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**THE MEDIA AND PEACEBUILDING:
A ROUNDTABLE CONSULTATION**

The Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS)

April 8-9, 1999
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The Media and Peacebuilding

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A R O U N D T A B L E C O N S U L T A T I O N

held in

VANCOUVER, B.C.

April 8–9, 1999

by

IMPACS

the Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society

VANCOUVER, B.C.

OTTAWA, ONTARIO

1999

Summary Notes

This document was compiled from detailed notes taken during the roundtable consultation on Media and Peacebuilding held in Vancouver on the 9th of April 1999.

The notes reflect contributions to the discussion made by all the participants in the meeting (see list of participants).

Because peace interventions differ in character from situation to situation, and because of the diverse experience of the group, the discussion was wide ranging. I have attempted to group the many points which were made at various stages of the discussion throughout the day under broad headings.

It was generally accepted that the role that the media can play depends on the type of peacebuilding intervention envisaged.

Much of the discussion took place in the context of participants' experiences of actual peacebuilding interventions in countries where a transition from war-torn society to fledgling democracy was imminent or already underway. In these 'Transition to Democracy' cases, the discussion focussed on the journalism component of the media.

Other participants' contributions stemmed from their experience of using the media self-consciously as a messenger and promoter of peace (some referred to this approach as 'propaganda for peace'). This approach involves 'beaming in' direct messages from the outside, as well as using local or externally developed media in innovative ways to address the sources of conflict (cultural attitudes, belief systems). In what I shall term 'Messenger for Peace' interventions, a wide range of media is used, and cultural and dramatic components of the media (e.g. soap opera) received more attention.

1. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN A PEACEBUILDING INTERVENTION

1.1 MEDIA'S ROLE IN SUPPORTING A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

We have to ask the question: exactly what role do we want media to play in this intervention?

There exists a tension between our view of good media as *being* objective and our knowledge that good media *has* an objective.

So, it is crucial to strike an appropriate balance between:

- on the one hand, encouraging a local diversity of authentic views and positions to be expressed (so as not to compromise the independence, integrity and credibility of the media as an institution exemplary of democracy), and
- on the other hand, ensuring that the media reflects qualities compatible with peacebuilding (non-sensationalist, non-violent, ethnically tolerant, objective, responsible reporting).

Bearing this in mind, in a given situation we should consider a combination of the following roles for the media as an aspect of a peacebuilding intervention:

The media should:

specifically:

- provide information – hopefully accurate;
- provide an alternative view;
- provide a voice for the voiceless;
- entertain;
- advocate peace;

- translate highly political or technical information into popular language;
- act as a watchdog by monitoring implementation of agreements and holding public officials accountable;
- through responsible reporting, contribute to the building of a culture of peace as opposed to sensationalising violence;
- serve as a communication mechanism when warring parties can't talk to each other (debate: another view holds that this is not possible because all players – including the media/journalists – are tainted in a conflict situation).

in general:

- do everything to provide an opportunity for individuals to make informed choices;
- facilitate democratic development and good governance;
- serve as a model of the democratic process.

When deciding on the ultimate role for the media to play, what should the overall focus be?

In some instances the MESSAGE will be the most important. That is, it will be *most important* to ensure that the media puts out messages compatible with peacebuilding. During a conflict, for example, peacebuilders should ensure that the media relays messages which support tolerance rather than those which incite violence – messages which give proper and balanced attention to peace. In post-conflict situations, and where a relatively free media is in place, it is important to train journalists to move beyond traditional and sensationalist “war mongering” coverage to more sophisticated peace reporting: for example, stories which contextualize conflict or examine reconciliation processes.

In other instances, the INFRASTRUCTURE will be most important. That is, it will be *most important* to support the diversity of local media (by the provision of funding for equipment, journalist training and so on), and to allow the media to reflect the current social reality however undesirable that reality may be. This is because the establishment of the institution of a free, diverse and therefore credible media is the most valuable contribution that can be made to peace, by instilling and exemplifying democratic values.

1.2 MEDIA'S ROLE AS 'MESSENGER FOR PEACE'

Used skillfully, the media can be a powerful tool in the hands of a western democratic nation seeking to support, or agitate for, the building of a democratic society. Direct messages about peace, democracy, ethnic tolerance and methods of alternative conflict resolution can be (and are) broadcast into a society from the outside (the public in many countries tune into the BBC World Service, CNN etc).

Some participants pointed out that the media comprises much more than conventional journalism. It embraces other cultural forms such as drama. It was suggested that, in any event, in many parts of the world people are becoming mistrustful of journalistic ‘information’, since much of the information they receive is perceived by them to be propaganda.

It is thus often much more effective to reach audiences through the entertainment aspect of the media. Popular cultural forms such as village theatre, TV soap opera, radio drama, or the innovative use of the internet/ e-mail can be used to get peace-compatible messages across. Carefully designed dramatic interventions can be used to address cultural attitudes and perceptions.

2. DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION OF MEDIA INTERVENTIONS IN SUPPORT OF PEACE

2.1 HOW TO DESIGN AND IMPLEMENT A DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION APPROACH

The development of an infrastructure for media per se does not necessarily mean that it will be used for peacebuilding purposes. So, the intervention must be carefully and properly planned.

What are the conditions needed before you can intervene?

Participants offered the following points for consideration when deciding whether and when to plan a media intervention.

- *Evaluate existing conditions of media* to know whether intervention is necessary. Ask:
 - how dissatisfied with the media is the public?
 - what is the state of media education and training?

- what already exists and how far have local media people come?
 - is the press working for itself or for the community?
 - how do the institutions of church/school/family feel about peace?
 - *Ask: what are the entry points?* Consider which of the following to emphasize:
 - work on setting up local media infrastructure;
 - provide policy support to existing local media;
 - set up facilities to provide training to journalists;
 - beam in externally developed programming and messages.
 - It may be most effective and appropriate to intervene where *you already have*:
 - pluralism;
 - compatible ideas of what the media should be;
 - some measure of independence and objectivity of media;
 - local partners willing to subscribe to broad flexible principles, for example, non-violence.
 - It is also important to know *when not to intervene*; one must be prepared to pull out should conditions so dictate, as when:
 - you are in danger of being associated with or used to support a corrupt regime;
 - the local media opposes intervention;
 - the parameters for intervention are strictly controlled by the government;
 - the government does not express an intent to allow free media;
 - there is no evidence of downstream benefits to local media;
 - the lives of project workers are threatened.
4. *Plan logistics thoroughly.* You must consider such issues as accommodation, local and international staffing, and shipping of equipment. Planning must be appropriate to conditions on the ground, bearing in mind that a war or conflict situation influences what can be achieved at any given moment.
 5. *Build on what is local.* Develop an understanding of and respect for how far the local media infrastructure has developed. Avoid paternalism.
 6. *Be culturally sensitive* and aware. The western model of journalism is not appropriate in some cultures – for example, it may be too robust. Some measure of censorship may be useful or even necessary in certain situations – for example, where ethnic intolerance is being reflected in the media.
 7. *Work towards Government cooperation.* This cooperation will be critical in securing licenses and access to some resources. Recognize, however, that conflict situations make obtaining requisite authorization difficult.
 8. *Ensure good communication* between field and headquarters, international and local staff.
 9. *Design contingency plans*, which should be numerous and practical. Conflict situations require one to be prepared to change and to be flexible.
 10. *Establish an effective assessment mechanism.* Perform assessment on an ongoing basis and at the end of the project.
 11. *Include ‘End of Operations’ planning:* when to end, how to wind down, and to whom to hand over the project and equipment.

2.2 HOW TO DESIGN AND IMPLEMENT A MESSENGER FOR PEACE APPROACH

The following points were contributed by participants with respect to the Messenger for Peace approach:

What are the most important aspects to consider when designing a media in peacebuilding project/intervention?

1. *Have clear goals.* Know what you want to achieve, allowing you to be proactive not reactive. This needs good solid research.
 2. *Avoid duplication.* Ask: is someone else doing it already?
 3. *Have solid financial resources* to meet the project objectives. Long-term projects are likely to be more successful as peacebuilding initiatives than short-term projects.
- Such an intervention must be based on a thorough study and intimate understanding of cultural perceptions, and a clear idea as to what needs to be changed.
 - This is accomplished by a multi-disciplinary Media Assessment Team consisting of (at least) a media expert (a producer), a local situation knowledge expert and an assessment expert (debate: one may need a peacebuilding expert as well).
 - The team should design an approach which uses the most effective form of media which can be

radio drama, TV soap opera, students in basements writing pamphlets, innovative use of new technology like email and internet, village theatre groups – that is, a broadly “popular culture” approach. (For example, the characters Sylvester Stallone and Lucky Dube are popular characters for some of the opposition forces in Sierra Leone. Search for Common Ground considered using them to assist in delivering messages of peace and reconciliation to the combatants.)

- The program should be credible and entertaining, and have as its goal the long-term shaping of cultural perceptions.
- The project must therefore have the financial resources to run over the long term; we are talking about an evolution rather than a revolution.
- It would be useful to have media policy persons in government who can understand this approach.
- Such a project requires ongoing assessment and evaluation to establish its effectiveness. Several assessment/evaluation techniques have already been developed. For example, Johns Hopkins University has developed a system – known as “KAP” – entailing the evaluation of whether Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices have changed as the result of an intervention.

3. PROPER USE OF SCARCE RESOURCES

- The amount of resources which need to be committed depends on the existing infrastructure within the country. In some instances an NGO may act as a catalyst for levering other funds from within the country to an existing organization. This approach would require very little funding;
- It is cost effective, in the long term, to spend money on:
 - adequate, thorough assessment (for good project design, and
 - excellent evaluation mechanisms (for modification of projects for maximum effect);
- Where appropriate, finances need to be committed for the long haul, so that projects can realise their potential. When short term funding results in unfinished projects, cost-effectiveness is not achieved.

4. GENDER

Media can be used in a variety of ways to support gender initiatives. Media in the hands of women often produces a different type of intervention. Studies suggest that women bring a different perspective to bear on peacebuilding. In Cambodia, the women’s media centre has its own radio station, which provides information enabling women to make decisions.

Media programming needs to be well-rounded and designed so as to include and address marginalised groups, ethnic and language minorities and others who may be overlooked.

It may also be our role to use our position to intervene to affect gender issues: for example, in South Africa peacebuilders had to fight to get access to the technical infrastructure in their quest to address language minorities, something which some of the local players did not consider important. Also in South Africa, a Canadian team went beyond its mandate and threatened not to work with local media projects again unless the gender situation was resolved (women were under-represented and were being given lowly roles).

There is a CIDA report on ‘what works’ in Asian initiatives, which we should obtain and distribute.

5. SUGGESTIONS FOR THE NEXT DRAFT OF ROBIN HAY’S PAPER

1. Review the pre/during/post-conflict model and consider a media-driven rather than a conflict-driven model;
2. Distinguish more clearly between pre- and post-conflict;
3. Remove reference to radio Agitasha (off-air since 1996);
4. Fill gaps in paper on history of media in peacebuilding which would include other major initiatives such as:
 - Radio in Cambodia
 - Afghanistan Soap Opera
 - SA Soap Opera
 - SA Peace Song
 - Radio Ijambo
 - Star Radio Liberia (Foundation Hirondelle);
5. Report on instances of the media having been used successfully in support of other campaigns; for example, Johns Hopkins School’s KAP method in

evaluating the media's impact (in changing knowledge, attitudes and practices) in the health and education arenas;

6. Review and report on existing methodologies for assessment and evaluation of peacebuilding interventions: how do you evaluate communications campaigns? (see KAP and British DFID);
7. Reflect the fact that the development of a media infrastructure does not necessarily lead to peacebuilding. One needs to go beyond the standard indicators, and consider the level of popular dissatisfaction with the media. One should ask whether the press is working for the community or only for itself;
8. Provide criteria for evaluating whether media is free;
9. Break down types of intervention into categories – for example: beaming message in, setting up local media, providing policy advice or training, media monitoring;
10. Provide guidelines on how to analyze a press culture – questions to ask, what to look for in a host country when designing and evaluating what your intervention will be;
11. The paper should not emphasize journalism and information but should deal also with culture and drama. It needs a sense of innovation – prevention roles suggested for the media are not practically possible;
12. The paper needs to answer these questions:
 - how can Canada deliver media peacebuilding to the rest of the world?
 - how can the Canadian government harness resources; how should it spend money, evaluate programs and ensure constant improvement?
 - what constitutes free media?
 - what kinds of things should aid workers do?
 - what should we spend money on?
 - who should we work with?
 - should we train journalists only, or what can we do to make press more sustainable?
 - does Canada add anything to the process compared to what other players are doing?
13. It was suggested that early-warning and conflict-prevention roles suggested for the media are not practically possible. (Debate: other participants took issue with this, arguing that the media de facto plays this role whether intentionally or not.)

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE MEETING

Points raised during the assessment included the following:

Strengths

- It was an interesting and skilled group of strategic decision-makers who were brought together at the roundtable, which made for a good start to a much needed discussion;
- It was useful to have a paper around which to focus the discussion;

Concerns

- Southern participants were lacking;
- Clearer goals would have helped participants to fine tune their contributions;

Hopes for the Future

- We must ensure that something comes out of the meeting so that it does not in the end turn out to have been just talk;
- We have only as yet skimmed the surface: a product-oriented workshop would be useful.

7. ACTION

- Robin Hay will work on another draft of the paper;
- IMPACS will provide notes of the meeting, as well as a contact list;
- IMPACS will make available information stemming from the e-mails sent to IMPACS, in response to a request for information pertaining to media and peacebuilding;
- Each participant will forward to IMPACS their two favourite bibliographical references and their two favourite case studies, which Impacs will collate and distribute;
- It will be useful at some point to pull together Canadian knowledge and experience of media and peacebuilding initiatives in one publication for reference purposes.

— *Suzanna Harvey: April 17, 1999*

APPENDIX 1

The Experience from the Philippines

Melinda Quintos de Jesus described a media intervention in support of peace which has recently been undertaken in the Philippines.

This intervention has occurred in the context of long seasons of multiple insurgencies by Muslim militants, the Communist Party, right-wing military rebels and groups of indigenous people. Some of these groups have peace agreements in place with the government. There is a civic commitment to peace, a strong civil society, an active NGO sector and a free, vigorous Press.

However, the Press was not supporting the peace process. Reporting was more concerned with peace breakdowns than with promoting and reporting on peace agreements. An organization was formed called the Alliance for Peace Communications, which established the first Zone of Peace in the Mountain Province. This was a dramatic event. Journalists gathered to reflect on why the media was not covering peace-related events and issues.

Five seminars were held around the country, concentrating on covering the history of the struggle, especially for younger journalists. The concerns raised by these journalists included the lack of spokespeople, the lack of good information during negotiations and the lack of source-books and background briefings.

A report was prepared and presented to government, identifying gaps in the information provided and raising the concerns of media vis-a-vis negative reporting. A method of content analysis was developed, and used to evaluate the media's role in peacebuilding. Using this method, gaps and weaknesses in peace reporting were identified. It was felt that there was an overabundance of coverage. It was felt that it was an overabundance of 'war-mongering' coverage. It was also felt that it was necessary to communicate with editors to express the need for more contextualization of conflict/peace stories.

Follow-up has not yet been possible for financial reasons, but a publication is in process.

From this experience it was concluded that one can achieve results with a phased, multifaceted, modular, flexible approach. It is hoped that by educating journalists in peace subjects, more stories of reconciliation will emerge.

Overall, it is important to develop a new cultural sensitivity amongst journalists, who should be encouraged to recognize that part of their role in society is to soothe communities with a history of war, and to contribute to the building of a culture of peace.

APPENDIX 2

Indonesian Hypothetical Discussion

As part of the afternoon discussions, participants were asked to respond to a hypothetical call from the Canadian government requesting support for a media and peacebuilding project in Indonesia. Participants outlined how they would approach such a scenario. The following strategies were raised:

Bring together a local multi-sectoral policy dialogue which includes non-press media, NGOs and other citizens' knowledgeable about media issues to:

- develop a set of common themes and issues relevant to the conditions of media and peacebuilding within the country;
- build action items;
- help the local media talk to each other and to other members of their community.

Questions: Who convenes the meeting?

- non-partisan, non-media people;
- Clarify what is the goal – What is the problem with the media now in Indonesia?
- Identify the target audience;
- First step should involve sending in a good assessment team who canvas citizens' views on the media; this group would also examine pre- and post-election processes;
- Consider the history of media development in the country – are there journalists trained in investigative reporting election coverage?
 - the answer to this question will help guide the nature of the intervention, e.g. many of the journalists in Indonesia are very young, have never covered an election and do not have experience in investigative reporting, therefore training and support prior, to, during and after the election will be critical;
 - these young journalists will also need to be motivated (moralized?);
 - commitment to not just teaching but empowering (e.g. transferring skills to journalists who never understood their right to tell a story);

- Talk to other donors (they may be addressing the same problem – coordinate);
- Media is multifaceted – choose where to focus – e.g. look at where the majority of people get their information: the print news is not that relevant to most people living in Indonesia as the primary media is radio and although the network exists the content is poor; print media however drives the policy and radio often follows from print media;
- Clarify the Canadian government's intent (Is the outcome to promote free and fair access to the media during the elections? Are we prepared to support the electoral process and live with the results?);
- Examine what kind of model of media we want to advance (e.g. a western model of media that is aggressively open in nature and completely anti-censorship may not be appropriate to areas where ethnic conflict is rampant. In some cases an unfettered flow of information will undermine the peace process);
- Agree to having guiding principles for the interventions, no absolutes;
- Identify credible partners; once this has been established, meet face-to-face with them and systematically ask:
 - do you need support?
 - what kind of support?
 - what are your expectations?
 - what is your time frame?
 - what priority do you place on this project/support?
 - who are the other relevant players?
 - under what conditions will you cooperate with them (with us)?
 - in your opinion, does Canada have credibility to undertake this project?
 - what is the value-added that Canada brings?
 - what risk does such a project pose for journalists in the country?
 - how can we manage this risk?

IMPACS MEDIA AND PEACEBUILDING ROUNDTABLE

APRIL 9, 1999, VANCOUVER B.C.

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Arnold Amber is the Executive Producer of TV News Specials for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. He is an award-winning journalist with experience in print, radio and television, a recognized international specialist in media coverage of elections and a negotiator for the union representing CBC reporters and announcers. He has trained in numerous countries such as the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Kitts, Ukraine and Malawi. In 1994, he led an International Advisory Group from five countries that developed the plan for and coordinated all election coverage for the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation. He has an MA in Politics from Queen's University and is a member of Canadian Journalists for Free Expression.

A graduate of McGill University (BA), Yale University (MA) and the London School of Economics (PhD), **Howard Aster** has held academic positions in the Departments of Political Science at McGill University, Carleton University and McMaster University. For a period of five years (1984-89), Dr. Aster served as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Since 1992, he has designed and delivered a number of democratization projects dealing with political parties in Ukraine. He has also written, edited or co-edited 9 books and monographs including a series entitled *Challenges for International Broadcasting*.

Jeffrey Heyman recently consulted to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on its media development work and was Acting General Manager of the OSCE's Free inter-Ethnic Radio Network (FERN) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mr. Heyman has also worked on behalf of Common Ground Productions, producing a four part conflict resolution TV series shown nationally in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Previously, Mr. Heyman was a United Nations official, heading the United Nations radio effort in former Yugoslavia during 1994 and 1995. He also assisted in policy making for UN peacekeeping missions to Angola and Rwanda and set up UN broadcast operations in those countries. In 1993, Mr. Heyman was Program Director of the United Nations radio station in Cambodia, Radio UNTAC.

A graduate of Johns-Hopkins (BA, 1977) and Oxford University (PhD, 1982), **Sheldon Himelfarb** is an award winning documentary filmmaker and journalist based in Washington D.C. In 1996, Himelfarb became Vice President and Executive Producer for Common Ground Productions, the television and radio unit of Search for Common ground – an international conflict-resolution organization with offices around the world. Prior to 1996, he was Yorkshire Television's Executive Producer and Head of Documentary Development for North America.

Brian Job is the Director of the Institute for International Affairs and is a Professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia. Brian has served on the Foreign Affairs Advisory Committee to the Hon. Lloyd Axworthy. His teaching and research interests focus upon international security, especially as concerns the countries of Asia-Pacific and upon Canadian and foreign defence policies.

John Lobsinger is Senior Policy Advisor, Democracy and Governance, in CIDA's Policy Branch. His work involves the analysis of the links between governance, sustainable development and poverty alleviation and helping CIDA colleagues connect with the knowledge best able to help them do governance work in their programme and, ultimately, to feed their experience and lessons back into the Agency's and the development community's knowledge bases and policy formulation processes.

Dawn McLean is an Associate of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development focused on writing and editing policy reports and organizing processes for public participation in Foreign Policy discussions. As an independent consultant, Dawn primarily works on strategic planning, writing and research, organizational development and evaluation.

Melinda Quintos de Jesus's career in journalism has established a record of work since the seventies as editor and columnist in leading newspapers in the Philippines. She tested the limits of government control during Marcos' years and later established the Center for Media Freedom

& Responsibility to address the problems of press freedom. She was a fellow at the Shorenstein Center for Press, Politics and Public Policy and was Journalist in Residence at the University of Michigan. CMFR publishes the Philippine Journalism Review and organizes media programs on Judiciary, Women and Population, Economic Information, Peace Process, among others.

Ross Reid is a consultant in international democratic development. Over the last five years he has lived in Ukraine and Ghana and has advised parliaments, political parties, activists in the civil society and the media in Eastern and Central Europe, Central Asia, the Middle East and Africa. He is a former political organizer, ministerial advisor, member of the Canadian parliament and minister in the Canadian government. He is a founding member of the board of directors at IMPACS.

Ron Richardson is Director of Publications and Media Programs with the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Born in Australia, he worked for several daily papers there, in England and in Canada. He was on the staff of the Far Eastern Economic Review in 1976-80, in Hong Kong and Seoul, South Korea, and again in 1984-91 as Business Editor, then Managing Editor. He has been with the Asia Pacific Foundation as an editor, writer and analyst since 1992.

Wayne Sharpe is a journalist and writer and has for the past four years been the Executive Director of Canadian Journalists for Free Expression and the International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX), organizations devoted to the protection of journalists and the promotion of freedom of expression. Previously, Mr. Sharpe worked with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the British Broadcasting Corporation as a radio journalist. Mr. Sharpe specializes in the role of information technology in a developing world context. Recent writing on this subject includes a chapter in a UNESCO book titled *Freedom of Expression and New Technologies*.

Michael Small has been a career member of the Canadian Foreign Service since 1981. He is currently the Director of the Peacebuilding and Human Development Division in Foreign Affairs headquarters in Ottawa. Michael Small began his diplomatic career as Third Secretary in the Canadian High Commission in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. He has had subsequent postings to Canadian Embassies in Brasilia, San Jose, Costa Rica and most recently Mexico City, where he served as Minister-Counsellor, responsible for political and public affairs. He also served as the Co-ordinator for the Canadian delegation to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992.

Shauna Sylvester is a co-founder and the Executive Director of IMPACS – The Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society. Since 1982, Ms. Sylvester has worked with a wide range of non-profit organizations in Canada, Bolivia, Ecuador, Indonesia and Mexico and has worked in film and film distribution in the Philippines and Cuba. She is the director of IMPACS' free media program which includes projects focused on free media and trade and media and peacebuilding. Ms. Sylvester has also served on the editorial board of *Sustainable Times*, a national street news magazine and has written and edited numerous articles and publications on human rights, peacebuilding, AIDS and international development.

Facilitator:

Keith Jardine is a professional facilitator, mediator and strategic planner whose work in this field spans over 17 years. His work has included a wide range of single organization and multi-party processes with commercial, non-profit and government clients. Highlights include his role conducting negotiations for the allocation of BC's entire commercial salmon catch, development of government and NGO strategy for forestry issues at provincial and international levels, facilitation of the creation of joint BC-wide labour/management research strategies and facilitation of the establishment of the joint Federal/Provincial "Marine Protected Areas Strategy." Keith's background is in policy and decision processes with co-operative financial institutions such as the Credit Union Central of BC.

Documentation:

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