prompted reconsideration of regulatory frameworks in many countries, with a bearing on independence. Regulatory and professionalism challenges posed by online media and digital transition have emerged in the past six years with respect to:

- New challenges to self-regulation and regulatory independence opening up because existing regulatory and self-regulatory bodies are not adequately addressing rapid changes in the media sector, and because of pressures from various actors for restrictive new broadcasting and internet regulations.
- Challenges to traditional business models has led to over-reliance on government-controlled funding or other external sponsorship in many regions, although it has also prompted the emergence of new journalistic organizations, such as non-profit investigative journalism groups, particularly in Latin American and the Caribbean and the Western Europe and North America regions.
- Alternative independent media have increased, but they often lack the professional standards which give substance to media independence.

LICENSING AND INDEPENDENCE

With the rapid expansion of the internet and cross-platform media products over the past several years, new regulatory challenges and issues have emerged. State-licensing of all media including print, and in a growing number of cases online media, has remained as a mechanism in some situations to restrict, and even retaliate against, independent

journalism. Although licensing of print media has continued in some regions including parts of Africa, the Arab region, and Central and Eastern Europe, those States that require it are in the minority and the trend has been towards convergence with international standards, which do not support the licensing of print media.

In some countries, the right to practice journalism or be a journalist has required licensing, with intensified requirements having emerged amid the expansion of citizen journalism, particularly in parts of the Asia and the Pacific as well as the Arab region [see *FREEDOM* chapter]. There have been conflicting trends with respect to the extension of traditional media regulation to online media, with parts of the Arab, Asia and the Pacific, and Central and Eastern European regions pursuing such measures, whereas this has been less the case across Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Western Europe and North America.

REGULATORY AND SELF-REGULATORY MECHANISMS

The operational independence of regulators has continued to be a challenge, with recurring cases of political pressure and interferences from commercial interests. Self-regulation is a norm around which there has been continued struggle for acceptance. And although some progress in self-regulation has been seen in countries in transition, it has remained insufficient and susceptible to calls for self-regulation systems to become statutory, co-regulatory, or even be replaced by direct state-operated regulatory arrangements.

Regulatory bodies that are part of the State have been directly administered by governments or have tended to be generally susceptible to political influence in most regions, although pressure for independent regulation has also seen some progress in these regions. Public service broadcasting (as distinct from government-controlled broadcasting) with editorial independence has remained virtually non-existent in many countries, due both to absence of adequate legal and regulatory frameworks as well as lack of appropriate distance by the government.

Statutory regulation of both print and broadcast media has been the norm rather than the exception in some parts of the Africa and Arab regions, where political control of these regulatory bodies has also been common. Although there were a number of self-regulatory bodies in the Africa region, these have generally been viewed as subservient to politically-controlled statutory regulatory bodies or as ineffectual due to insufficient funding, recognition or influence. In the South East European subregion, UNESCO has been working with local media organizations and NGOs to develop robust self-regulatory mechanisms including independent press councils and codes of ethics, with particular consideration for online media. There were virtually no self-regulatory bodies in the Arab region, although there has been recognition of the need for self-regulation in several countries and some indications of a potential emerging trend towards initiating such efforts since 2011. Parts of the Asia and the Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean regions have had a mixed experience, although overall there have been insufficient checks and balances in regulatory structures and underdeveloped self-regulation, which have

seen stagnation in terms of progress towards sufficient independence. In parts of the Asia subregion, much self-regulation takes place under statutory requirement and political supervision rather than on a voluntary or autonomous basis. Journalists have insufficient autonomy in relation to media owners in parts of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Self-regulation has remained generally robust in Western Europe and North America, where regulatory systems have not typically posed a significant threat to journalistic autonomy, except in a few examples. In Central and Eastern Europe, no change-related trends have been seen in the self-regulation structures, which continue to be perceived as inefficient or irrelevant, in many countries. The operational independence of broadcast regulators has continued to worsen across parts of the region, with some recurring cases of political and commercial pressures. In a significant portion of countries where print media are also regulated, legally autonomous bodies have reportedly continued to face mounting pressure and challenges from the executive branch.

While collective self-regulation systems, such as press councils, have continued to grow in some regions, their efficacy has remained debatable. Individual forms of self-regulation within particular companies or outlets, such as through the existence of an office of an independent news ombudsman, experienced a decline in the Western Europe subregion, mainly due to business-related cutbacks. In environments where the media sector experienced growth, such as parts of Asia and the Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean, interest in such models increased somewhat. Overall, efficient implementation of self-regulation remains a challenge.

Independent and autonomous public broadcasting has made progress only in the Western Europe and North American region, where it was already relatively strong. Worldwide, an overwhelming majority of state-owned broadcasting entities, including those in the transnational domain and acting as global media outlets, have tended to remain without effective provision for editorial independence. Many global media outlets have been owned predominantly by States, with journalistic independence remaining limited, even where there has not been direct control.

Women have remained under-represented in regulatory and self-regulatory bodies, professional unions and media governance, although there have been indications of an emerging trend that is focussing more attention on gender dynamics and the adoption of relevant policies. Gender inequality and discrimination in regulatory bodies have not showed notable progress in most regions, and policies to address this have remained relatively rare in most regions. [See INDEPENDENCE: GENDER]

PROFESSIONALISM AND THE BROADER MEDIA ECOSYSTEM

Independence of media and journalists requires a delicate balance between limits set through regulation by law and self-regulation by ethics. When well established, this balance ensures job security, integrity and dignity of media employees. In this context, professionalism refers to the awareness and commitment to ethics as well as the status

of professional autonomy. A journalist's professional autonomy often depends to some extent on their employment status (such as freelance or a permanent contract, or in some cases as civil servant) and wages, the type of employer (public, private, non-profit), and also on the distribution and reach of the product in question (local, national, regional or international outlet).

The economic challenges in parts of the broader media ecosystem over the past six years have been reflected in the state of job security for professional journalists. These challenges have included a weakening of collective bargaining rights, a retreat of unions from work environments, and a growing fear of job losses, which have led to an erosion of editorial independence. In some regions, this appears to have made journalists more vulnerable to 'envelope journalism' and bribe-taking, while many media outlets have also become more susceptible to inclusion of paid or sponsored content which has often been disguised as authentic editorial content. To varying degrees, the commitment to professional ethics has either stagnated or weakened, due to particular responses to severe competition, the blurring boundaries between editorial and business interests, and the entry of citizen journalists into news production and dissemination. New issues of media ethics at the boundaries of journalism, security and privacy have also emerged.

Journalism education and training, which is vital to independence and professionalism, has expanded over the past six years in most regions, typically through a mix of professional and university programmes as well as initiatives by NGOs. In Africa, Asia and the Pacific, the Arab region and Central and Eastern Europe, there has been rising availability of professional training and education programmes, although quality has been inconsistent. In much of the Latin America and the Caribbean region, there have been limited opportunities for such professional training to be supplied locally, with some subregions lacking programmes and higher education degrees altogether. In Western Europe and North America, there has continued to be a relatively high level of professional development and journalism education programmes.

Non-governmental organizations are an important component of the media ecosystem, because they monitor independence, media coverage and journalistic performance, and they advocate on behalf of press freedom and the public interest. NGOs playing this role have been present to a certain extent in all regions, although they have faced funding and sustainability challenges, particularly in parts of Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean.

CONCLUSION

In regions where political transformation has slowed, or where the State has played a significant role in the media system, regulatory bodies have remained dependent on the executive branch, while what little self-regulation exists has often showed little or no efficacy. In other regions, there have been autonomous regulation and visible self-regulation mechanisms. In all regions, ongoing economic crises, worsening job security, and transformation of media with the expansion of digital communication, have continued

to present increasingly complex challenges for media independence, regulation and professionalism over the past six years. The advancement of journalism education and press freedom NGOs has benefited media independence and journalistic professionalism.

The following sections examine media independence trends with respect to global media and gender.

INDEPENDENCE: GLOBAL MEDIA

OVERVIEW

Independence of journalists and of media outlets has continued to be dynamic and uneven around the world, and has become increasingly challenged by the fluidity of what constitutes ‘media’ and the application online of ‘press freedom,’ and by who count as ‘journalists’ due to lowering of production and dissemination barriers by online media, the conversion of some off-line publications to online publications, and the two-way flow of information between the online and traditional media. Changes to existing business models for global and transnational media have led to an increased reliance on state funding, which has been closely associated with risks of overt dependence and governmental ‘capture.’

INDEPENDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICES

The largest news agencies, newspapers, and news channels have all been governed by different models although there has been a trend towards state-owned international media since 2006 and online volunteer news collectives [see PLURALISM: GLOBAL]. Among the models are Agence France-Presse, which is owned by the State and media professionals, the Spanish-language Agencia EFE that is privately owned, Associated Press collectively owned by its subscribers, Bloomberg privately owned, Reuters privately owned (since 2008 as part of Thomson Reuters), and Xinhua which is state-owned. Different degrees of editorial independence from owners have been operational within these media companies. Within the state-owned global news broadcasters – the larger ones being Al Arabiya, Al Jazeera, BBC (via a trust), CCTV, China Radio International, Deutsche Welle, France24, RT (formerly Russia Today), and Voice of America (VOA) – there have been different frameworks both legally and in practice, as well as by platform. Given this range, broad trends have been difficult to pinpoint, although it has been observed that the performance of international broadcasting has been related to complexities of foreign policy and their relationship to the geopolitical environment. As such, some international and foreign broadcasting has tended to reflect the interests of the respective governments.

The reliance on government funding by many international broadcasters has raised questions about their ability to provide neutral and impartial reporting. Public institutions with multi-year charters and ownership by an independent trust (BBC, SVT) have helped insulate some global media outlets from governmental pressures.¹⁹ In another case, outlets have been legally guaranteed editorial independence and statutes have set out the

¹⁹ British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Sveriges Television (SVT) are the British and Swedish, respectively, public service broadcasters.

government's policies conduct, with audiences perceiving the news as credible. Audience perceptions are important if a foreign news service is to be seen as credible, and this factor has been seen to counterbalance some of the influence from governments. At different times, some international state-owned networks have been accused of avoiding stories that are critical of their backing State; however, there has been a lack of comparative studies in this area, and it is difficult to confirm alleged bias with detailed evidence, nor is there sufficient material to suggest specific trends.

Internationally, political influence and commercial pressure have been seen at times also to have compromised independence in both domestic and international media. Corporate ownership, as distinct from state-ownership and strict government regulation, is not a guarantee of editorial independence. A 2011 study by two scholars at New York University of public media in 14 developed countries suggested that commercial pressures have been far more deleterious there than partisan political meddling. Commercial pressures have impacted also on state-owned media, encouraging these outlets to appeal to a middle-class urban audience, potentially at the expense of public service values and rural, poor or minority audiences. Private news broadcasters (both international and domestic) especially have turned to entertainment programming to boost ratings.

Global media independence of a news organization has been impacted upon by the relatively recent demise of many existing media business models, leading to a re-evaluation across the industry of where the 'value' in media content lies and an increase in government development programmes, corporate benefactors and other 'special interests' funding or cross-funding media content. This kind of funding has by no means been uncommon historically in international broadcasting, and it may influence actual media content, framing, and the 'red lines' that reporters feel unable to cross.

While larger media companies have relied on attracting their own advertisers online, many online intermediaries like Google Ads now exist, which effectively has meant that small online media companies can get by without having to have dedicated facilities. While a large advertiser can threaten independent reporting by a news organization, the advertiser loses this leverage if the online news service uses an intermediary; but this has also meant that the organization concerned can no longer control what advertisements are shown.

PROFESSIONALISM AND THE BROADER MEDIA ECOSYSTEM

International governmental and non-governmental organizations have generally played an important role in media research, bringing attention to issues, and providing support, training, etc. Their activities contribute to a global environment for independence. The International Federation of Journalists, a global federation of journalists' trade unions, has been one of the more influential professional bodies, with more than 600,000 members.²⁰ While some transnational press ethics bodies have existed, such as the World Association of Press Councils and the Organization of News Ombudsmen (which

²⁰ IFJ's headquarters are in Belgium.

concerns self-regulation at an enterprise-level), they have not appeared to exert much influence over the larger media.²¹ Most of the more influential international and regional institutions dedicated to journalists and journalism have continued to be headquartered either in Europe or North America. In the global internet intermediary space, a voluntary embryonic self-regulatory system has emerged in the form of the Global Network Initiative.²² Another relevant development that appears indicative of the trend towards self-regulation at this level was the European Commission's 2013 publication *ICT Sector Guide on Implementing the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights*. The majority of the large media donors have also continued to be located in the West, and were, more often than not, governments.

While there have been a number of codes of ethics for journalists that aspire to universal status, and even some for 'online journalists' and bloggers, most transnational news agencies and broadcasters have had their own codes. Notably among the larger news agencies and broadcasters, Al Arabiya, CCTV, CNN, and Xinhua have not appeared to publish specific codes of ethics online.

Over the past six years, one notable trend has been the increase in online training material for journalism. For instance, UNESCO has published extensive guides for journalists on a range of topics from conflict-sensitive reporting to investigative reporting and produced online curricula, including a model curricula for journalism education and an online media and information literacy course. In 2013, UNESCO began exploring with ORBICOM, the network of UNESCO chairs in communication, a Global Initiative for Excellence in Journalism Education, as a framework to group together and deepen international work in this area. The BBC has launched initiatives to provide journalism and social media training to members of local communities, while its 'College of Journalism' website includes resources for aspiring citizen journalists. Such initiatives add to the online materials and courses offered by the Centre for International Media Assistance, the European Journalism Centre, International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) Anywhere, Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, Poynter Online, and others.

21 WAPC's headquarters are in Turkey and ONO's headquarters are in Canada.

22 GNI's headquarters are in the USA.

INDEPENDENCE: GENDER

OVERVIEW

Independence as a key component of press freedom cannot be considered in gender-blind terms. The past six years have seen uneven trends in women's participation and influence in media and structures that are related to regulation, professionalism and independence. One trend has been a move towards the inclusion of gender-sensitive concepts, examples and discussion in journalism and communication programmes, along with a growing realization that gender indicators should be included in analyses and indices of media development and that such data should be regularly collected. An ever-increasing presence of women in journalism and communication education in all regions – an ongoing trend stretching back some 25 years – has not been matched by their equivalent representation among media professionals, particularly at senior levels and in media governance, regulation and self-regulation [see PLURALISM: GENDER]. Although there has been a trend in some regions towards media organizations adopting gender equality policies, implementation mechanisms have often been weak or non-existent. Gender differences are still apparent in terms of remuneration, job security, and the exercise of professional autonomy.

REGULATORY AND DECISION-MAKING BOARDS AND BODIES

As regards media regulatory bodies, research by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) in 2012 found that across 44 independent media regulators in the EU, women comprised 31% of board members. Other published data on women's presence in governmental and self-regulatory bodies are scant. A random sampling of publicly available figures indicated female representation of between zero and 25% across a range of regulatory bodies and countries.

A global report by the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) supported by UNESCO of the status of women in news media spanning 59 countries and 522 media organizations found that women accounted for 26% of governance positions globally, with the lowest representation in the Arab and Africa regions and the highest in Western Europe, particularly in Nordic countries.²³

²³ The regional breakdown in the IWMF report does not always correspond to UNESCO's regional groupings, as reflected in the graphs below. The Western Europe graph includes Nordic Europe.

Figure 7
Gender breakdown of news media governance bodies

Western Europe



Central & Eastern Europe



Americas



Asia & the Pacific



Africa



Middle East & North Africa



Source: Byerly, C., International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF). (2011). *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media*. Washington, D.C.: IWMF

A growing international concern with women's representation at board level has emerged, and can be attributed partly to the accumulated effect of activist pressure, bolstered by the recent availability of systematic monitoring data.²⁴ In the year 2000, only one country regularly monitored the proportion of women on top corporate boards, whereas by 2011 at least 12 countries were regularly reviewing the gender balance of their top boards of directors.²⁵ Women held 25% of posts in the top internal decision-making boards of the 96 media organizations surveyed in the 2012 EIGE study of 27 EU member countries, and were more likely to be represented on the boards of public service broadcasting organizations than on those of private/commercial print and broadcast media.

ASSOCIATIONS AND ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS

A 2001 survey by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) found that women represented 29% of union membership in 38 countries but just 17% of membership in governing bodies of the unions. The imbalance was more acute in some regions than in others. The lack of recent global data has made it difficult to determine a global trend. In 2008, following a survey which found that women occupied just 12% of decision-making bodies of journalists' associations in the Arab region, the IFJ launched its 'Women Partners in TU Leadership' campaign to encourage women journalists in the region to stand for election in union decision-making bodies. Its 2010 report found that women's representation on journalist union boards had increased slightly, to 15%. In Europe, on the other hand, there has been a downward trend in the past six years, following gains earlier in the decade. In 2013, women comprised 42% of European journalist union members and 36% in the decision-making bodies of the unions, declining from 45% of union members and 39% of those in union decision-making bodies.²⁶

In Europe, national media unions in 10 countries have had a specific section or council to promote gender equality in the unions. Some governments in the Nordic subregion have instituted the position of ombudsperson to perform independent gender audits in media (and other companies). Additionally, unions and journalistic organizations in the Nordic subregion have instituted routine gender monitoring and other measures to ensure that women's status would be maintained and improved. However, 'glass ceilings' have remained in place at the top, as they have in the other parts of the world. Thus, despite the lack of systematic longitudinal data, there has appeared to be a rising trend, at least

24 For example, in March 2012 Facebook's Board of Directors was all male. After a campaign led by the group 2020 Women on Boards, and wide media coverage, Facebook appointed its first female board member in June 2012, followed by a second in March 2013. In another case, in March 2013, France's broadcasting regulatory body, the Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel, responding to data on the on-air under-representation of women, introduced a five-point programme of action aimed at achieving gender balance in the audiovisual sector as a whole.

25 According to a statistical review by Governance Metrics International, in 2009 women's share of board directorships in 48 countries averaged 8.9%, although this was not media specific.

26 The 2001 IFJ survey found that women in Europe were 37% of union members and 19% of those in governing bodies of the unions. By 2006 these figures had risen to 45% and 39% respectively. The most recent IFJ/EFJ survey showed a decline: women were 42% of union members in 2013 and 36% in the decision-making bodies of the unions. Some variation between the three sets of data may be due to differences in the countries and unions responding to the surveys.

in some regions, in awareness about the need to pay attention to women's leadership in decision-making bodies concerning media. There has not been a significant improvement yet in terms of translating such awareness into representation.

Publicly available information shows that the staff composition of most international freedom of expression NGOs has been tilted in favour of women. Index on Censorship, International News Safety Institute (INSI), IFEX, the Media Diversity Institute, ARTICLE 19 and the IFJ were all headed by women in 2013, as were the subregional NGOs Southeast Asian Press Alliance (SEAPA) and Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA). Most of these appointments had been made relatively recently, and four since 2011, indicating an upward trend in the representation of women in the organizations that advocate for press freedom.

PROFESSIONAL AUTONOMY AND GENDER EQUITY

Women in a wide range of countries have reported that workplace culture and the attitudes of senior managers were influential in helping or hindering career progression.²⁷ No significant differences have been reported on perceptions of professional autonomy by women working in public or private organizations, although a 2012 study found that female journalists' overall job satisfaction was greater in state-owned than in private television stations, but that this was linked to the issue of job security rather than to gender differences in the exercise of professional autonomy. In some countries, more extreme forms of assaults on women's professional autonomy have come in the form of smear campaigns aimed at undermining the credibility and reputation of female journalists [see SAFETY: GENDER]. Some studies, however, have suggested that over time the relations of women and men in the newsroom, and journalistic culture, have improved.

More than half of the news media organizations surveyed in the 2011 *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* had a company-wide policy on gender equality, but with significant variations between regions. Of the news media organizations surveyed in Africa and Western Europe (excluding Nordic countries), 69% had gender equality policies, whereas about one-fourth of those in the Middle East and North Africa and less than one-fifth in Central and Eastern Europe had such policies.

National and regional studies indicated even lower rates, with less than a fourth of media companies examined in subregional or national studies having gender equality policies. In the African region, 16% of the 126 media houses in 14 Southern African countries had gender policies, according to a 2010 Gender Links report, and even these media were often unable to articulate the policy content. The 2012 EIGE report found that approximately 25% of 99 media organizations surveyed had some form of policy or code to promote gender equality. It found that few organizations were proactive in promoting

²⁷ For example, informal processes of recruitment and promotion can work against women because they are often not part of the private networks used to identify suitable candidates, particularly for senior jobs; the need to conform to the expectations of the organization and to adapt one's behaviour and style in order to 'fit in' with a culture which is sometimes hostile; management perceptions of what is 'appropriate' can mean that editorial ideas from women are rejected.

such policies or codes, although public service broadcasters were more likely than private organizations (print and broadcasting) to have had policy measures in place. According to some African Media Barometer reports, state media were more active than private media in implementing affirmative action policies for women. Media codes of ethics have rarely addressed the issue of gender specifically enough to be useful.

It bears noting that a number of women's and other organizations have begun to work more strategically to promote gender equality standards and policies in the media. This has been seen in the Southern Africa subregion since 2006 and in the European Union (EU) since the 1980s, although progress has been slow, particularly in relation to gender representation in media content. For instance, the EU's Strategy for equality between men and women, 2010 to 2015, contains no mention of media and gender content. However, in 2013 the Council of the European Union took note of a set of indicators to measure the presence of women in decision-making roles in the media, and called on the EU member countries to use them to regularly assess progress. Some news companies in individual countries have adopted standards for equal coverage of men and women in news. Women in the Southern Africa subregion, organizing through the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Gender Links and the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), began working with newsrooms in the region several years ago to gain adoption of a gender protocol to increase the amount and quality of coverage for gender-related issues, and to advance women's status in newsroom decision-making. Thirteen of the 15 SADC countries had signed the Protocol on Gender and Development by mid 2013, which is part of a broader programme to expand women's development educationally and politically.²⁸ However, the media provisions of the Protocol have not been widely implemented even in state-owned media organizations. There has been widespread lack of awareness of the Protocol in a number of media organizations studied.

PAY EQUITY AND JOB SECURITY

Disparities in salary levels have been documented in most regions, particularly in governance and top management, with the greatest gender pay gap in Asia and the Pacific and the Arab regions, and slightly less pronounced in the Americas. In Europe, the overall gender pay gap appeared to have decreased slightly between 2008 and 2011 according to Eurostat data, although it was not clear if this extended into the news media industry. With regard to job security, men have tended to hold more full-time and freelance jobs than women, with 67% of the regular full-time jobs in media globally; conversely women held 73% of part-time contract jobs. In 2013, the IFJ reported that although the economic crisis had affected union members regardless of their sex, women – especially pregnant and older women – had suffered disproportionately in some countries.

28 The SADC Protocol was adopted by SADC Heads of State in 2008 and transformed the non-binding commitments of the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development into concrete, time-bound and legally binding actions. A research tool - the Gender Protocol Barometer - was developed to measure progress. The Protocol was spear-headed by a team of women's NGOs (the Gender Protocol Alliance) working in coalition with the Gender Unit of the SADC Secretariat.

ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

UNESCO data for 2008 showed that women were the majority of tertiary-level students in journalism and information in all world regions – ranging from 58% across the Arab region to 69% across Central and Eastern Europe. This trend has remained relatively constant since at least the 1980s. The fact that the trend in educational achievement has not been reflected in an equivalent share of jobs for women in the media – particularly at senior levels – has continued to be documented in studies and reports from many countries, making it one of the most persistent trends in the industry.

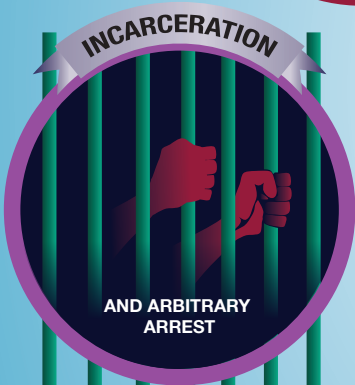
The majority (70%) of media surveyed in the *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* claimed to provide professionally-related educational opportunities for women, with relative consistency across regions apart from sub-Saharan Africa, which had the lowest rate (56%). No solid information was available on whether there was a difference between public and privately owned media with respect to educational or training opportunities.

CHAPTER 4: SAFETY

Safety issues are central to press freedom, and they point particularly to the responsibility of the State in protecting media freedom and ensuring that there is not impunity for crimes against those who do journalism.

WHAT DOES...
JOURNALIST SAFETY
...MEAN?

THE ABSENCE OF:



SAFETY: INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

The rate of journalist deaths – the ultimate form of censorship – has risen in every region of the world throughout the past six years, with the exception of Central and Eastern Europe, where killings decreased after peaking in 2008. In addition, citizen journalists have become targets along with their professional counterparts. There has been increased international awareness over the period that ensuring the safety of journalists is important, as illustrated by the 2006 UN Security Council Resolution 1738, the 2012 UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, the 2013 UNESCO Work Plan on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, the 2013 UN Security Council debate and the 2013 UNGA resolution. Conflict zones have continued to be the most dangerous places for journalism – although, until the uprisings in parts of the Arab region, there were more journalists killed outside of these areas. Impunity remains the predominant trend, with perpetrators of killings or attacks against journalists rarely being brought to justice. There has also reportedly been a marked trend towards imprisoning journalists, with online and print journalists most affected, although many governments have maintained that particular journalists have not been imprisoned for their journalism, but for other reasons. The current chapter describes key dimensions of safety and summarizes the main global trends with respect to these issues.²⁹

PHYSICAL SAFETY

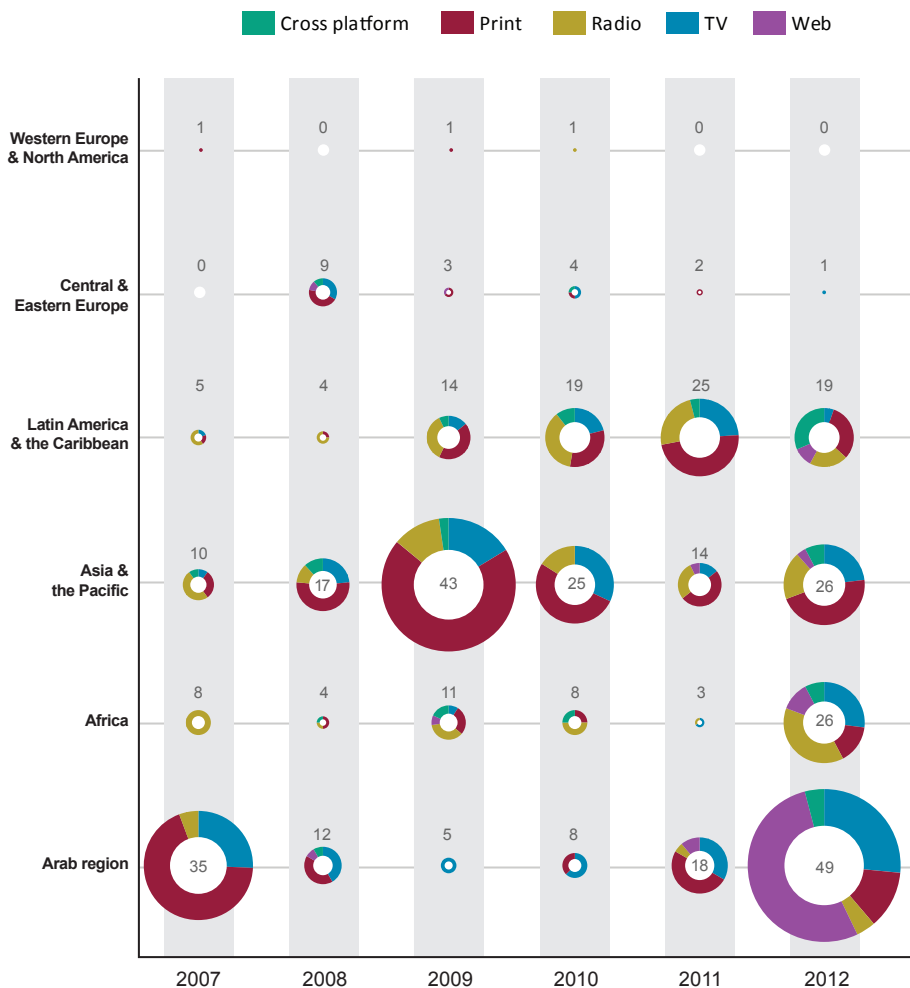
UNESCO is the UN agency with a specific mandate to defend press freedom and freedom of expression, and raising awareness about the killings of journalists and impunity has been an important part of this mandate. The Intergovernmental Council of UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) since 2008 has received bi-annual reports from the Director General on killings of journalists. Between 2007 and 2012, UNESCO's Director-General condemned the killings of 430 journalists, with nearly 30% occurring in 2012. The number of condemnations each year was relatively stable between 2007 and 2011, but nearly doubled from 62 in 2011 to 121 in 2012 amid war and violence in parts of the Arab region and Africa. About 5% of those killed since 2007 were women, reflecting the lower level of representation of women among reporters (just over one-third worldwide) and that women reporters still remain underrepresented among those journalists covering politics, war, economics and other traditionally 'male' topics. During this period, print journalists experienced the most

²⁹ Figures on the killings of journalists by region and gender were taken from UNESCO's internal database of *Journalist Killings and Status of Judicial Inquiry, 2007-2012*. Except where noted otherwise, all data related to the source of fire and topic of coverage in journalists' killings, as well as data on journalist imprisonment and exile, were collected by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ).

casualties (176), followed by TV (100) and radio (87) journalists. In 2012, the ratio shifted towards internet publishing, due to increased deaths of citizen journalists and the fact that many journalists cross-publish on multiple platforms.

Bloggers and online journalists have been included in the UNESCO condemnations of killings over the period. The Director-General's condemnations of killings of online journalists rose from three in 2011 to 32 in 2012. In 2012, at the 28th session of the Intergovernmental Council of the IPDC, the decision on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity requested the Director-General to report on the killings of 'journalists, media workers and social media producers who generate a significant amount of public-interest journalism.' As with the UNESCO Work Plan on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity,³⁰ the term 'journalists' employed in this analysis encompasses this range of actors.

Figure 8
Number of Journalists Killed by Medium and Region (2007-2012)



Source: UNESCO's internal database of *Journalist Killings and Status of Judicial Inquiry, 2007-2012*

30 Adopted at the 191st session of UNESCO's Executive Board in April 2013.

According to UNESCO's data, the number of killings in parts of the Asia and the Pacific region increased over the last six years, with a sharp increase in 2009. More than 60% of the 135 total killings condemned by UNESCO's Director-General in Asia and the Pacific occurred in two States. There were 12 women (9%) among those killed. In Africa, the numbers of killings of journalists remained relatively constant throughout this period, with the exception of a sharp increase in 2012 linked to violent conflict; none of the killed journalists were women. In the Arab region, the number of journalist killings declined through 2010, but then rose in 2011 and again in 2012, primarily due to violent conflict; two women journalists were killed in this region. Central and Eastern Europe experienced a steady decline since 2008 in the rate of journalist killings, while there were three condemnations related to the killings of journalists in Western Europe and North America, all prior to 2011 and none of whom were women. In parts of Latin America and the Caribbean, there was a steady rise in the rate of journalist killings between 2007 and 2011, with a slight decline in 2012, and most deaths in this region took place in countries where drug cartels and organized crime were active. Among killed journalists, print journalists have tended to outnumber colleagues working in other media in all regions except Africa, where radio journalists have represented the highest proportion of journalists killed, and the Arab region, where online journalists were the majority of those killed in 2012.

As indicated in the Director-General's 2012 report to the IPDC, at least 75% of the journalists whose killings were condemned from 2010 and 2011 had been targeted for murder (as opposed to killed in the line of duty) and many had previously received threats. Another constant trend has been that local journalists covering local stories figure prominently among those killed.

UNESCO has conducted an analysis of its own data, that of special rapporteurs on freedom of expression and several databases of major international, independent non-governmental organizations working on these issues (restructured to reflect UNESCO's regional groupings).

Although the 'source of fire' was unknown in 15% of journalist killings between 2007 and 2012, instances where the source was known indicated a global trend towards greater reported killings of journalists by military groups and a decline in such actions by political groups – although the latter have still constituted the largest percentage of known perpetrators overall over the past six years. There were reportedly more politically motivated killings of journalists in 2009 than in any other year in the previous decade, reflecting a lack of tolerance for criticism on the part of those in power, according to a joint report by the Special Rapporteurs on freedom of expression from the UN, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Organization of American States (OAS) and African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR). They also noted that journalists reporting on social problems, including organized crime or drug trafficking, human rights violations or corruption, or reporting from conflict zones, were particularly at risk. There were also indications that reporting on violence often precipitates violence against journalists.

Conflict zones continued to be among the most dangerous places for journalism – although from 2007 until the end of 2010 and the outbreak of the uprisings in parts of the Arab region, there were more journalists killed outside of such zones. According to a 2012 report, 88% of killed journalists covered beats related to war, 50% issues related to human rights and 35% issues related to politics.³¹

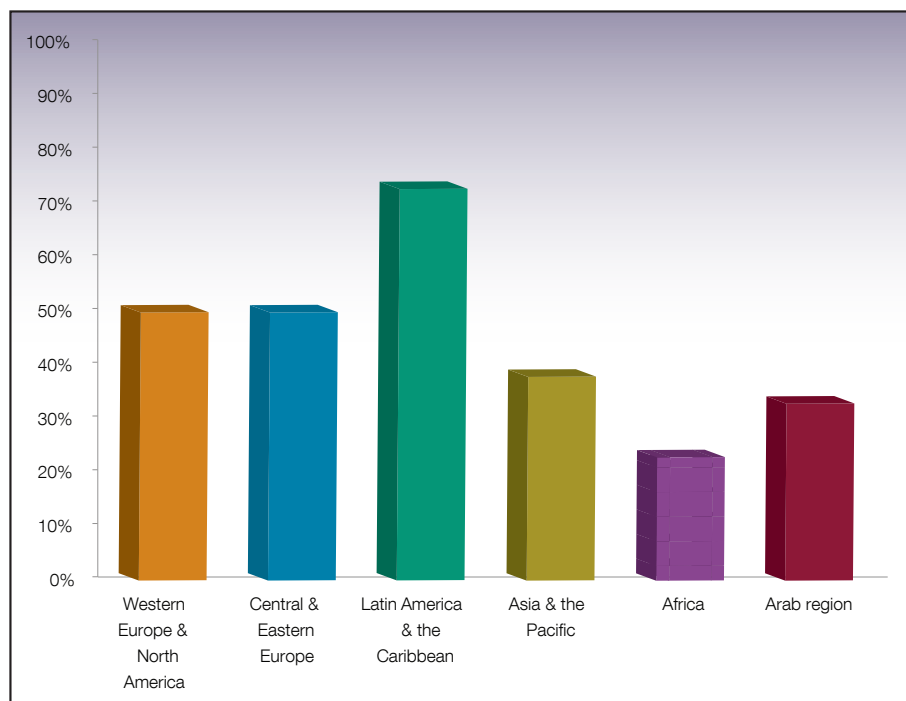
IMPUNITY

Impunity has remained the predominant trend, with few perpetrators of killings or attacks against journalists being brought to justice. Impunity refers to the effect of exemption from punishment of those who commit a crime. It thus points to a potential failure of judicial systems as well as the creation of an environment in which crimes against freedom of expression go unpunished, posing a serious threat to freedom of expression. The practice and expectation of impunity may further encourage violations of numerous human rights besides freedom of expression and press freedom, while also encouraging other forms of criminality. Physically silencing criticism, arbitrary arrests and detention, enforced disappearance, harassment and intimidation have often been aimed at silencing not only journalists, but also intimidating a population towards self-censorship.

According to UNESCO data, fewer than one in ten killings of journalists have led to a conviction in the past period. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression has attributed the root cause of impunity to the lack of political will to pursue investigations. Since 2008, the IPDC has encouraged Member States to voluntarily submit information on the status of judicial inquiries conducted into each of the killings condemned by UNESCO, for inclusion in a public report submitted every two years to the IPDC Council by the Director-General. Based on UNESCO's analysis of these voluntary responses, less than half (42%) of the Member States where killings occurred between 2007 and 2012 had responded by mid-2013.

31 The percentage may add up to more than 100% because more than one category applied in some cases.

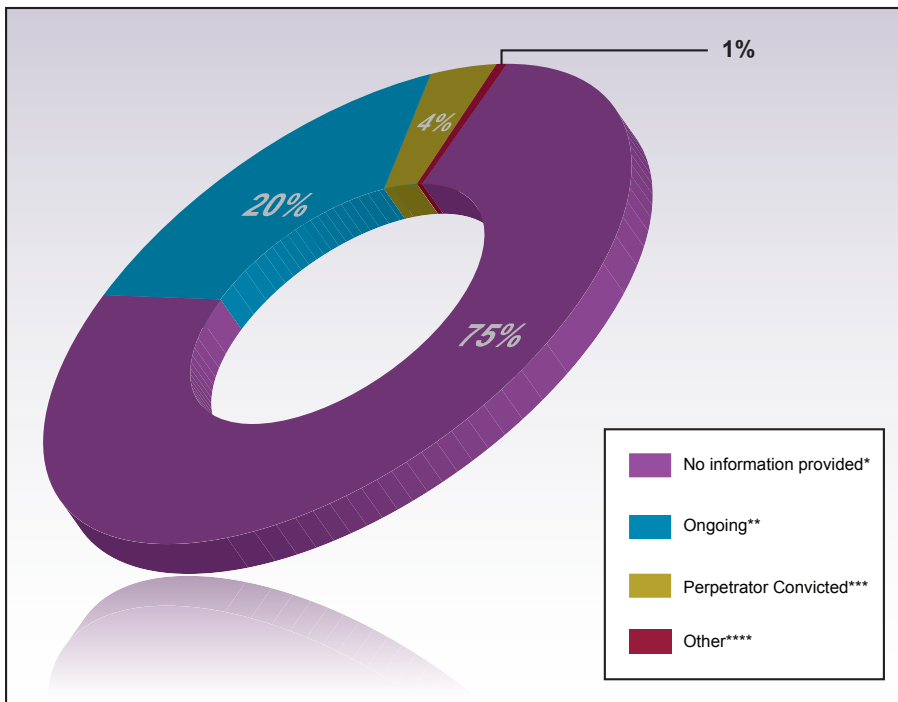
Figure 9
Member State response rate to UNESCO DG requests on the status of judicial inquiries of killings of journalists, 2007-2012



Source: UNESCO's internal database of *Journalist Killings and Status of Judicial Inquiry, 2007-2012*

- In the Africa region, three out of the 13 Member States (23%) responded to requests for voluntary judicial inquiry updates, with two noting ongoing cases and one reporting a conviction.
- In the Arab region, three out of nine Member States (33%) responded, with one Member State reporting convictions in two cases and the others reporting the cases as ongoing.
- Out of the 16 Member States where journalists were killed in the Asia and the Pacific region, six (38%) responded, with two noting that a perpetrator was convicted and four others noting either ongoing cases or a lack of available information.
- In Central and Eastern Europe, two out of four countries (50%) responded, both reporting convictions, with one also noting an ongoing case.
- In the Latin American and the Caribbean region, eight of the 11 Member States (73%) responded to UNESCO's appeal, with six noting convictions, acquittal or other resolution of the case. Five of them reported both convictions and ongoing cases and two others noted that cases were ongoing.
- One of the two countries where killings had occurred in Western Europe and North America (50%) responded to the UNESCO request, reporting one conviction and one ongoing case.

Figure 10
Status of Judicial Inquiry 2007-2012



* No information provided: Member State did not respond to the request for information on judicial follow-up of the killings of journalists

** Ongoing: Member State provided a response to the request for information on judicial follow-up of the killings of journalists. Information in this category includes various responses including 1. acknowledgement of the case but with no further information, 2. the investigation has been taken up by law enforcement, 3. the case has reached the judicial system.

*** Perpetrator convicted: The case is resolved and the perpetrator of the crime has been convicted

**** Other: These cases were resolved through acquittal or the case being archived. In one circumstance the Member State responded that the victim was not a journalist.

UNESCO's IPDC Council in 2012 urged Member States to respond voluntarily to the request for information on judicial follow-up as a way to demonstrate their commitment to preventing impunity. Ten of the 12 countries on the 2013 annual Impunity Index had been listed each year since the annual tally began in 2008. Thirty per cent of the cases included in the index were journalists who covered political news. The second most dangerous topic of coverage was reportedly corruption, about which 20% of the victims reported. Government and military officials were considered the leading suspects in 26% of murder cases and, in a trend also noted by UNESCO, most of the victims had received threats prior to being killed.

Efforts to address impunity have gained increased attention in the past several years. In addition to the international community's steps noted above, the Medellin Declaration, issued in 2007 at the World Press Freedom Day conference convened by UNESCO that year, reiterated the call on Member States to do more to secure the safety of journalists and combat impunity in both conflict and non-conflict situations. This appeal was echoed

in both the Carthage and San José declarations issued on World Press Freedom Day in 2012 and 2013, respectively. In addition, in 2011, IFEX, a global network of about 90 free expression groups worldwide, commenced a campaign to raise awareness by commemorating on an annual basis the 'International Day to End Impunity.'

To these ends, the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity was developed by UNESCO in 2011-2012 with the participation of media, civil society and representatives of 37 governments, and was endorsed by the UN Chief Executives Board in April 2012. It specifically included items on reinforcing journalist safety programmes and assisting Member States in developing ways to prosecute the killers of journalists, establish national emergency mechanisms and develop accessible, real-time emergency response mechanisms for groups and media organizations. An Implementation Strategy was elaborated in 2012. The UNESCO Work Plan on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, adopted by consensus at the Organization's Executive Board in 2013, set out action lines that dovetail with the UN Plan of Action, and it is implemented with four pilot countries in different regions of the world.

OTHER DIMENSIONS

UNESCO is mandated to focus on cases of killings as the ultimate form of censorship and intimidation of journalists, and does not itself systematically collect or track data related to other aspects of journalist safety and welfare, such as imprisonment or exile, although these dimensions also impact on the free flow of information and ideas which UNESCO works to promote. The analysis here draws on a wide range of sources and data to ascertain how these issues reflect the safety and welfare of journalists and the broader ecosystem in which they work.

Imprisonment of journalists for their legitimate work not only fosters a culture of self-censorship but also impinges on the broader rights of society to obtain information. Many governments have maintained that particular journalists have not been imprisoned for their journalism, but for other reasons. This report has not obtained sufficient data to establish which cases of incarceration are in the category of other reasons; at the same time, it has been possible to register a marked trend over the period of increasing numbers of journalists being jailed. The number of imprisoned journalists has reportedly increased each year since 2008, a trend that accelerated in 2011 and culminated in at least 232 journalists reported to be imprisoned during 2012.

Citizen journalists have come to play a significant part in newsgathering, especially in times of crisis, and they have been exposed to the same risks of violence and intimidation as experienced by professional journalists. Physical silencing through arbitrary arrests and detention, enforced disappearance, harassment and intimidation, has affected both professional and citizen journalists, according to the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression. At least 109 bloggers were reportedly in prison in 2010 on charges related to the content of their

online expression and in 2008 about 45% of all media workers jailed worldwide were bloggers or online journalists.³²

The rise in killings and imprisonment has not translated into an increase in the numbers of journalists reported to have gone into exile. The number of journalists recorded as going into exile globally dropped from 79 in 2007 to 23 in 2012, after peaking in 2009 at 135. Parts of the Africa region have tended to have the most journalists reported to have gone into exile each year, followed by parts of the Asia and the Pacific region, with a total of 231 and 140, respectively, reported between 2007 and 2012. The number of reported journalists going into exile in parts of Latin America and the Caribbean rose from three in 2009 to 25 in 2010 and dropped in 2011 to seven. Kidnapping has also been a threat faced by journalists that has reportedly increased in recent years, from 29 cases in 2008, to 33 in 2009 and 51 in 2010.

The following section examines safety trends with respect to gender.

32 Some governments have argued that imprisonment in certain cases was not for reasons of journalism, and data available to UNESCO did not provide this distinction.

SAFETY: GENDER

OVERVIEW

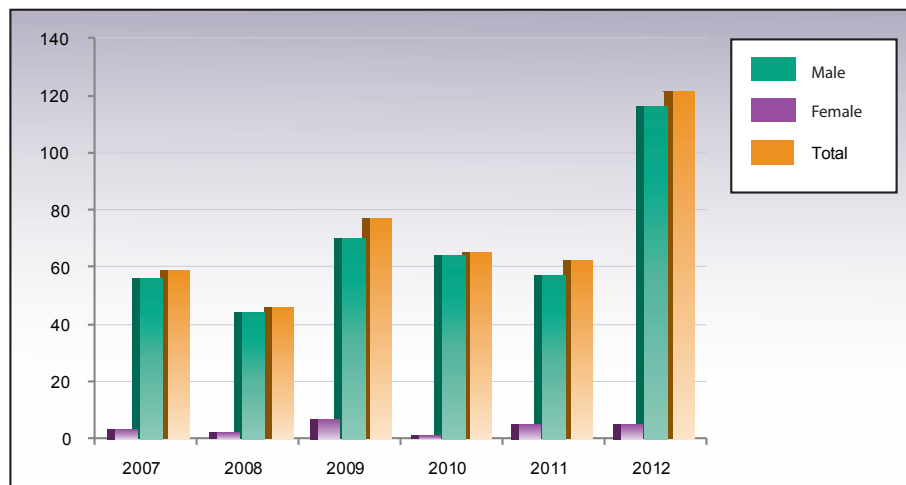
Threats to women's safety have followed their expanded engagement in public expression across all media platforms over the past six years. Two trends in particular have emerged as impacting on the safety of women journalists. Intimidation and violence towards women journalists – as well as fear of these attacks – have reportedly been on the rise. In addition, sexual violence – which can be divided into targeted sexual assault, mob violence, and assault in captivity – has become increasingly visible.

PHYSICAL SAFETY AND IMPUNITY

UNESCO's Director-General denounced the killings of 23 women journalists from 2007 through 2012, which constituted 5% of all the Organization's condemnations of killed journalists (see Figure 11).³³ This figure was significantly lower than women's overall representation among news reporters, where they accounted for 36% of junior professionals (writer, producer, subeditor, correspondent, etc.) and 41% of senior professionals (senior writers, anchors, producers, etc.), according to IWMF. While the number of condemned killings of male journalists rose sharply from 56 in 2007 to 116 in 2012, the rate for female journalists remained relatively constant, fluctuating between one and seven deaths each year during this period. The most common cause of killings of female journalists was murder; another common cause was being caught in the line of fire during battles of war.

33 Based on UNESCO's internal database of *Journalist Killings and Status of Judicial Inquiry, 2007-2012*. Unless stated otherwise, the figures on killings of journalists that follow are taken from this database.

Figure 11
Killings of journalists per year by gender

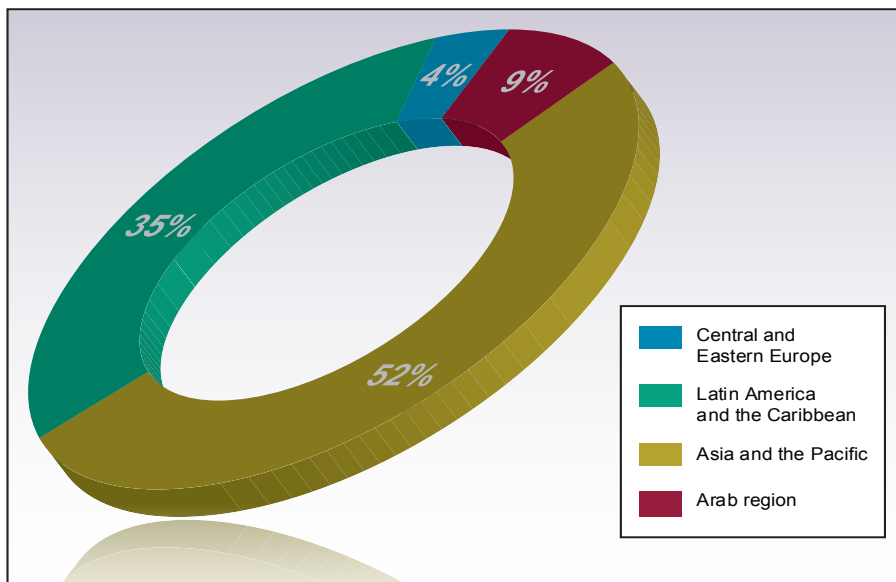


Source: UNESCO's internal database of *Journalist Killings and Status of Judicial Inquiry*, 2007-2012.

By region, more than half of the killings of female journalists (52%) occurred in the Asia and the Pacific (see Figure 12). Over a third (35%) of killings of female journalists was in Latin America and the Caribbean, while others took place in parts of the Arab region (9%) and Central and Eastern Europe (4%). There were no condemnations by UNESCO of killings of female journalists in Africa or Western Europe and North America.

Of the ten countries asked by UNESCO to provide information on the status of the judicial inquiries into the female journalists' murders, five voluntarily responded as of mid-2013, with two reporting that the perpetrator had been convicted.

Figure 12
Killings of women journalists by region, 2007-2012



Source: UNESCO's internal database of *Journalist Killings and Status of Judicial Inquiry*, 2007-2012.

While women have benefited enormously from access to internet-based communication, this technology also facilitates new forms of violence against women – including online harassment, cyberstalking, invasion of privacy, defamation campaigns, rape threats, trolling, hacking, viral videos of rape, seduction and abuse through the use of email and websites, and other threats. This new online environment has been particularly difficult for women journalists who cover issues that are typically dominated by men (e.g., sports, politics [see PLURALISM: GENDER]). Some groups are beginning to track the incidence of such violence, but evidence to date remains case-by-case (anecdotal) rather than systematically collected and aggregated.

In addition to killings, women journalists have been ‘disappeared’ and have been physically and sexually assaulted and imprisoned. Although the majority of monitoring groups tend not to disaggregate data by gender, some have tracked individual cases of imprisonment or violence against women journalists, and collected accounts from interviews with women who have been the victims of violence. As women reporters’ presence has expanded in conflict zones, some organizations have also expanded their efforts to track incidences of censorship and violence against journalists in figures that are disaggregated by gender. Women who are survivors of such crimes have been speaking out, giving interviews and writing books about their experiences. These events show an increasing recognition that sexual assaults and harassment are crimes that impede women’s free expression and ability to perform as professional journalists. While journalists have often been reluctant to come forward after sexual assault, due to cultural

stigma and fear of professional ramifications, more women who survive these assaults are speaking out, and there has been an emerging trend within NGOs focused on press freedom and protection of journalists to give greater attention to the gender dynamics of violence and censorship.

NGOs have also been involved with the protection of women journalists and other journalistic communicators, although systematic data collection on the various forms of abuse that women use in the course of their work has been lacking. One initiative is Global Voices' Threatened Voices project, a crowd-sourced database of bloggers who have been threatened or arrested. Of the 312 bloggers included in the database as of mid-2013 who were reported as threatened, arrested or, in a few cases, killed over the period 2007 to 2012, 43 (14%) were women. Nearly half of these women bloggers were in Asia and the Pacific, although the total number of all bloggers threatened or arrested was higher in parts of the Arab region. The rate of women among the total number of bloggers reported as arrested or threatened varied by region. Women bloggers made up 26% of all citizen journalists reportedly threatened or attacked in parts of the Latin American and the Caribbean region, and 19% in the Asia and Pacific region. They accounted for 11% in Western Europe and North America, 10% in both the Arab region and Central and Eastern Europe, and none of the bloggers reported as attacked in Africa.

There are broad efforts underway that would benefit women in terms of safety in their reporting work. Several groups provide safety training for journalists, and/or regular advisories about danger zones, as well as published information on safety measures for journalists. The International News Safety Institute and IWMF, in partnership with UNESCO, have conducted global research into gender-specific threats. Other organizations have publicly supported women journalists who are intimidated or imprisoned.

APPENDICES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An Advisory Group of experts around the globe renowned for their expertise in one or more of this report's thematic dimensions contributed to the research, drafting and peer-review of this report under the direction of UNESCO. In addition, consultation with UNESCO Advisors in Communication and Information in each region and at headquarters took place at various times throughout the drafting process. Responsibility for the content of the report rests with UNESCO.

Information for this report includes that sourced from several UN bodies, including the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the reports of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression. Appreciation is also expressed to the Committee to Protect Journalists, Freedom House, Global Voices and WAN-IFRA for sharing proprietary databases, which helped the tracking of trends over time as well as quantification where appropriate.

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

- ACHPR: African Commission on Human & Peoples' Rights
- AP: Associated Press
- CPJ: Committee to Protect Journalists
- DDoS: Distributed Denial-of-Service
- EFJ: European Federation of Journalists
- EU: European Union
- FOI: Freedom of Information
- GMMP: Global Media Monitoring Project
- GNI: Global Network Initiative
- IFJ: International Federation of Journalists
- INSI: International News Safety Institute
- IP: Intellectual Property
- IPDC: International Programme for the Development of Communication
- ISP: Internet Service Provider
- ITU: International Telecommunication Union
- LGBT: Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender
- MISA: Media Institute of Southern Africa
- OAS: Organization of American States
- OHCHR: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
- ONO: Organization of News Ombudsmen
- OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
- SADC: Southern African Development Community
- SEAPA: Southeast Asian Press Alliance
- UN ICCPR: United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
- UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
- WAN-IFRA: World Association of Newspapers and News Editors

REGIONAL GROUPINGS:

As this publication was prepared for a report to UNESCO's General Conference, the presentation is organized around the six regions that make up the voting groupings within UNESCO. Accordingly, the countries included within each region, defined on this basis, are listed below.

GROUP I. WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA (27)

Andorra	Greece	Norway
Austria	Iceland	Portugal
Belgium	Ireland	San Marino
Canada	Israel	Spain
Cyprus	Italy	Sweden
Denmark	Luxembourg	Switzerland
Finland	Malta	Turkey
France	Monaco	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Germany	Netherlands	United States of America

GROUP II. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE (25)

Albania	Estonia	Republic of Moldova
Armenia	The Former Yugoslav	Romania
Azerbaijan	Republic of Macedonia	Ukraine
Belarus	Georgia	Uzbekistan
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Hungary	Russian Federation
Bulgaria	Latvia	Serbia
Croatia	Lithuania	Slovakia
Czech Republic	Montenegro	Slovenia
	Poland	Tajikistan

GROUP III. LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (33)

Antigua and Barbuda	Dominican Republic	Paraguay
Argentina	Ecuador	Peru
Bahamas	El Salvador	Saint Kitts and Nevis
Barbados	Grenada	Saint Lucia
Belize	Guatemala	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Guyana	Suriname
Brazil	Haiti	Trinidad and Tobago
Chile	Honduras	Uruguay
Colombia	Jamaica	Venezuela
Costa Rica	Mexico	(Bolivarian Republic of)
Cuba	Nicaragua	
Dominica	Panama	

GROUP IV. ASIA AND THE PACIFIC (44)

Afghanistan	Kazakhstan	Timor-Leste
Australia	Kiribati	Malaysia
Bangladesh	Kyrgyzstan	Maldives
Bhutan	Lao People's Democratic Republic	Marshall Islands
Brunei Darussalam	Niue	Micronesia (Federated States of)
Cambodia	Pakistan	Mongolia
China	Palau	Myanmar
Cook Islands	Papua New Guinea	Nauru
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Philippines	Nepal
Fiji	Republic of Korea	New Zealand
India	Samoa	Tonga
Indonesia	Singapore	Turkmenistan
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	Solomon Islands	Tuvalu
Japan	Sri Lanka	Vanuatu
	Thailand	Viet Nam

GROUP V.A. AFRICA (47)

Angola	Ethiopia	Nigeria
Benin	Gabon	Rwanda
Botswana	Gambia	Sao Tome and Principe
Burkina Faso	Ghana	Senegal
Burundi	Guinea	Seychelles
Cameroon	Guinea-Bissau	Sierra Leone
Cape Verde	Kenya	Somalia
Central African Republic	Lesotho	South Africa
Chad	Liberia	South Sudan
Comoros	Madagascar	Swaziland
Congo	Malawi	Togo
Côte d'Ivoire	Mali	Uganda
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Mauritius	United Republic of Tanzania
Djibouti	Mozambique	Zambia
Equatorial Guinea	Namibia	Zimbabwe
Eritrea	Niger	

GROUP V.B. ARAB REGION (19)

Algeria	Libya	Saudi Arabia
Bahrain	Mauritania	Sudan
Egypt	Morocco	Syrian Arab Republic
Iraq	Oman	Tunisia
Jordan	Palestine*	United Arab Emirates
Kuwait	Qatar	Yemen
Lebanon		

* Palestine became a member of UNESCO on 21 November 2011.