

# How journalists and self-regulatory structures deal with ethics and press freedom in a changing media environment in Indonesia and Malaysia

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## Abstract

*The paper looks at how journalists and press councils in two very different media systems in the same region -- Indonesia and Malaysia -- have addressed the question of journalism ethics in the face of a changing media environment. The Indonesian Press Council, set up within the move to democracy in Indonesia, which - although a statutory council - works independently of government has recently been dealing with complaints from the public as well as criticisms from politicians about ethics on the Internet. Some Internet coverage is being perceived as harmful and journalists and the press council find themselves having to strike a balance between concerns expressed and issues of free expression. In Malaysia, several internet-only based news-sites have been at the forefront of pushing restrictions on press freedom in the country. At the same time, there is concern expressed about excesses on the Internet. The paper compares these two on-going developments. It includes interviews with journalists from both countries. It will draw conclusions on what type of self-regulatory structure is best placed to deal with new media ethics in new or emerging democracies in South-East Asia while also addressing problems of transferring structures from one media systems to another.*

## 1. The Indonesian Press Council: From Government Control to Promoting Press Freedom

The first Press Council of Indonesia was founded in 1968 as an advisory body to the government. The Press Act of 1966 (Law no 11 – 1966) stated that the press council is tasked to assist the government in the development of the national press and the minister of information is the chair of the council. Even though representatives of press organisations and experts in journalism were members of the council, its main function was for the government to exercise control over the press.

Only after the “reformasi” movement of 1998 the press in Indonesia acquired its hard-earned freedom. The press act of 1999<sup>1</sup> called for the formation of an independent press council. Article 15 of the law gives the press council five main tasks:

- To protect freedom of the press from any interference.
- To conduct study to develop and enhance the quality of the press.
- To establish and supervise the implementation of the journalism Code of Ethics.
- To provide guidance and amicable solutions in mediating conflicts between member of societies and the press.

It further describes the role of the press council as:

- To enhance communication among the press, the people and the government.
- To assist press organisations in their effort to create rules to enhance the quality of press freedom.
- To maintain information about the press.

The main difference of the Indonesian press council in comparison to other councils,

such as, for instance, the Press Complaints Commission in the UK or the Deutsche Presserat in Germany is that it not only acts as a recipient of complaints and mediator but that it has a role to protect the press from interference and to promote understanding of the role of the press in a democratic society.

Its role is not merely reactive (i.e. reacting and ruling on complaints received by the public) but pro-active as it is tasked with enhancing communication between the press, the public and the government.

Press Council member and editor-in-chief of Tempo, Bambang Harymurti explains this unique role<sup>ii</sup>:

“Indonesia was making a fast transition from a dictatorial regime to democracy and many of us in the press freedom movement felt that the press council should play an active role in promoting a democratic media landscape in Indonesia. This meant that it was not enough for the press council to look at complaints but that -- as we were changing the way media had operated for the last thirty years and giving more freedom to journalists and media companies – the press council should be involved in explaining the role of the press in a democracy to the public and, more importantly, to the authorities. We also felt that it was important to make clear that press freedom is a privilege of the press but a fundamental right of citizens. So the council is there to protect press freedom and to promote high standards of quality in journalism.”

## **1.2 Structure and Funding of the Indonesian Press Council**

To insure its independence, all nine members of the press council are non-government representatives. Three are chosen by journalists associations, another three by media industry and the rest represent the general public. To make a strong point that press freedom belongs to the public--not only to the press and media professionals--internal regulations prohibit representatives from the journalists associations or the media industry to be elected as the chair of the council. Members of the council are elected every three years. Their mandate is limited to two terms. The current chairman of the council is a retired judge of Indonesia's supreme court.<sup>iii</sup>

The nine members are responsible for defining the work plan of the council as well as adjudicating complaints. All positions are honorary and the members are only compensated for direct expenses related to their work. They are supported by administrative staff and a section in charge of media monitoring.

Also the funding of the press council is quite unique. Running costs of the secretariat, the administrative staff and the media monitors are covered by the Indonesian government. They are agreed in the annual budget. In addition, newspaper companies make a small contribution towards the costs of the council. But the council is also allowed to do its own fundraising to cover activities both with national and international donors.

The council has been quite successful in raising funds from national and international donors, which has allowed it to run specific projects, such as, for instance, a range of training seminars for police officers on the role of the press. The main aim of this programme was to make the police more open to enquiries from the press and to allow journalists to report demonstrations without police interference.

Press council members state that the council could use more funds but they want to keep the three-way structure of funding.

“We don’t want to just receive an allocation from the state budget, even if it would be increased considerably. It would make us too dependent on the decisions taken by parliament and they could always decide to cut our funding. The contribution from the media companies are still quite small and as some of them have become major players in the industry their contribution could be increased. But again, we do not want to depend just on them. The fact that we are allowed to do our own fundraising also increases our independence.”<sup>iv</sup>

### 1.3 The work of the press council in a changing media environment

The work of the press council started in tumultuous times for the Indonesian press. With the success of the “reformasi” movement and the new government abolishing the strict press registration system and allowing commercial broadcasting, the number of newspapers in Indonesia jumped from 79 in 1998 to 142 in 1999. There are now 10 commercial television stations operating in Indonesia and hundreds of commercial and community radio stations. The political changes meant that journalists could report more freely and without fear of government reprisals. At the same time the press council was mindful of trying to promote high standards of quality amidst the new freedom and to address problems of sensational and incorrect reporting.

A review of the number of complaints received by the press council in the last six years shows a steady increase:

Number of complaints received by the Indonesian Press Council:

2003:	101
2004:	153
2005:	127
2006:	207
2007:	319
2008:	424
2009:	442

While some commentators argue that this is an indication of a decline in standards in journalists’ ethics, others state that the increase in complaints is largely due to the fact that the public is better informed about the role of the press council and is using the council to seek redress.

There is also an increase in the number of complaints that comes from politicians. On the one hand, this shows that politicians still tend to feel that they are entitled to more protection from media criticism rather than less. On the other hand, it is a positive development that more politicians go to the press council rather than bringing libel suits against journalists. This is particularly important as Indonesia still has criminal libel on the statute books and journalists can face prison sentences if found guilty of defamation.

The main reasons for complaints in the last four years have been:

- Biased coverage
- Invasion of privacy
- Indecency
- Racism
- Insult

In 97% of the cases the council has found an amicable solution to complaints.

Apart from the mediation work, the council has accompanied the debate about changes to Indonesia's laws to create a favourable environment for press freedom. They are consulted when new laws are being discussed in order to test whether they are supportive of press freedom. The council is also involved in on-going campaigns to take criminal libel off the statute books and to introduce freedom of information legislation in Indonesia.

It also runs seminars for judges, police, prosecutors and other parts of the authorities on the role of the press in a democratic society. The main aim of these seminars is to promote more transparency and openness and to limit attacks on journalists. While there are still some instances of physical attacks on journalists by police, overall the media is allowed to report freely and many commentators feel that also the work of the press council has contributed to Indonesia's press freedom.

During the past years the Indonesian media market has been growing steadily. In 2010, overall advertising expenditure to media was 3,2 billion US Dollars with television receiving the lion share (60%) followed by newspapers (34%).<sup>v</sup> This has meant that media companies in Indonesia have grown ever more profitable and more powerful. Currently there are eight media conglomerates in Indonesia. The two largest are Kompas Gramedia Group (KGG) and Jawa PosGroup. KGG publishes *Kompas*, the largest daily newspaper in Indonesia, and also owns local papers, magazines, book publishing, hundreds of bookstores, a radio station, and the television station TV7. The KGG also operates the largest printing plants in Indonesia. The Group also runs other businesses in the education, hotels, tourism and real estate markets. There is concern that unless legislation limiting concentration of ownership is introduced that these players will become too powerful and will dominate the media market and what news Indonesians receive.<sup>vi</sup>

#### 1.4 Ethics in Internet Media: Coping with a Changing Media Environment

Internet use has seen enormous growth in Indonesia. While in 2000 only 2 million Indonesians used the Internet, it was almost 40 million in 2010. While that still only represents 16% of the population the enormous level of growth seen in the last ten years is expected to continue and Indonesia is number 11 in the ranking of highest numbers of internet users.<sup>vii</sup>

The Internet is also becoming an increasingly important source of news. While television remains the main news source by far, a 2010 Nielsen Media study found that 17% of Indonesians say get their news mainly on the Internet.<sup>viii</sup>

Indonesians are some of the world's most active bloggers. As of October 2010, Indonesia has approximately 3.2 million bloggers who post on over 4.1 million blogs.<sup>ix</sup> Most of the mainstream media have a sophisticated on-line presence and there a lots of Internet news sites.

With the Internet playing an increasing role in the Indonesian media landscape, the debate about journalism ethics on-line is becoming more important.

"There are some problems with internet journalism," says Karaniya Dharmasaputra, editor-in-chief and founder of *vivanews.com*.<sup>x</sup> "It is dominated by a focus on speed, sometimes at the expense of accuracy, there is very little in-depth reporting and no investigative journalism in Indonesian on-line media. And there is the misconception

that on-line news are less serious than those in the newspapers and that therefore ethical standards can be lower”.

Dharmasaputra, whose vivanews.com site focuses on hard news and is keeping away from the more gossipy side of the internet is worried too much excess on the internet will make it easier for those who want to curb media freedom to introduce restrictive legislation.

One example where the authorities intervened is the so-called Ariel sex tape scandal: Tempers flared in June 2010 when a video of a famous singer Nazril Irham, better known as Ariel, in bed with his girlfriend Luna Maya, a top model and actress in Indonesia, went viral. The story dominated headlines for a week; the video was downloaded by millions of Indonesians and sparked a wave of chatter on social-networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter.

With indecency being an offense under the Pornography Act, the response from the authorities was swift and harsh. Several high schools were raided for mobile phones so the offending clips could be removed. Teenagers said after teachers launched daily raids, they started removing the footage from their phones ahead of class only to later download it again. Some ministers said the incident pointed, once again, to moral decay and the need for stricter regulations of the Internet.

The Ministry of Information and Technology of Indonesia immediately set out to deploy firewalls for more than 2,000 Internet cafes around the country to “protect children from harm”. Also, nearly 500 members of various furious Islamic groups protested outside the court with banners bearing slogans such as “Banish pornography from the face of the earth”. Finally, the court sentenced Ariel to 3.5 years in jail for public indecency. Nevertheless, the verdict sparked a backlash from Ariel's tech-savvy supporters on the Internet, where “#FreeAriel” became the most popular Indonesian hashtag on Twitter on 31 January 2011.

The Indonesian Press Council was heard on the issue and pleaded for a lenient sentence. But the laws on public indecency in Indonesia are strict.

But the new media has also shown that it can be a force for positive change. In a country with high internet usage and many bloggers the campaigning potential of the internet is considerable and it does sometimes follow stories the traditional media do not pick up and only pay attention to after the bloggers and social media sites have written about a subject.

In December 2010 Prita Mulyasari, a housewife was prosecuted after writing an email to several friends complaining about bad service she received at a large hospital in Jakarta. Her email was posted by one of the friends on a blog site. The hospital claimed that this was defamation and a local court ordered her to pay a fine of Rp 204 million (about 22 USD, which is a high amount considering that the average monthly wage in Indonesia is USD 106). The social media movement initiated the “Coins of Justice” campaign calling on people to make contributions to help her pay the fine. “Coins for Justice” was an immediate Internet success and the story was picked up by traditional media. In the end the campaign collected some Rp 650 million (about 70 USD) all in small coins. In a review the case was dropped. But the example shows the problem of defining what is public speech and what is private speech.

The Indonesian press council is looking at amending its code of ethics to make it more adapted to the new media environment.

“We want to get the balance right”, says Bambang Harymurti. “We don’t want to restrict speech but we want to find a way to set certain standards of quality for on-line media and for those bloggers who want to be seen as journalists.”

## 2. Malaysia: Tight Controls on Journalism

While journalists in Indonesia are concerned about protecting their recently gained freedoms, most media professionals in Malaysia work in a tightly controlled media system.

After the long-standing ruling party lost its majority in the 2008 elections, Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak’s initially made positive statements about press freedom but his government continues to employ the full arsenal of restrictions and censorship tactics used by his predecessors.

The constitution guarantees freedom of expression under Article 10, but allows for a host of limitations on this right. The Sedition Act, the Internal Security Act (ISA), and harsh criminal defamation laws are used regularly to impose restrictions on the press and other critics, and all transgressions are punishable by several years in prison. For example, Raja Petra Kamaruddin, founder and editor of the website *Malaysia Today*, was detained and accused of demeaning Islam in 2008, then released on procedural grounds. However, he was later charged under the 1948 Sedition Act and with criminal defamation under the penal code, and is thought to have fled to London to escape the charges, which many observers consider to be politically motivated.

The 1984 Printing Presses and Publications Act (PPPA) requires all publishers and printing firms to obtain an annual operations permit, and gives the prime minister the authority to revoke licenses at any time without judicial review.

The media in Malaysia is privately owned but the political parties and their investment companies control all major media companies. The Utusan Melayu Group publishes three Malay language dailies and has strong ties to the ruling coalition. In addition, the *Star* is owned by the Malaysian Chinese Association, a party affiliated with the ruling coalition. Private interests aligned with the Malaysian Indian Congress control all the Tamil newspapers. The investment arm of ruling party, the Fleet Investment Group, has controlling interest in TV 3, the only commercial television in Malaysia and the *New Straits Times*.

As a result there is little criticism or dissent and most Malaysians receive news that are in line with the government’s views.

### 2.1 The Internet as the Main Source for Independent News

The Internet first became a real choice for Malaysians and their daily news updates in 1999. The catalyst came the year before, when Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed fired his Deputy Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim. The action was controversial and sparked a reform movement in Malaysia. Because it coincided with the broad arrival of the Internet in Malaysia, it led to the launching of many online alternative news sites.

The civil society group, Aliran, and others like it had just started putting up their own Web sites, the earliest in 1997. The Internet became the space for news from all kinds of campaigns, including one to free the imprisoned Anwar, led by the now

famous blogger Raja Petra Kamaruddin; also, the BERSIH rally for free and unbiased elections, in Kuala Lumpur.

Many Web-based magazines, such as Saksi.com, also emerged. The first Internet newspaper, *Malaysiakini* was started in 1999. The first Web-based radio, RadiQradio.com, was launched in 2000. Also that year, Aliran launched an initiative it called Charter 2000, to campaign for a free and fair media.<sup>xi</sup>

Malaysia's March 2008 general elections marked a historic change not just in the nation's politics but also its media. For only the second time in the country's history, the Barisan National Alliance lost its two-thirds majority in Parliament. The results stunned the government, which had ignored cyber campaigning, and vilified bloggers and threatened them with jail.

Mainstream media took a beating too, losing credibility because of blatantly biased coverage in favour of the government. News monitoring by the Centre for Independent Journalism in Malaysia showed Barisan National used mainstream newspapers as propaganda tools. The election results showed that the general public ignored that mainstream media.

What helped discredit traditional media were conflicting reports between them and the blogs and online media. For example, mainstream media reported much lower crowd numbers at the BERSIH rally (a rally organised by a wide range of organisations calling for free and fair elections) than the 40,000 reported and photographed by online media.

Independent news organisations were able to launch news web sites because the Press and Publications Act did not extend to the Internet. Thus, they could register news sites and begin publishing without having to go through a government-controlled registration process that would have resulted in many of them not receiving licenses.

And on-line newspapers are very successful in Malaysia. They profit from the fact that Internet penetration in Malaysia is high, with 57% of the population having access to the Internet. *Malaysiakini*, the oldest of the on-line newspapers is the most visited news site in Malaysia, according to the latest website rankings released by the Malaysian Digital Association (MDA). It registered 2.7 million unique visitors in April 2011, ahead of the *Star* (2.4 million), *Harian Metro* (1.6 million), *Utusan Malaysia* (1.3 million) and *Malaysian Insider* (1.2 million).<sup>xii</sup>

"I think the fact that we have these independent Internet news sites has had a bit of an impact on how the traditional media report the news", says Sevan Doraisamy, former director of the Centre for Independent Journalism in Malaysia. "The newspapers still tow the party line but they now give more space to stories highlighting problems in schools or hospitals. They don't outright criticize the government but they at least point to problems in the administration."<sup>xiii</sup>

## 2.2 Journalists' Ethics in a Controlled Media Environment

Malaysia does not have a press council. There have been numerous attempts by different Malaysian governments to introduce a bill establishing a statutory, and effectively government-controlled press council.

In 1974, the then prime minister, Abdul Razak, after unseating Malaysia's first prime minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, proposed the idea of a press council. It remained an

idea. It was subsequently resurrected in 1983, 1989 and 1993 but was never established. In 2003 the Malaysian Press Institute (a governmental body) released the draft of a Malaysian Media Council Bill intended as a Private Member's Bill, but both journalists from the traditional and new media came together and successfully opposed the bill. There have been more attempts by the government to establish a council in 2006 and 2008.

Currently, two very different actors and principles govern journalists' ethics in Malaysia.

The first actor is the Malaysian government that -- through ample use of the restrictive media laws -- influences standards of journalism.

The government often justifies the restrictive laws with the need to protect ethnic harmony in Malaysia's multi-ethnic society. In a country made up Malaysian, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani and other communities, all governments since Malaysia's independence have stated that in order for the country to have a peaceful and prosperous existence, special attention has to be given to preserving ethnic harmony. In reality, this means that the media should stay away from stories that critically evaluate race or religion.

Whenever there are protests by one ethnic or religious group, the media is told to stay within the editorial line given by the government.

The second actor, much less powerful and much less restrictive, is the National Union of Journalists, Malaysia, which regroups a large percentage of Malaysian journalists and has succeeded in having both journalists from the traditional and party-aligned media and the independent Internet media in membership. The NUJ Malaysia has its own code of ethics, which is based on the code of the International Federation of Journalists. It is thus a very straightforward document stipulating respect for the truth and journalistic independence. It should be noted that one of the IFJ clauses is not included in the NUJ Malaysia code:

*"7. The journalist shall be aware of the danger of discrimination being furthered by the media, and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins."*<sup>xiv</sup>

Ha'ta Wahari, president of the NUJ Malaysia explains this omission: " Given that ethnic harmony is always used to restrict free expression, we felt that if we included this article in our code of ethics, it could be used to claim that we are in support of the government's policies restricting media freedom."<sup>xv</sup>

### **2.3 An Independent Malaysia Media Council**

Not only the government but also journalists and civil society groups in Malaysia have been debating the idea of a media council. There is generally agreement among these groups that an independent media council that would not only mediate on complaints but would also act to promote press freedom is a good thing. There is less agreement about how to go about establishing such a council and whether this should be done at all as long as the restrictive media laws remain in place.

"I support the idea of an independent media council", says Malaysiakini's CEO Premesh Chandran. "But I think such a council can only work in a meaningful way if

our press is no longer subject to restrictive laws. What use is an independent council if journalists continuously fact trumped-up libel charges or are sentenced under the sedition law for reporting on ethnic tensions in the country.”<sup>xvi</sup>

During the Independent Media Council Forum organised by the Global Forum for Media Development and the International Federation of Journalists in Kuala Lumpur in April 2011, some 70 representatives from the NUJ Malaysia, independent on-line news sites and media support groups did agree to try to set up an independent council. Agreement was reached on the fact that even though all restrictive media laws remain in place the council could be used on the one hand to highlight these restrictions and on the other hand to offer an alternative by addressing problems of media content in an open, transparent manner involving media professionals and not the government.

The NUJ Malaysia, since it represents most of the journalists and breaches the gap between the traditional and the new media, was tasked with sounding out potential members of the council and preparing a draft structure, loosely based on the Indonesian Press Council.

Unfortunately, these plans have not come to fruition. The leadership of the NUJ Malaysia had to struggle with the unfair dismissal of one of its members and in July 2011 the Malaysian government yet again resurrected its idea for a media council.

The move was met with widespread resistance in the media community with editors, journalists, on-line news sites and media support all opposing the government’s proposal.<sup>xvii</sup>

These groups continue their campaign against the council but as a result the work on launching an independent council has taken a back seat.

## Conclusion

The Indonesian Press Council has a lot of advantages and journalists in the countries of South-East Asia rightly look to Indonesia as a possible model to copy. But, as explained above, the Indonesian Press Council was established in specific circumstances: It was set up by a government ready to relinquish control of the press; it was part of the “reformasi” movement and its members command considerable respect among the Indonesian media; it has been given a strong mandate and donors have been ready to support its work.

As the Malaysian example shows, these conditions are not met in many countries of South-East Asia. As the recent events have shown, the Malaysian government will not establish a statutory council that would be allowed to function freely and certainly not one with the specific mandate to insulate the press from government interference.

Nevertheless, it is of tremendous importance that the Indonesian Press Council exists and that it can serve as a point of reference to journalists in other countries of South-East Asia. In fact, the council supports groups in Cambodia and the Philippines who are thinking about launching their own independent councils. A network of press councils set up at the 2010 Bali Media Forum and run by the Indonesian Press Council provides ad-hoc advice and support on ethical questions.

Reviewing the Indonesian and Malaysian situation also illustrates that internet-based media often fills gaps left by traditional media. In Indonesia, where there are many

independent newspapers, internet sites and social media focus more on “light” news, while in Malaysia, where the traditional media are tightly controlled, many successful “hard” news sites have sprung up that respond to the public’s need for independent information.

While journalists in South-East Asia may not be able to launch an “Indonesian-style” council, journalists in established democracies may want to take a closer look at this model.

The Indonesian Press Council example shows that media accountability, to be effective, must be about the defence of press freedom rather than the defence of the press. Accountability is one of four key ethics that shape the work of journalists. The other three – truth-telling, independence and responsibility to the people we serve – are deeply embedded in journalistic traditions. But making themselves accountable, owning up to mistakes and revealing their frailties to the outside world is not something that journalists ever find easy.

With the UK’s Press Complaints Commission, whose credibility as a watchdog was shredded when it was forced to admit that Rupert Murdoch’s editorial chiefs had told bare-faced lies about the extent of phone hacking at the News of the World, facing possible extinction, UK journalists may want to look to Indonesia to come up with a new structure that does not protect press barons but press freedom.

#### End Notes:

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<sup>i</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the 1999 press law, go to:

<http://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/analysis/indonesia-press-law-feb-2004.pdf>.

<sup>ii</sup> Interview with Bambang Harymurti during the Bali Media Forum, December 8-10, 2010, Bali, Indonesia.

<sup>iii</sup> For more information on the Indonesian Press Council, go to:

<http://www.dewanpers.org/>.

<sup>iv</sup> Interview with Bambang Harymurti, Bali Media Forum, December 8-10, Bali, Indonesia.

<sup>v</sup> Report by Singapore Management University, June 2011,

[https://wiki.smu.edu.sg/digitalmediaasia/Digital\\_Media\\_in\\_Indonesia#Newspapers](https://wiki.smu.edu.sg/digitalmediaasia/Digital_Media_in_Indonesia#Newspapers).

<sup>vi</sup> Social Justice and Rule of Law: Addressing the Growth of a Pluralist Indonesian Democracy, Yohanes Widodo, S.Sos, M.Sc, Atma Jaya Yogyakarta University, Published in Connors, Thomas J., Frank Dhont, Mason C. Hoadley, and Adam D. Tyson, eds. 2011, Diponegoro University Press: Semarang

<sup>vii</sup> <http://www.internetworldstats.com/top20.htm>.

<sup>viii</sup> <http://www.elevenxy.com.au/clients/Nielsen/NielsenMediaIndex-v6.htm>.

<sup>ix</sup> Lisa Siregar. (2010, October 26). Rise of Indonesia’s Bloggers. *Jakarta Globe*.

<http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/lifeandtimes/rise-of-indonesias-bloggers/403374>

<sup>x</sup> Interview with Karaniya Dharmasaputra, Bali Media Forum, December 8-10, 2010, Bali, Indonesia.

<sup>xi</sup> The Impact of Cyper News, Servan Dorasami, in GFMD Insider, March 2010,

[www.gfmd.info](http://www.gfmd.info).

<sup>xii</sup> <http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/164483>.

<sup>xiii</sup> Telephone interview with Sevan Doraisami, Brussels, March 2009.

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<sup>xiv</sup> See IFJ Declaration of Principles on Code of Journalists,  
<http://www.ifj.org/en/articles/status-of-journalists-and-journalism-ethics-ifj-principles>.

<sup>xv</sup> Interview with Ha'ta Wahari at Independent Media Council Malaysia Forum, April 8-9, 2011, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

<sup>xvi</sup> Interview with Premesh Chandran, April 7, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

<sup>xvii</sup> For more information, see reports by Malaysiakini,  
<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/171004>.