



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Science
International Relations Department

Accredited A

SK BAN –PT NO: 3949/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/X/2019

Promoting United Kingdom's Diplomatic Leadership
Through Championing Media Freedom

Thesis

By

Immakulata Soraya

2016330058

Bandung

2020



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Thesis Approval

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Championing Media Freedom

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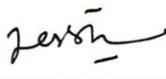
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Hereby stated, the thesis produced below is the writer's own work, for it is not a prior made and proposed by other authors to attain an academic degree. Ideas, information and data extracted from other sources have been officially cited in accordance to the valid and rightful scientific manner and writing methods.

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Bandung, 9 January 2020



Immakulata Soraya

ABSTRACT

Name : Immakulata Soraya

Student ID : 2016330058

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Championing Media Freedom

Over the past decade, deterioration of media freedom has become a global phenomenon, not only in conflicted area, it also happened in democratic countries that values freedom of expression and human rights, including the United Kingdom. After almost a decade, the country response to the issue through an establishment of global scale programs to champion media freedom, while leading the international society for a better and sustainable media environment. One research question will be asked upon this thesis, **why does United Kingdom use Future News Worldwide and Global Conference on Media Freedom as instruments to fulfill its diplomatic leadership in championing media freedom?** As the writer will analyze this topic and research question with two theories and two concepts such as; the English School Theory under Barry Buzan's Three Pillars of Cosmopolitan Society, the Democracy Theory under the liberalist-pluralist perspective, the concept of soft power and nation branding. As a result, United Kingdom have achieved diplomatic leadership to tackle the deterioration of media freedom by establishing state-led action to show it commitment and leads the international society to create solutions on the issue, rebranding their nation's image, while projecting their influence on a wider audience from across the globe.

Keywords: Media Freedom, United Kingdom, Human Rights, Campaign, Soft Power

ABSTRAK

Nama : Immakulata Soraya

NPM : 2016330058

Judul : Peningkatan Kepemimpinan Diplomatik Britania Raya Dengan Mengedepankan Kebebasan Media

Dalam satu dekade terakhir, penurunan tingkat kebebasan media telah menjadi fenomena global, tidak hanya pada area berkonflik, namun telah meluas hingga negara-negara yang mengedepankan demokrasi, hak asasi manusia dan kebebasan berekspresi, termasuk Britania Raya. Setelah hampir satu dekade, Britania Raya memberikan respons dengan menciptakan konferensi berskala global untuk menciptakan kembali lingkungan yang aman dan berkelanjutan bagi praktik kebebasan media, dengan memimpin negara-negara dunia untuk memperbaharui komitmennya. Penulis akan memberikan satu pertanyaan penelitian; Mengapa Britania Raya menggunakan Future News Worldwide dan Global Conference on Media Freedom sebagai instrumen untuk mencapai kepemimpinan diplomatik dalam mengupayakan kebebasan media? Penulis juga akan menggunakan empat teori antara lain; Tiga Pilar Masyarakat Kosmopolitan oleh Barry Buzan di bawah Teori Mazhab Inggris, perspektif liberalis-pluralis di bawah Teori Demokrasi, konsep soft power dan nation-branding. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah, Britania Raya dapat mencapai misinya sebagai pemimpin diplomatik dalam memberantas penurunan tingkat kebebasan media, dengan menciptakan Gerakan yang dipimpin oleh negara untuk memperlihatkan komitmen, memperbaiki citra negaranya, serta memperluas ideologinya pada masyarakat global.

Kata Kunci: Kebebasan Media, Britania Raya, Hak Asasi Manusia, Kampanye, Soft Power

FOREWORD

The writer would like to show her highest gratitude to God, the Almighty. By His blessings, this thesis with the title of **“Promoting United Kingdom’s Diplomatic Leadership Through Championing Media Freedom”** has come to completion. This thesis was created to obtain a bachelor degree in International Relations Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science of Parahyangan Catholic University.

The writer aims to explain the relations between states and non-states actors, to tackle the deterioration of global media freedom trends and how the issue could fulfill one of United Kingdom’s Foreign Policies objectives. The focus of analysis will explain upon how the United Kingdom could achieve its diplomatic leadership on championing media freedom, through establishing international scale conference and campaigns to tackle the issue, together with the international society, while projecting its influence to a wider audience, especially to rebrand the nation’s image. The writer acknowledges that this research is far from perfection and therefore would sincerely apologize should there be any error, inaccuracy and misinterpretation within this research.

Bandung, 16th December 2019

Immakulata Soraya

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The writer would like to thank and acknowledge the support, experience, valuable moments and lessons given by those important to her;

To father and mother, thank you for taking care of me since I was born, until the day I could say “I graduated” to both of you, for always pushing me into my limits, to never give up on anything and to be a stronger person each day.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	: British Broadcasting Corporation
FCO	: Foreign and Commonwealth Office
IMPRESS	: Independent Monitor for the Press
IPSO	: International Press Standards Organization
OSCE	: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
UK	: United Kingdom
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Backgrounds

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and the Northern Ireland (United Kingdom) is a sovereign country made up of four nations; England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, with London as its main capital.¹ United Kingdom implemented two separate political system, which are Constitutional Monarchy and Democratic Parliament. The Constitutional Monarchy system is under the legitimacy of the Royal Family, led by a King or a Queen. The King or Queen fulfills the role of Head of State, a formal and ceremonial presence alongside the members of the Royal Family while focusing on non-political affairs.² Diversely, the Democratic Parliament system is led by a Prime Minister who fulfills the executive role of the Head of Government, focusing on political affairs under the Act of Parliament, while the legislative roles are divided into House of Commons and House of Lords.³

Although the state is one of the oldest Monarch in the world, the United Kingdom upholds the importance of democracy by putting forward freedom of expression for its people in the forms of freedom of information and human rights. The state uses soft power strategy to fulfill one of its national interests, such as spreading the United Kingdom's norms, identity and its capability to demonstrate

¹ QQMF, *Country Profile: United Kingdom*, (United States, 2018). p1-2

² Political dan Constitutional Reform Committee, *The UK Constitution: A Summary, With Option for Reform*, (London, House of Common, 2015). p5

³ Ibid. p7

diplomatic leadership.⁴ To promote its diplomatic leadership, the United Kingdom uses several instruments and one of the ongoing instruments is through defending media freedom. The United Kingdom recognize the importance of media as a fourth pillar of democracy to give critics and positive suggestion towards the government. Furthermore, media's capability to perform a bridge of communication between the government, its civilians and the international world, while keeping the news transparent and accountable in regards to the public interest, proven that the role of media are very important and could not be separated from government's activities.⁵

Acknowledging the importance of media, the United Kingdom has supported and defended the freedom of press by giving British media organizations to authorize their own regulations without interference from the government, stated under the Royal Charter. The regulations are established by the Independent Press Standard Organization (IPSO) since 2014 and have been implemented by most of the media organization throughout the United Kingdom.⁶ In addition to that, IPSO also becomes a supervisor for media and magazines agencies, to protect individual rights, keeping high standards of journalism and defending the freedom of press.⁷

Not only for British media, United Kingdom as a part of Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is actively involved in defending

⁴ Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Single Department Plan, (Updated in 2019). Accessed on 23rd August 2019. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/foreign-and-commonwealth-office-single-departmental-plan/foreign-and-commonwealth-office-single-departmental-plan-2019-20#our-objectives>

⁵ United Nations Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner, *Safety of Journalist and Media Workers*, (Geneva, 2014). p1

⁶ Independent Press Standard Organization, *What We Do*, (United Kingdom,2018). Accessed on 24th August 2019. <https://www.ipso.co.uk/what-we-do/>

⁷ Ibid.

media freedom and the safety of journalist globally through joint declarations for freedom of expression and information that has been published since 1999.⁸ Acknowledging the importance of media for government and the people, United Kingdom strongly committed to defend the rights and freedom of media and the safety of journalists, especially in the era of misinformation, where credible media are highly needed to become a fact checker for those phenomenon.

1.2 Identification, Limitations of the Problems, and Research Question

1.2.1 Identification of the Problems

Before explaining the problems, the writer acknowledges that the topic could not be separated from freedom of expression and opinion that has been stated in Article 19 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) for “*Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.*”⁹ This declaration was the basic parameter of fulfillment of human rights and the freedom of expression for the members of United Nations since 1948.

However, over the last decade, media freedom (includes in freedom of expression) and the safety of journalist trends are facing deterioration each year.

⁸ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Twentieth Anniversary Joint Declaration: Challenges to Freedom of Expression in The Next Decade*, (London, 2019).

⁹United Nations, *Universal Declaration on Human Rights*, (Geneva, 1948).

Journalists, media workers and their family increasingly becoming targets of harassment, intimidation, violence, threats, torture, sexual violence and even murder for publishing their works, especially for reports on sensitive topics and investigations.¹⁰ The recession of media freedom and challenges faced by journalists also caused the media to lose their role as the society's watch dogs, which are to provide objective and truthful information that favors the public interest. In addition to that, with the rise of terrorism attacks and repressive behavior from the authorities, media are more often to get silenced before publishing their works or forced to write one sided story.

These cases happened in most countries in the international system, including United Kingdom. United Kingdom's media freedom index sank to its worst performance on rank 40th in 2018 and deemed one of the worst ranked countries in Europe after facing several heavy cases due to repressive actions from its authorities towards the media.¹¹ British media and the OSCE keep questioning the country for UK's commitment on upholding human rights and freedom of press. The recession created a negative image for United Kingdom. As the pressure continues, United Kingdom acknowledged the problem and started to create changes for the better. Through the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and British Council. United Kingdom established international programs and campaign, to lead the world in tackling media freedom issues. These programs aimed to become the first ever state-

¹⁰ Loc. Cit. United Nations Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner

¹¹ Reporters Without Borders, *United Kingdom*, (2019). Accessed on 25th August 2019.
<https://rsf.org/en/united-kingdom>

led initiatives, for both state and media, partnering to address and solve the problems. In addition to that, by showing their commitment once again to lead and solve the issues, United Kingdom will gain positive feedbacks from both state and non-state actors, that will boost the country's image in the international society, and increased their index for the following year. Furthermore, by facing the recession of media freedom, United Kingdom could use that condition to create relevance for countries that also faced recession and encourage them to change for the better.

With the recession over media freedom index each year and the importance of media for a nation and the international society, this topic is relevant to be analyzed from international relations perspective. The trends happened globally and it involved various actors from the international society. Therefore, both states and non-state actors, should work together in tackling the issue of media freedom, to ensure the sustainability of media freedom, providing safe environment for media to fulfill their role to provide objective and accurate information for the international society and to assist countries with constructive criticism.

1.2.2 Limitations of Problems

Acknowledging that the topic is very broad, the writer will give several limitations. United Kingdom will be the main actor, for the writer will focus on one of its foreign policy, which is; projecting UK's influence and demonstrate diplomatic leadership, that could be achieved through two subjects of analysis, Future News Worldwide and Global Conference on Media Freedom. Furthermore, the time

constraint for the research will be between 2017-2019, from the start of Future News Worldwide and Global Conference on Media Freedom.

1.2.3 Research Question

After identifying the backgrounds and problems, the writer will try to answer one research question on; **“Why does United Kingdom use Future News Worldwide and Global Conference on Media Freedom as instruments to fulfill its diplomatic leadership in championing media freedom?”**

1.3 Purpose and Utility of Research

1.3.1 Purpose of the Research

This research will show the improvement on United Kingdom’s diplomatic leadership to champion media freedom with its two main programs and the first one is from numbers of applicants on Future News Worldwide that increased each year from 2017-2019 and the positive outcomes from the participants. The second one is the conference and a global campaign, launched in July 2019; The Global Conference on Media Freedom co-hosted with the Canadian Government to spread the message about the importance of media freedom and acknowledging that it was succeeded in London, it would improve United Kingdom’s good image, especially with its media freedom index that went up to 33th place in 2019 that shown the country’s strong commitment towards the issue.

1.3.2 Utility of the Research

The research will be used to add more academic insights, especially on media issues that could be analyze using international relations perspective and how

media have important roles and could not be separated from a nation, especially to fulfill its role as the fourth pillars of democracy.

1.4 Literature Review

Hard Power and Soft Power: The Utility of Military Force as an Instrument of Policy in the 21st Century by Colin S. Gray, provided an academic comparison and debate on how hard power is more relevant to become a foreign policy strategy than soft power. Gray stated that by only using soft power, a country will be too dependent on how the international world would response without using any forms of force and it is not legitimate enough in comparison to military power that could give a country more control over any situation.¹²¹³

Second literature called *Beyond the Nation Brand: the Role of Image and Identity in International Relations* from the Journal of Public Diplomacy written by Simon Anholt, acknowledge that nation-branding is not just a logo or publication from marketing agency, however it is a reflection of nation's identity and reputation that should be improved from time to time for a better image of the country.¹⁴ A State would use its assets and products to increase its good reputation on international scale to also contribute towards the state economic and political

¹² Colin S. Gray, *Hard Power and Soft Power: The Utility of Military Force as an Instrument of Policy in the 21st Century*, (United States, Strategic Studies Institute, 2011). Preface page VIII

¹³ Ibid. P47-48

¹⁴ Simon Anholt, *Beyond the Nation Brand: The Role of Image and Identity in International Relations*, The Journal of Public Diplomacy Vol2, (SURFACE, 2013). P7

sectors.¹⁵ Anholt debated that the use of nation-branding is important for a country to project its influence and identity towards the international society.

The last literature written by Abdulsamet Günek debated the first literature over the use of soft power as a country's foreign policy strategy with country branding as its instrument. Stated in *International Journal of Cultural and Social Studies* with the article of *A New Type of Soft Power: Country Branding*, Gunek debated that in the contemporary era, the use of soft power will be more relevant for international relations for its sustainability through building and improving good reputation of a country.¹⁶ Furthermore, Gunek emphasizes the usage of smart power to increase the capability of state in fulfilling its national interest, to not only use force, on the contrary using assets to lift up its reputation.

The writer acknowledge that hard power could not entirely be put aside in a foreign policy research. However, agreeing with the second and third literature, the usage of soft power and nation-branding in the contemporary era are more effective, especially to improve a state's good reputation and projecting influence towards the international society. Therefore, soft power and nation-branding will be the best foreign policy strategy for this research.

1.5 Concepts and Theories

The writer will use English School Theory as the base of this research for it is more relevant to explain contemporary global politics phenomenon. This theory also

¹⁵ *ibid*

¹⁶ Abdulsamet Günek, *A New Type of Soft Power: Country Branding*, *International Journal of Cultural and Social Studies* Vol. 4, (IntJCSS, 2018). P258

emphasized the importance of non-state actors and global politics are combined between high-politics and low-politics.¹⁷ However, the writer will use the theory that has been reconstructed by Barry Buzan which is **Three Pillars of Cosmopolitan Society** consisted of inter-state societies, transnational societies and inter-human societies. The theory will be the base of argument that in international relations non-state actors also fulfill important roles in high politics or state affairs, therefore actors such as non-governmental organization, media, corporation should be counted as important as state.

The second theory for this research is **Democracy Theory** under the **liberalist-pluralist** perspective by James Curran that defines democracy as a process of competition between diverse interest and multiple power centers both in the political and media market.¹⁸ According to the liberal-pluralist tradition, freedom of media organization should not be constraint significantly by government, since this threatens media freedom, for the perspective is associated with free-for-all market approach to journalism that embraces advocacy and partisanship.¹⁹ Furthermore, Curran elaborates the role of media in political process and divide them into four principle; value, identity, cognition and norms. On values and identity, media contributed to spread these influences and to choose the values, while maintaining and reforming social identity inside a society that could be seen as national interest

¹⁷ Bob Sugeng Hadiwinata, *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional: Arus Utama, Alternatif dan Reflektivis*, (Jakarta, Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2017). P138

¹⁸ James Curran, *Media and Democracy*, (Oxon, Routledge, 2011). P60

¹⁹ Op. Cit. Curran, *Media and Democracy*, 2011. P80

depending on the threats that happened in that society.²⁰ Through cognition, popular media could contribute by offering ways of making sense of reality, images of society and its components, interpreting society in terms of the mainspring of human action and the dynamics of power shaping our lives.²¹ Lastly, media could build dialogue about public norms, the rules, conventions and expectations that could guide individual behavior and the social interaction of society that generates shared understandings about what actions are appropriate and inappropriate and defining acceptable and unacceptable attitudes.²²

In addition to the two main theory, the writer will use the concept of **power** with its definition as a capability to influence the action of others to fulfill the interests of the first person.²³ There are two main types of power in a state level analysis, hard power and soft power, however the writer will only use the concept of soft power for this research. According to Joseph Nye, **soft power** could be define as an ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments, and arise from the attractiveness of a country's culture, ideology and policies that could be used to create and maintain relations, cooperation and spreading values towards the international world.²⁴ State use soft power to fulfill its national interests through a more peaceful strategies, rather than using force or military power.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Loc. Cit. p64-68

²² Ibid. p69

²³ Ibid. p72

²⁴ Joseph S. Nye, JR., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2004). Preface – P2

The last one will be **pluralism concept** that will provide four assumptions; non-state actors as important entities, state is not a unitary actor, state is not a rational actor and lastly, the agenda of international politics are extensive.²⁵ First assumption, related to the Three Pillars of Cosmopolitan Society, that **non-state actors are important entities of the international system**, for it emphasize the interdependency between various actors in the system and all should be seen equally important. The second assumption, **state is not a unitary actor**, for state is a composed of individuals and interest groups that attempt to formulate or influence foreign policy. The third assumption, **state is not a rational actor**, where the decision-making process of a foreign policy is a result of clashes, bargaining and compromising between actors, as state should consider these external factors to create a good foreign policy that could fulfill its national interest. The last assumption, **the agenda of international politics are extensive**, means that the international system nowadays did not only focus on military issues, but expand into new sets of social issues such as economy, media and energy.

The writer will use these theories and concepts to further analyze the research topic, for these are the most relevant ones to the issue and these concepts and as limitations towards the analysis subjects in this research.

²⁵ Paul R. Viotti; Mark V. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism and Beyond*, (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1999). P7-8

1.6 Research Methods and Data Extraction Technique

1.6.1 Research Methods

The research methods that will be used is qualitative method, to explore various types of data and information, through narrative approach that will focus on describing the phenomenon and combining it with the researcher's observation on one of the analysis subjects.²⁶

1.6.2 Data Extraction Technique

The writer will provide both primary and secondary data. The primary data will be provided through observation during Future News Worldwide 2019 in Thomson Reuters Headquarters, London, 16-17th July 2019 and online interview with Future News Worldwide Project Officer. The secondary data will be consisted of formal documents, publications, news article, reports, books and journals to strengthen the writer's argument by providing important data for the research.

1.7 Research Mechanism

The first chapter consisted of a short background explanation about United Kingdom and its foreign policy strategies, identification and limitations about the decreasing of media freedom, research question, purpose and utility of research, literature review, theoretical framework and research methods that will be used in this research.

²⁶ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, (Washington D.C., SAGE, 2014).

The second chapter will elaborate more on the decreasing of media freedom phenomenon, specifying on media freedom and safety of journalist trends. The chapter will also focus on the deterioration of United Kingdom's press freedom while assessing the country's response towards the recession and its further commitment as members of OSCE and United Nations.

The third chapter will focus on United Kingdom's foreign policies' objectives to improve its diplomatic leadership and spreading its influence. The writer will analyze Future News Worldwide and Global Conference on Media Freedom as United Kingdom's instruments to spread influence about media freedom through campaigns and legal enforcement to create a safer environment for media. In addition to that, both of the projects will help United Kingdom to become the global leader in tackling the issues, improve its media freedom index, while rebranding its nation's image after the press freedom deterioration.

The last chapter will consist of conclusion from this research. Conclusion will answer the research hypothesis that has been stated in the purpose of the research about United Kingdom's reasons to use two international projects and campaign to achieve its diplomatic leadership.