

East-West Forum for Quality Journalism

Admired and Attacked:
The Position and Progress of
Investigative Journalism

Robert Bosch **Stiftung**

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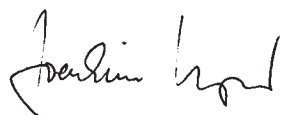
“Admired and Attacked: The Position and Progress of Investigative Journalism”. Under this heading, the third East-West-Forum on Quality Journalism focused on one of the most crucial aspects in the debate on quality journalism, often defined as supreme discipline or watchdog journalism. Media experts from Germany and Eastern Europe conveyed at the invitation of the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the European Institute for Quality Journalism in April 2013 to commonly reflect upon the current state of investigative journalism.

The forum brought together experts from various fields, such as journalism, media management, politics and academic research. Representing diverse perspectives on the complex subject, the forum’s participants enabled a multi-faceted approach to the debate and a controversial discussion. Whereas some stressed the utter significance of investigative journalism for the democratic quality of a country from a theoretical point of view, others provided valuable insights in their everyday professional life in journalism.

The results of the two-day forum are collected in this publication. It combines academic in-depth analyses, expert reflections on the state of press freedom and investigative journalism in the European Union, as well as personal views on the environment for investigative journalism in selected EU member states, particularly Eastern European countries.

The question how to ensure conditions for investigative journalism in times of rapid technological changes on the one, and financial crisis in the media sector across Europe on the other hand remains manifold and is not an easy one to answer. It is not the aim of the publication to provide a comprehensive analysis to this complex matter. The forum rather seeks to initiate and foster an ongoing dialogue among media experts across Europe in order to exchange best practices and identify common challenges quality journalism is facing in the 21st century.

We would like to thank sincerely all authors for their contributions to this conference report and hope to have fostered a constructive debate.



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About the “Star Chefs” of Journalism



Prof. Wolfgang Kenntemich

EIQ European Institute for Quality Journalism, Germany

Investigative journalists are without a doubt a very special species within their profession. We rarely meet them in public, they are no celebrated star presenters on television, and therefore they are able to pass almost every red carpet unrecognized. Their work is highly professional, but mostly done in secret. Their products are often the result of weeks or even months of intensive research. As a result, we almost always see, hear or read excellent journalistic work of high quality as regards content, and often also form, frequently with a tectonic impact on the public.

But not all of us enjoy what is served by journalistic “star chefs”. Especially the people affected by politics, business and society feel – to continue the metaphor – as if someone were spitting in their soup. And this is where investigative researchers differ considerably from the top executives at the cooking pot: their quality products are usually anything but tasty and pleasing. They are regarded as troublemakers and traitors. Only political opponents and competitors of the parties concerned in politics and business, or latently malicious contemporaries, can see a positive side of their activities. The important social and political role of the media and their democracy-building function are increasingly being misjudged, not only in certain countries of Eastern Europe that have aroused suspicion in this respect.

When we decided to make investigative journalism the main topic of the East-West Forum on Quality Journalism in 2013, exactly this was the impetus: From many colleagues in Eastern and Central Europe we heard over and over again about the pressures and harassments that are used to obstruct their work. Many of them had – and still have – one foot in prison with each investigative story they publish. Some have already been behind bars for their courageous work. And this is not a horror scenario taking place in rogue states, but journalistic everyday life in a number of European

countries, even though they have committed themselves to press freedom and freedom of expression enshrined in their constitutions.

In her introductory lecture, the former Federal Minister of Justice Herta Däubler-Gmelin impressively referred to the democracy-building function of quality journalism, and investigative journalism with its special responsibility, in all of Europe. She was one of four members of a High Level Group of the European Commission that had to examine the development of free and pluralistic media, also from the perspective of the digital changes, and to submit proposals. The starting point was the alarming realization that in the reality of many EU countries, in spite of relevant legal obligations, significant deficits can be seen with regard to freedom and pluralism of the media. The list ranges from governmental exertion of influence such as in Hungary and influential monopolistic ownership structures to abusiveness by the media themselves, such as in the UK. The Commission's report with its 30 concrete recommendations for action has been available since January 2013. It will be interesting to see which of these proposals, that are not binding for the Member States, will be incorporated in the political agenda in the coming years.

Against all odds, investigative journalism as a special form of quality journalism is gaining in importance. Three main developments can be observed:

- :: Many quality media, especially in Western Europe, begin to establish or consolidate editorial structures for investigative work. In Germany, these include Die Zeit and the Süddeutsche Zeitung, but also public-law broadcasters such as the Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR), Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR) and Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (MDR). Georg Schmolz gave the forum an interesting insight into the work of the research editors of the MDR (pp. 23 - 26, this volume). This development is mainly based on the realization that, given the flows of information and news gradually becoming larger and faster, it is the in-depth research, the background information, that enables the viewer, listener, reader or online user to make the necessary assessment and judgment. And that, for this purpose, structures must be created to allow time and financial resources for the longer-term journalistic work on a task or topic.
- :: Investigative journalists are increasingly operating beyond their dependence on media structures and permanent employment. The digital media accelerate this development. Many bloggers dabble in investigative journalism - unfortunately, not always with serious or relevant results. In many countries in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, lone-fighter journalism is often the only opportunity for independent research and reporting. In particular, young professionals find an opportunity to distinguish themselves in this field - both nationally and internationally. The traditional media structures, especially in Eastern Europe,

increasingly obstruct or prevent investigative journalism. A lot of media are now too strongly controlled and biased by political and economic stakeholders. Internationally established networks such as the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) represent an opportunity. They provide revenues that contribute to life and survival. There are also crowd-funding schemes generating funds for designated research projects individually or through networks. Some examples were presented and discussed at this year’s forum.

:: A relatively new field of activity – even in the sector of investigative journalism – is the so-called data mining. Large, often huge volumes of data are scanned, analyzed, interpreted and compacted for publication. The latest spectacular product was “Offshoreleaks”, the revelation about global tax evasion with billions in cash flows to so-called tax havens. Again, participants in the Forum were involved. This development is characterized by the links between renowned traditional media and freelancers as well as the regionalization of research within international network structures.

We will also have to look towards Western Europe more intensively than hitherto. Also in Germany, France, Italy, and even in England professional journalism is threatened in many ways. Diversity and independence of the media and thus the journalists are not only disregarded in Hungary. And in Europe’s “backyards”, the Middle East or North Africa, functioning free and independent media will have to be developed in parallel with the dramatic social changes, as concurrently as possible.

However, independent professional journalism, especially if it is dedicated to investigative topics, requires special courage and responsibility. In this context, a passionate plea by Stefan Andreas Casdorff, editor in chief of the of the German *Der Tagesspiegel*, was particularly impressive: Despite many negative developments and challenges it is worth fighting for quality journalism. According to Casdorff, there is no reason to throw in the towel. Professional journalists are right in the center of the storm of a profound revolution in the media. Casdorff urged the forum to bear in mind that “journalism is a cultural asset, a landmark of democracy”. In 1832, journalists called for freedom of expression at the Hambacher Fest in Germany. Journalism is now a constitutive part of democracy. But journalism is also an obligation to inform, make aware and cause concern. It is a privilege to work as a journalist. However, this also includes humility, which is the opposite of a lack of courage.

Casdorff also made clear that in the digital world, the media are not in opposition to one another as hostile brothers. Print, online and electronic media are rather sisters with a common objective. However, contemporary professional journalism must also, according to Casdorff, step down from its pedestal and redefine itself: On the Internet in dialogue with the users, in print as a guide for reflecting on the flood of

information, which otherwise remains disordered. Even economic pressure does not necessarily have negative consequences for journalistic integrity. On the contrary, it should give rise to journalistic quality that uses the mechanisms of the market. “We will just have to keep getting better,” said Casdorff.

Now we are back with the star cuisine. For all their merits: Bocuse or Ducasse are quite a back number. Though the basic rules of an excellent kitchen apply today as they did yesterday. And yet the star chefs are no longer gods at the cooking pot. Many of them have their own shows on television. They face a critical mass audience. They are part of a modern communication process, and they share their (culinary) profession with anyone. Professional journalism is not faring much differently.

The Importance of Quality Journalism for European Democracies



Prof. Dr. Herta Däubler-Gmelin

Former German Minister of Justice

Let me give you some introductory remarks on the results of our EU's High Level Expert Group's report on the role, prerequisites, problems and merits of quality journalism in Europe.

Our High Level Expert Group was chaired by the well known former Latvian President Prof. Vaira Vike-Freiberga; members were the former EU High Court Prosecutor General Prof. Luis Miguel Maduro from Portugal, the UK Internet guru Ben Hammersley and myself as lawyer and former German Minister of Justice.

EU Commissioner Nelie Kruis had introduced this group and asked us to compile this report for the EU Commission in the very short time of two years. We achieved to publish it in January 2013 and its title "A free and pluralistic media to sustain European democracy" shows very clearly the intention and the purpose of our group: We wanted to underline the essential relations of free and pluralistic media and democracy in all the member states of the EU and in the EU itself.

Of course, the reasons for starting this working group were political, especially those very newsworthy and damaging incidents happening among others in the UK, in Hungary and elsewhere. As you well know they differed one from another, but all of them were most dangerous to freedom of quality journalism and its reputation, to freedom or plurality of media: In the UK there were those most disputed, ugly yellow press violations of celebrities' privacy, in Hungary Government activities continued and continue to threaten independent media, in other countries more and more media were or are bought by one or few media companies affecting media pluralism and journalists' working conditions; in Germany famous and in the past prosperous daily papers as the Frankfurter Rundschau or Financial Times Deutschland have

been closed, as readers dwindled away – most of them to unpaid Internet media. In some Baltic States there is fear the growing influence of foreign media companies could push aside native speaking media, and media people in all European member states told us about the often problematic changes of working conditions for quality journalism caused by the increasing influence of unpaid Internet, social media and blogs.

So there really were and are lots of reasons to discuss the future of quality journalism and its effects on the highly estimated value of democracy and information. We were asked to analyze and define the dangers for and conditions of functioning free and pluralistic media in our times, considering that the European community not only means economics and institutions, but as well values and human rights highly appreciated by European citizens wanting to enjoy the attractive new media while preserving free and pluralistic quality journalism.

Of course, our small group of experts would not have been able of achieving this by starting to reinvent the wheel. Luckily this was not necessary: We could use the various and numerous analyses, studies, proposals and demands from different interest groups, unions, journalists' associations, media companies, academic and political working groups. If you are interested in those valuable contributions please look into the annex of our report – you will find all the links you need.

Reading our report you will realize that we did not intend and did not start to analyze the individual scandals and problems in the respective member states to tell them to correct them. That was not our task, nor our purpose, but has to be achieved thoroughly by competent other institutions.

It was our task and purpose to analyze and emphasize the relations of quality journalism and democracy as well as the basic values and legal principles of the EU. That we did and, of course, we stated, that all member states have embraced democracy and human rights, as stated in various EU documents as the European Human Rights Charter, but also in the European Convention of Human Rights and in our respective national Human Rights Charters.

Additionally, we all know that there is no way to respect, protect and ensure democracy and human rights without quality journalism and free and pluralistic media. That is why we analyzed most important questions, as:

:: What are the essential prerequisites of free and pluralistic media?

:: What are those of quality journalism in our times and in the changes caused by the digital developments?

- :: Which are the dangers to all of that and how will the increasing influence of Internet and social media change the conditions for quality journalism and free and pluralistic media?
- :: And, of course, we discussed what has to be done by whom to eliminate or at least push back those dangers and to strengthen journalism and media and to encourage journalists and media companies to believe in quality journalism and to deliver it as a public service to our citizens.

You will find our considerations and proposals in the report – we have put them into 30 recommendations, all of them directed to parliaments and governments of the EU member states and to the EU and its institutions within their respective competences to setting standards, implementing and monitoring in the fields of media law, competition law, education of journalists and financial public support.

In my opinion the most important recommendations are:

- :: Individual EU member states as well as the EU institutions have to act to protect media freedom and pluralism at state level in order to guarantee the substance of the rights granted by the treaties to EU citizens, harmonizing standards of media law and working conditions as well as media education in schools, competition law and other important aspects as founded in the legal protection of data and privacy. The neutrality of channels delivering media to end users and the support of quality journalism have to be ensured by member states and EU law.
- :: Media companies and journalists' associations should create and publish clearly identifiable codes of conduct and editorial lines, and apply the principles of editorial independence in a changing media world.
- :: Independent media councils in EU member states and on the EU level should ensure monitoring and improving conditions for free and pluralistic media.

Of course, there are more.

The report and its recommendations were highly praised when presented to the European Parliament; I am not so sure that the EU Council and its national government representatives will do the same, as they mostly are very anxious to keep their individual competences by themselves. But they will have to realize that free and pluralistic media require not only their activities, but additionally those of the EU. Hopefully there will be a lively public discussion among citizens and media people all over the EU, which could cause the helpful movement needed to preserve quality journalism in freedom and plurality of media.

Heroes to Some, Traitors to the Others



Günter Bartsch

Netzwerk Recherche, Germany

The Henri Nannen Prize for the best investigative accomplishment – there is hardly a journalist who would not be happy about this award. Nevertheless, Hans Leyendecker, Klaus Ott and Nicolas Richter of the Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ) declined the prize in 2012. They were supposed to be honored for their research in the Formula 1 affair. But that came to nothing: On the open stage, they declared that they would not accept the prize. They did not want to share it – as provided for by the jury – with two men of the Bild-Zeitung. It was the first time the tabloid was awarded the Nannen Prize – Hans Leyendecker spoke of a “cultural upheaval”.

Even those who are of an opinion about the Bild-Zeitung differing from that of the SZ-colleagues might have their doubts about the prize-worthiness in this particular case. The journalists of the Bild had been granted the prize for their reports on German President Christian Wulff. The jury’s statement was as follows:

“The social significance of Nicholas Harbusch’s and Martin Heidemann’s revelation in the Bild-Zeitung was huge (...). After about one year of research, they were – which is a respectable investigative achievement, too – the first to publish that the highest representative of our state in his previous role as Lower Saxony’s Prime Minister had obtained a dubious private credit and not told the full truth to the Parliament. The Bild reporters persistently stayed close to the issue. The further course of events is known, the two Bild reporters’ disclosure led to last year’s biggest scandal and to the President’s resignation. A case of maximum height of fall.”

Why the SZ-story about the Formula 1 affair and the Wulff-revelation were supposed to be awarded together, the jury explained as follows:

“On the one side the superlative of an investigative achievement, on the other the superlative of a social impact – both sides were evenly balanced.”

This reasoning is questionable. What is investigative journalism about? Is it about being the first? Or is it about ousting a politician as high-ranking as possible? Of course, that may be the result of a research. But does this characterise an investigative research?

No. Investigative work does not mean producing the most scandalous headline possible or being quoted by other media as often as possible. These are just side-effects. Investigative work is, above all, to pursue a socially relevant topic stubbornly, to investigate in spite of opposition, to dig through records or other documents even over longer periods of time and to gain new insights.

In 2013, a report which includes all that was awarded as the best investigation. “Maximum height of fall”? Far from it. It is an example from the field of local journalism: In this case, the research begins with a mistake. An official announcement of the district court Rheinbach, which should actually have gone to the advertising department, lands on the desk of Wolfgang Kaes, chief reporter of the Bonner General-Anzeiger. Content of this public notice: Gertrud Ulmen, missing since 1996, is asked to contact the court – optionally also people who can give information about her whereabouts. If no one should appear, she would be declared dead.

That piques Wolfgang Kaes’ curiosity. He asks the police, but no one there remembers investigations. Kaes cannot help feeling that something is wrong here. He starts searching for clues, talking to family, friends, colleagues – and the husband, who puts him off.

In his research, Kaes encounters an unexplained case of death: only four months after Trudel Ulmen’s disappearance a cyclist finds a woman’s body in a forest. At that time, however, Ulmen’s husband lets the police know that it is not his missing wife. For the police this is sufficient.

16 years later Wolfgang Kaes’ research puts the investigators back on this track: A DNA matching proves that the woman’s body is the corpse of Trudel Ulmen – soon after the husband admits to having killed his wife.

“Heroes to some, traitors to the others” is the title of this contribution. Is Wolfgang Kaes a hero? For Trudel Ulmen’s siblings he is for sure. The large number of letters the General-Anzeiger received as a result of Kaes’ reports indicate that investigative journalism is highly appreciated.

That this is not always the case is palpable when looking at an interview by BBC Newsnight presenter Kirsty Wark with Guardian journalist Glenn Greenwald. It is about Greenwald's reporting on the cyber espionage actions of NSA and GCHQ Edward Snowden had leaked. No question: Journalists have to put up with critical questions, too. But what Wark does in this interview is the opposite of journalism. In her questions she blindly accepts the statements of government agencies. This is clearly recognisable, for example, in this dialogue:

Wark: People want to know how you can guarantee that the material is safe in your hands. Could the data be located, for example, on a memory stick in your pocket?
 Greenwald: (...) There is only one group of people who have lost control of huge amounts of documents. And these people are called GCHQ and NSA. The GCHQ took documents that are highly sensitive according to their own statements and transferred them to a system of the NSA tens of thousands of people have access to. We at The Guardian have secured the data with extremely advanced encryption methods. All data have been perfectly safe.

Wark: The reason why I am asking this: When your partner, David Miranda, was arrested, it was said that he carried a password on a piece of paper with him which is used to decrypt data. (...)

Greenwald: I may have to remind you that you need to be aware as a journalist that the statements of a government do not necessarily have to be true – especially if this government is accused in a lawsuit of having broken the law. The whole thing was a lie: the assertion that my partner was carrying a password with him that provides access to these documents was absolutely false.

With this in mind, a sentence ascribed to Thomas Paine might serve as a concise definition of investigative journalism: “It is the duty of every patriot to protect his country from its government.”

Investigative Journalism in the Slovak Media



Peter Majer

Foreign Correspondent in Brussels, Radio and Television of Slovakia

Slovakia is a small country. 5,5 million inhabitants. It is not even the size of London. How can investigative journalism function under these circumstances? Do the topics appear too local? How can one work when everybody knows everyone? These are the questions the journalism-industry has been asking its members since 1989, since the Velvet Revolution, but more from 1993, since the formation of the independent Slovak republic.

The wild 1990s

The aforementioned time was very exciting, probably the most dynamic, controversial, threatening and dangerous period in the modern history of Slovak media. An authoritarian prime minister named Vladimír Mečiar brought the country into the state, which former US state secretary Madeleine Albright referred to as a “black hole in Europe”. Mafia-like practices of the government with numerous scandals, privatisation of national companies by his companions – all of this was named by the Slovak press: “mečiarism”.

The most known case of that time was the kidnapping of the Slovak president’s son. He was put in the trunk of a car and brought to Austria. According to the Slovak media, the “mission” was organised by the Slovak Secret Service SIS. The information was probably leaked by the Secret Service itself. It could be considered as the first big investigative case in the new Slovak history.

In the mid-90’s, journalists were intimidated, their cars were set on fire and some were even beaten in the street. Just because they did their job.

In most cases, they criticised the connections of government representatives to the Mafia and the privatisation of strategic national companies by family members and friends of the government for a much lower price. Their work was mostly based on connections to the opposition parties, partly also on information leaked by people working in the Secret Service who could not stand the situation anymore. Public TV and Radio were under the influence of the state, publishing non-balanced pro-government reports. The investigative work was done by the private TV Markiza in their news and a special investigative news magazine. The private Radio TWIST also did a very good job with some of their news reporters. Also the newspapers, specially the tabloid (!) Nový Čas (New Time) and SME-newspaper. The cases were mostly about Mafia-like murders of famous people, some journalists, politicians or just people who knew too much. It is very likely that it was the most dangerous time in the history of Slovak journalism.

End of the 1990s: Safer and more boring

In the beginning of the 1990s the media also did a pretty good political job. Giving enough space to the opposition parties, revealing cases by well-done investigative journalism, they were able to change the public opinion and contributed to the win of pro-democratic parties in the elections. Until then, the support of HZDS, Vladimír Mečiar's party, had been overwhelming.

The new government was democratic and peaceful, and lead Slovakia successfully to the EU and NATO. However, also during this time there was some good work done by journalists. The cases were mostly about fraud and money-laundering. The biggest case was the construction of the highway-tunnel "Branisko", which was over-priced several times compared to the usual prices in the business and in the neighbouring countries.

Exploring the former Secret Service's database

Also, an entirely new part of investigative journalism started in these years. The national archive of the former Secret Service during the Communist era - Štb, a (Czecho-)Slovak version of the German Democratic Republic's Ministry for State Security known as "Stasi", - opened, so journalists searched for names of former agents or people involved in their missions. Many politicians, actors, high-level managers were not happy about their findings. Since then, every time some new personality has entered some high function, news reporters have checked on his or her file in the national register.

Beginning of the 21st century

Although the representatives of the first government of Mikuláš Dzurinda were not "saints", it was obvious that the cases were of an economical nature rather than life-

threatening Mafia-like cases. Also the cases of the first government of Robert Fico from 2006 were mostly about money. The biggest case was the so-called blackboard-tender.

The Ministry of European Funds had announced a tender to promote the operational programs of the EU, mostly of regional development for 100 million euro. Instead of putting it online on the webpage of the ministry or submitting it to any other public place, the call for the project was put on a blackboard of the ministry, behind closed doors, where only the employees have access. That is why only one company applied. The journalists realised that that company had close ties to the chairman of SNS, a small party in the government's coalition, where the minister came from.

Since then every case in Slovakia, where the authorities did not announce some tender publicly enough, mostly from EU funds, has been called "blackboard-tender-like" case.

Because many similar cases were discovered with the help of journalists and whistle-blowers, the politicians decided to prepare a new law which is still unique in Europe. Every contract made by the state or public authority must be put online on a special webpage – not on the webpage of ministries or various organisations where they are hard to find. Besides, after contract has been signed, it must be put online on the same webpage, otherwise it is not valid – a huge achievement of the journalists.

Gorilla and platinum

The more current the date, the smaller is the amount of money the state obtained by fraud. There are speculations if the politicians are getting civilised, more aware of the journalists' investigation capabilities or just know better how to do it.

One of the examples which fits in this pattern is the case of the government of Iveta Radičová (from 2010), named "platinum sieve plates". They were on stock of a state-owned organisation, which wanted to sell them because they were not needed anymore. Someone manipulated the expert opinion of their price, so in the end the state sold them for 30 times less than the usual market price of platinum. Of course, they were sold to the "right persons". Here, the state lost "only" two million euros. The probably biggest political case of the last years is called Gorilla. An investigative journalist got many pages of leaked documents of the Slovak secret service SIS. It is about a flat in the middle of Bratislava which was tapped. Politicians, high-level state officers, owners of huge companies, all of them were gathering in this so-called conspiracy flat, to discuss tenders, how to vote in parliament or to discuss who will get which position in the state-owned companies. The flat was even used as a love-nest

of some politicians, where they were seeing their lovers. Since then, every political case which had a suspicion the people involved knew each other before or discussed the rules in advance has been called gorilla-like. And why the name? The flat next to it, where the tapping was made from, belongs to a Secret Service member whose nickname is Gorilla.

Latest development: all the minister's people

To keep this short summary up to date, I would like to end it with the recent topic Slovaks are indeed so angry about, but which is also a good target of many jokes. The Minister of Agriculture, Lubomír Jahnátek, has too many high-ranked employees in his office who are his family members or come from the same village where he once lived. Is it by chance? Are they so good that they won the obligatory hearings? A journalist from the daily newspaper SME found out that there was no hearing, the ministry just announced the free positions on its intranet, so no one who did not work there or did not know anyone working there had any chance to apply for these positions. The above-mentioned blackboard-tender comes into mind.

Summary: After 20 years of independent Slovakia, the cases are getting less dangerous, less money is made by fraud and people are getting more sensitive to corruption, clientelism and money laundering. I really believe this is the biggest achievement of Slovak investigative journalism.

Investigative Journalism in the Serbian Media



Saša Mirković

B92, Serbia

After almost three decades of working in the media, I am starting to realize how naive I was when I hoped that better times for investigative journalism would surely come one day.

In the meantime, a multi-party system was legitimized, bloody wars had ended in former Yugoslavia, democratic changes took place after the departure of Slobodan Milošević, but better times for investigative journalism were nowhere in sight.

The years were passing, governments and post-election coalitions were changing and hope was still prevailing. However, in recent years, I have become aware of the harsh reality that these better times may never come and that investigative journalism will remain on the margins, with occasional sparks that will draw attention of the public, cause panic among politicians and criminals and bring occasional glory to a reporter or editor who dared to do something brave and stir things up.

The only light at the end of the tunnel that gave me hope were the new media that were showing an exemplary ability to place information whose distribution was not easy to prevent and obstruct.

Newspapers, radio and television were no longer the only sources of information; we were now able to equally use the new media, trying to make the most of them and reach out to more readers.

Censorship was no longer as brutal as before. However, more sophisticated models were developing at the same time, limiting the influence of these media and their content.

The most persisting pressure was the economic one, exercised through advertisers, who had become an inevitable part of the media industry, which no media was immune to.

This pressure was increasing with the intensity of the economic crisis, which had severely hit the media around the world and which had thoroughly redefined fundamental postulates that media had been leaning on in their work for decades.

At the same time, donors were lessening their support, which was often crucial financial assistance for media in the region, used for covering the enormous costs of several months of work of journalists and without which there were no serious results in the field of investigative journalism.

All these trends have caused the real investigative journalism to become an incident rather than the rule, which is why we can count the leaders of this form of journalism in Serbia on the fingers of one hand.

The leading role in this field definitely belongs to the crew of the TV B92's investigative program "Insider", whose editor Brankica Stanković has been under round-the-clock police protection for the past four years because of her work on the series. Veran Matić has also shared the same fate, as chief editor of the news program of the station and, as of recently, the president of the Government's Commission for investigating the murders of journalists in the past two decades.

A bright example of investigative journalism is certainly the Center for Investigative Journalism of Serbia with its projects, as well as "Pistaljka" (the "Whistle"), as the pioneering forms of media presentation of discoveries made by whistleblowers. Unfortunately, their impact has been restricted to the Internet, because mainstream media seldom convey these materials, thus making their reach significantly limited. Sometimes these materials get the special attention of print media, as newspapers mostly quote them in political, tycoon and criminal clashes – which, when taken out of context, typically contribute to a deeper tabloidization of the local media scene. What is encouraging, however, is that every time it is broadcast on national television B92, the series "Insider" has remarkable ratings, telling us that the audience is very interested in this type of program.

It was this interest of the public that had often been the driving force in creating the atmosphere that made the work of investigators and police on the difficult cases much easier, cases which would have been forgotten had they not been pointed out by investigative journalists. Sure enough, these activities have provoked responses of the other, exposed side that made sure these journalists were discouraged by direct and covert threats. They did not stop short of making threats in the new media, or in media campaigns under their editorial and financial control, by filing lawsuits (that were usually discarded), as well as by attempts of elimination, which were prevented by putting threatened journalists under protection.

It is encouraging though that in such cases the state has shown dedication to protect threatened journalists; however, the problem is that there is no indication that those who have made threats will be prosecuted soon.

In this way, a long lasting around-the-clock protection of journalists has become the rule rather than the exception, which is discouraging because there is no indication that it will soon be lifted.

A positive sign is that the Government's Commission, finally formed and tasked with investigating the murders of three journalists, could in due course come out with new evidence obtained in the investigation of the journalists' executions, which would mean a lot, particularly in terms of encouraging all those who wish to practice investigative journalism in Serbia and the region.

What could additionally contribute to the popularization of this field of journalism is most definitely an autobiographical book of the editor of "Insider" Brankica Stanković, who will, for the first time, share her experience with the public as a person who has been under police protection for a very long time.

For all these years, Stanković has become a symbol of investigative journalism and one of the most influential journalists, a role model for many young journalists and their motivation to start practicing journalism and investigative work.

All these years, "Insider" has initiated various useful social processes and sealed the fate of a number of moguls, criminals and politicians. This energy must be used to educate, through specialized forms of training, as many journalists will no longer be afraid to enter the field of investigative journalism. It will be a logical continuation of an unstoppable process that will result in winning even greater press freedom (not only in Serbia, but in the region as well) that are no longer beyond reach like before.

Research Editorial Offices to Secure Investigative Journalism



Georg Schmolz

Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (MDR), Germany

“As a journalist you do not look for a realistic overall picture, but for as much evidence as possible for the prosecution.” This quote is followed by – depending on the attitude – either an outcry or a nod in agreement. However, Michael Fleischhacker, a former editor in chief of the Austrian daily newspaper Die Presse, speaks of colleagues who do not make their agenda, their political tendencies, transparent and thus do not work for a realistic picture of what happened.

Fewer and fewer journalistic “experts” are allowed to provide more and more “outputs” with content. At the same time media companies under financial pressure centralize complete editorial teams in order to be able to print more newspapers with one front section. The effect is criticized: Opinion instead of information, uniformity instead of discourse often accompanied by quickly-done and therefore superficial research. In view of these general conditions, the idea of a specialized editorial office has many advantages. In times when content editing and news desk are the new tactical means of choice in the struggle for journalistic sovereignty of interpretation, an investigative editorial team also combines forces and expertise.

“We do the research ourselves! What do we need a research editorial department for?” A comment that probably speaks to every journalist from the heart.

A comment editorial directors like to use to reject the idea of such central editorial offices, regardless of whether their houses are commercially organized or regulated by public law. Naturally, such an idea may tarnish the self-conception of established editors. For, as a matter of course, e.g. political magazines in the ARD, the First

German Television, have own researchers. Quite irrespective of every journalist's job profile and personal skills, this is an ideal every editorial team should wish for. However, reality and economic constraints do not stop at editorial offices.

In media houses, political or economic categories or magazines are usually journalistic spearheads. This is not different at the Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk. In addition to the news radio MDR Info, these are TV magazines like Fakt, Exakt or Umschau. But what smaller "everyday" editorial office can afford research for weeks or sometimes even months in times of tight budgets? Not to mention the experienced colleague who then fails to be available for other tasks. The idea suggests itself: The MDR research editorial office might be a pure consolation, intended for economic reasons, in other words eyewash. But founding the research editorial office in March 2009, the MDR management had both fundamental and content-related benefits in mind which go beyond the aforementioned financial aspects.

As part of the ARD, the media house is responsible for the public-law news coverage for Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. It has about 50 editorial offices in television, radio and tele-media and thus a sometimes multilayered chorus of information. Therefore, the research editorial office means more investigative reporting made available not only to a particular program or editorial office as an additional effect, but - across all media - to all MDR-editors. The journalistic impact of the broadcast station is strengthened in two ways.

One research, many programs, one MDR. That is the theory. Practical experience shows that this does not work indeed. Particularly, if a research editorial office places its topics in several media and newsrooms at the same time, it has to overcome the initial inhouse resistance.

An example: An informant reported of federal police officers training border police in Saudi Arabia under extremely difficult climatic, psychological and political conditions. In the course of research it also turned out that an opposition party had submitted a so-called minor parliamentary interpellation to the federal government in the German Bundestag. They basically wanted to know where federal police officers were working abroad and on what respective contractual basis this was done. The answer with regard to Saudi Arabia was that there would be only one federal police officer working there as a contact officer. However, the research documented more than one hundred police officers training there - among others - religious police in counterinsurgency year after year. A sensitive issue, which also touched economic interests of the Federal Republic. A defense company supplied the technical equipment worth billions of euro for new border facilities of the Saudi Kingdom. Complex issues - that have not been researched by the broadcast editors themselves.

He or she must, however, be able to rely on the quality of the research. The MDR research editors guarantee the broadcast editors a proper research.

The “whole picture” is necessary, and not: The “campaign” is to fulfill its goal. In order to make sure that not just “evidence for the prosecution” is collected, internal editorial quality checks secure the research. The results are interactively scrutinized and reviewed within the editorial office. The MDR research editorial office passes topics on when research is completed. Only the result of proper journalistic research, documented by secured sources, leaves the editorial office as verifiable research dossier. The fact that many different colleagues will look at it is an additional check. The time factor is really the only capital that the central editorial office has plenty of. If the station requires complex and investigative issues without having to fear legal consequences each time, then the daily time pressure that burdens other editors must not hold for the “research”. The topics are used in the news, but also in magazines or longer reports. Therefore, it always has to be the whole picture.

Often it is the image journalists, more particularly researchers, have to struggle with. “Are they working on anything? Mostly they just sit around reading newspaper. Or they go somewhere and meet someone at a coffee shop or something ...” This criticism hurts – given the results – all the more when it comes from inhouse colleagues. Because the results are successful. The MDR research editorial office has existed since March 2009, and since then it has – statistically speaking – placed one research almost every week using two or three media in different MDR programs. Among them are issues of nationwide importance as well as those topics that directly affect people in the broadcasting area. And all this research has been legally unchallenged.

In the meantime there are more than ten such editorial offices within the ARD, which are – like similar offices in major German newspaper companies – expected to increase the number of investigative topics. However, the MDR was among the first in Germany’s public-law system. In the ARD, the editorial office has some unique features: It is considered a cross-section editorial office which does not just deliver to a certain area, but to all editors on a cross-media basis. It is not about enhancing individual programs, but the whole “brand” MDR. So it is – in the best sense of the word – an inhouse service.

This also contributes to journalistic competence in a field often less noticed: The closer a colleague gets to the object of reporting, the faster the desire for critical coverage may become a burden. In the daily journalistic work you encounter examples from time to time. Who fancies reporting critically about of the buddy from the club or the good friend working in the public authority. Distance literally changes the perspective. A central research editorial office also motivates solely by its exis-

tence. Before “the guys from research do”, you may prefer to tackle that - possibly unused - “hot-potato topic” yourself. This results in a fruitful internal competition.

Competitors - this is what the research editors will continue to be. Competitors to provide the stories that previously were sometimes not told. Today, inhouse competition is growing. We have been able to contribute to the journalistic reputation of the MDR in many areas and - all in all - the contingent of big and small investigative issues has grown. The MDR as a whole has positioned itself in a clearly enhanced journalistic manner since 2009.

The Fight for the Truth in Bosnia and Herzegovina



Ljiljana Zurovac

Press Council, Bosnia and Herzegovina

It is my pleasure to contribute to the East West Forum on Quality Journalism. I came here in my capacity as Executive Director of the Press Council in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIH), a genuine self-regulatory body for print and online media in the whole country. It is in its thirteenth year of existence, gathering editor-in-chiefs and owners of print and online media, and having a Complaints Commission of nine representatives of journalists, lawyers, judges and academics. The Press Council in BIH is a fully pledged member of the Alliance of Independent Press Councils of Europe, AIPCE.

To talk about investigative journalism today in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not easy, considering that investigative journalism is not present in the media as it was ten or fifteen years ago, at the time just after the war. Then we had a couple of good magazines, and even daily newspapers, where investigative articles disclosed a number of political and corruption scandals, and there were also investigative articles about very sensitive topics of war crimes.

Today, the investigative journalism of that kind is rarely present; when we talk about traditional media, it comes down to one or two magazines, and electronic media almost have no investigative teams. To be honest, there are special investigative projects financially supported by international donors for specific investigative topics, and there is also the work of the very important Investigative Journalism Center, IJC. Their investigative articles can be freely used by media, although it is my personal opinion that media don't use that opportunity enough.

There are plenty of reasons for that situation: first of all, the bad financial situation in the media. Investigative journalism costs money and time. There are very few newsrooms that can detach a team of their journalists, or even just one of them, to devote several weeks to one topic and do field research, as investigative work requires. Another reason is that even after a lot of excellent investigative articles published about corruption and various scandals, nothing has changed significantly in terms of prosecuting or seeking further information from the investigative and prosecutorial authorities in BiH. If we can say that something has changed after the publication of these articles, it would be the increase of political and economic pressures on media, and even physical attacks on journalists.

In addition, the flourishing of new media that deliver short and quick news, focusing more on speed of publishing rather than accuracy and verification of the information, suppresses whatever little investigative journalism is left. This affects not only the work process but also changes in readers' habits. There are fewer and fewer of those who are willing to read long texts, as attention is directed to brief and concise information.

There are also certain opinions that journalists today are not interested in investigative journalism. Personally, I do not agree with such claims. Investigative journalism is what makes this profession what it is, and it is why journalism is a calling, not just a job.

Investigative journalism is what gives a journalist a special feeling, a satisfaction of working, searching, verification of information, and what empowers him to dare to do what many other people do not dare. It gives a journalist a sense of satisfaction that he is doing a work in the public interest, by which he is changing and creating a better world. The problem is that young journalists today have very few role models and a poor education about what investigative journalism is, how it works and why it is so important.

Precisely in this manner, the Press Council in BiH, as the only self-regulatory body for print and online media in BiH, in addition to its main task of receiving citizens' complaints regarding unprofessional reporting and misreporting of the media, works a lot on the education of future journalists. This primarily entails training on professional ethical standards of reporting, ethics, the Press Code, media self-regulation, media legislation and practical work guided by experienced professional journalists.

It is very important to have a new, young generation of journalists and future editors, who will manage media in the next five to ten years with a completely new professional awareness, and who will make changes raising the reporting standards. With

the financial support of the German Embassy in BIH, the Press Council's School of Media Ethics brings together 40-50 students from six faculties of journalism in BIH to one place every year for a week. This is very significant in a nationally and politically divided country, because, besides the intensive work on the practical application of professional ethics standards in media reporting, these young journalists make connections, friendships and break xenophobia and prejudice to which they are exposed in areas where they live. We have an excellent cooperation with universities, deans of faculties of journalism and professors of ethics. Thanks to our programs, the topics of media self-regulation and the press code have entered the curriculum at some of those universities. In addition, students themselves have initiated to have topics about self-regulation and media ethics for their final exams, a new concept in journalism faculties in BIH. This fact gives hope that things will be much better once the new generations of journalists become professionals in BIH media, making a difference in favor of professional and unbiased media reporting, thus bringing investigative journalism back to the media.

I would also add another category to this topic, one which is very important for the work of self-regulatory bodies, and that is the aspect of civil society – the Public. Media self-regulation actively and uniquely involves the civil society. Without the civil society's active role in media self-regulation, raising professional standards would be very difficult. Why is this so? Because the well-developed, democratic consciousness of the citizens, about the right to true and timely information as one of the basic human rights, is crucial for the development of free thought, freedom of expression and the development of a powerful civil society in democracy. Without free media and without the citizens' impact on the development of free media, there is no democracy.

“Citizens and Journalists Fighting Together for Truth” is the motto of the Press Council in BIH. This is, in fact, the essence of media self-regulation. Not one editor will be insensitive to complaints about reporting by his or her media, if he/she receives them daily from their readers. Because every complaint shows and proves that someone is critically observing and analyzing the content of that media's reporting.

Through info-meeting programs for citizens, we educate citizens about their right to complain and about the significance of their reactions, and about the significance of the fight for truth. The results can be seen in the number (about 200-250 complaints per year) and quality of complaints arriving. Citizens write denials to specific wrong statements in articles, quoting articles of the Press Code of BIH which have been breached and this has a significant impact on editors. On the other side, many complainants are very satisfied with published corrections or reactions, getting moral satisfaction in this way, hence preventing expensive lawsuits of the media in court.

Chances and Threats for Investigative Journalism as Motor of Democratic Societies



Ass. Prof. Dr. Ágnes Urbán

Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary; former CEO of atlatszo.hu

Investigative journalism is facing a serious challenge in the 21st century. Traditional business models are not sustainable any more, since the print media sector is in serious trouble. Revenues generating potential are declining and publishers have to make cost saving decisions to survive this period.

There are several reasons in the background, but basically the technological changes determine the development of the media industry. Many of the previous print media consumers have migrated to online portals: the substitution effect is clear, the Internet has become a primary news source for certain segments. The problem is not purely a change in the consumption habits and the growing role of electronic devices instead of traditional paper. The core element of the change is the business model: Internet content supply is basically free, so consumers do not have to pay a single cent for content. This evidently caused the financial crisis of the industry, but it also raised other questions. If publishers and content providers cannot realize revenues on the audience market, it undoubtedly causes higher dependence from other revenue sources such as advertisers or financial supporters. There is a definite risk involved in investigating the stories of business and political decision makers, since it can also mean the loss of potential supporters.

Anyway, investigative media have several options for generating revenue in the new era. The first and most important issue is the co-financing of readers: in the long run, watchdog journalism and investigative reporting cannot survive without audience

revenues. There are also nonprofit funds and international donors who support investigative projects. However, these revenues are less calculable than business models based on audience payments and advertising revenues.

Atlatszo.hu, a Hungarian NGO and online news portal which deals with freedom of information requests and investigative journalism tries to follow this above-mentioned strategy. On the one hand it builds its business model on individual micropayments, on the other hand on institutional donors. The role of individual donation was symbolic in the first two years of operation; the overall revenue was below 10% of the budget. Anyhow, it is the first investigative project in Hungary building on micropayments, and it has an educational role. Users can pay via PayPal, Flattr or bank transfer and they have to realize that quality content cannot be produced without their support. It is a question if it is possible to build a sustainable, community based business model on individual donors reached by online networks and social networking sites. It seems now, that, in the short run, it is impossible: investigative journalism is a time-consuming and costly business, and it requires efforts from the consumers to read longer reports. At the same time the Internet is full of free content which is more entertaining than, for example, the investigation of an offshore network. It makes it difficult to charge money for quality journalism projects, only a small share of users will donate for this work.

It is even more surprising that traditional marketing campaigns are more motivating than the core activity in itself. Peak periods of individual donations are linked to fundraising campaigns and not to the reports read by many users. The awareness of readers is not high enough to donate for the project only because of the high quality reports, but traditional marketing tools are effective.

The question of institutional donations is also interesting. The biggest financial supporter of the Hungarian civil sphere is the Open Society Foundation. As an EU member state Hungary is not eligible for the most international foundations aiming to strengthen democratic values, so the Hungarian NGOs highly depend on the OSF. Not surprisingly the OSF is the biggest institutional donor of Atlatszo.hu too, but CEE Trust (until it closed its operation) and the Norwegian Fund have also supported the project.

The long-run sustainability of the project is still an open question. It requires professional management and fundraising activities and at least a two-year financial planning. There are only few high quality investigative reporters in the Hungarian

media, it is impossible to recruit these people without offering a stable future. The good journalists do not join the project if there is only a few-months-long promise; a more calculable business plan is required.

The future of investigative journalism is highly uncertain all over the world. Traditional business models have collapsed and publishers are unable to cross-finance the costly investigative reports. Nowadays there are several investigative projects based on civil sources, but the long-term sustainability of this model is still in question. The awareness of the users is not high enough; many of them still believe there is free lunch. The international foundations donate for these projects, but this is not calculable and the dependency on some big donors can be a problem both from a financial and ethical point of view. Anyhow, we will always need watchdog journalism and investigative reporting, even in the well-developed democracies.

Marriages of Convenience in Ireland – Research Report



Aleksandra Jolkina

Journalist and PhD student in law at Queen Mary, University of London, Great Britain

“Hello, my name is Natalia and I’ve just got fired from my secretary job,” I said and waited. The woman on the other end of the phone sighed sympathetically. “Don’t worry. I offer a good job in Ireland, many girls are already there. You don’t have to pay for tickets or accommodation. Come to my place, I’ll tell you the details.”

The cold air fuelled my adrenaline as I drove to the small village 100 km from the Latvian capital Riga, preparing myself for the role I would be playing. Going by the name of ‘Natalia’, I was about to infiltrate one of the numerous underground gangs procuring sham marriages between Latvian women and Asian men in Ireland. As Natalia, I was hoping to get a sham marriage offer myself – and subsequently track down the organizers.

Boom of sham weddings

Each year, hundreds of women from the Baltic States come to Ireland and the UK to marry non-Europeans – with the only aim of securing residence permits for their new husbands. Ireland has now become the main destination for Latvian brides, lured by a promise or just one or two thousand euros to marry a Pakistani or an Indian man wanting to relocate to an English-speaking country.

The roots of the scam go back to 2006, when the EU Free Movement Directive came into force, enabling the non-EU spouse of an EU citizen to get a residence permit for five years (although marriage to an Irish citizen would not provide these rights). Such a liberal approach, together with lackluster and disjointed response from the Irish authorities, allowed the scam to flourish.

I stumbled across the phenomenon already in 2007, whilst working as a staff reporter for the Latvian daily Diena. At that time, the problem had just appeared on the horizon; it spread dramatically in the following year and a half, with the crisis hitting Latvian economy sharply. As many women lost any opportunity to earn a living in their home country, the estimated number of Latvian “sham brides” reached hundreds – most of them low-educated, coming from socially disadvantaged families. Working as a freelancer by then, I decided to write a book on the issue and discover first-hand how the process works.

Security at risk

It was a sunny day in June 2009 when I set up the first fake profile on the largest Latvian social networking site Frype.com, advertising myself as a girl looking for a job abroad and placing a fake picture of a blonde twenty-year-old. The results came fast – within a couple of hours I was contacted by an Irish-based Pakistani man, called Haroon, who offered me to marry his “good friend” Syed Yalal for 2000 euros.

Encouraged by the results, I placed several other profiles on two Latvian social networking sites, as well as job-seeker ads on another site. I also responded to several suspicious ads offering “a job in Ireland for women” which later cemented my hunch, appearing to be hidden sham marriage offers.

Within a year, I had established contacts with around a dozen organised crime gangs and had been sent 19 airplane tickets by brokers and potential grooms. Corresponding with grooms via the web was the easiest thing to do compared with meeting organisers in person. Sham marriage brokers ranged from minors to middle-aged men charged with alleged human trafficking. While I expected anything to happen, I had to behave naturally and carefully at the same time. The greatest problem was to avoid suspicions, as my face looked different to the one on Frype – a while before the settled meeting time, I usually contacted organisers to tell them I was feeling unwell and my friend was going to meet them instead. It worked, with luck certainly being on my side. Though my real face had previously appeared in various media outlets, none of the brokers recognised me.

Sensitive issue

Apart from tracking down the brokers, I interviewed over 20 women lured into sham marriages in the British Isles. Their stories fall into two main categories: so-called “success stories”, when the brides were at least partly paid and didn’t encounter serious problems, and “bad stories” when they suffered abuse. The “successful” women keep silent about their experience, as they do not want anyone to learn

their marriage is a sham. I approached them through organisers, pretending to be considering the offer and asking the brides if it is safe.

Those in the second category have not been so lucky, suffering false imprisonment, rape and violence and, once back home, usually receiving psychological treatment at a Latvian NGO that provides support for victims of human trafficking. I have had an opportunity to interview some of the sham marriage victims who, understandably, wanted to stay anonymous.

Collaborative project

What my investigation lacked at that stage was coverage of the Irish side of the story. With help of the European Fund for Investigative Journalism, I teamed up with Jamie Smyth, social affairs correspondent for The Irish Times. In August 2010, I travelled to Ireland, the fund covered my expenses. Jamie secured my interviews with Irish authorities. A month after, Jamie travelled to Latvia where I put him in contact with several women, who got caught up in the scam, government officials and the police. Our efforts first resulted in a series of articles published in The Irish Times in October, including my opinion article on how legislation should be changed. In 2011, I published a book titled *Mrs Europe for Sale* that targetted Latvian audience.

The Challenge of Finding Sources – Research Report



Sorana Stanescu

TVR, Romania

Good journalists usually know when they have hit a big story. Yet when I had the confirmation I was indeed very close to my story, I could not believe someone else had not covered it before.

It took me 18 months working on and off to get the story out. Enough time for me to realize why this piece of research had not been carried out before: it required strong insider sources and a thorough understanding of the mechanisms behind the labor restrictions for Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. A story the British mainstream media, heavily dominated by the anti-immigration and anti-EU discourse, were not really interested in publishing the story, while Romanian journalists had no time and resources to understand and cover.

My story: “Cheap, and far from free: The migrant army building Britain” (published in October 2012 in Balkan Insight and the British weekly New Statesman) revealed how job restrictions have left Romanian and Bulgarian construction workers underpaid and vulnerable to exploitation, while subsidizing the big building companies. The article was produced as part of the Balkan Fellowship for Journalistic Excellence, an initiative of the Robert Bosch Stiftung and ERSTE Foundation, in cooperation with the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network. It was then translated and published in all the Balkan countries, as well as in the German Süddeutsche Zeitung, the Austrian Der Standard and in the Swiss Neue Züricher Zeitung. The actual research and reporting had started in 2011, during my MA studies at London’s University of the Arts.

The story idea came about as I was preparing my application for my National Insurance Number (the equivalent of a social security number) and my student work permit.

The most challenging task was finding the Romanian and Bulgarian workers who would tell their story. And do it on the record. The next challenge was convincing them to not change their minds. As once they would go home, give it a second thought and talk about it with their wives, fear of losing their jobs would step in. The more recently they had moved to Britain, the more frightened they were.

I found such workers via Romanian friends and friends of friends. Everybody knew somebody who worked as a self-employed plasterer or painter, either for some fancy five-star hotel or on the Olympic site that was just being built. At the Romanian Cultural Centre I met a photographer who was a builder during the day. In the DIY-store parking lot I met a young man my age who used to work for the Romanian Ministry of Tourism, but got laid off in 2010, when the government was cutting public expenditure. Now he was hoping to get some work as a painter. Colleagues at university would put me in touch with workers they had once hired to fix something around the house. I ended up meeting and talking to tens of workers, even though few made it or agreed to be in the story.

The best place to get the pulse of the A2 builders community was the parking lot of a super store in Seven Sisters, a not-very-friendly neighborhood in London's zone three. It was - and still is - a place well known for selling and buying cheap, undocumented day's work. Each morning the place was packed with sometimes up to 50 workers. I spent many mornings with those men and some of them I would meet months after, in the same place, in the same condition. Earning their trust took a long time: they were reluctant to speak, as I was a young, well educated girl who would show up every morning, stay until noon and ask the same questions over and over again. To the Bulgarians I had to speak Russian, as English proved to be a dead end. Some workers thought I was there to find work myself. Some thought the British authorities had secretly hired me. Some asked for my phone number and invited me for drinks and barbecues. Some I had to chase off. Some, eventually, spoke out.

The other part of the legwork, the one I would truly call risky, was meeting Romanian men whom I had only spoken to online, on forums and Romanian websites. I remember going bowling with them one night, in an area I had not set foot in before. I kept texting friends about where I stayed and giving them the men's Internet aliases, just in case. A couple of them turned out to be very good sources and the night was fun. But that is not an experience I would repeat soon enough.

Networking also got me closer to my key sources: a builder who had had an accident at work out of the employer's fault and agreed to speak under the condition of anonymity and a building company owner who admitted to the benefits of the restrictions on the employer's side. He also confirmed the phenomenon of black-listing workers who were regarded as troublesome existed.

Likewise challenging, though not as risky, was getting the British authorities to speak. While smaller construction guilds finally reacted, the main trade body, the Recruitment and Employment Confederation simply refused to answer emails and calls, after they had initially agreed to an interview. Their attitude, as it often happens, is an answer in itself.

But maybe the most important thing working on this story has taught me is to be patient and perseverant. Never give up. When people have a story to tell, they will eventually tell it.

Investigative Smartgrid – the “Secrecy for Sale” Project as a Model for the Future



Stefan Candea

Romanian Centre for Investigative Journalism, Romania

I first saw the data that became the basis for the “Secrecy for Sale: Inside the Global Offshore Money Maze”-project in Gerard Ryle’s office in downtown DC at the beginning of 2012. I was immediately hooked. I started to do searches in parallel on two computers with various databases open in the background to check the relevance of my findings. I left the office and continued in the hotel room – then on my way to the airport, on the plane, and at home. I am still doing this. I still run names in the data collection every day, especially after I read an article that brings a new relevant person or company that could hide offshore.

Having access to more than a decade of daily email exchanges and databases of the real beneficiaries of offshore entities made me want to check all the VIPs in my country and region, then all the usual suspects I reported on, and then randomly test ideas, theories and news coming my way. It is like a game, and you are the fly on the wall in various offshore offices. It is addictive.

Then it gets disappointing. Apart from a bunch of VIPs, there are hundreds of thousands of names that say nothing. The secret companies one can spot in a lot of cases show up nowhere else. To get further, one really needs to dig a lot and connect email exchanges with dates of incorporation and outside relevant events to extract stories. It is a painfully slow process. But then it gets addictive again, as you slowly connect the dots and the bigger picture comes into view.

And then the time is ripe to connect across borders, to a global network of investigative journalists who can follow the same drill, exchange information and prepare for publication.

That is exactly what we did. Six months after I first saw the data, Duncan Campbell from the UK, Sebastian Mondial from Germany, Roman Schelynov from Russia, two of my colleagues and myself were all crammed into our office in Bucharest. The communist concrete building was so hot under the August sun that computers started to crash. We had a long week of intensive work on the data and discussions about what stories we could extract and publish. Eventually, “Secrecy for Sale”, a project of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), involved about 86 journalists from 46 countries examining a hoard of 2.5 million files related to 10 offshore centers that the ICIJ received from an anonymous source.

Last spring, the “Secrecy for Sale” stories were front-page news all over the globe. The investigation has been cited more than 20,000 times by other media organizations. On a trip from Bucharest to Dublin in early April, the week of the official launch, every newspaper or newsmagazine I picked up mentioned the outcome of the project or ran stories in a partnership with the ICIJ. My phone and email inbox were full of requests for new partnerships with mainstream media in Europe.

A traditional news organization could not have led this global investigation, for many reasons: lack of collaborative vision, lack of resources for in-depth analysis and, in some cases, corruption. Luckily, crippled newsrooms long ago chased away professional journalists, triggering the formation of independent investigative journalism groups. Journalists with good research and investigative skills found refuge outside legacy media and got themselves, mostly as non-profits, organized across borders. The Romanian Center for Investigative Journalism (RCIJ) was established in 2001. At that time, there were only about four similar enterprises, three in the U.S. and one in the Philippines. Now, there are almost 100 similar centers around the world. These journalists have pioneered a new form of informal coalition – networked investigative cells, organized like a smart grid, providing each other with information, resources and publication partners. The capacity of this investigative journalism smart grid was tested during the “Secrecy for Sale” project, and it scaled at a global level.

The collaborative work across borders is not for everybody. It requires respect, trust, leadership, a lot of planning and communication. For various reasons, our huge investigative network did not make everybody happy, for sure. But that is why we work forming various cells within the network or at times part of several networks.

For this smart grid to succeed, however, mainstream media still must play a role as an amplifier. Mainstream media are happy to run, from time to time, quality content they can get for free from independent investigative centers. And investigative centers are happy to provide this content for free because otherwise their stories would only reach niche audiences. Such collaboration is happening more and more and, in the

case of “Secrecy for Sale”, with a huge impact at a global level. In Eastern Europe, we are still publishing stories, months after the project’s official April launch.

My involvement with “Secrecy for Sale” began during a Global Investigative Journalism Network conference in Kiev at the end of 2011, when ICIJ asked the RCIJ to act as a reporting hub, mainly for Eastern Europe. Our role in Bucharest was not only to conduct our own story research but also to share data with 28 reporters from other countries in the region, including Moldova, Belarus, Hungary, Ukraine and Turkey, among others. Without an operating budget, the RCIJ organized a kind of decentralized foreign investigative research desk covering post-communist Europe.

With each international cross-border project, I learn the same lesson: There are too few watchdog reporters. You find yourself turning to people with whom you have collaborated in the past and whose work and ethics you know are solid. Working with so many journalists in so many different countries, it is crucial to make sure everyone’s contact information is available to everyone else in the network. Remember, you do not own a network; you are part of one.

The first problem we faced was how to understand the more than 200 gigabytes of unstructured data. The ICIJ supplied sophisticated data-mining software donated by the Australian firm NUIX. I initially found it of little use. My old computer simply could not cope with the size of the data set, and it crashed nearly every day. I was forced to buy a more powerful machine. I knew other journalists would encounter similar difficulties. How could we scale the solution for scores of reporters?

An added complication was the secretive nature of the project and the need to minimize data exchange to protect sources. We initially communicated using encrypted email but quickly found that this hindered rather than helped group communication. The communication solution eventually arrived in the form of a secure online open-source forum provided by Sebastian Mondial in Germany.

For a project like this to succeed, you must prepare and test a toolbox for secure sharing, communication and search before reaching out to a wider team. Then you must invest trust and share as much data as possible. Do not become a bottleneck by restricting access and jam the research process. By providing direct data access and search capabilities, efficiency improves across the network. It was a lesson I wished we had all learned sooner.

We acted as if we were part of a virtual newsroom, but we had none of the benefits of a real newsroom. For various reasons, the RCIJ did much of the initial research for our colleagues. That ended in late 2012 when an online research tool was introduced

by the data journalism manager for the project, our ICIJ colleague Duncan Campbell. Throughout the process, communication was key, yet it also consumed a lot of time that could have been spent chasing stories. There was also the issue of what type of stories to chase. What makes news in Russia, for instance, is very different from what makes news in America. We grappled with many different journalistic cultures when it came to deciding what was important and what was not. We learned not to impose certain story lines. If the local journalist does not see it your way, he or she will not pursue it. When working across borders, you also need to consider language barriers. Trust local knowledge, build on that, and be patient. Data collections such as the one supplied by the ICIJ are a treasure trove of information for journalists in Eastern Europe, where access to information is difficult even at the best of times.

This unprecedented collaboration also revealed the need for professional senior editors and new editorial platforms. We lack both in most of Eastern Europe. In many countries, existing media offer no editorial space for such in-depth stories. This is why the RCIJ is creating an online magazine in English for the Black Sea region as a place to showcase watchdog journalism. Soaking Up the Data – How Sponge hopes to create a collaborative media innovation model for Eastern Europe.

A group of coders and mappers, gathered around laptops in a classroom in the Computer Science Department at Politehnica University in Bucharest, discussed how to publish their work mapping the political spectrum of Romania. The problem was, even the public domain data still had to be gathered from several different sources that feared retaliation from the government. Plus, employees with local state agencies, working with private companies, try to make money selling electronic versions of public information. The data needed for this type of project could be worth more than \$1.3 million. In this way, public officials lock up open data for profit.

A group of journalists from the RCIJ offered to label the work as a journalistic project, thus providing protection to sources. A legal expert specialized in the Internet and communication drafted the language needed for putting the team under protection. The project went live at politicalcolors.ro in October last year, showing Romania's political affiliations at various administrative levels and combining this data with demographic statistics, such as age, education and income. This was one of the several hacks delivered at a hackathon in October 2012, in which more than 60 coders, journalists, information designers, activists, legal experts and students took part. The hackathon, called the Open Media Challenge, was organized by Sponge, a collaborative media innovation lab for Eastern Europe. Sponge was initiated by the RCIJ and is a collective effort of established groups and independent NGOs active on a variety of issues, including investigative journalism, free speech, open source software, mapping and legal expertise. The School of Political Sciences at Bucharest University is also a partner.

Participants at the event came from Romania, Moldova, Belarus, Germany and the UK. Proposals came from Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Russia. At the end of the challenge, eight projects were delivered with full tech specs, and the code and wikipages were posted under open source licenses on dedicated github repositories. Each of these hacks would have taken an NGO a year of work and cost tens of thousands of dollars. Or it would have taken governmental departments several years and millions of dollars. Our event had most of the work done on voluntary basis, and the total cost was covered by a \$3,000 grant from the Mozilla Foundation. Political Colours won first prize from a jury led by German data-journalist Sebastian Mondial and Omydiar Network partner Stephen King. It was an instant hit with local mainstream media, who expanded the map for the general elections that followed. Without any PR effort whatsoever, top news portals, news agencies and television broadcasters started using the application.

Over a decade ago, when the RCIJ was established, the immediate priority was to resist the collapse of mainstream media and deliver relevant information from outside a corrupt media system. Our next step was to reach out and connect with similar people and similar organizations around the world. We then started collaborating across borders, producing award-winning journalism. Now, we are coming back into mainstream, because mainstream media needs the content we can provide. The next step for us is to establish new types of institutions and infrastructure to create a business plan based on producing relevant and verifiable information, outside the advertisement- and donor-based models.

Sponge brings together an array of people and networks that share a common passion – transparency and openness of information. We built a media lab for experimentation, involving students, journalists, photographers, coders, mappers, free speech activists, information designers, and legal experts on the Internet and technology. The lab is an open space to discuss innovative solutions to real-life problems related to information, journalism and media. Coders inform journalists and vice versa. In just a single year of activity, Sponge has orchestrated the Open Media Challenge, launched more than 10 applications, and implemented a J-Lab concept during investigative journalistic conferences.

We do not yet know what the new business models will be. Therefore, we need to experiment, like any other industry does, by investing in R&D. Sponge is a place to start. We build on experiments that are open and collaborative, not locked inside a single organization.

Free Media – Free Journalism: A Comparison Using the Media Sustainability Index (2001 – 2013)



Dr. Constanze Farda

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Investigative journalism is difficult to grasp. Actually, you cannot identify it before you see the result. But how can you grasp it? On the one hand you can recognize it by individual journalists, on the other hand by individual media. In this paper, the climate for investigative journalism as measured by the Media Sustainability Index (MSI) is to serve as a criterion.

MSI: What is that?

The MSI is published annually by IREX. According to its homepage, IREX “is an international nonprofit organization providing thought leadership and innovative programs to promote positive lasting change globally. By ‘sustainability’ IREX refers to the ability of media to play its vital role as the ‘fourth estate.’ How sustainable is a media sector in the context of providing the public with useful, timely, and objective information? How well does it serve as a facilitator of public discussion? To measure this, the MSI assesses five ‘objectives’ (a detailed description of the indicators of the five ‘objectives’ can be found in the appendix) that shape a media system: freedom of speech, professional journalism, plurality of news, business management, and supporting institutions.” The index is based, on the one hand, on an expert assessment of local experts, and, on the other hand, on an independent assessment of IREX itself. The MSI total score is made up of five ‘objectives’. Depending on the achieved total score, the state is assigned to one of four levels:

- :: MSI total score 3 and up: Sustainable and free independent media
- :: MSI total score 2-3: Independent media approaching sustainability

- :: MSI total score 1-2: Significant progress remains to be made; society and/or government not fully supportive
- :: MSI total score 0-1: Country meets few of indicators and government/society actively opposing changes

MSI total score

According to the total score of the MSI index the states Kosovo (index value in 2013: 2.46), Albania (2.21), Romania (2.15), Bulgaria (2.09) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (2.03) reach the level “independent media approaching sustainability” (according to the index between 2-3). For Serbia (1.92) and Ukraine (1.72) the level turns out to be worse, namely “significant progress remains to be made; society and/or government not fully supportive” (according to the index between 1-2). None of the selected states have achieved the highest level “sustainable and free independent media” (from 3). That is the situation in 2013. But what was the initial situation in 2001 like? Albania, BIH and Kosovo have achieved an improvement of their levels. In 2001 the three countries had an index value between one and two and today all of them have an index value between two and three (see above). Bulgaria and Romania have not been able to improve their levels, nor have Serbia and Ukraine.

The states in detail

Using the MSI values, an index calculation with the base year 2013 was carried out for the individual states in order to improve the representation of the chronological course. The base value for each state in 2013 is 100. If the value is above 100 in the comparative year, the state has achieved a better index value in the comparative year than in the base year if the index value is below 100, then the state has achieved a worse value in the comparative year than in the base year. A calculated index value of 130 means, e.g., that the value in the reporting year is 30 points higher than in the base year, however, a calculated index value of 80 points means that the value of the reporting year is 20 points lower than in the base year.

Albania:

Albania reached the MSI value of 2013 (2.21) for the first time in 2005. For the years 2006/2007 (one MSI-value) nine plus points were recorded relative to the base year. In 2008, the MSI value corresponds again to the base year 2013. The biggest leap, i.e. a continuous improvement, can be observed in the period from 2001 to 2005. The index value, for 2001/2013 (the term index value 2001/2013 specifies the value for 2001 with the base year 2013) at 80 points, increases by 20 points until 2005, which corresponds to an index value of 100 for 2005/2013. In the period from 2008 to 2010, the index value drops to 95 points for 2010/2013. A leap is noted from 2010 to 2011.

The index value of 2011/2013 amounts to 102. Overall, a positive trend can be noted for Albania, albeit with some fluctuations. Albania has, with the exception of the base year 2001, always remained within the range 2-3 of the MSI.

BIH:

The values for BIH yield significantly less continuity. The index value for 2001/2013 is 82. At first glance, there seems to be an improvement here. This is deceptive. With 102 points, the index value 2003/2013 is already above the base year 2013. This trend continues up to the reporting year 2011. Here the peak values are 142 points in the reporting year 2006/2007 and 138 points in 2009. 2010 marks the beginning of the downward trend. The index value 2010/2013 is 128, that of 2011/2013 is 109 points. In 2012, BIH even loses the level of “independent media approaching sustainability” (MSI-value of 1.97). Today, BIH has achieved an MSI-value of 2.03 again, but the country is far behind its peak values.

Bulgaria:

While HIB is characterized by ups and downs, the worst index value since 2001 for Bulgaria is noted in 2013. The index value 2001/2013 is 114 points, i.e. an increase of 14 points relating to the base year. Even for 2012/2013 the index value is 106. Although the index value 2003/2013 is 108, a significant increase in the index value in relation to the base year 2013 is observed for the following years: 122 (2004/2013), 121 (2005/2013), 143 (2006 and 2007/2013), 130 (2008/2013), 133 (2009/2013). In the 2010 reporting year, the index value falls to 166 (2010/2013) and reaches its lowest level in the base year 2013.

Kosovo:

Similar to BIH, Kosovo is characterized by ups and downs, too. The index value of 2001/2013 is 77 points. Already in the 2005 reporting year, Kosovo reaches the index value (100) of 2013. In relation to the base year 2013, the worst value is 2008 (92 points), the best is 2010 (106 points). Thereafter, the value drops to 95 points in 2012. Nevertheless, a comparison of the MSI values shows that Kosovo (2.46) has the best value of all countries included in this survey.

Romania:

The index values of Romania have a similar trend as those of Bulgaria. The index value of 2001/2013 amounts to 110. In the reporting year 2006/2007 the index value increases to 129 after having fallen steadily until 2005. After this peak, the index value drops again to 107 in the reporting year 2011, but in 2012 it remains with 109 points nine points above the base year 2013. According to the MSI values Romania falls from 2.38 (according to the values of 2013 that would be 2nd place!) to 2.15.

Serbia:

According to the MSI values in 2001 and 2013, the situation in Serbia has hardly changed. According to the calculated index values, the value 2001/2013 is 97. After having made the leap to the level of “independent media approaching sustainability” in the period 2003–2011, Serbia fell back again to the inferior level in 2012. The index values reveal the following picture: 131 (2003/2013), 128 (2004/2013), 130 (2005/2013). With the reporting years 2006/2007, the index values fall with the aforementioned consequence of losing the good level according to the MSI values, too.

Ukraine:

Ukraine is on a par with Serbia. The MSI value in 2001 was 1.37, and is 1.72 in 2013. Although the MSI value has improved from 2001 to 2013, Ukraine and Serbia remain on the level “significant progress remains to be made; society and/or government not fully supportive.” Ukraine reaches its best MSI value with 2.37 during the reporting year 2006/2007, i.e. by 37 points higher than in the base year 2013. In the period 2005 to 2010, Ukraine was also able to achieve a better level with MSI values above 2. The index value of 2001/2013 is 80 points, i.e. 20 points below the base year 2013. After the peak value of 2006/2007, the index value drops continuously.

Conclusion

The selected states all show a generally positive trend during the period 2001 – 2013. Regardless of their MSI levels in the year 2013, they all show ups and downs. Even though all states, with the exception of Ukraine and Serbia, have achieved the level of “independent media approaching sustainability”, they are still far from the level of “sustainable and free independent media”.

Appendix: Indicators of the MSI

In order to calculate the MSI total score, the individual indicators are assessed with values between zero and four, zero being the worst and four the best value. The average value, which represents the MSI total score, is calculated from these individual indicator assessments.

Objective: Free Speech:

Legal norms protect and promote free speech and access to public information.

Indicators:

1. Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.
2. Licensing of broadcast media is fair, competitive, and apolitical.
3. Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.

4. Crimes against journalists or media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.
5. State or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment, and law guarantees editorial independence.
6. Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.
7. Public information is easily accessible; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
8. Media outlets have unrestricted access to information; this is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
9. Entry into journalism profession is free and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

Objective: Professional Journalism:

Journalism meets professional standards of quality.

Indicators:

1. Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.
2. Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.
3. Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.
4. Journalists cover key events and issues.
5. Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption.
6. Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.
7. Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.
8. Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

Objective: Plurality of News Sources:

Multiple news sources provide citizens with reliable and objective information.

Indicators:

1. Plurality of public and private news sources (e.g. print, broadcast, Internet) exist and are affordable.
2. Citizens' access to domestic or international media is not restricted.
3. State or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.
4. Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for print and broadcast media.
5. Independent broadcast media produce their own news programs.

6. Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.
7. A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.

Objective: Business Management:

Independent media are well-managed businesses, allowing editorial independence.

Indicators:

1. Media outlets and supporting firms operate as efficient, professional, and profit-generating businesses.
2. Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.
3. Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.
4. Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards at commercial outlets.
5. Independent media do not receive government subsidies.
6. Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor products to the needs and interests of audiences
7. Broadcast ratings and circulation figures are reliably and independently produced.

Objective: Supporting Institutions:

Supporting institutions function in the professional interests of independent media.

Indicators:

1. Trade associations represent the interests of private media owners and provide member services.
2. Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights.
3. NGOs support free speech and independent media.
4. Quality journalism degree programs exist providing substantial practical experience.
5. Short-term training and in-service training programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.
6. Sources of newsprint and printing facilities are in private hands, apolitical, and not restricted.
7. Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, Internet) are private, apolitical, and unrestricted.
8. Information and communication technology infrastructure sufficiently meets the needs of media and citizens.

Participants of the East-West Forum for Quality Journalism

Günther Bartsch

Netzwerk Recherche, Berlin, Germany

Günther Bartsch began his journalistic career as a trainee and editor at the Allgäuer Zeitung and the Augsburg Allgemeine. He then studied political science at the University of Augsburg and the Freie Universität Berlin. Since 2009 he has been the executive director of Netzwerk Recherche, a journalists' association. His parallel activity as a freelance journalist includes the weekly column "Fundstück" in the Main-Echo daily newspaper.

Stefan Candea

Director, Romanian Centre for Investigative Journalism (CRJI), Bucharest, Romania

Stefan Candea is a freelance journalist and cofounder (2001) of the Romanian Centre for Investigative Journalism in Bucharest, Romania. As an investigative journalist for the newspaper Evenimentul Zilei in Bucharest he wrote about the connections between international organized crime networks and high-ranking politicians and public servants. One article showed the links between La Cosa Nostra and associates of Romania's president and foreign secret service director. Other investigations by Candea have included the international arms trade, illegal international adoption, an investigation of the separatist region of Trans-Dniester and the diamond business in Romania. He has worked for Deutsche Welle and other radio, television, online and print media, and has done freelance research and production work for a number of foreign media outlets, including the BBC, Channel 4, ITN, ZDF and Canal+. Since March 2001, he has been a correspondent for Reporters Without Borders in Romania. Candea is a member of The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists and has won several awards including the IRE Tom Renner Award and the Overseas Press Club of America Award for online journalism. In 2008, he took part in the program "Media - Mediators between Nations" of the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the Berliner Journalisten-Schule. In 2011, Candea and CRJI started Sponge (thesponge.eu) - a collaborative media innovation lab for Eastern Europe. He is currently converting a reporting blog about the Black Sea (theblacksea.eu) into an in-depth online magazine for the region. He teaches investigative journalism at the University of Bucharest and was the 2011 Carroll Binder Nieman Fellow at Harvard University.

Prof. Dr. jur. Herta Däubler-Gmelin

Lawyer, former Federal Minister of Justice, Germany

Prof. Dr. jur. Herta Däubler-Gmelin, lawyer, former Federal Minister of Justice, honorary professor at the Freie Universität Berlin, the Evangelische Hochschule Ludwigsburg, Tongji University in Shanghai, and guest lecturer at numerous German and foreign universities. Member of German parliament 1972-2009, vice-chairperson of the Social Democratic Party 1988-1997. Major areas of focus as Minister of Justice (1998-2002): accession to the International Criminal Court in The Hague and revision

of the German Civil Code; initiation of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights; modernization of the German Civil Code's law of obligations; legislation on civil partnerships; law against domestic violence; copyright reform. Since leaving parliament, Herta Däubler-Gmelin has dedicated herself to the investigation of violations of the privacy and fundamental rights of workers in Germany; advising the EU on questions of media freedom and pluralism; and advising NGOs, parliaments and institutions in human rights and other constitutional matters in numerous countries in Asia, Africa and the Arab World. Since 2012 she has represented a group of over 38,000 appellants in their constitutional complaint against the European Stability Mechanism and fiscal pact before the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe. Herta Däubler-Gmelin is the patroness of the German hospice movement and other prominent organizations, as well as a member of various foundations and advisory bodies concerned with issues of democracy and human rights.

Dr. Constanze Farda

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Dr. Constanze Farda studied communications, art history and law in Salzburg. After obtaining her doctorate with a thesis on European media policy, she took a post as a research assistant in the journalism department of Leipzig University. From there she went to the Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft Berlin (HTW Berlin, University of Applied Science). She is currently a research assistant at the European Institute for Quality Journalism.

Aleksandra Jolkina

Journalist and PhD student in law at Queen Mary, University of London, Great Britain

Aleksandra Jolkina is a journalist and scholar focused on crime and justice, migration and issues of international significance. Her largest project to date involves an 18-month investigation into “sham” marriages in Ireland between Latvian women and non-EU citizens. The research was supported by the European Fund of Investigative Journalism and carried out in collaboration with The Irish Times. In early 2011, she published a book on the issue for a Latvian target group, for which she was nominated as Latvia's 2011 Trafficking in Persons Report hero by the United States Embassy to Latvia. She is currently a PhD student in law at Queen Mary, University of London. In 2012, she took part in the program “Media – Mediators between Nations” of the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the Berliner Journalisten-Schule.

Prof. Wolfgang Kenntemich

Director EIQ European Institute for Quality Journalism, Leipzig, Germany

After finishing high school and doing his service as a press officer in the army, Wolf-

gang Kenntemich worked first as a political editor for the daily newspaper Westfälische Nachrichten. In 1973, he moved to the news agency Deutscher Depeschendienst, where he became editor-in-chief in 1979. He then worked for Axel Springer Verlag starting in 1983 in Bonn, overseeing the offices for the magazines Bild and Bild am Sonntag. Before switching to TV in 1991, Kenntemich also worked as senior correspondent for Gruner + Jahr. After a short stint at the Bayrischer Rundfunk (Bavarian Broadcasting), he moved in November 1991 to the newly re-opened Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (Central German Broadcasting), and was there the editor-in-chief for television for twenty years. He is a book editor and author, amongst other of “The flood of the century” and “That was the GDR. A story of the other Germany.” Currently, he is an honorary professor for journalism at the University of Leipzig. Besides other roles, Kenntemich is Co-president of the European Pro Europa cultural foundation, Honorary President of the Mitteldeutscher Presseclub in Leipzig, and a member of the advisory committee of NUMOV, the German Near and Middle East Association. Wolfgang Kenntemich assumed the directorship of the newly founded European Institute for Quality Journalism in Leipzig, Germany in 2013.

Peter Majer

Foreign Correspondent, Radio and Television of Slovakia, Brussels, Belgium

Peter Majer studied German language and journalism. After completing his studies, he worked at Slovak Television in Bratislava beginning in 2004. He was on the regional editorial staff for Western Slovakia for three years. He then changed to the main editorial department (politics, economy, agriculture and environment), where he reported extensively on Hungary and also traveled to Haiti, South Sudan, Kenya, Israel and other countries on assignment. After eight years in Bratislava, he assumed a post in Brussels in 2012, where he has reported on European as well as Belgian and Dutch topics as a foreign correspondent for Slovak Television and Slovak Radio. He spent three months in Berlin in 2010 as a participant in the program “Media – Mediators between Nations” of the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the Berliner Journalisten-Schule, including two months as a guest journalist with ZDF Morgenmagazin. He has additionally attended journalism seminars and courses in Washington, Leipzig and Kolding, Denmark.

Saša Mirković

B92, Belgrade, Serbia

Saša Mirković studied law at the University of Belgrade. He is a cofounder of Radio B92, established in Belgrade in 1989. From 1989 to 2003 he worked as music editor, programming director and general manager of Radio Television B92. From 2003 to 2007, he served as president of the RTV B92 board of directors. Since 2007 he has been the general manager of B92 Trust Ltd. (RTV B92 shareholder responsible for

news broadcasting) and B92 director for external communications. In 1993, Mirković cofounded ANEM (Association of Independent Electronic Media), which now has over 80 members (radio and television stations) in Serbia. He has been the president of ANEM since 2006.

Georg Schmolz

Director, MDR investigative editorial group, Leipzig, Germany

Georg Schmolz has been the head of the investigative editorial group at Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (Central German Broadcasting) since 2009. Based in Leipzig, this team of public journalists investigates complex topics for distribution to all Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk media (television, radio, Internet). After completing his basic military service, Schmolz studied export economics and philosophy. He began his journalistic career abroad, at the Institut de Journalisme Robert Schuman in Brussels and Antenne 2 (now France 2) in Paris, among other organizations. He returned to Germany in 1991 to work as a reporter at Bayerischer Rundfunk, Munich, and subsequently at the newly founded public broadcaster Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, Leipzig, with various responsibilities. Stations as the chief editor of the French-German television channel Arte in Strasbourg and as a correspondent for ARD in Prague round out his professional profile. Alongside his work as a journalist, he has taught at such institutions as the Technische Universität Dresden, the Institut zur Förderung publizistischen Nachwuchses, Munich, and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Bonn.

Sorana Stanescu

TVR, Romanian Public Service Broadcaster, Romania

Sorana Stanescu works for the Romanian Public Service Broadcaster and has been a contributor for BBC's flagship investigative weekly programme Panorama, as well as for other Romanian and British outlets. She specialised in current affairs and documentary filmmaking at London College of Communication and is also a long-form writer enthusiast. In 2012 she won the first prize in the Balkan Fellowship for Journalistic Excellence competition of the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the ERSTE foundation for an investigation into labour restrictions for Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in the UK.

Ass. Prof. Dr. Ágnes Urbán

Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary

Ágnes Urbán is an assistant professor and the head of the department of information communication at Corvinus University of Budapest. She received her PhD from Corvinus in 2006 with a thesis titled "The market of new media services." She is the author of a number of publications, including academic papers and book chapters. She has participated in three pan-European COST projects and is a cofounder of Mer-

tek Media Monitor, the influential Hungarian media policy think-tank. Her primary research interests are media market tendencies in Hungary, changes in media consumption habits, new business models and policymaking.

Ljiljana Zurovac

Executive Director, Press Council in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ljiljana Zurovac is the executive director of the Press Council in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a unique body for all print and online media. As an expert in media self-regulation and ethics in media, she has established several educational programs for media ethics and media freedom within the Press Council, as well as media literacy programs. Previously, in addition to working as a radio journalist, she was the program director at the High College of Journalism for six years. From 1980 to 2009, Zurovac worked as an active radio and television journalist and as an editor and host of live radio and television programs at PBS and Radio FERN, specializing in debate programs based on conflict resolution skills. She also lectures regularly on media ethics and self-regulation, conflict resolution and public relations. She is the founder and producer of Your Voice in Media, a radio program on media ethics and self-regulation, which she runs with a team of ten journalism students. Zurovac holds a bachelor's degree in theatrology/dramaturgy and comparative literature. Apart from her journalistic career, she works as a playwright and television screenwriter.

Robert Bosch Stiftung

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