
ARMED WITH PEN AND MICROPHONE
MEDIA AS TOOLS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
A Study
women's* solidarity

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Women can tell a story that reflects the point of view of women, not that of mainstream culture. ... When we tell stories, we can also learn from them in many different ways.

Lindsey Collen, Mauritius, writer (2012)

If we want our words to have value, if we want a liveable world for men and women, or a society in which we are equals, we women must own and operate alternative media of communication – media that recognise all forms of violence against women as an epidemic and treat it as such.

Jamileth Chavarria Mendieta, Nicaragua/Spain, radio activist (2013)

For me, radio is the most powerful of all media. Radio has the power to overcome boundaries created by unequal access to education. You don't need a lot of money or complicated technological equipment to listen to the radio or make radio. The radio is a crucial link to the outside world for women who work at home. It is the only medium they can consume without stopping their work. You cannot do that with TV.

Seidy Salas Viquez, Costa Rica, radio activist (2013)

There are different ways one can look at women's movements having media in their own hands. Having a radio or TV station and a newspaper or magazine is good in that you own the output and set the agenda. But how much of that output do you have? How much of your audience/readers do you reach? Even if women's movements have their own media, they will still have to work with the mainstream media. It is a fact that the media is an agenda setter. It is therefore good for women's movements to have a working relationship with the media. The media needs to be engaged so that it understands the issue/s at hand and thus support them with the knowledge that has been given to them.

Valerie Msoka, Tanzania, journalist (2013)

Table of contents

5 Preface
7 Introduction

9 I. Women, gender and media
- 10 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing
- 11 The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)

17 II. A new era of communication
- 18 The MacBride report
- 21 World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS)
- 22 World Social Forum (WSF) and World Forum of Free Media (WFFM)
- 23 World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC)
- 29 International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC)
- 30 World Association of Christian Communication (WACC)

31 III. Community-Media: „Everyone is a witness, everyone is a journalist"
- 33 Who is behind the media? The question of ownership
- 34 A brief history of community media
- 34 New media
- 36 Community media in Latin America
- 37 Community media in Africa

39 IV. Examples of media (self-) organisation
- **40 Using imagination and creativity (Costa Rica)**
  - 42 Radio drama
  - 42 "The courage to imagine a different world"
- **44 Pioneer work at the regional level (Namibia)**
  - 45 Sister Namibia
  - 47 "We want to be a critical voice"
- **48 Transnational networks of science and grassroots work (South Africa)**
  - 49 Gender Links
  - 51 "We have to get involved"
- **52 Raising awareness among journalists (Tanzania)**
  - 53 Media Gender Code of Ethics
  - 54 TAMWA (Tanzania Media Women's Association)
  - 56 "Armed with pen and microphone"
- **58 Fighting violence with a fictional character (Nicaragua)**
  - 59 Radio Palabra de Mujer
  - 60 "Feminism saved my life"
- **63 Cross-media resistance (Colombia)**
  - 66 OFP (Organización Femenina Popular)
  - 67 "Globalise solidarity"
- **70 Summary**

71 Conclusions
74 Sources
78 Glossary of acronyms

Preface

to the study "Media as tools of social development"

As radio activists, we have learned a lot: How to keep calm while moderating a live show in a studio full of people, using the mixer, and mentally coordinating a feminist topic and some 12 music tracks.
As "Women on Air" since 2005, we have had the opportunity to meet colleagues from all over the world. We met our courageous Colombian friends from the Organización Femenina Popular (OFP), who wanted to expose the inhumane practices of transnational corporations, paramilitary groups and the government with their magazine, radio programmes and TV spots. These women received death threats, were tortured, and still were very clear on one thing: The best protection for human rights defenders is their strong public voice.
From the efforts of the professional media experts of the Tanzanian Media Women's Association (TAMWA) we learned how to successfully influence mainstream media with coordinated journalistic women's and human rights campaigns.
We realised how long our colleagues in Central America had been using radio and alternative media in very creative ways – from feminist radio dramas and radio characters with magic powers to information and support for migrant women "en ruta norte", on the way to the north. We discovered many things that we ourselves had yet to learn.
And finally we looked at international regulations: Do women have a guaranteed right to mass communication? To what extent can they shape the image of women in the media? Why is radio such a particularly important means of communication for women worldwide?
These questions were the starting point for an in-depth examination of the topic, the results of which you are now reading. This is a study that gives us hope. The world in which we live to a large extent degrades women and girls as cheap labour. It denies them many of their basic economic, cultural and social rights and the right to decide about their own body. But at the same time, all across that same world, there are women who are fighting courageously for their right to participate in society and decide about their own body. They do it especially in the media, which is where you can hear, see and read it best: A different world is not only possible, it is necessary. Now!

Claudia Dal-Bianco und Helga Neumayer
Editors

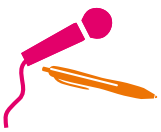
Why is it important for women's movements and organisations to have control over the media?

Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach once said: "Exceptions are not always the proof of the old rule; they can also be the harbinger of a new one." I believe this is also an accurate description of women's role in the media – both in journalism and in management. Media where women are publishers, editors-in-chief and heads of section remain the exception, but I do see changes that herald the sorely needed new rule.

For me, women's movements, women's organisations and women in general as media publishers and producers are the key to changing the current balance of power in politics and society. Women focus on different aspects, they have different, new, better perspectives and approaches for the hitherto far too male-dominated media world. Women give different, better, new answers to current questions and show different, better, new ways of overcoming the crises we face.

Marx spoke of a "collectivisation of the means of production", by which he meant that the workers should collectively own the means of production. I would like to speak of a "feminisation of the media". I see this as a task for women's movements and organisations that are committed to emancipation. In contrast to the tabloid press with its one-sided image of women, these (feminist) women's movements must publish their own alternative media that describe, explain and promote our view of women and the world. Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach also said: "There is only one proof of ability—action." I am convinced that women's movements and individual women make an enormous difference in the world of media – let us take action!

Ulrike Lunacek, MEP
Vice president and spokeswoman on foreign affairs of the Greens
in the European Parliament
and chairwoman of Frauensolidarität I Women's Solidarity



Introduction

Powerlessness and invisibility are key factors of poverty. Women are affected more than men, and this discrepancy is growing, particularly in the countries of the Global South. This has been confirmed by a number of studies in the last years. However, these studies have also shown that political participation of women grows with awareness-raising and information, which can improve their situation. When women know how the political processes in their community work, they can become much more involved in democratisation.

The media play a key role in this. Alternative media aim to involve all parts of society, while state-owned media exclude some groups and private media seek to improve their ratings. The latter have no particular interest in gender equality and social inclusion.

Community media, on the other hand, give women easier access to the media and to the dissemination of information. This turns women into political, independent actors. This kind of participation not only strengthens women but also contributes to reducing gender-based poverty, particularly in so-called developing countries. When women are excluded from knowledge about the dynamics of politics, they lack the tools to participate actively in democratisation processes. The right to communicate is, therefore, an important step towards gender equality.

Global and commercial media corporations have contributed to reducing the diversity of media landscapes. This has also increased the obstacles for women. The obvious dominance of certain social groups over marginalised and indigenous parts of societies has become even stronger.

Community media, particularly community radio, counter this global imbalance. They are effective tools for increasing women's participation in political structures and decision-making processes. Community radio is not controlled by business or government interests, allowing it to choose the topics it addresses independently. It uses the local way of speaking, thus making the information and discussions accessible to the local communities. For illiterate people – many of whom are women – the radio is often the most important source of information.

On every continent, women work as editors and journalists in print media, radio, television and online. Human rights and women's rights activists utilise media in a variety of ways to spread their issues, demands and messages.

This study shows how women and women's organisations in Central America and southern Africa use media for social development.

One of the milestones of the women's movement was the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Section J of the Platform for Action, which was a result of the conference, defined concrete goals for the area of women and media. These goals have still not been met, as the Global Media Monitoring Report, which is published every 5 years, shows. The first part of this study examines the situation.

The second part of the study focuses on the debate on the right to communicate in the 20th and 21st century, which reached a peak in 1980 with the publication of the *MacBride report*, and provides an overview of important organisations in the field of media.

The third part looks at different definitions of community and alternative media and highlights the differences between them and state-owned, public, and commercial media. It also provides a closer look at the media landscape of the regions under review, Central America and southern Africa.
The fourth and final part shows examples of strategies individual women and women's organisations use to spread their messages through the media and achieve social change. The women interviewed for this study employ a wide range of methods and utilise the many different possibilities of modern communication technology to spread their message – from feminist radio stations in small villages to transnational networks.

I. WOMEN, GENDER AND MEDIA

The life of the modern woman takes place in three domains: at work, in the family and in the public. However, the name "Women and society", which would have been a much more accurate name for our programme and all the different aspects it covers, was not accepted. In that sense, "Family radio" is limiting. (Lore Walb, radio journalist, in 1968 when the German regional broadcaster BR renamed its "Women's radio" as "Family radio".)

The element of gender is still not part of mainstream news reports. In the world of professional journalism, the predominant attitude is still that gender is a niche topic. The big mainstream media do not recognise that every "proper" news item, be it about conflicts, disasters, politics, economy, violence, or law, has a gender aspect. News reports can benefit greatly from this aspect because it can lead to a whole new story.

Because of this, the existence of community media as alternatives to the mainstream media plays an important role in advancing women's rights. Media that report without having to consider ratings, sponsors, investors or advertising revenue can afford to address more "unpopular" topics and explicitly challenge traditional gender roles.

Efforts to banish the heterosexist bias from reporting and achieve more balanced news reports have been going on for decades. The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 is considered a milestone in the discussion of women and the media. The demands that were formulated for the first time at UN level at that conference are still valid today. They are frequently cited in publications and reports – unfortunately, these mostly show that the goals have by no means been fulfilled yet.

UN World Conference on Women in Beijing

The Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 is considered a milestone in the process of establishing women's rights at the international level. A Platform for Action was set up, which formulated concrete measures for reducing the discrimination of women and achieving equality between women and men. This "Beijing Platform for Action" highlighted twelve "critical areas of concern", including the area of Women and Media. Section J of the Platform for Action highlights the vital role of media in promoting equality between women and men. It points out that while women are actively involved in the media, they rarely serve on governing boards and bodies of mass media. Section J demands reforms and for governments to support education, research, and promotion of women.
The strategic objectives of Section J as formulated by the Beijing Platform for Action are:

- Participation of women in the media in general and access to decision-making positions
- Access of women to new information and communication technologies (ICTs)
- Balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media

The declaration of the Fourth World Conference on Women outlines the state of development in which media and information technology were in 1995:
Advances in information technology have facilitated a global communications network that has an impact on public policy, private attitudes and behaviour, especially of children and young adults. Everywhere the potential exists for the media to make a far greater contribution to the advancement of women. Many women are involved in careers in the communications sector, but few have attained positions at the decision-making level. Violent and degrading or pornographic media products are negatively affecting women and their participation in society. The continued projection of negative and degrading images of women in media communications must be changed.
Self-regulatory mechanisms for the media need to be created and women need to be involved in decision-making regarding the development of the new technologies in order to participate fully in their growth and impact. Most women, especially in developing countries, are not able to access effectively the expanding electronic information highways and therefore cannot establish networks that will provide them with alternative sources of information. In addressing the issue of the mobilization of the media, Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in policies and programmes.

The strategic objectives of the Platform for Action

The proposed measures are directed at governments, the media, and non-governmental organisations and civil society.

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE 1
Increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication

The Platform for Action demands these measures to an extent that is consistent with freedom of expression and freedom of the media. The actions concern the following areas:

- support education and training programmes
- encourage women's networks
- create gender balance in the appointment of women and men to positions in many different areas
- develop self-regulatory mechanisms and professional guidelines
- encourage cultural and ethnic diversity
- ensure freedom of expression and freedom of the media

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE 2
Promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media

Again, the Platform for Action recommended the measures required to reach the second objective to an extent that is consistent with freedom of expression and freedom of the media.

- increase the participation of women in decision-making processes
- create self-regulation mechanisms for public and private media and advertising
- support education, training, and research programmes
- challenge the common presentation of women as inferior and their exploitation as sexual objects
- develop a gender perspective on all issues
- support the development of and finance alternative media

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)

Globally, 76 percent of people heard or read about in print, radio and television news are male. At the current pace of increase, it will take 43 years for the share of women in the news to reach their share in the global population.
(Deutscher Journalistinnenbund (German female journalists' association), GMMP 2010)

The 2010 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) once again showed that the objectives of Beijing have still not been accomplished.
The GMMP is the largest study on women and gender in the world's news media. It addresses Strategic Objective J.2 of the Beijing Platform for Action: to change the portrayal of women in the media. Since 1995, activists across the world have been monitor-

ing the news for one day every five years. The last monitoring was carried out in 2010 by volunteers in 108 countries. The project is coordinated by WACC (World Association of Christian Communication) in Canada. The project participants are grassroots groups, students, academic researchers, media professionals, and volunteers from many other fields. Following the 2010 study, WACC and the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) jointly developed a resource kit for gender-ethical journalism.
The GMMP 2010 report is titled "Who makes the news?" and shows that women are virtually invisible in news reporting. The summary reflects the realities of power balance: Between 1995 and 2005, approximately 21% of people in the news were women.
This had changed only marginally by 2010, as the report shows: This time, 24% of people heard or read about in the news are women.

"Who makes the news" 2010 – Global figures

An "ordinary" news day was chosen for the survey, i.e. a day with no dominating international events: 10 November 2009. However, the day happened to coincide with two events in Germany that had an impact on the German results: the inauguration speech of Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel after her re-election and the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.
News media were monitored in 108 countries on all continents that together are home to 82% of the global population. Volunteers monitored over 1,000 newspapers, radio and television stations and online news sites, analysed nearly 20,000 news items, and counted more than 35,000 news subjects, i.e. persons interviewed or who the news was about.

Topic areas associated with women (percentage of news subjects):

- Health: 32 %
- Economy: 20 %
- Politics and government: 19 %
- Education: 2 %
- Human rights: 1 %

Areas in which predominantly men were consulted as **experts**:

- Education: 69 %
- Law: 83 %
- Science: 90 %

"Health" is the only area in which women are consulted as experts, with a 31% representation. This is also the area in which they are most frequently the subject of a news item. The results show that men generally predominated in the "expert" category, while women are "ordinary people": On topics of homemaking or parenting, 72% of people interviewed or heard in the news were women. Beyond the home and the family, women remain virtually invisible in the global news.

- The **age** of women is mentioned in the news twice as often as that of men. Women are identified by their family status more often than men.
- 18 % of female news subjects are portrayed as **victims**, while this is only the case for 8% of male subjects.
- **Media women** are also less present than their male counterparts.

Less female radio reporters were heard on the news than in 2005; however, there are now more anchor-women and older female newscasters than previously.
Male reporters dominate stories on politics, government, economy and crime (70 %). Even the percentage of health stories reported by women declined between 2000 and 2010, from 46 % to 44 %. On the other hand, the share of foreign stories reported by women has increased.
The global survey also showed that stories written by women feature women more frequently than those written by men.

Online news

The results of the monitoring of online news sites suggested that the underrepresentation of women in traditional news media has been carried over into the virtual news world. Online news appears to be a format in which gender biases become not only more obvious but are also more strongly concentrated than in the traditional print and broadcasting media.
Only 4 % of online news stories challenged gender stereotypes, compared to 6 % in the traditional media. The Internet could be considered a microscope that magnifies the gender bias present in the traditional media.

"Who makes the news?" – Africa

On the African continent, the media monitoring project was carried out in 26 countries, analysing 1,681 news items from print media, radio and television with regard to gender aspects.

Facts and figures on the representation of women in the African media:

- 19 % of news subjects in Africa were women
- Political topics dominated the news in the print media
- 30 % of news items were made by women

The presence of women in the news in Africa is very low. **Topics** in which women are represented most:

Science and health: 46 %
Crime and violence: 40 %
Economy: 34%

- Female news subjects appear most commonly as homemakers (68 %) and unemployed persons (58 %).
- On the monitoring day, four news subjects were described as sex workers – all four of them female.
- The most frequent function of female news subjects was in relating personal experiences (38 %).
- Women are strongly underrepresented in the functions of experts and spokespersons, at 20 % and 15 %, respectively.
- 34 % of stories in Africa were presented or reported by women, placing Africa behind all other regions. The global average was 42 %.

Recommendations

The GMMP 2010 Regional Report Africa specified a list of recommendations for changes that should be made by 2015 in order to increase the presence of women in the news and reduce gender stereotypes in the media.
Media houses in particular are called upon to increase the number of women in leading positions and introduce gender-responsive policies.

Four recommendations are directed both at political decision makers and media houses:

- Develop gender-responsive policies in the newsroom
- Set clear targets for legal and policy changes, e.g. state/public broadcasting agencies or private news agencies and media houses
- Increase cooperation with media regulatory authorities
- Expand and build fair and gender-balanced reporting on issues of concern to women's and girls' rights

"Who makes the news?" – Latin America

The topics that dominated the news in Latin America on the monitoring day were politics and government, crime and violence, and social and legal issues.

Female journalists predominantly reported on the following subjects:

Social and legal: 50 %
Science and health: 46 %
Politics: 40 %

The two top areas on which women report most frequently are not priority topics in the news:

- Questioning gender stereotypes is not on the agenda of Latin American media. In the main topics of politics and government, economy, and crime and violence, the gender aspects are usually not highlighted.
- There is a gender imbalance in terms of news subjects. The same goes for editors, reporters and presenters. This does not reflect the realities of society.
- Women are mostly shown in **traditional roles**: as homemakers, social workers, nurses, mothers, participants in beauty pageants, celebrities or consumers.
- Where women are the main subject of the news, their family status is usually mentioned – implying that they are not taken seriously as independent individuals. In particular male reporters tend to comment on the family status of women.
- The male voice is considered more authoritative than the female voice in Latin American media: 22% of experts consulted in the news items analysed were women. This reflects society's tendency to place more trust into the word of a man than that of a woman.
- News items that do focus on women are usually made by women, as are news items that question traditional gender roles.

The report concludes that the way in which news is reported in Latin America does not contribute to social transformation. Women's achievements and contributions still go unrecognised and reports about women are filled with gender stereotypes. This inevitably perpetuates social perceptions that keep women in a position of inequality and discrimination.

Resource Kit

As a follow-up to the GMMP, a two-part Resource Kit was published in 2012. It aims to provide an answer to the gender gap and the lack of self-regulatory mechanisms in the media. It is the result of collaboration between the WACC and the IFJ.
Book 1 of the "Learning Resource Kit for Gender Ethical Journalism" discusses the scientific and theoretical background. The authors stress the importance of viewing news

stories through a "gender lens" and introduce the concept of gender-ethical journalism. This is followed by an analysis of the current status of gender issues in the news media based on the results of the GMMP 2010. Case studies from Canada, Tanzania and the Inter-Press Service show how gender-focused media codes and guidelines can be adopted and implemented and how the media can relate more strongly to civil society. Book 2 provides practical guidelines for journalists, reporters, editors and civil society actors engaged in gender-focused media monitoring. The guidelines are written by gender and media experts from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean region, Europe, Latin America, North America, and the Oceania/Pacific region. Their purpose is to show how to report on current issues in a gender-ethical way without perpetuating stereotypes.

Gender-ethical journalism

> So practising gender-aware journalism is not only about upholding professional standards and ethics. It is additionally about advancing journalistic career prospects by unearthing exceptional and engaging stories. But there is more to it than that: one of the guiding principles of ethical journalism is the public's right to know. *(Gender Resource Kit, 2012)*

Gender-ethical journalism means portraying the full range of social diversity and the realities of gender in society. Men, taken as a whole, are situated higher on the ladder of gender hierarchy. However, since power and privilege are determined by a complex array of factors such as economic class, race/ethnicity, age, education and other social and cultural markers, several categories of men are disadvantaged within other hierarchies, and their experiences and perspectives are often not adequately represented in the media either. And, of course, sexual minorities have only recently gained some visibility and acceptance in certain parts of the world, while continuing to be marginalised and many others.

Media professionals – not only reporters but also editors and producers, photographers and videographers, researchers and fact-checkers, even designers and illustrators – need to be mindful of the fact that most events, developments and policies have different implications for different sections of society. Awareness of the fact that gender (and other factors) can influence people's experience can help journalists find distinctive, memorable, valuable and commendable follow-up stories.

Conversely, by not really listening to what affected women have to say beyond expressing initial shock and grief, media professionals may miss out on meaningful stories that are also appealing.

Unless gender is acknowledged as one of several factors that affect people's experience of almost everything, and accepted as one of the angles to be explored while covering anything, the media will continue to tell only part of the story.

II. A NEW ERA OF COMMUNICATION

Masters can shout commands at their servants but they cannot really communicate with them. Communication can only take place if all partners acknowledge, in principle, the equality of all men and women. *(MacBride Update, 1999)*

Freedom of speech and information was one of the first issues the then newly created United Nations addressed after World War 2. The war had made it painfully clear to the Western world how vulnerable societies are to mass indoctrination and warmongering. There were great hopes that the UN Member States would be able to draw up a "Magna Carta" of freedom of speech and information, but there were widely divergent views on what exactly such a freedom should constitute.

Approximately twenty years later, in the early days of space travel and satellite technology in the late 1960s, the question of a "right to communicate" was broached for the first time.

Many saw the innovative communication technologies as new opportunities for international cooperation, security and prosperity. Others, however, were less confident, in particular people from the Global South. There were fears that the Western countries might use these new means of communication to impose their ideologies and values on non-Western societies, thus threatening traditional ways of life and the sovereignty of newly independent nations. They feared a new form of dominance: cultural imperialism. The ensuing debate called the satellite and information technology monopoly of the Western world into question.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had recognized the freedom of opinion and expression in 1948, making freedom of speech and information a matter of international law. However, criticism of Article 19 was not long in coming. Critics felt it did not go far enough and called for a broader definition that would take into account not only the free flow of information but also communication as an interactive process and the role of power in communication processes.

This demand was based on the definition of communication as a dialogue between two individuals as equals. Recognising the right to communicate would strengthen the position of the weak and oppressed and give a voice to those who had something to say but had so far remained unheard.

In the 1970s, UNESCO began addressing the issue of information and communication rights. A debate began in the context of decolonisation processes: Many of the new UN Member States saw the Western concept of freedom of opinion as perpetuating colonialism and Western dominance over global information. Therefore, they considered the right to communicate a tool for development and independence and a fundamental principle of national identity.
In 1976, a meeting of the non-aligned countries – the countries who did not support either of the blocs of the Cold War – was held in Tunis. One result of this meeting was the call for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) where the imbalances of power in both media content and infrastructure would be reduced.
This was part of the great media debate about global equality and imbalances in Western news reporting.

The MacBride report

Freedom is the hallmark of all genuine communications and the basis for every democracy. That freedom, however, can only be achieved if communication is truly democratized.
(MacBride Update, 1999)

"Many Voices, One World" – often referred to as the MacBride report – is a document commissioned by UNESCO and published by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems in 1980. UNESCO had set up the committee to develop a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) to mitigate the global imbalance in access to information. The commission discussed a range of topics, including the imbalanced information flow in the so-called developing countries, disparities in access to information and the importance of strengthening national and regional media in order to reduce their dependence on external sources of finance.
In response to the report, UNESCO introduced the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) in 1980. The aim of this intergovernmental programme, which is still active today, is to reduce the North-South imbalance in communication and infrastructure. The idea came from the United States, who hoped it would cause the so-called developing countries to stop pursuing the NWICO.
The chair of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems was the Irish Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Seán MacBride, who was very critical of the dependence of the so-called developing countries on the industrialised countries in the media domain.

The report called for a number of principles, including:

- Open, free and balanced communication
- Establishing a just and equitable global information system
- Effective national and transnational instruments and policies that ensure the free flow of information
- Recognition of the right to communicate as a fundamental human right in order to further the democratisation of communication.

The report with its over 300 pages is the result of a powerful countermovement to the global commercialisation of information. It is considered a milestone in the ongoing process of developing a free and fair information society.

Recommendations of the commission

Broad public participation in communication policies

Laws and policies for the implementation of a fair and free information society should be developed with broad public participation.

Ensuring a self-reliant communication sector

The governments of developing countries should provide access to adequate technology and infrastructure. The commission recommends the development of national radio networks capable of reaching even remote areas. Radio should take priority over television, particularly in areas where illiteracy is prevalent.

Education and training

Training for domestic media personnel to facilitate an independent media sector.

Promotion of languages

All languages should be promoted and developed to satisfy the requirements of modern communication. Multilingual societies should develop language policies to promote all languages adequately, adapt administrative systems and provide translation and interpretation.

Recognising communication as a basic human need

Communication is not only a system of public information but also an integral component of education and development. All development projects should therefore also include funding for the communication aspect.

Support for community media

This would contribute to education and empowerment, particularly in rural and remote areas.

Political participation

Communication should be recognised as a tool for participation in political decision-making processes. It is an integral and indispensable part of democratisation.

Strengthening cultural identity

This also includes strengthening spiritual and religious values, as this promotes dialogue with other cultures. Cultural dominance both within developing countries and between developing and industrialised countries must be reduced.

Promotion of non-commercial media

The commercialisation of mass media should be reduced, as they have a great influence on the decisions of private and public institutions. Community media should, therefore, be promoted and integrated with the traditions, culture and socio-political system of each country.

Access to technical information

This recommendation is addressed to the industrialised countries. In view of the rapid development of the technology sector, technical knowledge is particularly valuable and, therefore, not easily available. All countries have the same right to full access to technical and scientific information.

Protection of journalists

Journalists should be able to work independently and with integrity. They must receive training to be able to fulfil their responsibility as objective reporters. Foreign correspondents should not be barred from access to sources of information and facts. Journalists should be able to work safely and their right to freedom of speech should be respected.

Enshrining the right to communicate in the Declaration of Human Rights

Freedom of speech, of the press, of information and of assembly are vital for the realization of human rights. Extension of these communication freedoms to a broader individual and collective right to communicate is an evolving principle in the democratization process. Defence of all human rights is one of the media's most vital tasks.

Reduction of dominance, dependence and imbalance

The international community is called upon to take the necessary steps to rectify imbalances and develop complementary strategies that benefit both sides.

What came after the MacBride report?

The MacBride report reflects the hope of its time that a better world was possible. Even today, it shows the importance of public institutions and their role in ensuring global justice at the local, national and transnational levels. It underlines the value of global communication in creating knowledge, understanding and mutual respect.

The recommendations of the MacBride report remain as topical as ever. The global context, however, has changed. They were created in the 1980s, when the Cold War had an enormous influence on geopolitical alliances. The decision of many countries to declare themselves "non-aligned" was in direct response to the polarity of the Western and the Eastern Blocs. The United States, the United Kingdom and Singapore reacted to the MacBride report and its call for a NWICO by leaving UNESCO.

It is an open secret that the decision to leave the organisation was made in the interests of the mass media and the telecommunications industry. This step undermined the legitimacy of the development of multilateral principles of a global media system that would not be purely shaped by market forces. The US felt that cultural developments should be steered not by governments, but by the market alone.
UNESCO, in contrast, was the centre of multilateral efforts to oppose the powerful media market and its attempts to dominate cultural production and distribution. The US had no control over UNESCO's recommendations in the MacBride report, which went clearly against the United States' ideological positions and economic interests. Leaving UNESCO on 31 December 1984 was the logical consequence. In 1985, Singapore and the United Kingdom followed. Thatcher's government argued that the NWICO would limit freedom of the press.
In 1983, UNESCO had adopted resolution 3.2 on the right to communicate. It stated that its aim was not to substitute any rights already recognised, but increase their scope to utilise the possibilities of active communication and dialogue between cultures that had been opened up by advances in the media.
The debate about the New World Information and Communication Order petered out when the three countries left UNESCO and tensions in the Cold War reached a new high. The topic had become a political taboo.
Immediately after this escalation, UNESCO tried to get the United States to rejoin. The US remained firm in their anti-NWICO stance and their ideas of a neoliberal global information society. UNESCO later gave up the clear anti-market stance. This meant it was no longer a threat to neoliberal norms and the United Kingdom rejoined UNESCO in 1997. The US followed suit in 2003, Singapore in 2007.
Movements aiming for a global media system governed by democratic principles have found other platforms and forums for their goal, such as the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), the World Social Forum, and free media associations.

World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS)

The World Summit on the Information Society was first held in 2003 with great involvement of civil society and alternative media. It was sponsored by the United Nations and organised by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). It was held in two phases: The first in Geneva in 2003, the second in Tunis in 2005.
Many people initially considered WSIS a new hope for progress towards global standards on communication rights. The summits in Geneva and Tunis were considered the epitome of civil society's self-organisation. The topics discussed at the meetings ranged from communication rights of indigenous peoples, workers, women, children and people with disabilities, to intellectual property, community media and open source software, access to information and the significance of communication in general. There was a clear political will to build and represent an efficient civil society, but the great challenge the social movements faced was maintaining the momentum.
The civil society participants of WSIS 2003 in Geneva did not feel their views were adequately reflected in the official publications of the summit – the Declaration of Principles

and the Plan of Action. Therefore, they published an alternative declaration: The Civil Society Declaration to the World Summit on the Information Society. They presented a vision of a participatory civil society that is in dialogue with public and economic institutions.
The declaration expands the definition of the right to communicate, stating that it goes beyond pure freedom of opinion and that participation, democratic processes, the right to creativity, the rights to education, privacy, peaceful assembly and quality are a matter of human dignity.
The declaration includes demands for gender equality and women's rights, referring to the Platform for Action of the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). They call for political initiatives to empower women as active and primary agents of change in owning, designing, using and adapting ICT, while acknowledging that women are faced with disadvantages and are treated differently than men in that sector and ensuring their access to and participation in ICT.
In the declaration, the civil society groups applied the right to communicate in the wider context already defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The fact that the right to communicate is recognised as a fundamental human need, however, does not mean that all people are granted that right. The agreements concluded over the decades are rarely more than moral and political guidelines and all too often ignored.
WSIS did not emerge directly from civil society. The original impetus came from ITU, who passed the idea on to UNESCO. The International Telecommunication Union does not represent the interests of civil society but rather economic interests. It aims to homogenise communication society, arguing that we should aim to achieve the same technological standards for everyone to avoid a digital divide between the Global North and the Global South. It is quite telling that the 2005 Tunis summit was co-sponsored by several large IT companies – over the years, the interest in pursuing "information economy" and claiming markets became stronger than the idealistic discussion of the right to communicate.
Nevertheless, WSIS still considers it very important to involve civil society in planning and decision-making processes. The main topics remain human rights, participation, and freedom of the press and of opinion. In 2015, WSIS +10 will be held as a follow-up to Tunis. It will examine the impact and the implementation of the results of WSIS 2005.

World Social Forum (WSF) and World Forum of Free Media (WFFM)

The World Social Forum is one of the largest platforms for anti-globalisation civil society organisations and social movements. It is held as an alternative to the WTO, G8 and Davos summits.
From the beginning, media activists had a strong voice in the World Social Forum. Questions concerning the right to communicate are closely interwoven with critical approaches to globalisation. At the very first WSF in Porto Alegre (Brazil) in 2001, Ciranda,

an Internet platform for alternative news reporting, was created. In the course of that first Forum, 300 articles were uploaded to the platform. Initially the submissions were text only, but in 2005, forums for community TV and radio reports were integrated into the platform.
An online tool called OpenFSM was created to bring activists together. The online platform WSF-TV has video reports on the WSF process and the topics discussed.
In 2009, the first World Forum of Free Media (WFFM) was held alongside the WSF. So far, it has been held three times:

- Belém, 2009: discussion of different forms of communication that concern the global civil society.
- Dakar, 2011: alternative information, alternative media and the Arab spring.
- Tunis, 2013: focus on non-profit media and community radio.

The participants of the III WFFM in 2013 also discussed how to strengthen the right to communicate and developed campaign strategies. A decision was made to develop a World Charter of Free Media to be presented at the next WFFM. It will enumerate the different rights with respect to communication that the actors in the sector agree upon. Its objective is to bring together initiatives and to highlight the different types of media. The Charter and its demands will be developed with as much public participation as possible. One of its main demands will be the promotion of media education. More people should get access to media and new technologies, and education and training must be promoted so that people can utilise them fully. The Internet should remain independent and free access to it should be guaranteed.

World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC)

AMARC is an NGO that has been supporting and contributing to the development of a worldwide community radio network since its founding in 1983. Its objective is to contribute to the democratisation of the media landscape. AMARC supports the right to communicate at international, national, local and community level and seeks to represent the interests of the community radio movement through solidarity, networking and cooperation.
AMARC emerged from the global community radio movement. Founded in Canada in 1983, it now has nearly 4,000 members and partners in 110 countries, making it the largest network of community radios worldwide. Its goal is to support community and participatory radio along the principles of solidarity and international cooperation.
It aims to combat poverty, exclusion and voicelessness and to promote social justice and sustainable, democratic and participatory human development by amplifying the voices of the marginalised. It promotes universal access to communication and the use of community media and ICTs as a way for minorities to make themselves heard.
AMARC pursues its goals by supporting the development of community radios worldwide. The focus is on different marginalised groups and minorities, depending on the region.

Principles

The members of AMARC

- contribute to the expression of different social, political and cultural movements, and
- to the promotion of all initiatives supporting peace and friendship among peoples.
- Recognize the fundamental and specific role of women in establishing new communication practices.

The fundamental principles on which all programmes are based are:

- the sovereignty and independence of all peoples;
- solidarity and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries;
- international cooperation based on equality, reciprocity and mutual respect;
- non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual preference or religion;
- and respect for the cultural identity of peoples.

The principles have been reiterated and expressed in various charters and declarations. Most of the documents were published as a result of the world conferences of community radios, which are held every two to three years.
In 1992, the Women's International Network (WIN) was founded. It is an assembly of women communicators working at ensuring women's right to communicate through and within the community radio movement.

In its Strategic Plan 2011-2014, AMARC states three objectives:

OBJECTIVE 1
To promote and defend policy, legal and regulatory conditions that enable community media to operate.
One of the express goals of the Strategic Plan is to advocate gender equality in the media at international meetings. The desired outcome is more presence and impact of AMARC-WIN in international fora.

OBJECTIVE 2
To promote knowledge sharing and capacity building for community media sustainability.
Here, too, one of the strategies mentioned is strengthening the regional and international networks of the AMARC Women International Network. As means of verification, at least 50% women should be involved in all AMARC activities and programmes and their contributions made visible/audible.

OBJECTIVE 3
To reinforce the social, developmental and humanitarian impact of community media.

The third objective focuses particularly on journalistic practices and content, such as news and features services in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe, including special reports from international events.
Campaigns on priority social topics such as HIV/AIDS, environment, climate change, migration, anti-racism, food security, and water and sanitation should be carried out to show the strength of community radios in these areas.
Again, one of the concrete strategies is the **promotion of women's rights and gender equality**, including training, materials on gender policies, and broadcast campaigns.

AMARC and gender/women

As AMARC's objective is to give socially marginalised groups a voice, the topics of women and gender were on the agenda from the beginning. Nevertheless, the women in the radio community often had to struggle to ensure that their goals would be achieved and the patriarchal structures of society would not be reproduced within the organisation.
Radio is a particularly important tool for the empowerment of women as it is cheap and easy to use. It is also a medium to which illiterate people can contribute as well. This was already pointed out by the moderator of the Special Panel on Women at the first AMARC conference in 1983, who said that radio can give us a voice for our own values and ideas; provide us with a rare opportunity to develop our skills and potential.
At the seminar commemorating the 30th anniversary of AMARC, lesbian-feminist-queer radio activist Laura Yaros of the Canadian community radio Radio Centre-Ville described the workshops focusing on women as an opportunity for women in radio from all over the world to exchange experiences.
At the second AMARC conference in Vancouver in 1986, there were also workshops on women's topics, including women's music, women and production skills, and women's radio collectives. The discussions showed how important it was for women to be trained by women, as many participants stated that men's approach was often very theoretical and not as hands-on as that of female trainers. Many women also felt uncomfortable at meetings at their respective radio stations and felt their comments were not listened to.
At the time, women were underrepresented in all aspects of community radio worldwide, so the participants of the workshop "Women's Involvement in Decision Making" suggested to the organisers that AMARC 3 use its registration form to gather statistics on women's participation.
A resolution was submitted at the second conference to involve women of diverse cultures in all aspects of community radio, so that radio programming in general would no longer be determined only by men and women's programming not only by white women. There was also criticism that the women's workshops were dominated by North American women.

With regard to the third conference in Nicaragua in 1989, two resolutions were passed:

- that at least 50% of the AMARC working group organising the third conference be women, and that
- free, quality childcare be provided for all participants.

At the AMARC seminars for women in radio held between 2006 and 2008 in Jordan, Kenya, Morocco, Malaysia and Colombia, research was conducted that contributed to the publication of the "Women's Empowerment and Good Governance through Community Radio" toolkit in 2008. This process facilitated radio broadcast campaigns through the global community radio network. The two largest campaigns were the "16 days against gender violence" and the activities on the International Women's Day on 8 March.
The seminars also made clear how involved women are in democratisation processes in community radios and how they can contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. They highlighted the participation and involvement of women as key factors in the development of truly democratic information societies.

WINGS

Between the first and second AMARC conferences, WINGS emerged as part of the community radio scene. WINGS, the "Women's International News Gathering Service", is a weekly half-hour programme by and about women around the world. WINGS provides news and current affairs stories as well as community radio production training for women. The network presents itself as quite international, but most of the reporters and the radio stations that broadcast the programme are located in North America. It is the news that is international, not those who make the programmes. The WINGS website (as at 2013) lists one station in Latin America and none in Africa.

AMARC-WIN

AMARC's Women's International Network, AMARC-WIN, was founded in 1992 following the 5th AMARC conference in Mexico. It is an assembly of media women working to ensure women's right to participate and communicate through and within the community radio movement. Community radio is a key instrument for increasing women's participation in political decision-making processes.
Radio can be used to also involve men in issues that women face. Patriarchal structures are considered the main problem. Therefore, there is a consensus that men must be involved in creating and providing solutions.

AMARC-WIN's gender policy

In 2008, the organisation published a gender policy designed to avoid stereotyped portrayal of women in the media and support the promotion of women into key decision-making positions in the media sector. It relates back to the demands of the Beijing Platform for Action 1995, specifically Section J, which states that media practitioners have the obligation to contribute to three concrete objectives:

- participation of women in the media in general and particularly in decision-making positions,

- access of women to ICTs, and
- balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media.

AMARC-WIN called for community radios to be at the forefront of achieving these objectives, as they are part of a progressive social movement, and as such stations should initiate and strengthen ties with progressive women's movements. The gender policy is intended to serve as a tool for building a world with full equality of women and men. The organisation called on all community radio stations to make the gender policy part of station by-laws and ethical policies.

Section I: Women's access to the airwaves
Women need to have access to the airwaves, in terms of the ability to make their own programmes about political and social issues and entertainment. This requires women to encounter a safe and secure environment in and around the station. Stations should provide training and encourage women to produce their own programmes.

Section II: Women's representation on air
Encourage the representation of women in their diversity, instead of emphasising stereotyped roles. Here, the organisation appeals to stations to ensure that neither men nor women be objectified both in editorial content or advertisements.

Section III: The special needs of minority women
Space should be created for women who have faced discrimination by commercial and state media. Differently abled women, women from minority ethnic, caste or indigenous backgrounds and women from sexual minorities should be given access to the microphone and the airwaves.

Section IV: Women's representation at all levels of station management
AMARC-WIN recommends a quota of at least 30% women in management, technical production and journalistic positions. Women must be represented in the production, ownership and decision-making bodies of the station. The publication notes that while community radio tends to have better women's representation than commercial or public media, they are still largely underrepresented.

Section V: The use of appropriate technology
There remains a "gendered digital divide" that excludes women worldwide from the use of new ICTs and traditional technology, such as operating a radio studio. AMARC-WIN recommends dedicated technical training by and for women and investment in appropriate technologies.

Section VI: Funding and capacity-building for women's radio
Capacity-building is a key component for achieving gender parity. This applies in the media as much as elsewhere. Therefore, training should be offered continuously for

both women and men. Gender sensitivity training should be conducted for all contributors to the radio station to enable men and women to recognise patriarchal behaviour and discriminatory portrayals; and eventually develop gender fair reporting. The AMARC-WIN Gender Policy for Community Radio is available for download in 15 languages on the organisation's website: http://win.amarc.org/Downloaden auf der Hompage der Organisation: http://win.amarc.org/

Feminist criticism of AMARC

Lucia Ruiz is involved in Radio Vallekas in Spain and was AMARC-WIN Representative in Western Europe from 2004 to 2012. In an interview, she criticised the structures and dynamics of AMARC harshly, saying that the organisation was just as hierarchic as any other, that gender-based power structures were reproduced and women's work was valued less. For Ruiz, the main problem of AMARC is in its economic priorities. While there is money, projects for and by women receive funding and gender equality is promoted, at least superficially – but when funds are low, like in Europe since 2008, gender issues are lower on the list of priorities, she explains.
Lucia Ruiz provides concrete examples of the way in which feminist work is valued less: At the AMARC conference in Dublin in February 2007, a discussion of AMARC-WIN was scheduled during the lunch break. Apparently the organisers assumed that women's issues were something you could chat about over lunch, said Ruiz.
Her criticism is directed specifically at AMARC's gender policy, accusing the organisation of hypocrisy:
"Gender equality should not just be discussed but implemented. The board of directors thinks it's enough to mention the topic and put it in the documents. We feminists are used as window dressing. When the time comes to implement our sometimes uncomfortable demands, they pull the brakes."

International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC)

The IPDC is a multilateral forum of UNESCO for the promotion of media development of countries in the Global South. It was designed to mobilise the international community to discuss the range of topics related to this goal. According to IPDC information, it has funded 1,500 projects in more than 140 developing countries and countries in transition with some US$ 100 million. In 2013, IPDC funded 63 media development projects, of which 33 are located in Africa and the Arab region and 16 in Latin America and the Caribbean.

IPDC and gender

Of the 110 projects submitted worldwide, 16 promoted gender-democratic development. 8 of them were approved for funding, 8 were not.

IPDC priorities

- **Promotion of freedom of expression and media pluralism**

Encouraging the free flow of information and strengthening communication capacities in the developing countries are essential steps to increase citizens' participation in decision-making processes and to assert their fundamental rights. This includes work to promote a safe environment for journalists and media workers, and on creating a pluralistic media environment through the development of Community-based media, due to its capacity to give a voice to marginalized sectors of society, and encourage transparency of administration at local level.

- **Capacity development for journalists, media managers and journalism educators/trainers**

Professional capacity building in media is a continuous process aimed at improving the knowledge, skills and awareness of media professionals. Basic and advanced training is essential to increase the investigative capacities of media workers and the management expertise of executives. To address this issue at its roots requires special emphasis on building the institutional capacities of journalism education institutions and on providing training to trainers.

- **Innovation in convergence and integration of legacy (traditional) news media and new trends in communication:**

In response to the ever complex and dynamic media landscape of today, and based on the recognition that "legacy" news media cannot, and should not, operate in isolation of the new communications environment, IPDC has a key role to play in assisting the transition from stand-alone analogue media platforms to the new networked and more pluralistic communications era . IPDC aims to remain news media-centric, but become increasingly active in supporting a mutual learning process of different media types.

World Association of Christian Communication (WACC)

WACC is an international organisation that considers communication a basic human right and an essential factor for human dignity and community. The organisation is rooted in Christianity and works with all those who are denied the right to communicate because of status, identity, or gender. It advocates full access to information and communication, and promotes open and diverse media. WACC strengthens networks of communicators to advance peace, understanding and justice.

The organisation was founded in 1950, in the post-War period. In 1948, a religious media committee had been created in the US. In Europe, radio and television networks were being expanded. In the 1980s, WACC expanded its work in Korea, Brazil, India and Argentina. In 1984, it introduced the new programme "Women in Communication". The organisation played a key role in the debate about the right to communicate. In 1988, it republished the 1980 MacBride report. WACC was also one of the initiators of the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP). It is headquartered in Toronto (Canada) and London (UK) and supports projects across the world.

The organisation's work is based on seven principles, which it refers to as the "Christian Principles of Communication":

- Communication is a spiritual exercise
- Communication builds and shapes community
- Communication enhances participation
- Communication promotes freedom and demands accountability
- Communication celebrates cultural diversity
- Communication builds connectedness
- Communication affirms justice and challenges injustice

WACC considers it a particular priority to strengthen the voices of women. Women's participation is part of its Strategic Plan 2012-2016. "Gender and communication" is a key focus of the organisation's activities. It promotes projects working towards the two goals of Section J of the Beijing Platform for Action.

III. COMMUNITY MEDIA: "EVERYONE IS A WITNESS, EVERYONE IS A JOURNALIST"

A community radio station is one that is operated in the community,
for the community, about the community and by the community.
(UNESCO, 2002)

So far, there is no universally accepted definition of "community media" or "community journalism" in scientific discourse, in part because very little has been published on the topic. Additionally, "community" is a cultural concept that has different meanings in different regions and cultures. For a long time, these terms were used in the context of social and underground movements or mentioned in media analyses and researched indirectly, but were rarely the actual subject of research. In media history, non-mainstream contributions have often been ignored.

- Bill Reader considers community journalism the **bottom of the iceberg**: It makes up the vast majority of worldwide journalistic output but remains in the shadow of the mass media, largely unnoticed by the public.

According to Reader and Hatcher, there is community journalism in all media, with the archetype – though not the norm – of community media being the small-town newspaper. The majority of mass media are community-based, because small media companies in ethnic communities, the suburbs and subcultural niches often create content for many large newspapers in cities.
Community journalism is what happens at the grassroots level – which encompasses numerous different communities. Communities are shared identities of many different kinds: They can be created by geographic or ethnic ties, professional or ideological interests, or by common goals. Journalism touches on every aspect of community culture: history, economy, religion, values, and public opinion. The community is a collective entity that produces and consumes media. Large media have an audience but no community, while the audience of community media is the community itself.

- Kevin Howley has a more concrete concept of community media: For him, they are the **media of marginalised groups** of society that the mass media ignore. They make cultural differences visible, acting as a significant counterbalance to the dominant media.

Community media give people at the margins of society the means and opportunity to tell their own stories in their own voices and their own language. This makes community media a tool that can protect and strengthen cultural identities while challenging discriminating and prejudiced reporting in the mainstream media.
However, this does not necessarily mean that communication channels should be opened up to unprofessional media practitioners, says Howley. Instead, the objective is to facilitate direct communication within the local community to enable groups and individuals to participate in public discourse and become decision makers.

- The Peruvian communications sciences expert Soledad Sabrera Ortiz prefers the term "**alternative media**" as a contrast to the dominant media. To her, democratic criteria, participation and education of the public are the main pillars of community media.

The largest difference to commercial and public media is the non-profit orientation of community media, she says. They serve society and have a clear mission: to shape public opinion and create a consensus in order to strengthen democratic processes.

- For UNESCO, community media are characterised by these principles: **access, participation and self-management**.

Community media are operated in the community, for the community, by the community and report about issues concerning that community. Participation is the main principle and also the factor that distinguishes them from other types of media. A community radio has the following characteristics:

- It serves a recognisable community.
- It encourages participatory democracy.
- It offers the opportunity to any member of the community to initiate communication and participate in program making, management and ownership of the station.
- It uses technology appropriate to the economic capability of the people, not that which leads to dependence on external sources.
- It is motivated by community well being, not commercial considerations.
- It promotes and improves problem solving.

- An AMARC member described community media as follows: *"Community radio is defined as having three aspects: non-profit making, community ownership & control, community participation."*

Our use of the term "community media" in this publication is based on these aspects and the UNESCO criteria described above.
We mainly discuss media that are made by women for women and address issues that are either ignored or presented in a stereotyped manner by the public and commercial media.
A key criterion for this study is ownership: We define only those as community media that act independently and freely and are owned neither by a state nor a private media company.

Who is behind the media? The question of ownership

The term "community media" sounds trustworthy, it makes us think of home and of family, it satisfies a human desire that commercial media cannot fulfil regardless of the size of their budgets: the sense of belonging.
Media companies are aware of this and frequently use the term despite not meeting the criteria for community media. The intentional or unintentional misuse of the term "community" is a problem.

- Local newspapers often belong to big media corporations. They are published by editors who have no ties to the town or region in question and are written by freelance journalists who do not know each other and rarely visit the regional offices. The needs of the community are often left by the wayside.
- The South African Broadcasting Corporation established a "community" radio intended to create a sense of community among two different ethnic groups. After a while, however, it became apparent that the station was not serving the interests of the community but those of the government.

The enormous impact of ownership on media content and, as a result, on the community should not be underestimated. In order to understand whose interests a station or newspaper serves, it is important to know who owns and finances it, who provides the content and how transparent the ownership structures are.
However, we should also review the quality of community media critically. Since the programmes are usually made by volunteers and amateurs, the adherence to criteria such as journalistic objectivity, fact checking or correct use of language is often not verified. Community radios also represent certain interests, depending on the region, community, and political situation, and are therefore not immune against the temptation of imbalanced or subjective reporting, either.

A brief history of community media

From century-old warnings of yellow fever and smallpox epidemics to modern accounts of community reactions to natural disasters, media have recorded the struggles and triumphs of their villages, towns, and neighborhoods.
(Janice Hume, 2012)

The concept of "community journalism" can be traced back to the mid-20th century. In the beginning, there were local newspapers, which connected their local readers politically, economically and culturally, in North and South America just as in Africa, Europe and Asia. Newspapers are a treasure trove of community history. Their articles are safely stored in archives, while radio and TV programmes and early online publications have disappeared over the decades.
In the independence movements in the Americas, small newspapers facilitated public debate about freedom of the press, public health, relationships with the indigenous communities, women's rights, education, and religion. This debate led to calls for independence and a different look at history.
In the 1920s, radio emerged as competition to local newspapers, followed by television in the 1950s.
Radio started as a local phenomenon that brought information, then education, and finally music, art, culture and entertainment to the communities. Less than a decade after the first commercial radio station with continuous programme was founded in Pittsburgh (USA) in 1920, radio became an international phenomenon. To this day, it remains an important source of relevant and current information that can be disseminated to a large audience at relatively low cost.
In some parts of the world, such as South America and Africa, community radio is one of the most important forms of grassroots communication today. In Latin America, it is used to pass on traditions, languages, music, local history and folk wisdom. In South Africa, community radios are a tool for protest and the voice of protest movements.

New media

The opportunities the Internet offers for communication in and between societies depend on the recognition of the rights to make use of them in the first place, thus giving people an instrument to call for public policies that are necessary to exercise them.
(Julia Hoffmann, 2009)

Like satellite broadcasting in its day, the emergence of the Internet brought about a new age of interactivity and networked communication. The new technological paradigm became the defining point of the 20th century and caused an information and communications revolution.
The Internet caused a shift from reading to communication. People started questioning the distribution of power in public communication, the dominant position of professional journalists, and the traditional interpretation of freedom of speech. The Internet is a medium with revolutionary potential that has created new forms of expressing pub-

lic opinion and new kinds of information flows. In order to utilise this potential, however, users need knowledge, know-how, and the necessary technologies.
With the emergence of the new media, the question of the exclusivity of communication infrastructure was brought onto the table once more. However, no concrete guidelines were developed. The digital divide – the reason for holding the WSIS – is the result of the enormous gap in access and use of information technology between poor and rich people.
According to a survey conducted in 2004, between the two WSIS summits, less than 3 in 100 people in Africa used the Internet. At the same time, Internet use was nearly 50% in the G8 countries. London had more Internet users then all of Pakistan and there were 30 countries with less than 1 % Internet coverage.
In 2009, radio and television embraced the "4A" principle: "any content, watched anytime, anywhere, on any device". The Internet increased the pace of fragmentation of broadcasting and print media audiences by a decade.

Community radios and the Internet

The Internet has opened up new possibilities for community radio. Most stations use it to exchange information. There are countless platforms on which Creative Commons-licensed broadcasting material can be exchanged.
Many radio stations also use live streaming in addition to broadcasting over the airwaves, while yet others broadcast solely via the Internet, such as the Costa Rican Radio Internacional Femenista (RIF). Generally speaking, the number of radio stations using the airwaves is declining.
Digitisation of radio has increased the plurality of voices enormously. Digital radio, which broadcasts via a digital signal instead of airwaves like analogue radio, not only has higher-quality output, it also has a wider reach. The radioelectric space needed by one analogue radio station can accommodate 4 to 6 digital stations. This also means that there is more space for different voices and groups. Whether this supports democratisation or not depends on how these technological possibilities are used and how governments regulate them.
There is an enormous variety of possibilities in which information can be made available today. Ways in which community radios can use new technologies to spread information include:

- Internet platforms for exchanging audio files
- websites
- blogs
- podcasts
- free software for radio production
- live streams
- social networks

Community media in Latin America

Can radio create change?
More than 60 years of community radios on the continent and their social impact are part of the answer. Yes, it can. *(AMARC ALC, 2011)*

In the 20th century, radios became the most important means of communication on Latin America's alternative media scene. For a long time, Radio Sutaneza in Colombia was considered the first alternative radio on the continent. In 1947, the village priest of Sutaneza had an idea how to reduce the high rate of illiteracy: He founded a radio school (escuelas radiofónicas) and became famous as the "invisible teacher" who had found a new use for the "talking box".

Only recently new research showed that just a few months previously, on 1 May 1947, La Voz del Minero had gone on air in Bolivia. This "voice of the miners" was a radio station operated by a miners' union in Llallagua, Bolivia. This was the beginning of the era of community radio in Latin America. La Voz del Minero was the first radio station to not only broadcast music, news and advertisements, but to also raise its voice for workers' rights and against the inhumane working conditions of a marginalised part of society.

In El Salvador, Cuba and Nicaragua, several radio stations contributed to the victory of the respective revolutions. For example, Radio Venceremos in El Salvador had thousands of listeners, helping the revolution reach the people.

With the exception of Colombia, there are no open armed conflicts in Latin America today, but community radios are still contributing to democratisation of communication rights. When the dictatorial regimes were gradually abolished in the 1970s and 1980s, community radios played a key role in examining the past, reclaiming public freedom, and empowering women. They have kept alive indigenous languages that were nearly extinct and facilitated communication after natural disasters.

Latin American community radios today are faced with the struggle for frequencies and a lack of funding. Radio and television frequencies are monopolised by commercial media and are often assigned in return for political favours or bribes or traded illegally. The regulations vary from country to country. Uruguay and Argentina, for example, have laws that reserve frequencies for community media. In Ecuador, only 0.2% of frequencies belong to community radios. In Bolivia, on the other hand, a law entered into force in 2011 stipulating that private and public broadcasters get 33% of the frequencies each, and community media the remaining 34 %.

Colombia also has laws concerning frequencies for free radios, but it is one of the countries with the greatest restrictions for community radios, along with Chile and Brazil. In the capital Bogotá, seven licenses have been granted to community radios, which, however, have a very small reach.

Community radios in Latin America have formed excellent networks, particularly since the emergence of the Internet. Examples include Radio Internacional Femenista, which broadcasts reports from all of Latin America in Spanish via Internet live stream, and Radioteca in Ecuador, which provides Creative Commons-licensed reports on various social issues on its Internet platform, where more than 4,000 members exchange radio features and segments.

20 community radios in Central America have formed Red de Migración ("migration

network") and cooperate with migrants' organisations. The radio stations accompany migrants on their dangerous trip towards North America and provide useful tips concerning roads, safety, and medical assistance.

Community media in Africa

How can radio participate in creating a democratic culture that enables the population to take responsibility for political, economic and national management? Radio, the new tree of speech, is capable of rekindling the key tradition of oral expression in which speech "builds the village". (Eugeïnie Aw, ehemalige Präsidentin von AMARC, 1995)

Radio has a special position on the African media scene as well. The media scene is very diverse, ranging from media owned by large corporations, local businesspeople or the state to radio stations run by non-profit organisations and religious groups. In western Africa, particularly in the French-speaking countries, commercial media often like to call themselves "community media".
In Africa, community radio did not develop from social movements like in Latin America. Instead, it was initiated by the UN. The first radio project was launched in 1964 in 40 villages in Ghana, Zambia, Malawi and Nigeria. The villages received support from UNESCO and Canada to form radio groups. Their initial goal was not to produce and broadcast radio but to listen to the radio together and discuss what they had heard. These radio listening clubs were a step towards participation. Soon, the first clubs started producing their own material. By 1973, there were 400 of these radio listening clubs. However, this form of rural radio was criticised for not really representing the local farmers and the population but being controlled by the government.
In 1982, *Homa Bay Community Radio Station* was founded in Kenya. The objective of this project was to decentralise structures and programming but also to gather experience in the use of affordable broadcasting technology. Homa Bay Radio was an initiative of the Kenyan government and UNESCO and was shut down again in 1984.
Since the 1980s, the community radio movement has grown rapidly. There are national networks in Burkina Faso, Kenya, Mali, South Africa and other countries. Community radio stations were founded in many other African countries, and even transnational networks were formed. In 1990, the organisation CIERRO (*Centre Intreafricain d´Etudes en Radio Rurale de Ouagadougou*) and AMARC published a study on the status quo of community radio. As a result, the idea of AMARC Africa was born. A preparatory conference was held in Benin in 1991, which was also the site of the first pan-African conference titled *Airwaves for a pluralist Africa*. In 1995, the first meeting of AMARC Africa was held in Dakar (Senegal). This was followed in 1997 by a second conference in Johannesburg (South Africa) with 150 participants from over 20 African countries.
Community radios play an important part in democratic development, but their resources are often very limited. Most contributors are unpaid and many of them would be completely unemployed if it were not for their work at the radio station. There is a trend of people moving on to work with commercial media after gaining practice and know-how at community radios. This means that the community sector is effectively training people for the commercial radio sector.

The Christian churches are also involved in Africa's community radio scene. Many church radio stations are run with strong community involvement. While this does strengthen community development, it can mean that discussion of issues such as abortion, contraception and gender roles is tinged with religious ideology.
Despite the positive developments, there is by no means gender neutrality in radio and technology in Africa. Although radio is comparatively cheap and easily accessible, considerably more men than women listen to and make radio. Initiatives such as *Mama FM*, a Ugandan radio station operated only by women, or *Manoré FM* in Senegal attempt to remedy the imbalance.

IV. EXAMPLES OF MEDIA (SELF-) ORGANISATION

The women's movement has long been aware of the crucial role that media, and community media in particular, can play in shaping society. After the first transistor radios were developed in the late 1940s, women's groups soon began using the medium actively to address topics such as sexuality and women's rights. Since then, women's organisations in many countries have discovered community media, particularly radio and the Internet, as a means of achieving their goals.

The participation of civil society in political processes depends strongly on how the media report on and interpret political events. The media themselves can influence political processes and shape public opinion. When citizens are merely a collective media consumer, there is very little participation in governance processes. But when people have access to and control over the media, their possibilities to participate in politics increase. Like other marginalised groups, women have less access to media and, as a result, to decision-making processes. It is therefore particularly important to show what possibilities women have to participate in the media.

Community radio can give women a voice. Over the airwaves, they can hold governments and institutions accountable and become integrated, transparent actors with political influence.

The Internet has created new possibilities for women to make their issues, ideas and visions heard. Self-made **videos** edited with free software can be uploaded to platforms where they can reach a wide audience. Organisations fighting against violence against women use this tool to make assaults and human rights violations public.

Feminists from all over the world use the freedom of the Internet that allows them to share their opinion without being dependent on the good will of a publisher, sales figures or ratings: They write **blogs** in which they criticise patriarchal systems, refer to one another and create a broad network of feminist movements across continents.

In this part of the study, we present six strategies from Central America and southern Africa that show how women use media to spread their issues, messages and visions.

Individuals and women's organisations have created tools for promoting women's rights and demanding their right to communicate that are tailored to their country's political and social situation. The strategies presented here have proven themselves over many years and show that participation in the media is an important part of feminist, human rights, and political work.
These good practice examples are ranked by the country's position in the Press Freedom Index 2013 of Reporters without Borders (RWB). This was done so as not to give one region preference over the other. The degree of media freedom is an indicator of the political situation in a country and determines which strategies can or must be used and under which conditions women and their organisations operate. This is not meant to imply that certain strategies can only be used in the country described here – quite the opposite: They can be adapted to suit any region, cultural context, and political and media landscape.
An outline of the media landscape and the human rights situation of women in each country provides context for a better understanding of each strategy. This is followed by an interview with one or two media activists from each country about their strategy, their vision, and their work.

Using imagination and creativity

Country:	**COSTA RICA**	
Press Freedom Index 2013:	**Worldwide**	**Rank 18**
	Latin America	**Rank 1**
Good practice example:	**Radio drama**	
Strategy:	**Imagination and creativity**	
Interviewee:	**Seidy Salas Viquez, radio drama trainer**	

Costa Rica is sometimes colloquially called the "Switzerland of Latin America". It has the most stable welfare system in the region, no army and one of the highest life expectancies on the continent.

Media

RWB ranked Costa Rica 18th in the worldwide Press Freedom Index and 1st in Latin America. Freedom of press and expression is enshrined in the constitution, but according to Amnesty International (AI), this right is sometimes violated and there are life-threatening situations for journalists.
Costa Rica has a public broadcasting corporation with a TV station, Canal 13, and a radio station, Radio Nacional. There is very little community radio. There is one larger religious

radio station called Radio Faro del Caribe, which has connections to the Catholic Church. For the most part, Costa Rica's media landscape consists of commercial media that are owned by a small number of large corporations, some of them international. They are considered to lean to the right. The groups Repretel and Teletica have 62% of TV viewers in Costa Rica.

The majority of Costa Rican radio stations are affiliated with the National Chamber of Radio (Camara Nacional de Radio – "Canara"). Canara is the only body that is allowed to regulate and control advertising on radio and make audience analyses. Membership in Canara is required if a radio station wants to finance itself through advertising. This is based on an Act from 1945, which is considered outdated because it does not permit any other form of private radio broadcasting. Canara is regularly criticised as conservative and politically right-wing.

There are only very few community or alternative radio stations in Costa Rica. A networking meeting in 2009 led to the creation of the network Red de Medios e Iniciativas de Comunicación Alternativa de Costa Rica (Red MICA). It has some 30 members – media, individuals and organisations.

There are no exclusively feminist radio stations in Costa Rica, but alternative radios have feminist programming. Radio Internacional Femenista (RIF), an international radio network with mostly Central American members was founded in Costa Rica; however, the online-only radio has had to strongly reduce its activities in recent years due to a lack of financial resources.

The university radio station of Universidad Nacional is a non-commercial station, but not a community radio. It could instead be considered a public radio. As the station of the national university, it is committed to scientific and academic structures. It is not funded by advertising but by the university's public funds.

Human rights situation of women

Domestic and family violence are among the largest problems that the traditional machismo creates. In 2000, 25 cases of femicide were registered. Domestic violence has been penalised since 1997. According to Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (INAMU), there were 194 cases between 1997 and 2007 where women were murdered by their partners but the perpetrators were not brought to justice. In 2007, the Act was expanded to include psychological abuse and violence against property. Femicide is punishable with 35 years of incarceration, sexual violence with 18. Emotional and verbal abuse are also actionable. This reform is considered a groundbreaking achievement of the women's movement, which had been fighting for this for over a decade.

Radio drama

Strategy: Addressing difficult topics through creative and imaginative approaches.

Radio drama addresses current and socially relevant issues through the genres of fiction and fantasy. Particularly for people working in NGOs and human rights organisations, who are faced with human rights violations, discrimination, violence and death every day, radio drama can be a constructive form of communication that allows them to address negative issues in a way that captivates the audience.
A radio drama can be a completely imaginary story in which the narrative and the characters are based on real situations. The end can be utopian or realistic – depending on the reaction the maker of the programme wants to evoke in her listeners.
Literary adaptations are another possibility. This can be done by adapting short stories written by women for radio or by adapting the storyline of a famous novel, reinterpreting and adding feminist elements to it.
Yet another possibility is using eyewitness accounts of real women in radio plays, portraying them as fictional characters but letting them tell their real story in their own words.

"The courage to imagine a different world"

Interview with Seidy Salas Viquez, radio drama trainer

- Member of Colectiva por el derecho a decidir ("collective for the right to decide")
- Journalist at Radio Universidad, the radio of Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica
- Five years as radio drama trainer

How do you combine feminist work with radio work?
For me, radio is the most powerful of all media. Radio has the power to overcome boundaries created by unequal access to education. You don't need a lot of money or complicated technological equipment to listen to the radio or make radio. The radio is a crucial link to the outside world for women who work at home. It is the only medium they can consume without stopping their work. You cannot do that with TV.

Why did you choose the "radio drama" format?
Feminists are often frustrated and angry – and for good reasons. But just being angry at the system isn't good for us – sometimes we forget to enjoy life. After all, we want our messages to particularly reach people who are not as angry as we are, where our anger often falls on deaf ears. So we have to find ways of reaching people who are tired of always hearing bad news, who don't want to feel like they are being admonished. In order to get our message out to these people, we must turn to entertainment. Entertainment

promises emotions and is unthreatening. And that is exactly what the radio drama allows us to deliver: Love stories, horror stories, adventure, but filled with our messages. This way we reach many people who would not normally listen to us.

Do you see stereotypes in the radio dramas created in your workshops?
Yes, it happens. The first versions of the stories are often filled with clichés, usually familiar ones from television. After all, we are a product of patriarchal society as well, it is a part of us, it influences our behaviour. This is something that happens to us as feminists, in our relationships and when we tell stories. Suddenly we notice: "Damn, my female protagonist is crying all the time" or "my protagonist is too dependent on others", or "my love story is traditional and romantic". When we notice this kind of thing, we change the story. We have the advantage of a feminist background, which means we are experienced in spotting such stereotypes. We reflect on the story and adapt it, for example by having the man cry instead of the woman or by having the relationship end without either partner being devastated – just two people parting ways amicably. This will surprise the audience and allow you to break up old patterns.

What do you as a trainer do when you notice the participants reproducing clichés?
In the workshops, we have the time to review the stories. It is collective work, we do it together. Everyone is allowed to voice criticism. At the media workshop in Vienna, for example, there was a group that produced a story about maquila workers in the Dominican Republic. In the story, there was a magical bracelet and in the end, it seemed like that bracelet was the solution to the problem.
So I asked the participants: "Imagine a maquila worker who has the same problems as your protagonist listening to this radio drama. But she does not have a magical bracelet. What will she think? How would she solve the problem?" The participants realised what the problem was and changed the ending of the story, so that the solution of the problem was no longer the bracelet but the maquila workers organising themselves.

Radio dramas often have fairy tale elements. Do traditional elements play a role?
Yes, they are incredibly important. Creating a radio drama is not only creative but also political work. It has a lot to do with identity. Identity consists of elements that help us understand who we are. Of course there are oppressive traditions, which we feminists consider problematic, but that is not the case with all traditions by far. We have the ability to select. I can use traditions from the village where I grew up and of which I have pleasant memories. I can incorporate my grandmother's stories and make them come alive. I can choose what I like about my family, my culture, my country. Celebrations, songs, stories... all these are elements that create identity. And in making radio dramas we can incorporate part of our identity into them.

Do you also talk about taboos in the workshops?
Yes, very often. One time I was working with indigenous youngsters. They made a story about how to find a boyfriend or girlfriend. In this community, adolescents are not allowed to choose their own partners – they are chosen by the parents. This isn't just about marriage but even harmless flirtation among young people. It turned out nobody talks about it but it is a great problem for everyone.

I also often encounter stories about violence, abuse, alcoholism, abortion after being raped – the topics are usually quite heavy, because I nearly always work with people from complicated social contexts.

Is your work therapeutic?
I like the idea that it could be. Realising that we are allowed to be creative and use our imagination is therapeutic in itself.

What is your main goal in your feminist and media work?
The most important thing for me is cultural change. Patriarchy is in our minds. It is in the system, in entertainment... This is why I believe that we should do more work in the cultural domain. Our message needs to reach more people, so that more people can start questioning their way of life and realise that the world as it is is not ideal. I hope that my work contributes to cultural change in some way.

What is your message to the listeners?
We should never stop questioning and searching for the truth. When we hear something, we must ask ourselves immediately: Is it really that way? We must have the courage to imagine how something could be different. We must have the courage to imagine that a different world is possible.

Pioneer work at the regional level

Country:	**NAMIBIA**	
Press Freedom Index 2013:	**Worldwide**	**Rank 19**
	Africa	**Rank 1**
Good practice example:	**Sister Namibia**	
Strategy:	**Raising awareness at the grassroots level**	
Interviewee:	**Laura Sasman, Director**	

Namibia is a sparsely populated country on the southwest coast of Africa. In the 19th century, it was a German colony, and it was later controlled by South Africa. Since its independence in 1990, Namibia has had a reputation as a peaceful and stable country.

Media

Namibia is lauded by Western and African media and organisations alike as the country with the most liberal media environment on the African continent. It ranks 19th on Reporters without Borders' global Press Freedom Index, making it the African country with the highest freedom of press for the third year running. The report stresses that Namibia's freedom of press is excellent, ranking ahead of the United Kingdom and Japan.

The country's only state-owned broadcaster is NBC, which broadcasts both radio and television. Additionally, there is one private TV station, some 20 private or community radio stations, and one private religious radio station.
The 1991 Windhoek Declaration is considered a turning point for African media. It paved the way for the introduction of the World Press Freedom Day on May 3 by the UN General Assembly.
The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), which conducts regular analyses of the media landscape in Namibia, does not agree with the RWB assessment. They claim that while there is no state censorship, self-censorship is common, particularly in the national press and the public broadcaster NBC, where reporters frequently have their own "mental scissors" or "mental dictator". They also say journalists lack competence and passion, with many radio and TV presenters seeing themselves as entertainers rather than critics of those in power.

Human rights situation of women

Amnesty International (AI) has reports of discrimination of women and children in Namibia, who frequently become victims of sexual violence, often in the form of traditional practices. The 2013 Annual Report also notes that many women were killed by their partners, and that child prostitution and child marriage, while illegal, are still practised.

Sister Namibia

Strategy: Making information about issues that affect women available and understandable to all parts of society locally

The organisation

Sister Namibia is a feminist non-profit women's rights organisation from Windhoek. It was founded by the "Sister Collective" in 1989, one year before the country's independence. It consisted of 10 women – black and white journalists, social workers, and teachers. It utilises media actively to spread awareness of topics that concern African women. It seeks to inspire women to make their own decisions freely. The organisation wants to create new feminist perspectives by means of education, information and collective action.
A big issue, which Sister Namibia has addressed from the very beginning, is homophobia. The organisation was the first NGO in Namibia to publicly advocate lesbian rights. Because of these public demands and the discussion of queer topics, they were heavily under attack. In the mid-1990s, the openly hostile atmosphere towards homosexuals in neighbouring Zimbabwe spread to Namibia. With the governments calling for the arrest and elimination of gay women and men, many of them turned to Sister Namibia. In 1997, a new initiative was launched: *Rainbow Project*, the first organisation in the country explicitly for homosexual and transgender persons.

Another major focus of Sister Namibia is to raise awareness about sexual rights. In 2007, they launched the *Sexual Rights Campaign*, aimed to make women aware of their sexual rights and of cultural practices that violate them. This includes initiation rites, polygamy, widow inheritance, and "dry sex", where women use herbal powders to dry out their vagina to enhance pleasure for men. HIV and AIDS are also important topics of the campaign. The aim is to teach women that they are allowed to be active sexual beings who have needs and express them openly, and to gradually eliminate the taboo of talking about your body.

Media work

The objective was to strengthen women's confidence and give them a voice in the creation of a post-colonialist, democratic society. From the beginning, the magazine Sister Namibia was part of the work. The declared objective was to work actively against heterosexist discrimination. The first issues focused on topics such as housing shortage, teen pregnancy, land reforms and legal discrimination.
The magazine features portraits of women, men, children and organisations who challenge the traditional structures of gender and sexuality. It is published in English, Afrikaans and Oshiwambo. Some of its core topics remain rape, gender-based violence and patriarchy and misogyny in general.
In addition to the magazine, Sister Namibia utilises the Internet to spread their message. The organisation is active on Facebook and has a blog. The blog addresses comments to the Facebook postings and topics that are under public discussion and looks at them from a feminist perspective. The blog is clearly subjective, with the author often mentioning her own feelings about certain topics or events. There are frequent references to the magazine and the Facebook page.
Since 1999, Sister Namibia has also been using the local community radio *Katutura Community Radio* to spread their message at a local level.
In 2009, the organisation opened a second office in Ongwediva, in northern Namibia. There they organise public discussions about culture, feminism, HIV and AIDS, gender, and sexuality based on the articles in the magazine. This creates a good symbiosis: For the women in Ongwediva, the meetings are a safe public platform where they can talk about issues that concern them in their lives, while the members of Sister Namibia receive feedback on the different articles and can learn which topics the readers are interested in.
One of the great achievements of the organisation was the *50/50 Campaign* for equal representation of women in political office. It ran from the 1999 to 2004, from one election to the National Assembly to the next, and was among the first of its kind in Africa.

"We want to be a critical voice"

Interview with Laura Sasman, Director of Sister Namibia

You are one of the founders of Sister Namibia. What was the idea behind it?
I will give you an answer that you'll probably get from all media women here: The African media were and are dominated by men. Topics that concern women are either not covered at all or are covered in a highly stereotyped way. The perspective of women is not represented well. Women are usually shown either as victims or as caring mothers. There is no other perspective. Our magazine addresses these topics from a gender perspective. We want to be a critical voice.

Who is your target audience?
Our main target audience are, of course, girls and women. Many of our readers are from socially underprivileged groups. They can't go and buy the magazine, so we go to those areas and give it to them for free. We have readers in urban areas, in poor areas and also in Kavango, for example, which is a very remote area. We also have male readers and there is even an international audience, though that is rather small.

How is your magazine funded?
It is financed purely by donations. We can't ask our readers to pay. We publish four issues a year, approximately 24,000 copies in total. We also send many of them to libraries and archives.

Who makes Sister Namibia?
We are two reporters and are incredibly busy. We do anything that needs to be done. The magazine pays the employees very little, there is no other choice. We also often have interns.

What is currently your main task?
We are trying to become more active in social networks and are improving our website at the moment. We also have an increased presence on Facebook and try to blog regularly. By the way, Sister Namibia is the only African popular magazine, all others are academic publications.

Transnational networks of science and grassroots work

Country:	**SOUTH AFRICA**
Press Freedom Index 2013:	**Rank 52**
Good practice example:	**Gender Links**
Strategy:	**Editing research results and data for the press**
Interviewee:	**Gladness Hemedi Munuo, country facilitator**

South Africa is a country of diversity and contrast. The country, which has 11 official languages, is considered Africa's superpower. Its economy is the strongest on the continent, but at the same time, extreme poverty, high crime rates and unemployment are a great problem.
South Africa is still struggling with the after-effects of apartheid, which was introduced by the white government in 1948. Land distribution is one of the major issues, with the majority of farmland still in the hands of white South Africans. The government aims to transfer 30% of the land to black South Africans by 2014.

Media

South Africa is ranked 52nd on the Reporters without Borders Press Freedom Index, down 10 places from 2012.
The constitutionally enshrined freedom of press is generally respected and there are few reports of reprisals against journalists. The *South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)* is considered far more critical and objective today than during apartheid.
The draft "Protection of State Information Bill", which would have entailed long prison sentences for whistleblowers, was criticised harshly. Reporters without Borders saw it as a threat particularly for investigative journalists. On 12 September 2013, President Jacob Zuma halted the bill.
South Africa is the largest media player on the continent. Johannesburg alone has dozens of radio stations. Pay TV providers are particularly popular in South Africa. SABC is the largest state-owned television station and has the widest range of radio stations as well. It has some 20 stations with programme in 11 languages. Additionally, there are three large private radio stations and numerous community radios, which usually have a very specific target audience and whose number is constantly growing. According to the *OMD Media Facts Report 2013*, more than 200 radio stations are registered in South Africa overall, 180 of them community radios. The media are owned by a small number of corporations, but the radio frequencies are mainly occupied by SABC channels.

Human rights situation of women

According to AI, homophobia and violence, particularly against lesbian women, are ongoing problems in South Africa. In 2012, at least five lesbian women were murdered because of their sexual orientation. At the end of 2012, the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development officially condemned gender-based violence and recognised the urgent need to create awareness and fight gender identity-based prejudice. Violence against women remains a social problem in South Africa. There is a veritable "rape epidemic": In 2012, just under 65,000 sexual offenses were reported to the police, including over 48,000 rapes. Adult women were the victims in 40% of cases and children in 49 %. South Africa remains one of the countries with the highest rate of HIV/AIDS infections. The high number of infected pregnant women and the limited access to prenatal treatment is another gender-specific problem in South Africa.

Gender Links

Strategy: Editing and providing data and complex information for the press in different countries

The organisation

The organisation *Gender Links*, which is headquartered in Johannesburg, was formed in 2001 and has offices in nine African countries. Its focuses particularly on research and training. *Gender Links* collects data that are relevant for the promotion of gender equality and presents them in an editorial way. It also provides gender sensitivity training for journalists.
Gender Links coordinates the *Southern African Gender Protocol* Alliance, which brings together all key African and global commitments for achieving gender equality by 2015. The annual *SADC Gender Protocol Barometer* measures the progress made by governments in their gender policies against the 28 targets of the protocol. Gender Links has integrated these targets into three cross-cutting programmes:

- gender
- climate change
- economic justice

The organisation works with local, national and international partners and aims to:

- Promote gender equality in and through the media and in all areas of governance;
- Develop policies and conduct effective campaigns for ending gender violence, HIV and AIDS, as well as promoting economic and climate justice;
- Build the capacity of women and men to engage critically in democratic processes that advance equality and justice.

This mission is achieved through a strong commitment to results that includes:

- Evidence gathered through conducting research to identify gender gaps,
- Lobbying and advocacy using mainstream and new media,
- Developing action plans in participative ways that bring together a broad cross section of partners in learning that is applied and supported on-the-job,
- Creating synergies to sustain the work,
- Monitoring and evaluating progress using appropriate regional and international instruments,
- Learning, knowledge creation and innovation,
- Improving value for money and institutional effectiveness,
- Fund raising at country and regional level.

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development

The SADC protocol is a voluntary agreement of several southern African countries that sets 28 targets for achieving gender equality. The members support each other and exchange information and reviews. The targets include the following areas:

- constitutional rights
- governance
- education and training
- economic empowerment
- health
- HIV and AIDS
- peace building and conflict resolution

Articles 29 and 30 refer to Media, Information and Communication. The protocol demands equal representation of women in all areas of media work and that women and men be given equal voice in all areas of coverage, including increasing the number of programmes for, by and about women on gender specific topics and that challenge gender stereotypes.

Projects

Gender Links presents a wide range of projects on its website. In one of them, *Gender equality in and through the media*, professional journalists receive training on gender-sensitive reporting. The *Gender and Media Diversity Centre* forms a link between NGOs and academic institutions and disseminates information and data. The centre organises workshops, cooperates with universities, and seeks to achieve gender-sensitive reporting in the commercial media.

Another project of note is the *Roadmap to Equality*: Voices and Views, a ten-part series of radio reports available for download. The reports include different perspectives on gender equality from across Southern Africa. The *Gender Links* homepage also provides reports on topics such as violence against women or HIV/AIDS to mainstream media for free.

"We have to get involved"

Interview with Gladness Hemedi Munuo, country facilitator Tanzania

What are your main areas of work?
We offer training for journalists in cities and communities. We conduct studies and collect data, we look at issues like climate change and conflicts, but from a gender perspective. Most media houses have their own gender policies. We offer help in creating or revising them. Many media houses have also committed to the SADC protocol goals.

Who leads these media houses?
Still mostly men. We are currently working on a survey that started in 2009 and runs to this day. When we evaluate the results we will find that there have been some changes at the management level in the media houses.

You organise gender training for journalists. How do you get men to participate?
In the beginning the participants were nearly always only women. Then we said that the seminars would only take place if half of the participants were men, because gender is a topic that concerns everyone, not just women. That worked.

Do you also work with community media journalists?
We would like to do more with them. Our offices are in the cities and most community radios are in rural areas – they're difficult for us to reach. The most cooperation we have with community radios is in South Africa. Johannesburg, for example, has many community radios, for ethnic minorities or just for the neighbourhood.

Which topics do you consider the most important?
The biggest problem here in Africa is gender-based violence. It is usually to some extent caused by the lack of jobs and the frustration that builds up in men as a result. There should be a much stronger focus on that. Reporters have to be sensitised to the issue, but often there isn't enough funding for such projects.

Do you also try to reach young women?
We try, but it is very difficult. We encourage women to go into politics and get involved. We motivate them to compete with men and not automatically act like they are subordinate. We also encourage them to pick up the microphone and use the radio to convey their message.

What success stands out for you from your years at Gender Links?
I think that was when Gender Links got a media award. There was a project by the Tanzanian office called the Kangaroo project, it was about premature births. The project was hard work. Gender Links submitted several projects, but our Kangaroo project won. I was very proud of that.

Raising awareness among journalists

Country:	**TANZANIA**
Press Freedom Index 2013:	**Rank 70**
Good practice example:	**TAMWA (Tanzania Women´s Media Association)**
Strategy:	**Bang-style journalism**
Interviewee:	**Valerie Msoka, Executive Director**

Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world. In 1964, Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar formed what is today the United Republic of Tanzania. In 1992, a multi-party system was introduced. The country is considered stable. According to AI, the human rights situation in Tanzania is deteriorating. In 2012, the authorities limited freedom of press and freedom of assembly. Violence against women is widespread and perpetrators are rarely brought to justice.

Media

In 2013, Tanzania was 70th on RWB's Press Freedom Index, falling 36 places from the previous year. This is the biggest loss on the African continent, although Tanzania is not among the countries with the lowest scores. In 2012, a journalist was killed by a policeman while covering a demonstration. Another journalist was found dead, a clear victim of murder. On 8 January 2013, a reporter of the community radio Radio Kwizera was murdered. According to Amnesty International, the media are regulated by laws that are unconstitutional and incompatible with international law.
After the introduction of a multi-party system in the early 1990s, a more or less pluralistic media landscape soon developed. The first state TV channel did not go on air until 2001, followed some years later by the first private channel. There are now two state-owned television stations: Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) and TV Zanzibar. They are both said to follow the government's line in their reporting.
There are many private radio stations, particularly in the cities, as well as three state-owned radio stations, one of them in Zanzibar. Parapanda Radio Tanzania was introduced to attract the young audience of commercial radios. The largest community radio is Orkonerei Radio Service (ORS).
The mainland and Zanzibar have different media regulations, but most mainland stations can be received on Zanzibar, and mainland newspapers are available there as well.

Human rights situation of women

Sexual and other forms of gender-based violence, in particular in the family, are very common. Older women are at risk of being accused as witches and assaulted. Female genital mutilation is still common in some parts of the country.
In 2011, Tanzania embarked on a constitutional review process, in which the women's or-

ganisation TAMWA participated. The members of the Constitutional Review Commission were sworn in in May 2012. A draft was finalised in June 2013 and is currently undergoing a review process. The new constitution is scheduled to be enacted on 26 May 2014.

Media Gender Code of Ethics

In 2008, the *Media Council of Tanzania (MCT)* drafted the *Media Gender Code* of Ethics, which was adopted by the stakeholders in 2009. MCT monitors and regulates Tanzanian media in order to promote a free, responsible and ethical press. Their main goal is to create a thriving environment for media committed to a democratic and equitable society.

Historical background

In the last decades, journalism in Tanzania has developed rapidly. In 1992, there were five newspapers and a radio station, which all belonged to the ruling parties. Today, there are 20 daily newspapers, 53 weekly magazines and 42 other publications on the market. There are 26 radio stations, 15 TV stations and 20 cable TV providers. However, 99.9% of them are in the hands of men. The number of journalists has increased from 230 to some 3,000 over the last two decades.
The liberalisation and other changes in Tanzania's media landscape are in no small measure due to media women's lobbyism – in particular the women of *Tanzania Women's Media Association (TAMWA)*. They seek to influence different aspects of the media world, from storytelling and awareness raising to media management.

Media Gender Code of Ethics

Despite the positive developments, there is a male bias in Tanzanian media in both content and structures. In media companies, women usually work in lower-level administrative positions, like in many other countries.
In 2008, the *Southern African Development Community (SADC)* adopted the *SADC Protocol on Gender and Development*. The MCT used this as an inspiration for the development of the Media Gender Code of Ethics together with the Johannesburg-based organisation Gender Links. There were several motivations for this:

- The majority of Tanzanian media did not consider gender aspects in their reporting
- Traditionally, men were in management, women in lower-level positions
- Big political stories were written by men, while reports about children, people with disabilities or other marginalised groups were written by women
- The same went for field reports: While male reporters were sent to cover important stories, women covered topics like food and fashion
- There was a general reluctance to let young, promising female journalists into the newsroom

The *Media Gender Code of Ethics* is addressed to media professionals: owners, editors, photographers and video journalists, news agencies, journalists, PR representatives and the advertising industry. The code is designed to be applied in everyday media work.
It was drafted by a committee with additional expertise from scientists, media experts, gender experts and stakeholders and published in 2009.
The obstacles that the committee faced were in part due to a lack of professionalism of media practitioners. The trend towards free media meant that individuals were founding media companies and reporting without regard for ethical standards. Another problem was that many journalists – male and female – opposed the concept of gender.

Implementation of the code

Awareness-raising measures were carried out directly in the offices of the media companies. From 2011 on, courses about gender mainstreaming were held in mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar to spread awareness of the code. These courses encourage women to work as photojournalists and in other technical media professions. In February 2013, the code was printed in Kiswahili and English.
Together with TAMWA and the *Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA-TAN)*, the MCT awards reports with innovative approaches to gender issues. Some universities have also introduced courses on media and gender.
For the code to be implemented successfully, the mechanisms of self-regulation have to work. The ethics committee condemns violations of the code and can also issue various sanctions. It evaluates news reports and points out imbalanced reports to editors-in-chief.
The great challenge for media companies in Tanzania is now to utilise the framework and networks created by the *Media Gender Code of Ethics* and MCT effectively and to create their own self-regulation mechanisms.

TAMWA (Tanzania Media Women´s Association)

Strategy: Raising awareness for certain issues among journalists, disseminating information to several media channels at once to reach a maximum audience (bang-style journalism)

The organisation

TAMWA describes itself as a media advocacy institution. It was founded in 1987 and has over 100 members – all of them media women such as editors and journalists, PR experts, but also employees of public institutions and members of government. TAMWA addresses human rights topics from a gender perspective. It is committed to the protection of women's and children's rights and uses the media to communicate its topics. Its aim is to bring about changes in society.

TAMWA works at three levels:

- with the media
- with women's organisations
- raising awareness in society

TAMWA seeks to achieve gender balance in the newsrooms and the management levels of media houses with the aim that issues that affect women be portrayed in a less stereotyped way and topics such as rape and child marriage treated with the necessary seriousness in order to raise awareness among the public.
For 2009 to 2014, the organisation has five core strategic areas:

Gender-based violence (GBV)
This includes topics such as child marriage, rape, teenage pregnancy, denial of inheritance to women, female genital mutilation (FGM), HIV and AIDS.

Good governance
The organisation is outspoken against any form of corruption and participates actively in debates about discrimination of women.

Gender equality
TAMWA seeks to strengthen women's position in the social, political and economic spheres.

Poverty
The goal is to reduce poverty among women through capacity building and knowledge.

Health
Reduction of maternal mortality through information and raising more awareness for HIV/AIDS.

Method

TAMWA conducts journalistic surveys, analyses laws and regulations concerning these five core areas and uses the media to raise awareness among the population. In order to achieve this, TAMWA organises trainings for journalists in four regions on the mainland and Zanzibar. They also produce brochures, radio and TV spots.
The main method of TAMWA is their "bang-style journalism", where a certain gender topic is chosen and analysed and then distributed to several media channels through press releases, radio spots and fact sheets. With this "bang", the focus on a certain topic, the media start reporting on the topic. The women of TAMWA use their own journalistic knowledge to give the media the materials they need. In this way, the organisation turns issues that affect women into newsworthy stories.
When radio and TV stations start reporting on the issue, TAMWA provides experts and activists for interviews and phone-ins. Valerie Msoka, Executive Director of TAMWA, explains that TAMWA's information is accurate and has news value, which has gained them a reputation as a reliable source. Journalists and editors get relevant facts and figures for their stories, and they are also sent to various ministries and stakeholders to bring the issues onto the political agenda.

TAMWA has produced a handbook for reporting without a gender bias. It is free and was sent to all media houses. It is currently being translated into Kiswahili.

Scholarships

TAMWA also has a scholarship fund created with member contributions that offers young journalists loans to pursue further studies. Scholarship holders must get at least a bachelor's degree in journalism. The loan must be paid back a year after receiving the degree.

Future projects

Currently (as at June 2013), TAMWA is finding funds for an office in Zanzibar, which is to become a centre for resources and information on issues that affect women and children. TAMWA documents how and to what extent media report about these issues and makes the data available to the centre.

"Armed with pen and microphone"

Interview with Valerie Msoka, founding member of TAMWA

You were one of the founders of TAMWA nearly 27 years ago. Why?

In the 1980s, it was a real challenge for women to work in the media. There weren't many women in the media sector, but the few there were all had the same problems. If a story was considered particularly important in the newsroom, for example because it was about the president, the men got the story. Or another example, something that happened to me: The editor-in-chief got a call from a ministry telling him about an important event. He said, "I can't send anyone, there's nobody in the newsroom" – although I was sitting right next to him! Similar things have happened to all of us – the scenarios were always the same, but in different media houses. So we said: "Okay, why not form an association?" There were two things we wanted to achieve: More women working in the newsrooms and also in high-level positions, and more attention to issues that affect women. If there were any stories about women they were usually about rape – and even then they made fun of it.

What is your strategy?

We use the tools we as journalists have: the pen and the microphone. With them we try to create awareness and change laws and regulations. We bring together different media and together we inform, educate and bring about change. Women are still not leading the media houses, but they are a part of society and must be represented equally.

Is close cooperation with journalists and editors also a strategy you use?

We build relationships with the media houses, the editors and the journalists. We offer trainings and work with them. In the last years they have become a real support for us. We can call them and tell them, "we need you," and they become part of the struggle.

Was the acceptance this good from the beginning?

The beginning was difficult, people thought: "It's just a few women making noise." But

over the years they began to see how we address topics. They saw how we approach things and we became increasingly accepted as part of Tanzanian society. We gained respect because we addressed topics that are relevant to society. Just recently a male minister mentioned publicly that he cooperates with TAMWA. Or another example: Two girls ran away from home to escape FGM. They went to the police in Dar es Salaam and the police called us! They could have just as well sent them home. That shows us that there is more awareness and that we are recognised as an organisation that can handle such issues well. We've achieved this with our perseverance.

Back to the media: Does TAMWA operate radio stations?
No. We train journalists and send them on assignments. They come back with their stories and those stories go on air. We produce radio spots, like advertisements. But we pay for them. That is how we get our message out there.

How are the women of TAMWA involved in the constitutional review process?
It is important that people participate and that women say what they want. That is why we try to turn these issues into topics for the media. When they ask the basic question of journalism, "What's the story?", we give them the facts. For example on child marriage: In Tanzania, you are considered an adult at 18, but a girl can be married as young as 14. We have the data: Her body is not yet fully developed. The risk of both children – the mother and her baby – dying is high. Or traditional practices – we provide the data on why certain things should be changed in the constitution. We say: If the elders absolutely need the rites of passage, then only under certain conditions.

What is the role of community media in Tanzania?
A very important one. Community media are essential because they are at eye level with the villages. And they are growing all the time. People are starting to understand that if we want to treat topics properly, from the ground up, we need grassroots journalism and community media. We asked ourselves: When we visit the villages, how can we best spread our messages and raise awareness? So we said: Our spots must be played on the community radios and we need to do call-ins. That makes the topics approachable for the villagers.

How do you react when you hear a sexist joke or a stereotypical representation of women on the radio?
We developed a guide to help journalists and editors avoid clichés. It is popular and people use it. I remember recently there was a radio show about FGM and the interviewee was a minor. I called the editor, whom I know well, and told him, "that was a great topic, but your protagonist was a minor". He asked me if that was a problem. I told him: "Yes, that is a problem. The community might banish the child, you're not doing her any good that way." He wasn't aware of it and sometimes it is just that: a lack of knowledge.

TAMWA is funded by donors. Can your reports be really objective?
The donors come to us because they know and share our topics and goals. They are our topics, and the donors support us. They can't just come and say: "Do something

about child labour." As much as we might like to, we have to check whether the topic is compatible with our strategic goals. In this case we could say that it is related to strengthening the economy. That is part our strategic goals. So then we have to see: What happens to a family if the child is no longer a breadwinner? What are the alternatives? That could be one way in which we could address the topic. We are committed to our strategic goals. If a topic is in accordance with them, we can work with a donor.

What do you consider the biggest issue for Tanzania at the moment?
The constitutional reform. This is the first time that everyone in Tanzania can participate. The first draft has been published and now it's up to the citizens to get involved. Women should express their opinions. It is our task to encourage and inform them.
For 2014 and 2015, we want to get more women to work with us. We have elections coming up and we want to encourage women to run for office. In our society, men have always had advantages, they can get up on a stage and speak without problems. Now we have to get women to speak up as well. We need them so society understands that women can carry just as much weight as men.
The issues behind gender-based violence will always be there – equality, health. But right now it's about the constitution. Once that is done, we will see whether we are equally represented. That would mean we have reached our goal – because we are fighting for gender equality.

Fighting violence with a fictional character

Country:	**NICARAGUA**
Press Freedom Index 2013:	**Rank 78**
Good practice example:	**Radio Palabra de Mujer**
Strategy:	**"La bruja"**
Interviewee:	**Jamileth Chavarría, radio activist**

Nicaragua is Latin America's second poorest country, after Haiti. The consequences of the civil war, in which the Sandinistas deposed the US-supported Somoza regime in 1979, are still visible.

Media

The Central American country ranks 78th on the Press Freedom Index 2013 of Reporters without Borders. That puts it in the lower third between the two extremes of its neighbouring countries Honduras (127) and Costa Rica (18). Nicaragua dropped six ranks from 2011. According to RWB, this is due to a lack of pluralism in the media, tensions between the government and the media, harassment of journalists and resulting self-censorship. AI reported about threats against journalists in the run-up to the presidential elections in 2011. At a UNESCO meeting in Matagalpa in August 2012, female radio

journalists said that their work was severely hampered by gender-based violence. Late and night shifts exposed them to dangers on the street and female reporters were harassed in the field.
Nicaragua has no state-owned or public TV stations; however, several large private media corporations are owned by the family of president Daniel Ortega. The media are concentrated in the hands of a small number of entrepreneurs, one of them Mexican. There is a one state-owned the radio station, Radio Nicaragua, and a Sandinist station called *Radio Sandino*.

Human rights situation of women

Rape and sexual abuse are a widespread social problem in Nicaragua. According to a police analysis, more than two in three victims between 1998 and 2008 were younger than 17, and in 2012, 80 % were 17 or younger. A 2008 police report describes sexual violence against minors as a "national problem" that affects society, the culture and the economy on much more than just an individual level. A psychiatrist is quoted in an Amnesty International report as saying that violence against women and children has reached the status of an "epidemic" and that not all social classes have the same access to justice.
There are great obstacles to reporting such crimes. Particularly young girls fear social stigmatisation or receive threats from the perpetrators. As a result, cases of abuse are often only uncovered when a girl is obviously pregnant.
In 2008, abortion was banned completely in Nicaragua. In 2012, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights called upon the government to repeal the ban and examine the relationship between gender-based violence and sexual and reproductive rights. According to the Ministry of Health, the number of children born by 10 to 14-year-old girls increased by 47 % from 2000 to 2009. Under Nicaraguan law, intercourse with a child younger than 14 is considered rape.
In June 2012, the General Act against Violence against Women (Ley 779) entered into force. AI considers this a positive step, but notes that its implementation is hampered by insufficient resources. In late 2012, an arrest warrant was issued against a teacher accused of sexually abusing a 14-year-old pupil. However, according to the police there was not enough space in the prison system, so the arrest warrant was not executed.

Radio Palabra de Mujer

Strategy: A fictional character publicly denounces violence against women, protecting the anonymity of the sources.

The organisation, the radio and the activist

Jamileth Chavarría is a radio activist from Bocana de Paiwa in Nicaragua. She works for the organisation *Casa de la mujer* ("*Women's house*") and their radio station *Palabra de mujer*. Bocana de Paiwa is a village of about 300 houses with approximately 4.000

inhabitants in central Nicaragua. Some of the surrounding villages can be reached via paved roads, others only on horseback.
Casa de la mujer is a feminist, non-partisan and non-religious organisation that serves the interests of the women in the village and the region. In 1998, a hurricane devastated Nicaragua and cut the village off from the outside world. The radio was founded to allow better communication. Palabra de mujer went on air in 2002.
Jamileth Chavarría, co-founder of Palabra de mujer, broadcasts as la bruja. She is currently studying in Madrid and continues broadcasting as la *bruja migrante*. Her character la bruja, the witch, is a 90-year-old woman who publicly names and shames abusive men.
In the last year, *Palabra de mujer* started cooperating with other radios. The *Universidad Centroamericana* collaborates with community radios in different projects.
In addition to the radio, *Casa de la mujer* organises a video seminar. The aim is to empower women to make their experiences with violence or injustice visible with visual media. Once a week, someone comes from the city to hold workshops with the women. The resulting productions are often shown on television.
Bocana de Paiwa did not have phone lines until 2010. The village does not yet have Internet access, so Casa de la mujer does not have a website.

"Feminism saved my life"

Interview with Jamileth Chavarría, radio activist

How did you become a feminist?
I became a feminist through my mother. She died in the civil war and she taught us a rather harsh outlook on life: "everyone for themselves". She believed we all had to learn to take care of ourselves. I see today that the things my mother said did not conform to the village traditions at all. When my parents went to fight in the civil war, my sisters and I had to manage on our own. Five years after she died, Casa de la mujer was founded. At the time I did not yet work for the organisation but I was able to contribute a lot of knowledge, how to make posters and organise demonstrations... my mother had taught me that. When I was small she would take me with her to the activist events of the Revolutionary Front.
Through the work at Casa de la mujer I developed an interest in feminist issues. Before that I never called myself a feminist, but a rebel. After working as a volunteer for the organisation for 17 years I became a paid employee. That changed my life. Feminism saved my life. It saved me from many things that happen to women in the countryside.

What makes your work at Casa de la mujer so valuable to you?
The original idea was to educate people about harmful traditions that have not brought us women any benefits or social development. Over the years, many new projects were developed at Casa de la mujer, like the radio.
For a long time we didn't have any way to reach women. We would invite them to our workshops and sometimes they couldn't come because of the distance, their children or the machismo.

In 1998, there was a hurricane that changed the entire region. After that we said, if we want to reach the women, we need a radio. Then the women, men and children can hear us. First it sounded like a crazy idea but over the years we have become very well accepted. First we thought the radio wouldn't be accepted because it had a feminist profile. In all of Nicaragua there were only two feminist radios.
Back then the listeners couldn't phone us with their issues and questions. They had to come on foot or horseback. On market days the radio station was full of people and there were horses waiting outside. It was something really new and sensational, even though our message differed so much from the traditional things we had been taught.

How did you get the idea to found your own radio station?
When the hurricane came, we [of Casa de la mujer] were at an evaluation meeting elsewhere. So none of us were in the village. After the hurricane we were all worried about our families and our homes. A bridge had collapsed and three telephone lines had been destroyed. We knew nothing about our village, not a thing! But because our village had experienced war, there were people with radios – the kind you use on ships or in war. And they used them to send us word that they were alright and the whole village was flooded. On the way home we decided we needed a radio and we thought about how we could do it. Some time later friends from Germany visited our village and we told them about our idea, and they helped us. So we began to research how we could do it. Paiwa is located on a hill but the country around it is flat. We had to find out whether the geography was better suited for an AM or FM frequency. We organised equipment – it was from the 1950s! The first days were complete chaos. We did have a technician but he didn't really know a lot about that old equipment. The AM transmitter was huge. We don't use it anymore. But it was really interesting to see how much we learned from our radio work and how we bonded over it. A radio station changes society and offers alternatives.

So you didn't use the frequency of another station but got your own?
When we bought the transmitters we didn't think about a frequency at all. But there was this man who was selling a radio with a frequency. It was the frequency of a radio station that hadn't been successful in the city. My friend convinced us to buy it.
But so far it hasn't been officially recognised. We've been broadcasting for 17 years, we meet all the legal requirements, but we still don't have an official broadcasting license. Basically, we are broadcasting illegally. The government doesn't want us to exist, that's why I say that Nicaragua is not a democracy.

How was your first show?
We recorded it in a friend's room. We used sound equipment you normally use for parties. We recorded it on tape and broadcast it from a radio station in another city. Our first show was called Entre nosotras ["Between us women"].
Later we formed groups to come up with ideas for shows we could make. I had been doing a lot with theatre and art before that and I'd used the character of la bruja several times. She was always popular so I decided to go on air as la bruja.
We listened to the shows other radio stations were making and noticed that women's rights were treated with cynicism. So we became critical of these stations and decided we had to do it differently. And that's how la bruja was born.

Who is la bruja?

La bruja, the witch, is a 90-year-old lady. She has a magic crystal ball in which she sees men who abuse their wives. She names these men and accuses them publicly. In reality of course we get the information from the women themselves. They write us and tell us about their husbands, but we have to preserve their anonymity so that we don't put them in danger. When we get a tip we do a lot of research. There is now a law on domestic violence that stipulates that anyone can report domestic violence, not only the victims. That has made things a lot easier for us.

La bruja also plays music and criticises the songs the mainstream media play. The so-called rancheras are full of machismo. There was a popular song with a video in which a man rides across the field on his horse and sings "I'm in charge here..." He presents himself as the centre, the king. We banned this song from our station, nobody was allowed to play it on air. We can't try to change the world but then play such disgusting songs on our own radio.

Has la bruja received any threats?

Of course. My children were scared but I didn't realise that for a long time. But in the moment of action you don't waste any time thinking about fear. Once a policeman assaulted his wife, right in the police station. It was Christmas. We were walking by and heard the screams. We kicked down the door and went at him. And imagine, the guy comes out, grabs me and shoots at me. With a gun from the war. I was so angry and pushed him away. I lived through the war as well and I have experience with weapons, so I wasn't scared at that moment. My young children and my sister were there and I was talking all the time because I was so angry. When we went on, my children ran and cried. It was awful.

The radio is really important in such cases, more than the authorities. The very next day we named the policeman on our show and said that he had assaulted me and his wife. A few days later I went to the police station to report him – and there I learned he had reported me! For obstructing authority, creating a public nuisance, and drunkenness. He had "evidence": a broken beer bottle. It was all lies! I was desperate. The police are supposed to protect you and what does this policeman do? He abuses his wife and shoots at me right next to my small children. The risk of hitting them with a bullet was very high. He traumatised my children and my sister and even the dog, which went crazy after the incident.

So we recorded a short message: "The policeman so-and-so is extremely dangerous." We played that many times a day every day, all shows had to play it.

In the end he couldn't deal with it anymore and moved to another village. In this case the radio fulfilled its task – everyone was talking about his behaviour but the authorities did absolutely nothing. If the perpetrator is one of their own, they protect him. That's why it is essential to have a radio to protect human rights. We think there should be many more women's radios. The commercial radio stations don't care about such topics, they don't promote social change, just consumerism.

Have you encountered any political obstacles?

Our president Daniel Ortega sexually abused his stepdaughter – that is known internationally. We wanted to make it clear that we come from a revolutionary context but

don't support Ortega. So we started an anti-Daniel campaign. When he visited our village we put up a poster that said "Out of respect for Sandino – no rapists and accomplices in power". Paiwa only has one road so everyone who enters the village has to pass the "Women's House". About a hundred angry men and women tore our posters from the wall. They tried to get into the house but we defended ourselves. When Daniel came, all the people shouted "Daniel, Daniel!" But we had megaphones and loudspeakers and drowned them all out. We shouted: "rapist, rapist!" That had a nationwide effect. We got an incredible amount of support. People were impressed by the fact that we, as women, were attacked and still stood up against the most powerful people in the country.
The next day we had to go to the police station to report the unlawful entering. We were terrified walking down the street. Nobody supported us in court. All the media in the country ran stories about us but in the end nobody spoke up. That's why we say Daniel Ortega is really dangerous.

What is your message to the audience?
I think the West should contribute more to the development of media like the radio in the developing countries. Radio opens up a lot of possibilities. You get information but you don't have to stop doing what you're doing. Women who make radio see the world differently. Every word and dream you express over the radio is the beginning of change.

Cross-media resistance

Country: COLOMBIA
Press Freedom Index 2013: Rank 129
Good practice example: OFP (Organización Femenina Popular)
Strategy: Cross-media work and international networking
Interviewees: Yolanda Becerra (Director) Sandra Gutierrez (activist)

The armed conflict in Colombia

The assassination of the Liberal Party presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948 sparked riots in the capital Bogotá, which led to La Violencia, a civil war between the country's liberal and conservative parties. This is today considered the official beginning of the armed conflict in Colombia, which is estimated to have cost some 200,000 lives since the 1960s. The Colombian conflict is between the Colombian government and illegal paramilitary groups (AUC) on the one side and the leftist guerrillas FARC-EP and ELN on the other. In October 2012, peace talks began between the government and FARC for the first time in a decade. However, Amnesty International warns that without a binding commitment of both conflict parties to stop human rights violations and permit the fair course of justice, a lasting peace is unlikely.

The bloody and complex conflict has long ceased to be about political ideas – it is about economic interests and control over land. The region Magdalena Medio in the north-east of the country, where *Organización Femenina Popular (OFP)* is headquartered, is among those most affected by the crisis. The region's natural resources, such as oil, coal, gold, uranium, and fertile farmland make it highly desirable to various parties: Mining companies and agro-industrial corporations have economic interests, while the conflict parties want to position themselves in the geostrategically important region. The rights of small farmers and the indigenous population are often violated ruthlessly. Civilians experience attacks and severe human rights violations at the hands of both the paramilitary troops and the guerrillas. Thousands of people have been killed, thousands have been kidnapped or have "disappeared" in attacks by the security forces or paramilitary troops. Sexual violence against children and women and the recruitment of child soldiers are also common. The largest number of internally displaced people in the world – between 3 and 4 million Colombians have had to flee their homes because of violence – serves as a stark reminder of the way in which all parties to the conflict ignore human rights and international humanitarian law.

Current political context

Severe violations of human rights are documented in Colombia every day. The government of president Juan Manuel Santos has expressed commitment to human rights, but AI reports that few improvements are visible. Civilians – particularly indigenous peoples, Afro-Colombians, peasant farmer communities, human rights defenders, community leaders and trade unionists – are those who suffer most from the human rights consequences of the long-running internal armed conflict. However, lawyers, judges and journalists are also faced with threats in their daily work.
In 2011, the Victims and Land Restitution Law was passed, which is a step towards recognising the rights of many victims of this conflict. The government made commitments to end impunity for human rights violations. In some emblematic cases, there was progress in the last year. However, in most cases the perpetrators of human rights violations – in particular sexual violence against women and children – were not brought to justice.
In August 2013, there was a countrywide strike of workers of the agricultural, mining, and transport sectors to protest against the free trade agreements with the US and the EU, which threaten their livelihood. Other civic organisations later joined the protests. During this largest wave of demonstrations in 20 years, there were numerous human rights violations and attacks on journalists by the police and the army.

Media

Colombia is considered one of the most dangerous countries for journalists worldwide. In 2012, Reporters without Borders listed the ultra-right-wing paramilitary group Aguilas Negras among their "Predators of Press Freedom". Officially, there are no longer any paramilitary groups following a demobilisation programme, but some 5,000 to 8,000

members continue to operate under other names. This "reign of terror" of paramilitary groups murders journalists, and forces them to censor their writing or leave the country. The victims are mostly writers who are critical of the political system, and local and community journalists. In 2010, FARC was listed as "Predator of Press Freedom" as well.
Colombia ranks 129th on the 2013 international Press Freedom Index, which is a 14 rank improvement from the previous year. This improvement is likely due to the peace talks and the resulting closer international scrutiny.
The "UNESCO Condemns Killing of Journalists" webpage, which is dedicated to murdered journalists, lists four journalists in 2013 and two journalists in 2012 who were killed in Colombia in the exercise of their profession.
Colombia has three public TV stations with national reach, which have grown in the last five years. However, the most popular TV stations remain the two large private stations Caracol and RCN, which are both said to have close ties to the government. They are often accused of not reporting objectively and ignoring demonstrations and social movements.
Colombia was one of the first countries in Latin America where a radio station went on air. Today, there are hundreds of registered radio stations, of which three have national reach: *Caracol, RCN* and the public *Señal Colombia*. There are also numerous university, school, and community radios.

Human rights situation of women

Members of women's rights organisations are frequently subjected to serious threats and rape, particularly by paramilitary or guerrilla forces. Lesbians, gay men and transgender persons are also often treated with hostility and receive death threats. In 2011, a member of a transgender foundation was murdered in Pasto, in southern Colombia. The murder occurred shortly after paramilitary troops had distributed leaflets calling for "social cleansing".
Rape, sexual abuse and systematic sexual violence as a weapon in the context of the armed conflict are a major problem in Colombia. Women are treated as "spoils of war" in order to intimidate the civilian population. According to a report by Amnesty International, the perpetrators come from all conflict parties and usually escape justice, with very few exceptions. More of these kinds of crimes go unpunished than of any other kind of human rights violation.
In 2012, the Congress ratified a law that is intended to bring justice to victims of sexual violence, in particular in the context of the armed conflict. The law penalises forced nudity, forced abortion, and forced pregnancy. At the time of research, the Act had not yet entered into force.

OFP (Organización Femenina Popular)

Strategy:

- **Cross-media communication – TV, radio, Internet and print – reaches a large audience**
- **International connections create security**
- **Self-empowerment through acquiring knowledge and skills**

OFP is one of the largest and most important women's organisations in Colombia. It was founded in 1972 in Barrancabermeja in the conflict-ridden region of Magdalena Medio. OFP still has their headquarters there. It was initiated by the Catholic Church in order to support women's self-organisation in the struggle against domestic violence and social injustice. This was at the height of the liberation theology movement and the social movements in Colombia. In 1998, OFP became autonomous and has since been working independently of the church.

In 1996, when the conflict in the region Magdalena Medio reached a new high, OFP declared itself a human rights organisation and initiated the "Social women's movement against war and for peace".

Since 2000, Organización Femenina Popular has been active at the national level and now has offices in the capital Bogotá and in Neiva as well.

The principles of OFP are resistance, civil society, and autonomy.

civil society

The OFP considers civil society a political state that permits ways of life that are inspired by democratic models instead of dictatorial or military.

autonomy

Autonomy is the ethical foundation of the organisation and is reflected in its actions. OFP opposes any pressure from the government or armed legal or illegal forces and opposes any form of exercising power.

active nonviolent resistance

This is the most important instrument the organisation uses to defend the rights that their members are denied because of their class and sex. The women of OFP oppose any form of gender or class-based violence and killing.

OFP opposes any form of militarisation of civilian life through players in the armed conflict, displacement and land grabbing, violations of women's rights and denial of their right to participate in society, armed violence, using women as instruments of war, and any form of discrimination or abuse.

OFP's fields of activity are food sovereignty, the social women's movement against war and for peace, victims' rights, health, education, legal aid, artisan crafts, food, and various campaigns.

OFP and media

OFP uses media strategically to denounce crimes publicly and spread its message. Until 2006, the organisation had both a TV and radio programme and a magazine. The TV and radio programmes were both called La Mohana and reached the entire region of Magdalena Medio. They were funded as a media project for three years by the European Union in the context of the *Laboratorio de Paz* (peace laboratory). When the funding ran out, both programmes had to be shut down. In the programmes, women from the region told their own stories. There were reports about the alarming situation the organisation and the region of Magdalena Medio in general were facing.
The magazine *La Mohana* was first published three times a year, then once a year, and finally it had to be shut down completely due to a lack of funding. It reported on the organisation's activities.
Today, OFP runs a blog where it reports about its activities and successes, not only in writing but also with videos. The colour of the blog is purple – the colour used to symbolise opposition to violence against women by women's organisations worldwide. A section on the blog explains the meaning and use of various colours and symbols important to the movement.

"Globalise solidarity"

Interview with Yolanda Becerra (Director) and Sandra Gutierrez (activist)

What is the role of community media in Colombia?
Yolanda Becerra: Media play an important role in general. The Colombian state and government are well aware of this and use it to their benefit. We believe that alternative media are very important. Unfortunately, you need a lot of resources to run alternative media, especially at the national level. We only have them at regional level. You have to put a lot of work into it because it is the only way we have to reach people and to spread a different, authentic message. That is what we have been doing so far. In any case, alternative media face a lot of obstacles, they are under threat and their scope of action is sometimes so limited that they cannot do their work at all.

How was your radio programme received by the listeners?
Yolanda Becerra: It was a programme with several components. It denounced crimes and there were discussions about current topics in the region. The women made the programmes themselves, five minutes a day. After a while, we had a lot of listeners. Particularly women from rural areas liked it. If we didn't broadcast for a day, they called us to complain. There were also short stories about women with whom our female listeners could identify. This allowed us to be in direct contact with the women and to raise awareness for women's rights.

The name of your TV and radio programme was "La Mohana".
What does that mean?
Yolanda Becerra: La Mohana is the female water spirit. In our area, there is a legend of

a woman emerges from the water and seduces men. We had a lot of discussions about the name. Somehow we identified with this character, because we wanted to use the media to attract men and women to our cause and create awareness for the situation here and for human rights. We liked the idea of this mythological figure, a naked woman rising from the water. The name alone fascinated people.

Did you produce the shows yourselves?
Yolanda Becerra: Yes. There was a team of journalists who gave us advice and took care of the technical side of things, but we made the content. For example, we'd record the TV show on Fridays and it would take the whole night because we always had to reshoot a lot. We did not have yet the practice and experience. The whole team of directors of OFP worked on it with the help of these journalists. It was a very nice experience. We learned how to do journalism. In the end, we no longer needed as long for our show because we had gained experience.

You had to stop the programmes in 2006 because the funding ran out. What do you do now to spread your message?
Yolanda Becerra: Mainly human rights observation. We publish our reports via the observation centre. We are trying to find a new way of reaching people. It wasn't easy to start again from scratch. Of course TV was ideal because it is one of the easiest media with which to reach people. But okay, now we try to create new mechanisms through human rights observation.

What role does the Internet play?
Sandra Gutierrez: The people who have access to the Internet are mostly students. But most women do not have access. We as an organisation use it to spread our reports when a woman is in a difficult situation. We also have social networks where we publish information about the situation in the region and in Colombia. This is also a way to stay informed about what we do and what is happening in the region.
Yolanda Becerra: I think that we as a grassroots organisation still don't use the modern technologies enough, and we as women even less. We have to familiarise ourselves with these technologies and get more involved in order to reach even more people. We do a lot, but we write and tell people too little about it. I think that is a problem that all social grassroots organisations have. We do things but forget to tell people about them. That is why we have homepages that are out of date. We just don't write enough.

Why do you have such trouble getting funding?
Yolanda Becerra: There are limits to our cooperation with funding organisations because they often don't want us to spread certain information. That's why media projects rarely get funding. We had very strong and extensive structures in the area of communication but we had to gradually reduce them. We are still in that process, looking for ways to fill that gap – that is, how we can communicate now that we no longer have these media.

Your work is very much in the public eye. How strong is the impact of the armed conflict on your activities?
Yolanda Becerra: The media are a double-edged sword. Just like they can help build a

political project and promote alternatives, they can also contribute to the destruction of those alternatives. That's why our strategy was always to have a good relationship with the media and the journalists. You have to be friends with journalists. Nevertheless, we have also experienced hostility and campaigns against us in the media. Media also follow certain ideologies and certain political dynamics.

Is there any progress in the Colombian peace process for the people on the ground?
We don't believe the situation in Colombia has changed. It has just taken on a different shape. For us, the violence of the paramilitary troops continues. The demobilisation is a farce. It was a negotiation between two parts of the same side, because the paramilitary groups are a government strategy. The face of the armed conflict has changed, the way they act, the way they operate. But the risks are still the same.
Just two days ago two people entered the flat of one of our colleagues. A man and a woman, both masked. They gagged her and threatened her, vandalised her walls, stole her computer and all her data. Things like this show that the situation remains difficult and dangerous. And it is still very difficult to accuse anyone of crimes because many of our international friends, many organisations, believe that the situation has improved. They don't like it when we still complain about human rights violations. They say: "That's not true, the situation has changed and improved, just look, it's all better." We try to respect that – but we, who live in this situation, know that not much has changed, and that it is getting more dangerous.
It is becoming more and more difficult to denounce crimes because first of all there is no interest in Colombia. And second, how are you supposed to talk about it when Colombia supposedly is at peace, things supposedly have improved, when there supposedly are no more paramilitary troops in Colombia – how do you convince someone that the situation is still problematic? This makes the situation very difficult for grassroots and human rights organisations.

What role do you think gender plays in the peace process?
Yolanda Becerra: Peace requires the participation of women. We have suffered greatly in the war, but we did not define the armed conflict. But we still lost a lot, because in war, lives are taken. We women give life, we create it in any situation. We have been persecuted and murdered by the sexist logic of war.
The aggressions against women were great in number and very specific. For example, we had to witness women being raped and then murdered by ramming stakes into their vaginas. They cut open the bellies of pregnant women and ripped out the babies. One woman did not want to be in a relationship with a paramilitary fighter and she was persecuted, tortured and executed. Young pretty women were also often attacked by the paramilitary fighters because they wouldn't respond to their advances. Many women were forced into prostitution. All of these things show that a war with a patriarchal logic can do very, very terrible things to women.
But the struggle for peace is also difficult because the conditions are shaped by men. We have to be twice as intelligent as men, be twice as committed, work twice as hard to influence things in our favour and be able to play a part in it. Sometimes we notice that we are becoming increasingly important in the resistance. Men are often quite cowardly. They act within different structures and are caught in the logics of war and

patriarchy. This gives them less room for manoeuvre, they are more limited in what they can do and how they can resist than we are. But when structures change, new possibilities open up for men as well. They push women back and deny their contributions. This means that creating peace is really a constant struggle for us.

What is particularly important for you at the moment?

Yolanda Becerra: I think it is very important to maintain solidarity – across borders. The markets are getting more globalised every day, war is being globalised, as are the economic interests of the rich. But I believe we need to globalise solidarity. That means committing ourselves to solidarity among women in all countries more and more every day in order to change the everyday realities of women. That is difficult in any country, but in Colombia we also have an armed conflict – unfortunately, it is one of the few Latin American countries where there still is one. That makes it a lot more difficult. The realities in which women live are much harsher.

We struggle every day to feed our children, we struggle every day to make sure our children can breathe, we struggle every day to protect them and give them a life. It is a struggle that takes up every hour of the day – a struggle to protect, to survive, but also to try to change the realities in our country. That is not easy. That is why I believe it is important to globalise solidarity among women.

Summary

The strategies presented in this chapter show how many different ways there are for women to make themselves and their issues heard in their different political and social contexts. They all have one thing in common: They use the enormous power of the media to spread and amplify their voices and their demands.

While organisations such as *Sister Namibia* and *Palabra de mujer* work at the local level and bring about changes by working directly with the people in the villages, initiatives like *Gender Links* and *TAMWA* have formed international networks. They benefit from the wealth of their combined knowledge and skills, strengthening women at an international level.

OFP, in turn, does grassroots and regional work with any means of communication possible but accepts help from the international community. This allows the organisation, which is constantly under threat in the armed conflict, to operate with at least some measure of protection.

Radio drama, finally, is a tool that can be used anywhere and anytime. It is a tool that awakens the two strong forces that every woman carries inside her, and uses them to bring about change: imagination and creativity.

Conclusions

Media are powerful tools that depict different realities and make them come true. They can perpetuate patriarchal power structures and the discrimination of disadvantaged parts of the population, particularly women, girls and transgender persons. At the same time, they also have a life-affirming power to demolish abusive power structures and empower women and girls, as the examples in this study show.

The history of access to the means of media production goes back a long way: In the 1970s, the calls for unrestricted access to information and communication technologies were discussed heatedly by civic movements opposing the economic and power interests of the dominant information economy. The industrialised countries were claiming knowledge and means of communication for themselves, while the countries of the Global South, who were just freeing themselves from the stranglehold of colonialism, feared another form of dominance: cultural imperialism.

As a result, the civic protest movement called for equal access to information, communication and knowledge for all. It reached its culmination in the MacBride report "Many voices, one world", which was published by UNESCO in 1980. The commission responsible for the report called for a new world information and communication order with open, free and balanced communication. These demands affronted the Western powers, who feared a loss of power and the self-reliance of the so-called developing countries.

The new world information order remained an unfulfilled vision. There is still no free and equal access to information and communication: Three in one hundred Africans have access to the Internet, contrasted with one in two in the G8 countries. This global digital divide affects women more than men. Women are more frequently affected by poverty and illiteracy and they are excluded from political decision-making processes more often.

This male dominance is reflected in the media: 76 % of the people who are covered in the news worldwide are male (GMMP 2010). The share of women journalists and reporters is growing, but at the management level, progress is much slower. We are still far from gender equality and equal opportunities and must not stop demanding them.

Media work was and remains a core element of women's movements worldwide. The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 was a milestone in establishing women's rights at the international level. It formulated two important goals for the area of media and women's rights: An increase in the share of women in management positions in media houses and an end to the stereotyped portrayal of women in the media as sexual objects, victims and mothers.

Globalisation critics are also continuously demanding such changes from the media, business and politics.

The demands formulated by women's organisations and civil society movements over the last four decades, addressed to governments, international organisations, media and NGOs, remain valid:

- Access to information and communication technologies for everyone
- Acknowledging that women face discrimination in the IT sector
- Access to and participation in ICTs for women
- Involving women in the development of democratic information societies
- Introducing gender policies in all media, including:
- Access for women to media as media practitioners
- Women's representation at all levels of station management
- Balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media
- Funding and capacity building for media women
- Recognising the particular needs of minority women
- The use of appropriate technology
- Ensuring freedom of expression and freedom of the media
- Protecting journalists and human rights activists
- An independent and freely accessible Internet
- Independent reporting free of political and commercial influences
- Promoting and strengthening alternative and community media
- Encouraging cultural and ethnic diversity

Community media play a crucial role in achieving these goals. They are able to make their programme free of political interests, ratings or economic pressure. They are the voice for the voiceless, a platform for marginalised parts of society - ethnic minorities, illiterate people, women, transgender persons and many others. They are active at the local level and can therefore address topics that are too "unimportant" for large, national media but essential for the local population. Through them, women and girls can assume responsibility and actively change political, cultural and social realities. In many places, they contribute to changing the stereotyped and discriminating portrayal of women in the mass media and in advertising.

The different forms of women's media participation presented in this study are only a few examples, but they offer a glimpse at the diversity of strategies that women use in the world of media. All around the world, women have found and fought for ways to make their issues and visions heard. Imagination and creativity, networking, cross-media work, awareness raising at the grassroots level, and unconventional methods such as "bang-style journalism" or fictional characters who convey the message are effective strategies with long success stories. They can inspire and encourage women's organisations that are only just beginning their media work.

The ongoing development of communication technologies, the increasingly easy-to-use technology and the new spaces the Internet creates will change strategies and new ones will be created. Videos may become an increasingly important form of media work for women. Smartphones allow us to record HD-quality video, and free software makes it easy to edit the recordings ourselves. Women's organisations will continue to discover and use the power of images and the power for change that is within them.

Like the mass media, community media continue to develop. They are not an unchanging entity but rather a dynamic field that assumes different functions depending on its environment. They will remain an important tool in strengthening and achieving women's rights. The demand for the right to communicate and equal access to means of communication remains as valid as ever, just like the objectives of the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women.

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Glossary of acronyms

AI	Amnesty International
AMARC	World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters
AMARC-WIN	AMARC-Women´s International Network
AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia
Canara	Cámara Nacional de Radio Costa Rica
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CIERRO	Centre Intreafricain d´Etudes en Radio Rurale de Ouagadougou
ELN	Ejercito de Liberación Nacional
FARC-EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejercito del Pueblo
FGM	Female genital mutilation
GBV	Gender-based violence
GMMP	Global Media Monitoring Project
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IPDC	International Programme for the Development of Communication
IPS	Inter-Press Service
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MDIs	Media Development Indicators
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MISA-TAN	Media Institute of Southern Africa-Tanzania
MCT	Media Council of Tanzania
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
OFP	Organización Femenina Popular
RCN	Radio Cadena Nacional de Televisión de Colombia
Red MICA	Red de Medios e Iniciativas de Comunicación Alternativos
RIF	Radio Internacional Femenista
RWB	Reporters without Borders
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women´s Association
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Communication
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WACC	World Alliance for Christian Communication
WFFM	World Forum of Free Media
WINGS	Women's International News Gathering Service
WSF	World Social Forum
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society
WTO	World Trade Organisation