

# HOW TO STAND UP TO A DICTATOR

THE FIGHT FOR OUR FUTURE

MARIA  
RESSA

FOREWORD BY AMAL CLOONEY



HARPER

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FIRST EDITION

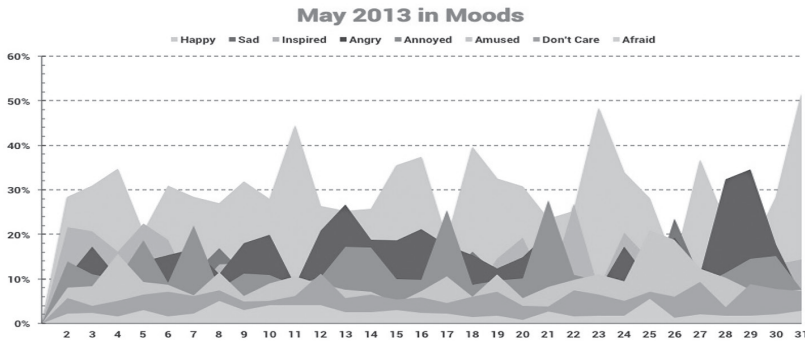
Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

ISBN 978-0-06-325751-1

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# Creating Ripples of Change

## *Build a Team*



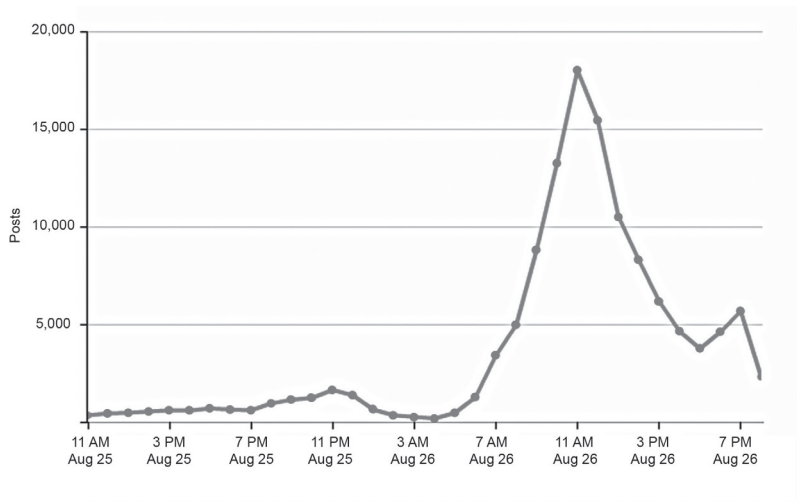
When the well-connected businesswoman Janet Lim Napoles was charged with working with more than a dozen congressmen to siphon off \$232 million in public funds intended for farmers, public anger erupted against the Aquino government.

The advertising executive Peachy Rallonzo-Bretaña had never led a protest before, but she and her friends were so angry about the corruption that she posted about it on Facebook. It triggered the first social media-organized mass protest in the Philippines.<sup>35</sup>

Watching it come together in the virtual world was fascinating. When the idea for the protest was first floated, it took seven days, from August 17 to 25, to get up to ten thousand mentions on Twitter. Then, the day before the protest, the number increased exponentially.

By 11:00 a.m. on August 26, 2013, protestors were arriving in Luneta Park in the center of Manila. By that time, we were recording five tweets

per second.<sup>36</sup> Since there was no central organization, people at the protest didn't really know what to do: there was no central stage, no program. People arrived and walked around in groups. Some families set up picnics. Peachy Rallonzo-Bretaña's Facebook post ended up bringing out eighty thousand to a hundred thousand people. The hashtag was #MillionPeopleMarch.<sup>37</sup>

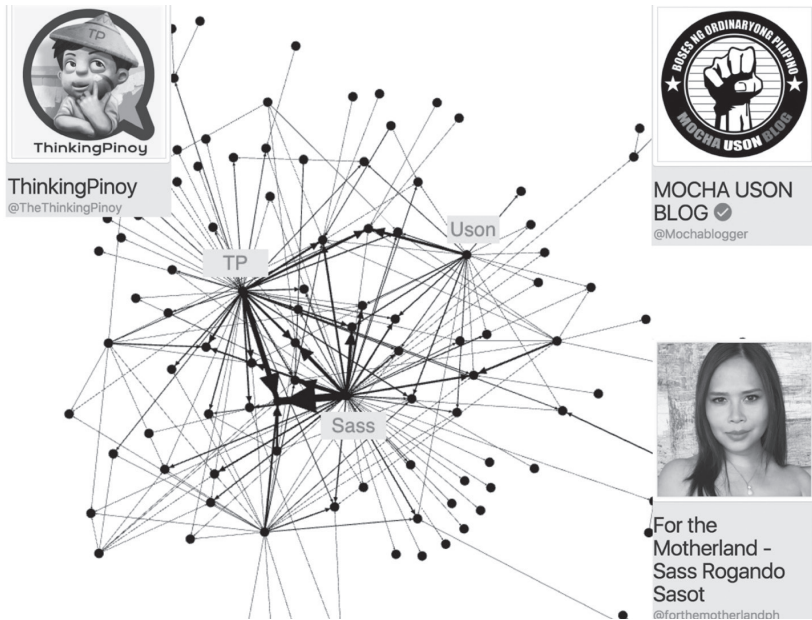


## Chapter 8

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# How the Rule of Law Crumbled from Within

*Silence Is Complicity*



The attack vectors for #LeniLeaks in January 2017. Leni Robredo was a favorite of the propaganda machine, attacked nearly daily, with a direct impact on statistical popularity survey ratings. This is the same network that attacked me, other journalists, and the top news organizations.

label	Group Name	weighted indegree	weighted outdegree	weighted degree
294969194202067	Sass Rogando Sasot	17	143	160
567419693405138	Thinking Pinoy	5	118	123
969295043116670	Lapu-Lapu	47	13	60
319779186521	MOCHA USON BLOG	9	39	48
1145212948834290	VOVph	12	34	46
110296245691141	Showbiz Government	19	4	23
1444892222391240	CRUELTY OF NOYNOY "ABNOY" AQUINO AND HIS GOVERNMENT	20	0	20
1031317600238250	Kasama Ng Pangulo sa Pagbabago - National Chapter	0	19	19
240711942975412	President Rody Duterte Facebook Army	19	0	19
156249678052611	Maharlika	3	14	17
1376086699270700	BongBong Marcos United	15	0	15
1632962006934810	Freedom Society (Original)	15	0	15
192588367599737	Crabblar	7	7	14
408328902693628	OFW4DU30 Global Movement	13	0	13
288218004888308	REAL PHILIPPINE HISTORY	12	0	12

The data for the network map showing the top fifteen propagators of #LeniLeaks, ranked by their total weighted degree. The weighted in degree is the number of posts it shared from other channels; the weighted out degree is the number of times other people shared from that channel. You can see that some pages are clear influencers (zero in degree, high out degree), while the ones closer to the bottom primarily distribute the content. This shows the content creation and distribution network behind the attack against Leni Robredo in January 2017, demonstrating the anatomy of an information operation.

• • •

# Hold the Line

*What Doesn't Kill You Makes You Stronger*

FB page FB account external



The network map above is from October 2018, right before midterm elections in May 2019. The center is dominated by pro-Duterte, pro-Marcos, and government accounts, what I have referred to as the propaganda machine, spewing half-truths and lies. News organizations were pushed away from the center—represented by some of the circles on the left. The two right-hand clusters are largely fast-growing Facebook meme pages, ready to be deployed for election campaigns, which did happen during the 2019 elections.

A complex network graph visualization. The graph consists of a large number of nodes, represented by circles of varying diameters, and a dense web of edges connecting them. The nodes are distributed across the frame, with a particularly high concentration in the center, where they form a large, dense cluster. This central cluster is surrounded by a more sparse, elongated structure of smaller nodes and edges that extends horizontally to the left and right edges of the image. The overall shape is roughly oval or lens-like. The nodes vary significantly in size, with some being very large and prominent within the central cluster, while others are small and numerous. The edges are thin, light gray lines that connect the nodes, creating a complex, interconnected web. The background is white, and the overall aesthetic is technical and data-driven.

*The pro-Duterte communities actively share and spread each other's content within a large, coordinated network. While anti-Duterte communities have started to organize themselves online, they are still behind in terms of sheer quantity.*

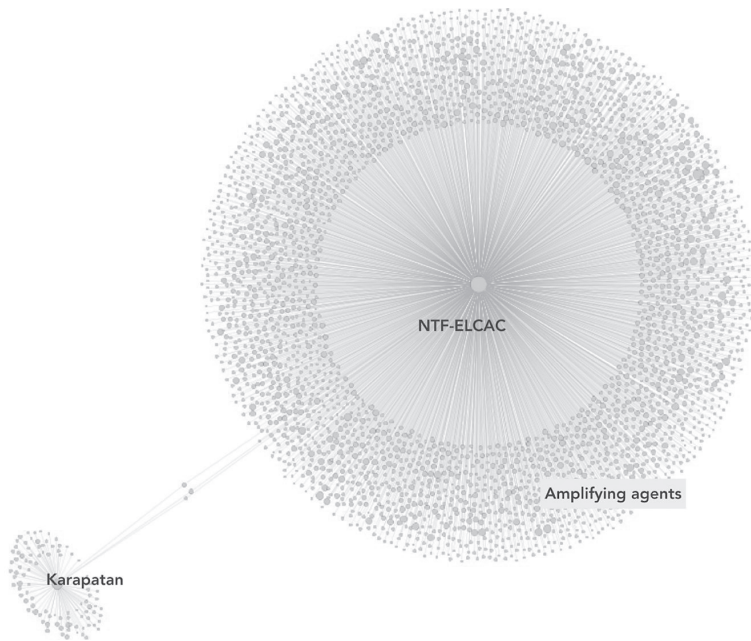
### Top content sources

■ Linkers ■ Content Creators (FB) ■ Content Creators (Domain)

*Pro-Duterte communities online avoid sharing content from mainstream news organizations and rely mostly on alternative news sources (blogs, niche news orgs) and government channels instead. The top content creators for the anti-Duterte community meanwhile are mainstream news organizations.*

Source	Count
rapidresponse.com	410
news.abc-cbn.com	204
News5Everywhere	212
www.granetwork.com	196
newinfo.inquirer.net	158
www.philstar.com	158
www.showbiztrends.info	148
www.munilias.net	148
CUJOMEDIANetwork	99
www.lambaychannel.top	91
voph	88
PressSpokenpersonPH	87
citizenexpress.today	87
www.pna.gov.ph	73
www.oagnews.ph	72
politics.com.ph	70
www.filipinonlines.com	67
abcnews4WS	63
tbl.ubante.com.ph	61
BongGoNoTayo	60

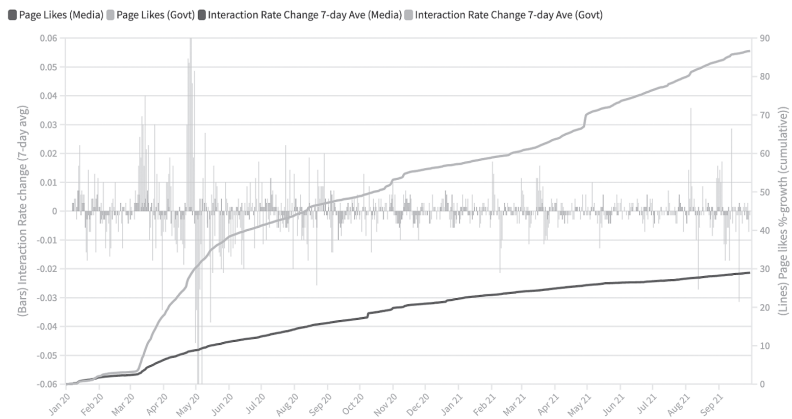




## Facebook conversations about activists killed

### Page Likes of Government Agencies and Media Organizations

The following shows the growth of Facebook pages of selected government agencies and media organizations in the Philippines from January 1, 2020 to September 30, 2021. The bars show the daily interaction rate change (as a 7-day moving average) while the line charts show the cumulative increase of the page likes (expressed as a %-increase).



# Notes

## Prologue: The Invisible Atom Bomb

1. Howard Johnson and Christopher Giles, “Philippines Drug War: Do We Know How Many Have Died?,” BBC, November 12, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-50236481>.
2. Kyle Chua, “PH Remains Top in Social Media, Internet Usage Worldwide—Report,” Rappler, January 28, 2021, <https://www.rappler.com/technology/internet-culture/hootsuite-we-are-social-2021-philippines-top-social-media-internet-usage>. The global annual report can be accessed here: <https://wearesocial.com/digital-2021>. The report specific to the Philippines can be accessed here: <https://wearesocial.com/digital-2021>.
3. Craig Silverman, “The Philippines Was a Test of Facebook’s New Approach to Countering Disinformation. Things Got Worse.” BuzzFeed, August 7, 2019, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/craigsilverman/2020-philippines-disinformation>.
4. Peter Dizikes, “Study: On Twitter, False News Travels Faster Than True Stories,” *MIT News*, March 8, 2018, <https://news.mit.edu/2018/study-twitter-false-news-travels-faster-true-stories-0308>.
5. “Maria Ressa, Nobel lecture,” <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2021/ressa/lecture/>.
6. Here’s a concrete example of how a top-down government official can cement a manufactured reality: on May 3, 2014, Russia’s foreign minister Sergey Lavrov addressed the UN Council and told them that “we all know well who created the crisis in Ukraine and how they did it . . . west Ukrainian cities were occupied by armed national radicals, who used extremist, anti-Russian and anti-Semitic slogans. . . . We hear requests to restrict or punish the use of Russian.”

What he didn’t say is that just a day earlier, a fake account, amplified by a network of accounts, seeded that same exact narrative. A Facebook account that had no followers and no friends, created on May 2, 2014, just as violent clashes broke out between pro-Russian separatists and supporters of an independent Ukraine, mimicked nearly word for word what Russia’s foreign minister would present at the UN a day later. That account by Dr. Igor Rozovskiyy about how Ukrainian nationalists prevented him from treating a wounded man and how they threatened that “Jews in Odessa would meet the same fate” went viral

and was miraculously translated into other languages. For good measure, he wrote that “nothing like this happened in my city even under fascist occupation.” People around the world believed this fake post from a manufactured account and combined with Lavrov’s speech showed the power of bottom-up and top-down efforts to shape reality globally.

7. “2022 National Results,” Rappler, <https://ph.rappler.com/elections/2022/races/president-vice-president/results>.
8. Ben Nimmo, C. Shawn Eib, Léa Ronzaud, “Operation Naval Gazing,” *Graphika*, September 22, 2020, <https://graphika.com/reports/operation-naval-gazing>.

## Chapter 1: The Golden Rule

1. The US bases in the Philippines renegotiated their terms after nationalists refused to grant an extension in 1992. By 1999, the US Library of Congress changed “the insurrection” to “the Philippine-American War.”
2. Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Ballantine, 1990), 18.
3. Marge C. Enriquez, “Remembering Conchita Sunico: The Philippine Society’s First ‘It Girl’ and Grand Dame,” Tatler, September 22, 2020, <https://www.tatlerasia.com/the-scene/people-parties/conchita-sunico-philippine-societys-first-it-girl-and-grand-dame>.
4. “Raul M. Sunico: Pianist,” <https://raulsunico.com>.
5. Soon after the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize was announced, I woke up to an email from Miss Uglad, who now lives in Norway.
6. We were a fixture at pop concerts in the auditorium, which my school system announced in 2021 it would name after me.

## Chapter 2: The Honor Code

1. Alice Miller, *The Drama of the Gifted Child: The Search for the True Self*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1997), Kindle ed., 5.
2. *Ibid.*, 6.
3. This is a phrase I pulled from Janwillem van de Wetering’s *The Empty Mirror*, assigned in my World Religions class.
4. “Apartheid Protesters Arrested at Princeton,” *New York Times*, May 24, 1985.
5. Artemio V. Panganiban, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, August 26, 2018, <https://opinion.inquirer.net/115635/masterminded-ninoys-murder>.
6. “How Filipino People Power Toppled Dictator Marcos,” BBC, February 16, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/magazine-35526200>.
7. Mark R. Thompson, “Philippine ‘People Power’ Thirty Years On,” *The Diplomat*, February 09, 2016, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/02/philippine-people-power-thirty-years-on/>. “Czech President Ends Philippine Visit,” UPI Archives, April 7, 1995, <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1995/04/07/Czech-president-ends-Philippine-visit/9128797227200/>.

### Chapter 3: The Speed of Trust

1. Some amazing folks were part of that unit in our youth; they later became industry leaders, including the animator and director Mike Alcazaren and the talent manager Jojie Dingcong.
2. "Secretary Delfin L. Lazaro," Republic of the Philippines Department of Energy, <https://www.doe.gov.ph/secretary-delfin-l-lazaro?ckattempt=1>.

### Chapter 4: The Mission of Journalism

1. Author interview with Eason Jordan on May 13, 2021.
2. Piers Robinson, "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" *Review of International Studies* 25, no. 2 (1999): 301–9, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097596>.
3. Much of this I wrote or spoke about shortly after the 9/11 attacks. Some of the ideas that follow come from a speech I delivered to the International AVSEC Conference in Hong Kong on May 11, 2011.
4. Maria Ressa, "The Quest for SE Asia's Islamic, 'Super' State," CNN, August 29, 2002, <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/southeast/07/30/seasia.state/>.
5. Documented in my first book, *Seeds of Terror: An Eyewitness Account of Al-Qaeda's Newest Center of Operations in Southeast Asia* (New York: Free Press, 2003), as well as a 2005 documentary I reported, wrote, and produced for ABS-CBN: *9/11: The Philippine Connection*, available here <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BX7ySYJXel8&t=209s>.
6. "Plane Terror Suspects Convicted on All Counts," CNN, September 5, 1996, <http://edition.cnn.com/US/9609/05/terror.plot/index.html>.
7. Maria Ressa, "U.S. Warned in 1995 of Plot to Hijack Planes, Attack Buildings," CNN, September 18, 2001, <https://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/18/inv.hijacking.philippines/>.
8. I spent years tracking down everyone involved in 1995 and in my first book wrote about Aida Fariscal, the police officer who turned down a bribe from Murad and whose persistence foiled the pilot. We would meet several times before she died in April 2004. See Maria A. Ressa, "How a Filipino Woman Saved the Pope," Rappler, January 15, 2015, <https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/80902-philipino-woman-save-pope/>.
9. The paper trail I followed, along with interviews with investigators from at least three different countries, led to numerous exclusives in my reporting for CNN. Much of that reporting was later incorporated into the *9/11 Commission Report*, released on July 22, 2004. See "The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States: Executive Summary," 9/11 Commission, [https://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report\\_Exec.pdf](https://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report_Exec.pdf).
10. In 2005, the year I returned to the Philippines to head ABS-CBN News, I put the information I had together in an ABS-CBN documentary that aired that year, describing the terrorism links to the Philippines. It was a way of telling the story highlighting what was important to Filipinos that I couldn't have done in *9/11: The Philippine Connection*.
11. An example of the many stories Kelli Arena and I did together was "Singapore Bomb Plot Suspect Held," CNN, July 27, 2002, <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf>

/southeast/07/26/us.alqaeda.arrest/index.html. She visited the Philippines in 2014 as a speaker at Rappler's Social Good Summit; see Jee Y. Geronimo, "PH+SocialGood: Good Journalism, and the Power of the Crowd," Rappler, September 16, 2014, <https://www.rappler.com/moveph/69241-good-journalism-crowdsourcing/>. The path seemed so simple then.

12. Lessons learned as reporters led us to create Rappler's own database to keep track of the digital attacks on a scale I couldn't have fathomed in the age before social media.
13. Imagine that you're in a room with six other people, and a researcher shows you a card with a line on it and another card with lines of varying lengths marked *A*, *B*, and *C*. You're asked to compare the two cards and choose which line on the second card best matches the length of the one on the first card. You're certain that the right answer is *C* but are surprised when one by one, everyone asked before you answers *B*. Then the researcher gets to you, the last to respond, and asks for your answer. Now, despite your earlier certainty, you begin to doubt yourself. You're tempted to go along with the group. Do you go with your first answer or do you follow the group? Asch coached the actors hired to prompt the test subjects, and 75 percent caved in to the pressure of the group. Left alone, those same subjects answered correctly nearly 100 percent of the time. The Asch experiment, however, had a silver lining: one-fourth, or 25 percent, of people were independent; they never conformed.
14. In Milgram's study, the test subject is the person given the power to administer an electric shock in an experiment that is supposed to help others learn. When the "learner," hidden by a screen, fails to memorize word pairs fast enough, the "helper," or test subject, applies an electric shock, increasing the voltage with each wrong answer. Milgram found that most people follow instructions to give what would have been potentially lethal shocks despite the screams and pleas of the "learner."
15. In his experiment, Stanford University students were asked to become either a prisoner or a guard in an experiment that was supposed to last two weeks. It was cut short in less than a week because the guards became sadistic.
16. Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler, "Links," Connected, 2011, <http://connectedthebook.com/pages/links.html>.
17. See Connected (home page), 2011, <http://connectedthebook.com>.
18. John T. Cacioppo, James H. Fowler, and Nicholas A. Christakis, "Alone in the Crowd: The Structure and Spread of Loneliness in a Large Social Network," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97, no. 6 (December 2009): 997–91, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2792572/>.
19. James H. Fowler and Nicholas A. Christakis, "Dynamic Spread of Happiness in a Large Social Network: Longitudinal Analysis over 20 Years in the Framingham Heart Study," *British Medical Journal* 337 (2008): a2338, <https://www.bmj.com/content/337/bmj.a2338>. Smoking: Nicholas A. Christakis and James H. Fowler, "The Collective Dynamics of Smoking in a Large Social Network," *New England Journal of Medicine* 358 (2008): 2249–58, <https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/nejmsa0706154>. Sexual diseases: Elizabeth Landau, "Obesity, STDs Flow in Social Networks," CNN, October 24, 2009, <https://edition.cnn.com/2009/TECH/10/24/tech.networks.connected/index.html>. Obesity: Nicholas A. Christakis and James H. Fowler, "The Spread of Obesity in a Large Social Network over 32 Years," *New England Journal of Medicine* 375 (2007): 370–79, <https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/nejmsa066082>.

20. I discussed this in email exchanges with Nicholas Christakis, who said the thesis should work but that he didn't have a data set to prove it as definitively as the ones he and James Fowler had used to formulate the Three Degrees of Influence Rule.
21. I was the Southeast Asia Visiting Scholar at the CORE Lab at the Naval Postgraduate School in 2011. My project, along with others, was to chart terrorist networks in Southeast Asia.
22. Maria Ressa, "Spreading Terror: From bin Laden to Facebook in Southeast Asia," CNN, May 4, 2011, <https://edition.cnn.com/2011/OPINION/05/03/bin.laden.southeast.asia/>.
23. "Threat Report: The State of Influence Operations 2017–2020," Facebook, <https://about.fb.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/IO-Threat-Report-May-20-2021.pdf>.

## Chapter 5: The Network Effect

1. My second CNN team in Manila: Boying Palileo for camera; Armand Sol for tech edit; Judith Torres as producer. For the systems and workflows of a news desk, I asked CNN's Atlanta-based Lynn Felton, my longtime minder, to visit Manila and run workshops, and I cut an arrangement with the brand-new Al-Jazeera English. They could have office space inside the ABS-CBN compound if their reporter, Marga Ortigas, an ex-prober, also ran training courses with me. We were also given rights to run a set amount of Al-Jazeera's programming monthly. For the news producers and the twenty-four-hour cycle of ANC, the ABS-CBN News Channel, I asked Hope Ngo, another former colleague from CNN HK, to revamp and train that team.
2. Carlos H. Conde, "Arroyo Admits to 'Lapse' During Election," *New York Times*, June 28, 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/28/world/asia/arroyo-admits-to-lapse-during-election.html>.
3. Pauline Macaraeg, "Look Back: The 'Hello, Garci' Scandal," Rappler, January 5, 2021, <https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/iq/look-back-gloria-arroyo-hello-garci-scandal/>.
4. "Proclamation No. 1017 s. 2006," *Official Gazette*, February 24, 2006, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2006/02/24/proclamation-no-1017-s-2006/>.
5. "States of Rebellion, Emergency Under Arroyo Administration," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, September 4, 2016, <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/812626/states-of-rebellion-emergency-under-arroyo-administration>.
6. Raissa Robles, "Coronavirus: Is Covid-19 Task Force Duterte's 'Rolex 12' in Plan for Marcos-Style Martial Law in the Philippines?," *South China Morning Post*, April 28, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3081939/coronavirus-covid-19-task-force-dutertes-rolex-12-plan-marcos>.
7. Korina Sanchez, Henry Omaga-Diaz, and Ces Oreña-Drilon were the founding anchors of *Bandila*.
8. We co-opted two key ideas: crowdsourcing from James Surowiecki, who wrote the book *The Wisdom of Crowds*, and the tipping point from the book *The Tipping Point*, written more than a decade earlier by Malcolm Gladwell.
9. "Ako ang Simula," YouTube, October 20, 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kbm1HfW9HYs>.

10. Joseph Campbell was right about the power of myth, and we thought about universal truths that would resonate for the Philippines.
11. Video call to action available here: bravenewworldressa, “Boto Mo, iPatrol Mo Maria Ressa Stand Up and Say AKO ANG SIMULA!” YouTube, January 6, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D13Q23BXpZg>.
12. News piece about this extraordinary event in Tagalog: “Boto Patrollers Rock with Famous Artists, Bands.” The title, “*Himig ng Pagbabago*,” means “the sound (or melody/music) of change.” “Boto Patrollers Rock with Famous Artists, Bands,” ABS-CBN News, February 20, 2010, <https://news.abs-cbn.com/video/entertainment/02/20/10/boto-patrollers-rock-famous-artists-bands>.
13. Alia Ahmed, “CPJ’s Press Freedom Awards Remember Maguindanao,” Committee to Protect Journalists, November 24, 2010, <https://cpj.org/2010/11/cpjs-press-freedom-awards-remember-maguindanao/>; Elisabeth Witchel, “Ten Years for Justice in Maguindanao Case Is Too Long: We Can Do Better,” Committee to Protect Journalists, December 19, 2019, <https://cpj.org/2019/12/ten-years-justice-maguindanao-mas-sacre-impunity-journalists/>.
14. Message sent to ABS-CBN by a citizen journalist on November 23, 2009.
15. The year 2010 was early days for Facebook, and those were the only metrics based on its baseline that were then available.
16. Maria Ressa, “#MovePH: How Social Media and Technology Are Changing You,” Rappler, August 10, 2014, <https://www.rappler.com/moveph/65802-moveph-how-social-media-and-technology-are-changing-you/>.
17. It’s fitting because Ging Reyes, the North America bureau chief, was the first person to walk into my office as head of news. A former producer of the prime-time newscast, she was an ABS-CBN original, and we used to bump into each other in the hallways in 1987. She has been the head of the news group for more than a decade now.
18. Maria Ressa, “Maria Ressa’s Letter to ABS-CBN News and Current Affairs,” ABS-CBN News, October 11, 2010, <https://news.abs-cbn.com/insights/10/11/10/maria-ressas-letter-abs-cbn-news-and-current-affairs-team>.

## Chapter 6: Creating Ripples of Change

1. Writer, producer, photographer, videographer, and newscast producer Beth Frondoso studied political science at UP Diliman and worked at ABS-CBN as a supervising producer for News and Current Affairs. She currently heads Multimedia Strategy and Growth in Rappler.

Beth’s style is like a general—gather information, assign, and deploy. It made sense because production is the engine of traffic on our social media platforms, which means that her team needs to strike the balance of a factory line of video that will bring viewers in, yet also be creative enough to do the quality reports and documentaries that won us awards, and experiment with 360 video executions (well, that also won an award).

Among Rappler’s senior editors and founders, Chay Hofileña is the managing editor. She was previously head of Rappler’s Investigative Desk—Newsbreak—and is in charge of training. Before joining Rappler, she was a contributing writer of *Newsbreak Magazine* and was one of its founding editors, too, in 2001. Chay cowrote with Miriam



Grace Go *Ambition, Destiny, Victory: Stories from a Presidential Election* (2011) on the 2010 elections.

She has written on media issues and authored the book *News for Sale: The Corruption and Commercialization of the Philippine Media* (2004 edition, published by the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism). She obtained her graduate degree from Columbia University's School of Journalism in New York and is a lecturer at the undergraduate level of the Ateneo de Manila University. She has been the recipient of awards from the Jaime V. Ongpin Awards for Excellence in Journalism.

The former director of the Asian Center for Journalism at the Ateneo, Chay also teaches News Writing and Investigative Journalism to undergraduate students. She is drawn to journalism because it allows her to write stories that have the potential to make a difference.

Chay is forever the teacher, part of the reason each member of our team grows so quickly. We all shared our sources and analysis, instilling a culture that didn't exist outside Rappler or at many cutthroat and secretive news organizations—a share culture. Chay is also the recruiter who identifies the best students in her classes; we wanted people who would ask questions and whose egos could take a backseat to the mission.

Glenda cofounded Rappler in July 2011 and served as its managing editor until November 16, 2020, when she was named executive editor. She finished journalism in 1985, a year before the end of the Marcos dictatorship. She has worked for the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, the *Manila Times*, the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, and for international news agencies. In the dying days of the Estrada administration, she cofounded the Philippines' top investigative magazine *Newsbreak*, which started as a newsweekly.

From 2008 to January 2011, she managed ANC, the ABS-CBN News Channel, as its chief operating officer.

Glenda earned her journalism degree at the University of Santo Tomas in Manila. A British Chevening scholar, she holds a master's degree in political sociology from the London School of Economics and Political Science (1999). In May 2018, Glenda finished her Nieman Journalism Fellowship at Harvard University.

The books that she has authored include *Under the Crescent Moon: Rebellion in Mindanao*, with Marites Dañguilan Vitug, the groundbreaking, National Book Award-winning work on the conflict in Mindanao. In 2011, she wrote *The Enemy Within: An Inside Story on Military Corruption*, with the late Aries Rufo and Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza.

Glenda is really my partner in building the organization, the evil eye, and I smile as I write that. She's the bad cop to my good cop, the disciplinarian who lays out our expectations, and woe to whoever disappoints her. She balances the medium- and long-term with the daily, nitty-gritty of the stories that build a reporter and a news site.

2. Our founding board included Manny Ayala, a former *Probe* reporter who went on to get a Harvard MBA and become an investment banker; internet entrepreneur Nix Nollado; and former media wunderkind Raymund Miranda, who had just left his job in Singapore as head of NBC Universal in the Asia-Pacific to come home to the Philippines. I had worked with both Manny and Raymund when we were all in our twenties, and Nix rounded out our founding board. That group was our brain trust for business and the



- internet. With the exception of Nix, all of us had worked with big corporate media, so we understood news and entertainment. In 2014, we added three more board members: Felicia Atienza, a former investment banker who had engineered the leveraged buyout of Merrill Lynch Philippines and later attended the Chinese International School because she wanted her kids to learn Mandarin; former IBM country director James Velasquez; and lawyer and venture capital entrepreneur James Bitanga.
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## Chapter 9: Surviving a Thousand Cuts

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