

The „Fourth Estate“ in Democracy Assistance

Practices and Challenges of German and
International Media Development Cooperation



6th Symposium *Forum Media and Development*:

The „Fourth Estate“ in Democracy Assistance

Practices and Challenges of German and
International Media Development Cooperation

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the end of the Cold War, the international development community has dedicated considerable human and financial resources towards strengthening independent and professional journalism in transitional and (post)conflict countries. The symposium “*Fourth Estate*” in *Democracy Assistance: Practices and Challenges of German and International Media Development Cooperation* aimed at analysing the current state of media assistance. It focused especially on donor policies of European countries, taking into account that the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has expressed growing interest in media development. Therefore, the first part of this publication provides insight into the media development practices and policy frameworks of France, Germany, Norway and the United Kingdom, as seen through the eyes of media development specialists from these countries. The second part goes beyond the frameworks, and deals with different issues: the role of media for social transformation in Africa, a case study of a media sector programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo, coordination of international donors and implementers, and media development impact measurement.

The contributions to this publication indicate a broad mutual understanding of the role of, and strategies for, media development. Four common characteristics can be highlighted. First, media assistance is seen as an integral part of democracy support (see especially *Evensmo*), mainly due to the role of media as a guarantor of accountability (*Deane, Minery, Susman-Peña*) and platform for public discourse (*Chinje*). Second, media assistance requires not only journalism training, but a sector approach including all levels of the media sector, as professional editorial and financial management, capable professional associations, and an enabling regulatory environment (*Dietz/Osang, Minery, Myers*). Third, financial sustainability is of paramount importance for a functioning independent media sector, and media development cooperation must become more active in this area (*Dietz/Osang, Minery, Myers*). Fourth, closer cooperation and partnerships among donors and implementers should be encouraged (*Evensmo, Højberg*).

National media development policies and beyond

**German media development
cooperation survey
Strong in training – weak in
sustainability support
Christoph Dietz and Helmut Osang**

Christoph Dietz, Deputy Executive Director of the media consultancy CAMECO, and Helmut Osang, Head of Media Development at Deutsche Welle Akademie, present the findings of a survey on media support practices and strategies among 21 German organisations. They find that new concepts in strengthening journalistic capacity have been introduced; tailor-made instruments for monitoring and evaluation are being developed; new implementing organisations have emerged; the media development investments seem to be expanding. However, using a holistic sector approach, they conclude that German media development

**French media assistance
Developing tailor-made regional
cooperation strategies
Florence Minery**

cooperation continues to be inadequate at strengthening a supportive legal and regulatory environment and economic sustainability of media in developing and transitional countries.

Florence Minery, from the media programme of the French NGO GRET, presents the media support priorities of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, and her own organisation. French media development cooperation, she says, has introduced innovative approaches regarding training methods, reforms in broadcasting systems and media regulation. However, results of interventions in the fields of self-regulation and economic sustainability of media have been much weaker. She highlights the importance of tailor-made regional support strategies, and provides concrete proposals to enhance training effectiveness.

**Norwegian media assistance
An integral part of democracy support
Ivar Evensmo**

Ivar Evensmo, Senior Advisor in the Civil Society Department of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad), gives an insight into past and present principles and key objectives of Norwegian media support, and compares different approaches pursued by the Nordic countries and the UK. "In our view, media are a strategic component in development communication and conflict transformation," he says, pointing to the main elements in Norway's media support policy today. He calls for more targeted measures and presents an overview of new partners and initiatives in the field, such as the Global Forum for Media Development or the African Media Initiative. To conclude, he describes what are, in Norway's view, major challenges and possible dangers in media assistance today, and provides ten guiding principles for a good media donor policy.

**The UK perspective and beyond
Growing faultlines in
media development
James Deane**

James Deane, Head of Policy at BBC World Service Trust in London, explains the United Kingdom (UK) Department for International Development's (DFID) approach to media development. While DFID attributes media an important role as guarantor of accountability, the issue does not feature prominently on the governance agenda. He admonishes caution in using template approaches to media support in fragile states where DFID increasingly concentrates its efforts, and predicts rising attention for media development in the future. In a second step, he outlines three emerging issues affecting media development cooperation: the shift from strengthening institutions to meeting information and communications needs, the need to link media development to access to information movements, and the shift of power from West to East. He concludes by calling for more universal rather than western models of media development.

African insights – International cooperation – Measuring impact

**Media development and
social transformation
Message and the power
of media in Africa
Eric Chinje**

Eric Chinje, head of the Global Media Program at the World Bank Institute, highlights the outstanding potential of the media for social transformation in Africa. He states that media have to be an integral part of any development strategy, as major development challenges will not be fully addressed without an informed public discussion. However, training journalists to cover development will not be sufficient, a more holistic view of the challenges of the media sector is needed.

**DRC Media Sector Programme
From 'coupage' to self-reliance?
Mary Myers**

Mary Myers, a freelance consultant specialising in radio in Africa, reports on the experiences of a large media sector programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Initiated in 2007, the 'Media for Democracy and Accountability Programme', worth approximately 18 million Euros over five years, includes training of journalists and media managers, content production support, support to public service broadcasting, as well as support for regulation of the media sector, and the promotion of economic sustainability of media enterprises. Successes include pioneering TV and radio programmes, various training schemes for journalists, and support to human rights defenders. Due to the sector-wide approach of the programme, stakeholders from all parts of the media sector come together regularly to resolve pending issues, and the chance of duplication of efforts is reduced. However, one of the biggest challenges still facing the programme is the economic debility of Congolese media outlets.

**Ways forward for international
media development
Cooperation and partnerships
Jesper Højberg**

Jesper Højberg, Executive Director and founder of International Media Support (IMS), strongly advocates more cooperation and coordination among media and press freedom organisations, in order to improve the impact of media support efforts. Referring to the Paris Principles, he points to a general lack of targeted and concerted action in international development cooperation. He then uses the principles of harmonisation, alignment and ownership to describe deficiencies and suggest a way forward. Most organisations pursue a single-issue approach and are opposed to the idea of joint assessments, thus making it impossible to gain a sector-wide understanding of key challenges, and make the right strategic choices. In particular, he stresses the importance of strengthening national alliances and systems, and talks of the difficulties of promoting ownership in fragile states lacking strong national leadership. He finally describes the International Partnership Meetings as an opportunity to promote more coordination among actors in the field.

**Measuring the impact
of media development
The Media Map Project methodology
Tara Susman-Peña**

Tara Susman-Peña, of the media development NGO Internews, gives an insight into the methodological bases of the Media Map Project. Aimed at measuring the impact of international media development cooperation, the Media Map Project analyses the relationship between press freedom, governance and economic development. The project consists of three parts: a quantitative analysis of disaggregated governance indicators and statistical data; five media development country case studies; and a review of available studies on donor decision-making. First results of the Media Map Project provide clear evidence that freedom of the press is an important ingredient in good governance and economic growth. However, donors are not grasping enough opportunities to learn from their own experience.



German media development cooperation survey

Strong in training – weak in sustainability support

By Christoph Dietz and Helmut Osang

Christoph Dietz is Deputy Executive Director of the Catholic Media Council, a consultancy on media and communication in developing and transitional countries, based in Aachen, Germany. Since 1993, he is in charge of the South America desk.

Christoph is co-founder of the German “Forum Medien und Entwicklung” (Forum Media and Development, FoME) and moderates the FoME mailing list. He leads the CAMECO resource centre focusing on media landscapes in developing countries, media assistance, community media and religious communication. Between 1985 and 1993, Christoph edited a solidarity journal on Peru. He holds a PhD in medicine.

Helmut Osang (Ph.D.) is Head of Media Development at DEUTSCHE WELLE AKADEMIE. Since joining the (former) Radio Training Centre of DW in 1993 as journalism trainer and media consultant, he has held dozens of workshops in Germany and abroad, in Africa, the Middle East, South-East Europe and Asia, in particular South-East Asia. In 1997, he taught “Radio Journalism” at Ngee Ann Polytechnic in Singapore. Helmut has been a radio journalist with DW since 1984 and started his career in journalism working with print media back in 1975. He holds a doctorate degree in Media and Communication Studies and Sociology. Helmut is one of the initiators and co-founders of FoME.

This article summarises major characteristics of current German media development cooperation and aims to stimulate the reflection upon its strengths and weaknesses. It is based on a survey distributed in September 2010 to 41 organisations, of which 21 responded (see the complete study at “German media development cooperation – a survey”, <http://www.cameco.org/files/fome-mdc-survey-2010.pdf>).

Common understanding of the role of media in democracy

There is a broad common understanding among all institutions participating in this survey on the pivotal role of media in democracy and democratisation, well summarised in the FoME mission statement:

“... free and independent media are essential for the development of liberal democracies. Free and independent media ensure that all groups of society can participate in public opinion forming. At the same time they demand transparency and accountability from political, social and economic players. This is also of particular importance with regard

to poverty reduction and the promotion of sustainable development...”

Various organisations (DED, ifa, MICT) also stress the specific role media play in conflicts and peacebuilding by “significantly affecting the way conflicts are perceived and interpreted, the dynamics that unfold and the prospects for a constructive turn in the direction of the conflict” (citation from the DED profile).

A holistic approach to media development

How do the different actors try to contribute to these goals, and in what way? How can the results of the survey be compared, what would be a suitable, a creative framework to assess the findings and from there to move ahead to a coherent approach and a common ground for development cooperation from within Germany?

Two years ago, UNESCO presented the ground-breaking „Media Development Indicators“ framework. The indicators form a gauge with which to measure if and how

media development is able – or being made able – to contribute to the overall and agreed goals: free expression, access to information, transparency, accountability, public participation, good governance, human rights and human development. It's a tool for analysis, not for comparing or ranking.

UNESCO Media Development Indicators

- 1: A system of regulation conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of media
- 2: Plurality and diversity of media, a level economic playing field and transparency of ownership
- 3: Media as a platform for democratic discourse
- 4: Professional capacity building and supporting institutions that underpins freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity
- 5: Infrastructural capacity is sufficient to support independent and pluralistic media (UNESCO, 2008)

Deutsche Welle Akademie has proposed a slightly different set, suggesting the following five dimensions of a media system:

- 1: An enabling legal and regulatory framework
- 2: The technical and material organisation of the media landscape, or infrastructure
- 3: Training levels and working conditions of media professionals
- 4: Participation possibilities enabling people to create media content, or the actual ways how to give voice and visibility and presence
- 5: People's access possibilities, or the chances to practically get media and their content, to access information (Deutsche Welle Akademie 2010)

The common idea of the two sets of indicators is that in order to understand the complex

Participating institutions

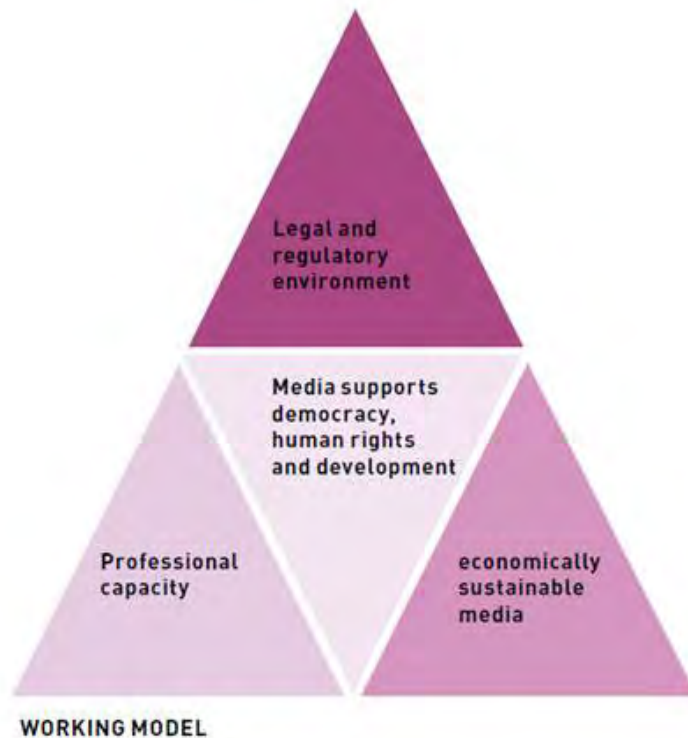
CAMECO – Catholic Media Council
 *DED – German Development Service
 DW-Akademie
 EZEF – Evangelisches Zentrum für entwicklungsbezogene Filmarbeit
 FES – Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
 IDEM – Institute for Democracy, Media and Cultural Exchange
 ifa – Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen
 IMS – International Media Studies of Deutsche Welle
 *InWent-IIJ – International Institute for Journalism
 KAS – Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
 LfM – Landesanstalt für Medien North Rhine-Westphalia
 MICT – Media in Cooperation and Transition
 Misereor
 n-ost
 Prix Jeunesse International
 Radijoko
 RWB – Reporters Without Borders
 Robert Bosch Stiftung
 Solidaritätsfonds Demokratische Medien in der Welt
 Xchange Perspectives
 Zeit-Stiftung

**DED, InWent and the former GTZ merged in 2011 to the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ).*

media landscape in a country, it is required to look at the whole picture and at individual functions and factors and their interrelations. And to acknowledge that media is about content and journalists, indeed, and at the same time about laws, regulations and government politics, business, management and finance, and about beliefs, values and norms.

Everything is interconnected. This comprehensive and systemic view is what one needs before actually considering where and how media development interventions would be most necessary, effective and sustainable. The holistic and systemic view is a step forward from the way in which many actors worked in the field of media

development in the past: by choosing just one instrument, mainly training individual journalists, and implicitly assuming that this



From: Andrew Puddephatt, Sida's guidelines for media development. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Agency, 2010

will have impact on the entire media system in the given country.

For the sake of presenting the survey results, we thought to further simplify the mentioned sets of indicators, to make the underlying holistic approach clear and visual. We picked this visual from a recent publication by Andrew Puddephatt, the author of the UNESCO-IPDC indicators, and are using it here as a working model here. The model further narrows down the mentioned sets of indicators. It pictures the essential cornerstones of a functioning media system: professional capacity, legal and regulatory environment, and economic sustainability.

Only the combination, the results of multiple interrelations and also overlapping functions of the three corner sections can produce an environment that builds media that support

free expression, access to information, transparency, accountability, public participation, good governance, human rights and human development. It is important here to look at media in two ways – as a place where information, ideas and debates are exchanged, where voices are heard and visibility is given, a public forum, and as a civil society actor in its own right. This double role is what makes media development such a unique field in overall development cooperation.

The working model also provides a holistic approach to designing media support programmes. Ideally speaking, a media programme should incorporate elements of all three corner sections. If this cannot be done by one agency alone, various actors can collaborate and complement each other. Or, there may be situations where there is a specific focus upon one section only, due to the specific local context. What is crucial is that there is a *holistic* approach to media development.

We now relate the findings of the media development cooperation survey to this working model.

Strengthening professional capacity

Strengthening professional capacity continues to be the main focus of German media development cooperation. Intervention strategies beyond individual journalistic training gain in importance.

Capacity building can be defined as the “process of developing and strengthening the skills, abilities, processes and resources that organisations and communities need to survive, adapt, and thrive in the fast-changing world.” (Ann Philbin, Capacity Building in Social Justice Organizations, Ford Foundation, 1996)

Strengthening professional capacity in media development can be achieved at various intervention levels (see also SDC 2007):

- Individuals, e.g. training of journalists;
- Media outlets (institutional level), e.g. guidance of a single media outlet in strategic planning processes, tailor made trainings for editorial teams, technical assistance, provision of equipment;
- “Supporting national media institutions and networks”, i.e. the setting-up of or support to local training and research organisations, production networks and associations of journalists, media monitoring groups, press councils, etc.

The vast majority of agencies in German media development cooperation undertake capacity building at the level of individuals or media outlets, and most of them see training as the predominant activity in this context. Most target journalists (exception Deutsche Welle Akademie (DWA) which provides capacity building for all sectors in broadcasting – managers, technicians, journalists). This is not new, and has been the case for many years.

However, some remarkable changes have taken place over recent years:

- Training contents have moved from basic skills to more specialised training for designated subject areas, such as economics and finance, elections, climate and environment, or children’s TV (DWA, InWEnt-IIJ, DED, Prix Jeunesse);
- Training is related to particular situations, such as conflict prevention and conflict resolution (DWA, DED, ifa, InWEnt-IIJ);
- Training is targeting specific types of media and programme types, such as community radio or participatory programmes on mainstream media, and is at the same time trying to build the overall capacities of the involved media (DED, DWA, InWEnt-IIJ);
- Training is closely linked with content

development and practical media production (DWA, MICT);

- Training is combined with exchange programmes, internships and scholarships (n-ost, LfM, Robert Bosch Stiftung, ZEIT).

There is an overall trend away from isolated training activities at the level of individuals – hoping for the trickle-down effect – to a more integrated, organisational approach (level of media outlets), where training is one option among several others.

German media development cooperation also fosters some “supporting media institutions and networks”. The survey includes five examples: strengthening the Sudan Catholic radio network (CAMECO); strengthening an independent journalist association in Burkina Faso (DED); strengthening local journalists’ network in Latin America (DWA); supporting the Asia News Network (KAS); creating media networks among conflicting factions in society (MICT).

Weak assistance to an enabling legal environment

A supportive legal and regulatory environment is of fundamental importance for the development of a professional and independent media sector. However, very few German organisations work in this field. Of the 21 organisations included in the survey, only Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) mention being active in media policy and regulation issues.

Reporters without Frontiers is the only organisation systematically offering emergency assistance to threatened media workers. In addition, Zeit-Stiftung awards the “Gerd Bucerius Prize Free Press of Eastern Europe”, and Misereor supports the community media legislation campaign of AMARC in Latin America.

Economic sustainability: the Achilles heel

Often enough – not only in developing and transitional countries – economic sustainability is the Achilles heel of professional and independent journalism. However, few institutions are developing or have already developed specific instruments focusing on media sustainability, be it of individual media outlets or the media sector as a whole. CAMECO plans to edit practical materials on local radio marketing; DW-AKADEMIE and InWEnt-IIJ offer trainings in media management, or integrate issues of economic and financial sustainability in capacity development projects with individual media outlets or media groups (DWA). KAS conducted the Africa Media Leadership Conference on “Sustainable Media Business Models in the Digital Age”. Partners’

networking is mentioned to be a major element contributing to sustainability by DED and MICT.

Growing variety of actors

The following table shows that, during the last ten years, many new actors in media development have emerged (➔), especially “media development NGOs”, i.e. NGOs exclusively active in the media field.

The broad variety of actors reflects a broad variety of local counterparts and approaches, e.g. some institutions address community media (e.g. CAMECO, DED, DWA, Misereor), mainstream media (e.g. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung) or public service media (DWA). It may be also helpful to distinguish between those organisations exclusively specialised in media and those where the media field

	Organisations exclusively active in the media field	Organisations active in the media field and other areas
State-related (parastatal) organisations and political foundations*	DW-AKADEMIE ➔ IMS InWEnt-IIJ LfM Prix Jeunesse	DED FES ➔ IfA-zivik KAS
NGOs and private foundations	CAMECO EZEF ➔ IDEM ➔ MICT ➔ n-ost ➔ Radijoko Solidaritätsfonds ➔ Xchange P. ➔ Reporters Without Frontiers	Misereor Robert Bosch Stiftung Zeit-Stiftung

*“State-related (parastatal) organisations” refers to institutions which may not belong to the official state structure, but fulfil a semi-statal role (e.g. public service broadcaster) or partly implement state policies. German “political foundations” are connected to the major parties of the German political spectrum and supported by the state budget, although they are independent private, nonprofit foundations. They complement the official German foreign policy, but choose their own priorities and strategies. All foundations – Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FNS), Hans-Seidel-Stiftung (HSS), Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (HBS), Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (RLS) – also work in the media field, though only FES and KAS (the most active political foundations in media development) responded to the questionnaire.

is one of several working areas, as these tend to follow different institutional logics. Specialised media organisations will aim to further develop their “niche”, meanwhile non-specialised institutions will relate their media activities to their overall goals and focuses. Both models have specific advantages and limitations, e.g. organisations exclusively active in the media field will probably find it easier to launch new project ideas on an experimental basis, meanwhile organisations active in many areas will probably more easily connect their media activities with other working areas.

Few actors with a major media development budget

The following table shows that only seven organisations participating in this survey have a budget for media development which surpasses € 500.000. The DW-Akademie is by far the “biggest” player in the field. Various organisations have experienced raising media development budgets (↑). In addition, many new NGOs emerged over the past ten years (⇒). We therefore presume that overall German investments in media development have increased over the last few years.

However, no recent statistical data are available regarding the total amount of German media development cooperation.

As the following table shows, German media development cooperation has experienced substantial changes over the last decades. Since its peak in 1981, German investments have continuously decreased.

Contrary to Germany, many other donor countries have increased their media development budgets since the 1990s (see Myers 2009 for more details). The major donor country has been the United States of America with 142 Mio. US\$, in 2006, including state as well as private donors (see National Endowment for Democracy 2008).

Tailor-made monitoring and evaluation instruments

Amongst the respondents of the survey, questionnaire based quantitative methods still prevail in evaluation practice. This is also due to the lack of readily available impact-oriented methods and approaches in media development cooperation. It is for this reason that FoME organised two conferences on this issue under the title “Measuring Change”,

	Annual media development budget > 500.000 Euro	Annual media development budget < 500.000 Euro	Media development budget not known
State-related (parastatal) organisations + political foundations	DW-AKADEMIE ↑ FES IJJ KAS ↑	ifa-zivik LfM Prix Jeunesse	DED ↑
NGOs and private foundations	CAMECO ⇒ MICT ↑ Misereor	EZEF ⇒ IDEM ⇒ Radijojo ⇒ RWB ⇒ n-ost Solidaritatsfonds ⇒ Xchange P. Zeit-Stiftung	Robert Bosch St.

Year	Amount	Source & Additional Information
1981	104.6 million DM (equivalent to 101.5 million EUR in 2009, including devaluation)	Wilke 1996, p.541; does not differentiate between media development and development communication and includes only projects financed by the development ministry BMZ*;
1995	43.2 million DM (equivalent to 27.7 million EUR in 2009, including devaluation)	Wilke 1996, see commentary above
2000	19.3 million EUR (equivalent to 24.8 million EUR in 2009, including devaluation)	Oepen/Abele 2003, p. 45; includes only projects financed by the development ministry BMZ*; also contains some contradictory data such as an overall sum of 32 million EUR from 1998–2002 (annex 3), which would mean an average amount of 6.4 million EUR per year
2010	???	Probably an increase in comparison to 2000.

* Funds from the Foreign Ministry (e.g. to UNESCO-IPDC, the Stability Pact to Southeast Europe and others) are not included, nor are private donors.

in 2007 and 2009, which brought together experts in evaluation and monitoring from around the world. One practical result of the international sharing of experience in this field is the mediaME-wiki initiative, organised by CAMECO and supported by international and German media developers, evaluation experts and academics.

Various promising developments within the German Media Development Cooperation community can be observed, namely a growing number of new approaches:

- Combination of quantitative and qualitative methods: MICT applies a mix of quantitative methods, such as circulation reach, number of articles, etc., and qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews, group discussions, media content analysis; as a pilot in one case, DWA tried base-line studies on media usage as a starting point, in-depth interviews with team members and control group at the start of project and again later on)
- Integrated approaches: Results-based monitoring and evaluation, where refined quantitative and qualitative methods are integrated in the entire process of project management: planning, designing, implementing (DED, DWA)
- Emphasis on continuous monitoring, based

on milestones and indicators for process progress (DWA)

– “Movie matrix”: A framework concept for results-oriented planning and implementation at all stages of the funding cycle (ifa)

– Proprietary programme-integrated planning, monitoring and evaluation system called PriME which is based on the DAC criteria and uses quantitative and qualitative M&E tools (IJJ/inWent) (see also Fengler et al. 2009).

Open questions

Some important strategic and conceptual aspects of media development cooperation are not covered in this survey. The following questions give an idea of what else needs to be discussed in order to design coherent media development policies for the future:

- How do German agencies in Media Development coordinate their activities? How do they cooperate with each other, and with other international donors in the field? Where would be potential future cooperation fields?
- How do strategies of German media development agencies relate to differences in the state of the political system, the level of economic development, the phases of conflict in the partner countries?

- How does German media development cooperation address governance and accountability issues?
- What steps can be taken to further research of media development cooperation?

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Florence Minery has worked for the Media Programme of the Research and Technology Exchange Group (GRET), a Paris-based development organisation, since 2004. She designed and supervised media development projects in Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, financed by Britain's Department for International Development (DFID), the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the European Commission. In 2008 and 2009, Florence evaluated the media support activities of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie over the past ten years. She worked as media project manager in Chad in 2002-2003. She holds a PhD in Information Science on 'Geopolitical examination of French-language newspapers of Sub-Saharan West Africa' (Paris 2, 2006). Among others, she has published on the state of the media in Chad (GRET, 2001) and in Côte d'Ivoire (GRET, 2000).

French Media Assistance

Developing tailor-made regional cooperation strategies

By Florence Minery

In countries in democratic transition the media are of strategic importance. Citizens are better placed to participate in democratic decisions when they are informed by a responsible press. Thanks to a legitimate and transparent press, the media contributes to the emergence of public opinion, which in turn supports the establishment of a more critical and better structured civil society. An independent and responsible media sector is necessary to facilitate democratic processes, enabling an easier dialogue between civil society and the state.

In French-speaking Africa, the media participate in public debate but they lack editorial and economic independence, professionalism and legal protection, so the rules of the profession as established in developed countries apply only in limited fashion. Freedom of the press and access to information sources are not fully guaranteed, thus limiting the capacity of the media to play their role in a process of democratisation. The print media attempts to be a platform for national and democratic debates, but does so in a still overly partisan

way: it remains more an opinion press rather than a source for hard news. Radio successfully fills the local niche. Television fascinates and entertains, often with images from elsewhere.

Objectives of French media assistance

For more than 15 years, strengthening the media in developing countries has been a specific goal of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) and French NGOs like GRET (Professionnels du développement solidaire). They support the media as a sector in itself. Since the end of the cold war at the beginning of the 90s, the objective has been to support democratisation processes by fostering a pluralistic media sector. To do so, it was necessary to professionalise, regulate and organise it.

Activities to this end include:

- **Supporting capacity building**, especially with the training of journalists and

representatives of media outlets and professional associations;

- **Structuring the media sector** by helping regulatory and self-regulatory bodies and professional organisations, as well as supporting legislation towards freedom of the press;
- **Raising awareness and increasing accountability** of media professionals in matters of ethics and of freedom of the press;
- **Supporting local journalism**, principally community radio;
- Promoting **African broadcasting and films**, with funds to stimulate local production and exchange of programmes.

Already more than 10 years ago – a few years after the democratisation process in francophone Africa – French donors stopped their support for academic training programmes for journalists, as African universities suffered from a poor level of professionalism and were also not able to cover the training needs linked to the new media environments.

The target group of training has been foremost journalists and the programmes focused on journalistic research techniques,

writing for the press, and ethics. Less attention has been paid to the training of management – the editors and directors of the media business. However, management training is now also being gradually included in France's media development portfolio, in particular for radio¹.

French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

For the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the goals of media assistance and public diplomacy form part of a single strategy. Both perspectives belong to the *audiovisuel extérieur* cluster of the *Direction de la Politique Culturelle et du Français*. Two media specialists work for this cluster.

The specific objectives of media assistance are:

- Strengthening the professionalism of the media and journalists;
- Consolidating the regulation of the media across the network of African regulatory bodies;
- Fostering the production of local broadcasters and producers.



Objectives of media support of the French Assistance

Support to media in development countries is a specific objective for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie and French NGOs; supporting **media as a sector in itself**.

Challenges: **professionalise, regulate and structure**.

Areas of action concern the written press, radio and television:

- **Capacity building** (training essentially).
- **Structuring** the media sector.
- **Awareness-raising** and **accountability** of the media professionals.
- Local information.
- Promotion of **African broadcasting and film**.



Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF)

The Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) is an international organisation of politics and governments with French as the mother or customary language, and where there is a notable affiliation with the French language or culture. However, regarding media support, spreading the French language is NOT the priority of the OIF.

Being active in media support since the early 1990s, OIF has its own media development department (which also collaborates with the Foreign Ministry). The OIF's media support programme aims at “consolidating democratic processes” and works in two main policy areas:

Promoting Press Freedom

- Developing legislation to guarantee freedom of information and communication;
- Strengthening regulatory bodies;
- Supporting self-regulation activities.

Reinforcing Media Pluralism

- Modernising public television and supporting press agencies;
- Transforming broadcasting structures;
- Supporting the funding of the written press;
- Providing professional training and supporting capacity building;
- Improving the content of local radio;
- Helping the digital development of radio stations and newspapers.

Outcomes

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the OIF have introduced innovative approaches, above all with respect to training methods, reforms in broadcasting systems and the development of media regulation. Ongoing training has led to significant changes in professional practices. The ministry's support has

also contributed to setting up a private audiovisual production sector in several countries. French assistance has helped improve the skills of media professionals and members of the regulatory bodies. Specific training on the reporting of electoral issues had a positive impact, even more so when this training involved the regulatory authority.

The results of French media assistance interventions on self-regulation and the social responsibility of journalists are weaker. This is also the case with respect to strengthening the economic sustainability of the media, a more recent focus area. In addition the intervention strategies of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the OIF are not always very clear.

In the case of the ministry, the two issues of, on the one hand, developing an independent media sector and, on the other, the public diplomacy importance of strengthening French audiovisual presence are mixed. The OIF's policy lacks coherence in that it has too many objectives and is therefore not a really strong strategy.

GRET in Media Development

The Paris-based NGO GRET has been active in media development since 1995, mainly in the fields of network coordination, research and field projects. GRET works closely with local professional organisations and is organised around issues in a variety of areas: ongoing training; strengthening of self- and state-regulation mechanisms; development of freedom of the press; and promotion of a business culture within the media. Its interventions focus on three different target groups: media outlets and professionals; professional organisations; and regulatory bodies and ministries – the latter encourages the involvement of the state to promote the emergence of a public policy on information and communication.

Over the past five years, GRET has been operating media projects in the transition and post-crisis countries Burundi, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo-Brazzaville, Ivory Coast and Rwanda. The projects included capacity building of professional media organisations (by providing training methodologies and technical support); accompanying local partners; encouraging skills transfers; and exchanging know-how and experience. These projects have been conducted in cooperation with local and international partners, and included the relevant governmental authorities (supervisory ministry, regulatory body). GRET has been facilitator and animator as well as the counterpart of the technical and financial stakeholders of these projects.

Since 1998, GRET has published practical handbooks for media professionals in French and English. These include: *Radio Production*; *The Art of Publishing a Newspaper* and *Media Law, Ethics and Standards of Professional Conduct*.

Sectoral approach

Over the last years, media support has experienced change: the sectoral approach has become more prominent. The sectoral approach aims at consolidating the media sector within its institutional and political environment. As such it not only focuses on the enhancement of individual journalistic quality, but also on improving the economic context and the regulatory environment in which the media operate.

Media governance

Governance and accountability have become prominent themes in international development assistance. It is really the most important that is being worked on at the moment, because involving all stakeholders is crucial for democratisation and development.

Strengthening governance and accountability requires integrated programmes with mixed target groups, i.e. including representatives of the political arena, law enforcement and the media. Activities like workshops to share experiences and best practices may be appropriate for such a mixed public, as the expectations and constraints of each participant are naturally different. Workshops may end with the adoption of a final agreement or declaration of resolutions.

A governance-centred approach should also help African states set up a public policy for the media sector. In order to give media support a governance objective, certain aspects are important:

- Training journalists in using **reliable information sources** is crucial: relying on verifiable sources of information enables journalists to prove what they wrote, avoids rumours and guarantees high quality. Unfettered access to government information is also important, both for reducing the risks faced by journalists and sensitising government officials to public accountability.



Media support and governance

- **Integrated programmes** with mixed target groups
- Helping African states to set up a **public policy** for the media sector.
- Important aspects:
 - Training in the use of reliable **information sources**.
 - Achieving **legal status** for community radio.
 - Transparent **media regulation**.
 - **Self-regulation mechanisms** must involve the civil society.
 - Support for **economic sustainability** must be integrated into each media project.

- **Community radio stations** must be legally recognised so that they can work as local watchdogs and public forums, notably on political questions that they are often forbidden or discouraged from covering.

- **Transparent media regulation** has to be fostered, notably by way of a cooperation instrument, namely the Network of African Regulatory Authorities. With respect to regulatory bodies, their mediation role must be reinforced.

- Community radio stations can generate revenues by offering ICT services like **internet cafés**. However, the capacity of these radios in ICT matters must be improved. This notably means getting them to master different aspects, in particular interactivity with listeners and economic management.

Regional support strategies

Normally, media support aims at responding to the needs of the media sector in a specific country. However, especially – but not only – in Africa, needs and challenges might be quite similar in a broader regional context, and regional media programmes (e.g. for French-speaking West Africa or the Great Lakes region) may have significant advantages over narrower national approaches.

Of course, a coherent media support strategy requires first a detailed analysis of the problems that could be dealt with at the national level, and of those best addressed at a regional level. Issues such as an appropriate legal framework, support for regulatory and self-regulatory bodies, the structuring of professional organisations, etc. may be primarily addressed at the national level.

Professional training – in order to work on common standards – and production of programmes on regional topics and interests may be best treated at the regional level.

Regional media programmes may offer long-term support to journalism schools, including for equipment (documentation, specialised software, etc.). Regional programmes may also imply cooperation between professional organisations and institutions across borders, e.g. regarding defending freedom of the press and security of journalists. Of course, the success of regional programmes depends on decentralised coordination and flexibility in implementation.



Ideas and perspectives for regional media programmes

- **First step**: analyse which problems should be dealt with at national level, and which at regional level.
- Decentralised **coordination** and flexibility in the implementation
- **National level**: the legal framework, support to regulatory and self-regulatory bodies, structuring of the professional organisations.
- **Regional level**: professional training actions - in order to work to common standards - and production of programmes on regional topics and interests.

GRET

- The mechanisms of **self-regulation** should be more operational and better implemented in civil society. Thus, the critical spirit of the citizens towards the press should be stimulated.

- Support for **economic sustainability** must be integrated into each media project. An economically well-managed and independent organisation contributes towards the struggle against corruption. It reduces the fragility of working conditions for media professionals, facilitates good ethical standards, and therefore leads to a better quality press.

Some advantages of a regional programme:

- Cost-effectiveness: conducting the same activities for several countries reduces costs and staff;
 - Greater capacity of lobbying and advocacy;
 - Sharing of experiences and practices;
- Establishing professional ties.

Some difficulties in implementing a regional programme:

- Defining objectives and results which correspond both to the regional and national needs;
- Guaranteeing well-balanced activities among the participating countries, so that the programme does not become four or five independent national projects.
- Ensuring the visibility of regional programmes at the different national levels.

Lessons learned

Summarising the last 15 years or so of French media assistance, I would like to highlight the following strategic and methodological lessons learned:

- Support must be based on an in-depth-analysis of the whole media sector and of the direct political context of the media.
- Long-term projects – over three or four years – should be encouraged in order to accompany the professionalisation of the sector and to ensure sustainability, including, for instance, through the training of trainers.
- Local partners should not only be informed but also directly involved in the implementation of media programmes, for example in the steering committee, as it contributes to strengthening the ownership and the visibility of the project.
- State institutions should also be involved in order to spur them to carefully work out a public policy in the field of information and communication.

Enhancing training effectiveness

- **Training** has been the most popular intervention method supported by donors.
- In order to improve the **management** of press enterprises, in-house training should especially target managers, editors and directors of commercial services.
- International organisations should better use the expertise of **African trainers**.
- Clear distinction should be made between professional training and workshops aimed at the sharing of experiences.
- Training sessions must be part of a **structured training plan**.
- Eradicate the practice of "per diem", or at least harmonise the practices.
- Selection of trainees should rely on transparent criteria and should directly result from the specific objectives of the training.

GRET

Further steps

There are many ways to improve the media sector in Africa. They include:

- In-depth diagnosis of organisational and management capacity of professional associations and organisations: self-regulatory bodies and other institutions representing collective interests can hardly be auto-financed. They undoubtedly need short-term external support, as they fulfil a general interest function.

Lessons learned

- Support must be based on an **in-depth-analysis** of the whole media sector and of the direct political context of the media.
- **Long-term projects**, over 3 or 4 years, should be encouraged.
- **Local partners** should be directly involved in the implementation.
- State institutions should be involved, in order to establish a public policy in the field of information and communication.

GRET

- Broadening the concept of self-regulation from merely internal control mechanisms to a matter of broader political dialogue, including the state and civil society.
- Ensuring that regulatory authorities are financed more from the general state budget.
- Working with all relevant levels and stakeholders for the media sector, not only journalists (by enhancing their professional capacities), but also media managers, media owners, advertisers, legislators and politicians (regarding the legal framework).
- Strengthening the economic viability of media outlets by encouraging managers to organise their media organisations as businesses.

Enhancing training effectiveness

Training has been the most popular intervention method supported by donor organisations. It consists mainly of seminars for professionals, while support of basic skills training has been abandoned. Special attention must be dedicated to the professionalism of journalism schools, in particular to ensure a better balance between theory and practice. Cooperation between schools and media professionals should be encouraged.

In order to improve the management of press enterprises – financial management, working rules, tax etc. – in-house training should especially target managers, editors and directors of commercial services. The heads of marketing and those responsible for advertising need real marketing tools, while heads of editorial staff require management skills to improve the efficacy of their team. A well-managed media outlet contributes to the fight against corruption, as it helps reduce the uncertain and precarious situation many journalists work under.

Today we can rely on a good number of well-qualified African trainers. However, international organisations involved in media support

could know and use these local trainers and their specific competences better.

It is necessary to make a clear distinction between professional training and awareness-raising workshops aimed at sharing experiences. Professional training requires a homogenous public that participates actively in the training session. To this end, hands-on exercises and individual evaluations by the trainers are paramount. The training sessions must be part of a structured training plan and should propose a concrete learning path to the trainees. E-learning has proven useful in particular for supervising ongoing training, as this may be difficult to do in-house. Training plans could combine residential workshops and on-line sessions.

Each training plan should include a train-the-trainer module. Training local trainers is one of the concrete results of a programme and may substantially enhance the sustainability and ownership of media programmes.

The selection of trainees should rely on transparent criteria and should directly result from the specific objectives of the training. Gender considerations should be an integral part of the selection process to ensure an appropriate place for women in the media. A thorough application process to evaluate if the candidates have the appropriate skills and abilities for the training – including motivation, professional background, current position within a media organisation – leads to better quality and higher efficiency of the training courses. It is also necessary to get rid of the practice of “per diem” stipends, or at least harmonise the different practices. This may be addressed by better coordination among the donors.

¹ See for example http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/actions-france_830/medias_19551/plan-radio-afrique_17969/index.html

Norwegian media assistance

An integral part of democracy support

By Ivar Evensmo



“For the growth and consolidation of a democratic system, it is important that the attitudes and values of such a system, like respect for human rights, should be expressed and reflected in different contexts. . . The ability to form independent opinions depends on access to varied and reliable sources of information, for which the existence of a free and independent press is essential. High standards of quality are important, including compliance with certain press ethics that are in line with the culture in which the information is being disseminated. The information also has to be made as widely available as possible, and in this respect a high illiteracy rate, a thinly spread population, widespread poverty, gender inequality and great cultural differences can represent considerable challenges to dissemination.”

This is a quote from the document *Support for Democratic Development*, published by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in March 1993. In her introductory note, the Minister of Development Cooperation, Kari Nordheim-Larsen, wrote “our aim is to promote development based on the rule of law and internationally accepted standards of human rights in which all parts of the population have a genuine possibility of influencing their own situation by means of free and open participation in political life”.

Media and democratic development

Regarding *information, the media and the press* (the original headline used in the document) the following types of support were – and still are – considered the most important:

- Dissemination of information on democracy and human rights in schools
- Information on democracy and human rights directed at the general public or specific groups (women, specific occupational groups, etc.)
- Measures for promoting free and independent media, including the training of journalists, with an emphasis on quality and respect for fundamental ethical principles
- Various forms of support for publications, with an emphasis on helping to increase access to varied and reliable sources of information.

This has been Norway’s media support policy for almost twenty years. Except for updated regulations and guidelines, a new version has never been published. What did come

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later, however, was the analysis of the role of media in conflict and post conflict countries. Although the atrocities in Rwanda in 1994 were greatly facilitated by modern national media outlets, it was the wars in ex-Yugoslavia that became a real eye-opener for the international community. Many witnessed the hugely negative impact of information blockades between countries in which people had previously enjoyed multiple information systems, and how all fractions used very sophisticated propaganda machineries in what became known as 'Prime Time Crime'. It became clear that local media, based on democratic values and high journalistic standards, are fundamental both for development as well as for conflict prevention and good governance.

Media assistance as an integral part of Norwegian democracy support, with more funds at its disposition, faces a number of new challenges. The globalisation of markets, security concerns, technological changes, financial crises, emerging new media business models, Paris Declaration principles and other aid architecture measures all contribute to the

complex context in which this policy shall be carried out.

Media support and human rights

Much of Norway's efforts to support freedom of expression used to focus on traditional press freedom activities, journalist training and advocacy against censorship and biased media. But such projects were mostly framed as economic and social development projects, and rarely integrated in human rights and media programmes.

Thus, Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre launched an initiative in 2008 targeting violations of the right to freedom of expression. He highlighted the links between media, democracy and development, and demanded more direct support to media in conflict areas. As a consequence, support to free media moved high up on the governance agenda. It is also the rationale for the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation's (Norad) shift from supporting a traditional communication for development approach to a new vision of building permanent media capacity in developing countries.

There has also been a geographical shift towards countries such as Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe and Russia. Dialogue with countries that have large Muslim populations like Indonesia is prioritised. We will also prioritise countries and projects to which we have something special to offer, and where we can make a difference. This may include topics such as the Nordic media council, as a model for media self-regulation.

There are special policy guidelines for Norwegian support to free media, which help both Norad and MFA in setting practical priorities. They are currently being evaluated and will probably be updated soon to better reflect the enhanced role of digital and social media.



Freedom of Expression and support to independent media has been on top of Norway's HR agenda since 2008

More political attention and resources to:

- **Violence against media outlets**
- **Media in conflict areas**
- **Countries where democracy is under threat; or Norway already is involved in HR dialogues; or where Norwegian competence can make a difference**
- **Forge closer links between HR policy, communication for development and governance-related development goals.**

Norwegian media support in figures

Of the total amount of 108 million NOK (approx. 19 million US\$) used on various media and communication projects in 2008, 15 million came from the budget line earmarked for Mr. Støres's Freedom of Expression and Free Media Initiative. But the figures are very difficult to classify, since freedom of expression and media assistance fall within several OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) codes.¹

In 2008, the Norwegian portfolio consisted of 84 projects and programmes, some very small, some quite large. Some were global initiatives, while most were geographically classified, with Africa ranging on top with 24.5 million NOK, Asia and Europe second with 23 million NOK each, Latin America third with 1.5 million NOK, followed by Middle East with 1.4 million NOK. Some were pure media support initiatives, while others were human rights projects with free media components. In addition, there were 18 larger development programmes with media and freedom of expression components. Smaller initiatives were usually implemented by INGOs, while UN organisations like UNDP, OCHA and UNHCR received very large grants.

Despite their uncertainty and complexity, these figures place Norway at number nine of the world's top media supporters. Together with Sweden, Norway would rank at number four, alongside the UK, following the US, the EU and Japan. And, if we added Denmark and Finland, the Nordic Group could claim to be a world leader in media assistance, only surpassed by the US and perhaps the EU. So the Nordic block has a huge potential when it acts together.

However, in the past this potential influence was never systematically exploited, partly because of different theoretical orienta-



tions, and partly due to different practical approaches.

Pursuing different approaches

Fifteen years ago, the pattern of media assistance was fairly simple. There were relatively few funding organisations, with UNESCO leading and a handful of bilateral donors working with individual countries. The donor community as a whole lacked deep understanding of the role that free and plural media could play in development and conflict management. Nor was the nature of aid as complex as it has now become, with the distinct objectives of "media for development" and "development of the media" to promote good governance being pursued in various combinations and defying easy classification.

Most media donors operated with a two-tier perspective. For instance, the strategic framework provided by the Danish Development Assistance pursued the development of free, open and plural media structures for democratic dialogue on the one hand, while strengthening the content of the communication process in quantity and quality through

means such as training journalists and broadcasters in professional and management skills on the other.

The Norwegian policy for media support referred explicitly to the good governance agenda: “Free and independent media are an essential part of a viable democracy. All societies need open channels to be able to engage in social debate and to examine the exertion of power and authority in an independent light... The right to information is necessary for good governance, and good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in promoting development and fighting poverty. In Norwegian development cooperation, support for media was regarded as an integral factor in the overall work of promoting good governance.” In order to attain these objectives, the operational guidelines from 2005 specified strengthening the legal framework for the media and for journalists, improving professional standards, promoting diversity and accessibility, helping to ensure the media have access to information, and holding them accountable.

The *Swedish* strategy gave more emphasis to cultural factors such as the expression of cultural identity, the preservation of national languages and the cultural heritage.

Britain, for its part explicitly linked media support to poverty reduction. The United Kingdom (UK) Department for International Development (DFID) stated in a report prepared jointly with the World Bank: “Strategic communication is much more than merely informing citizens about Poverty Reduction Strategic Plans (PRSPs). Rather, it is the active seeking of the perspectives and contributions of citizens so that they can help to shape policy. It also means ensuring that mechanisms are in place for a two-way flow of information and ideas between the government and the citizenry as well as making deliberate efforts to build consensus amongst stakeholders about the development strategy the nation wishes to pursue”. Today, we would call this approach ‘A Voice and Accountability Perspective’.


The Balkan conflicts became a turning point to all these approaches. In the beginning, media support in this region lacked coordination. In Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) for instance, a large number of local radio and TV stations mushroomed, with backing from many donors. The big players, such as the EU and the US, had very different ideas about the future of the media industry. The Europeans wanted to promote their own concept of public broadcasting financed by license fees;

 Norad

Policy goals for media assistance are more transparency, democracy and good governance, including fight against corruption.

Expected outcomes:

- Media's legal positions strengthened
- Professional media standards bolstered
- Media outlets are more diverse, relevant and widely available
- They have better access to information
- They are more accountable to state and public
- Funders use more diagnostic tools and performance indicators to plan and measure results.

 Norad

Strategic components

- Information NGOs and media think tanks
- Meeting places for knowledge, experiences and best practices
- The media sector itself
- Support to legal framework reforms, market developments, capacity building of media institutions and new technologies
- Government communication capacity

the Americans favoured a commercial system. This struggle had very damaging effects in BiH, and subsequently also in Kosovo.

Towards more targeted media support

The Balkan experience made it obvious that media support is much more than training and ad hoc support to campaigns and technological transfers. A much broader approach was needed, establishing norms and rules for how media support should be given in development as well as conflict and post-conflict periods. I am proud to say that Norway was a pioneer in developing this new understanding, for instance by publishing a study in 1999 called *Local Media Support*, which gave concrete advice for media programming. Unfortunately, the impact was modest in Norway and elsewhere.

The policy transfer to good programming has been cumbersome in Norway for many reasons. Norway's support to freedom of expression and media development still suffers from many of the same weaknesses identified ten years ago, such as lack of a proper definition of media support, a fragmented grant management structure, a weak administrative support system, lack of baseline information and performance indicators, and poor monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, to mention a few.

Norway's media assistance policy now pursues the following key objectives: Strengthening the capacity for communication analysis, distinguishing between interventions with different objectives, creating synergy from different communication strategies, following international norms and standards, adhering to the Paris Declaration, ensuring a mix of donor support mechanisms, entering into partnerships with professional media organisations and building permanent media capacity.

Media for conflict transformation

Although not formalised in a new policy document, the main elements in Norway's media support are clear. In our view, media are a strategic component in development communication and conflict transformation. In implementing our media support policy, we try to incorporate media development as a structure for democratic dialogue with strategic communication as a way of channelling the dialogue.

Practical assistance is classified in three contextual categories: pre-conflict, conflict and post conflict situations, as well as three main types of project objectives, i.e., humanitarian reporting, conflict resolution and institution building for development and better governance. But we need to improve our analytical skills in media analysis and expand our management capacity.

Norway adheres to the Paris Agenda and tries to promote consensus among influential public and private media donors about the fact that a well coordinated holistic sector approach is more effective than short-term, ad hoc, single projects by individual donors. We also believe that a programmatic approach based on a proper needs assessment with broad participation from national stakeholders is the best strategy for building national capacity and ownership. But many donors still have rigid policies and funding mechanisms that set limitations for their practical cooperation on the ground.

New partners and initiatives

The Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD) founded in 2005 with now almost one thousand member organisations, has contributed very much to creating consensus on common policies for communication and media development. This was complemented

by another important initiative in 2009 by the Salzburg Global Seminar on Strengthening Independent Media, that initiated a working process among some key donors to promote a new holistic approach to build permanent media capacity at country level. A third initiative that points in the same direction, but works at a continental level, is the African Media Initiative (AMI), linked to the Commission for Africa Report in 2005. The report forcefully argued that unless the combined efforts of better information, knowledge, media and development communication strategies were strengthened across the board, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) would not be met. It called for massive new investments in the media sector, which were slow to come forward, but now seem to have a good chance to succeed under the leadership of the African Media Initiative when it kicks off fully in 2011, with active support from many international media donors, including Norway.

It is particularly interesting that AMI concentrates on the private media sector, which is considered the engine for future media development in Africa. State media will also benefit, but are not considered capable of assuming a substantial role in the continental drive to improve the legal, commercial, managerial and technological framework necessary to create the vital, dynamic, professional and diverse media structure African countries so badly need today, if they are to catch up with the rest of the world in development and governance performance. Most importantly the ownership to this initiative is solely African. It is endorsed by the African Union and many national African governments, but not least by the African Media Owners Association itself.

In our view, working through partnership with professional media organisations is a more sustainable strategy than direct donor

intervention. In particular, public donors should refrain from being operational, and instead work through funding partnerships with the wide range of professional media organisations that exist. This will be particularly important when supporting politically sensitive areas.

Lessons learned

The Nordic experience is that a mixed approach of support from headquarters and country level offices has been the most effective implementing strategy. Decentralisation can be conducive if it facilitates collaboration between media donors on the national level. But this implies that media policies and guidelines can be set on overall objectives, while remaining flexible enough for national representatives to adapt to local conditions and priorities. In practice, this has been difficult to achieve. Zimbabwe is a very positive example in this respect.

Furthermore, not all communication initiatives fit into a decentralised decision-making model. Direct support to media in crises and conflict might better be done from a central level where it is easier to have an overview of the situation, including international actors and proceedings. Intermediary non-governmental organisations are usually well placed to channel foreign resources to local activities and to advise partners on the ground.

Documenting impact by use of diagnostic tools and performance indicators is also necessary to maintain transparency and legitimacy with stakeholders at both ends of the aid chain.

Finally, our aim is that donors should adhere to a common framework of norms and standards for media support, set forward by the Windhoek Declaration in 1991, and in subsequent statements, declarations and conven-



Norwegian Policy on Support for Democratic Development

- Strengthen the capacity for communication analysis
- Distinguish between interventions with different objectives
- Create synergy from different communication strategies
- Follow international norms and standards
- Adhere to the Paris Declaration
- Ensure a mix of donor support mechanisms
- Enter into partnerships with professional media organisations
- Build permanent media capacity.



Challenges

10 principles for media donors:

1. Donor coordination
2. Identify good local partners
3. Flexible project planning and design
4. Protect the credibility of local media
5. Develop capacity, not dependency
6. Long-term commitment
7. Good support and relevant exit strategy
8. Diverse funding instruments
9. Legislative/regulatory framework reforms
10. Sustainable media support institutions.

tions on media and freedom of expression. Donor governments have a special responsibility to include media freedom and freedom of expression in their policy dialogue with host governments, and raise cases of intimidation, harassment and prosecution of media practitioners, who simply carry out their profession.

Although they do not form a big part of the INGO budget line, Norad's old global communication partners, such as Inter Press Service (IPS) and Panos, are equally important in this overall communication picture, which, in recent years has been supplemented by other partners like BBC World Service Trust and International Media Support, the latter specialising in support to media in crisis states.

Other strategic media actors have come into the picture in recent years through partnership with the MFA, and carry out projects at country level. Organisations such as Article 19 and IREX promote freedom of expression issues, while the Institute for Peace and War Reporting focuses on conflict journalism. The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) carries out capacity building of media associations, and International News Safety Institute (INSI) provides security training in conflict areas, and practical education on

how journalists can better protect themselves. Several regional organisations such as the Media Institute in Southern Africa, the Sri Lanka Press Institute and the South Asian Freedom of Media Association also receive support, in order to do media monitoring, research or strengthen the knowledge and public support for cross border operations and peace agreements.

Major challenges in media assistance

Media interventions are based either on a theory of democratic participation or on a theory of social change, or sometimes on a combination of the two. But building permanent media capacity always takes place under different circumstances. Consequently, a political/economic analysis of the local situation should always provide the basis for such media intervention strategies, including assumptions of whether there will be continuous flows of philanthropic grants and public subsidies to local media, just market revenues, or both. Other factors that should be examined in a media system perspective are the levels of political and economic control over news production and distribution motivated by elite or class interests, and social and cultural factors that inhibit or promote violent conflicts.

A free and professional media sector needs a regulatory framework to ensure equal conditions for all, and mechanisms with penalties to deal with disputes within the industry and with the various audiences. There is no historical evidence that the market alone can do this. The challenge is to find the right interplay between a free media market and the necessary regulatory authorities. A golden rule or a magic bullet cannot be casted in general terms but must be based on specific context analysis.

In Norad's view building permanent media capacity must take place in three areas: (i) in international support organisations, (ii) in national media outlets and media associations and (iii) in government communication capacity.

Donors should collaborate with information intermediaries — such as media NGOs and think tanks — to establish knowledge-sharing platforms that can gather and synthesise the best evidence of media capacity built to foster permanent communication for development outcomes.

They strengthen media systems themselves, from print and broadcast media to ICTs, and support infrastructure development that will bolster government communication capacity to engage in two-way communication with citizens, and increases the legitimacy and the effectiveness of the state.

Possible dangers

Media in a country can get accustomed to receiving grants when covering development-related messaging efforts. As a consequence, media outlets become dependent on donor grants, instead of covering these important development stories on an economically self-sustained basis. For example, health is a topic that should interest all

media audiences, so ideally it should be in the media's self interest to cover important health issues, attracting larger audiences, and thereby gaining the ability to diversify funding sources and earn higher advertising revenues, rather than being paid to do so.

Journalists may also be showered with scattered, on-off trainings, reducing their interest in participating in such trainings. For independent media to be sustainable, journalism training is not enough, particularly where media are barely economically self-sustaining and unable to pay appropriate salaries to the "trained" journalists. In contrast, the good impact of training in development-related reporting combined with other media sector related issues is well documented.

Donors who only sponsor development messages sent via state-owned media may actually hinder the development of more independent media.

There is also a pressing need for indicators that can assess the effectiveness of this spending. Diagnostic tools must be used to identify needs and performance indicators to assess the impact of specific interventions. UNESCO has done a pioneering job in this area. Although the work is still at an early stage, Norway supports it the best we can from our limited capacity.

Finally, I will emphasise that building permanent media capacity takes place under very different national and sub-national contexts. Consequently, understanding the local situation should always provide the basis for media intervention strategies, including assumptions of whether there will be continuous flows of philanthropic grants and public subsidies to local media, market revenues, or both. A free and professional media sector also needs a regulatory framework that can ensure equal conditions for all,

and mechanisms with penalties to deal with disputes within the industry and with the various audiences. Whether media exist in pre-conflict, conflict or post-conflict societies should also be decisive for how donors set priorities when it comes to using local social capital for bridging, bonding, and technical capacity building. The level of commercial and political control over news production and consumption is yet another issue that should be taken into account when designing media assistance policy through a media system lens, perspective or model.

A good media donor policy: 10 principles

1. Enhance donor coordination is a *conditio sine qua non* of media aid, which also establishes a common ideal in difficult situa-

tions: to increase impact. Donor coordination provides synergy and cost-effectiveness, prevents duplication, and allows for a division of labor according to capacities. But successful coordination depends on common understanding of situations, agreement on strategies, transparency, willingness and time to cooperate.

2. Identify and work with good local partners in order to understand local problems and implement relevant programmes. Choosing effective partners is essential. Mistakes are unavoidable and costs can be reduced if the selection process is well prepared.

3. Be flexible in project planning and design since media environments and other conditions change over time. Moreover, pri-



If the goal is a bigger voice for media, it should have a *wide mouth* and *sharp teeth*!



orities and methods are not uniform, and choices and decisions must remain open as social and political situations evolve.

4. Protect the credibility of local media, by showing respect to editorial independence, and ensure that funding is not awarded on the basis of ideology or political favours.

5. Develop capacity, not dependency, because the two processes tend to follow one another. To build capacity allows for sustainability. Emphasis should be on local initiatives, and on refraining from imposing ideas, manipulating or crippling bureaucratic demands.

6. Plan for long-term donor commitment, because media development is generally effective only after many years of sustained engagement; it cannot be known in advance how much time will be needed to achieve results, or what obstacles might emerge.

7. Have exit plans ready because media aid is in effect a form of “social engineering”. This requires local knowledge and careful planning. To have a strategy is most important in long-term media development efforts, in contrast to providing emergency aid in times of conflict. Failures are always attributed to incorrect strategies or the lack of a strategy at all.

8. Diversify funding instruments in order not to destroy the local media market. Donors should refrain from giving grants to individual media outlets, although there are many exceptions where such assistance will be necessary for political reasons. If available, soft loans from banks and other investment institutions are generally a better option to develop the media market. But donors can

without problems support journalists’ organisations, branch associations, media research and NGOs to avoid contradictions inherent to choosing recipients for direct support.

9. Promote conducive legislative/regulatory frameworks so as to work towards a “stable, fair, media-supportive environment of law, courts and regulators”. This is a time consuming process, where commitment from domestic authorities, and technical expertise from abroad are needed.

10. Build sustainable media support institutions that can work long-term or function to support intense training in a transition period. Such alternative training institutions are often necessary in view of the inability of universities to provide media training, but the sustainability of such alternatives must be considered with great care from the very beginning.

My conclusion is that these are good norms for practice of media donorship and much needed if donors shall be able to foster media with a wide mouth and sharp teeth that can contribute to effective development communication, public access to information and participatory democracy.

I am sure that growing consensus will soon arise around these principles and tremendously improve results. Media donor performance is of as much public interest as donor contributions to social and economic development, but is so far much less reflected in public discussions. Together we can change this situation.

¹ Communication 220; policy 10; telecommunication 30; radio, TV and print 40; information technology 40; governance and civil society 151, human rights 62; and free flow of information 63.

The UK perspective and beyond

Growing faultlines in media development

By James Deane

What are the problems, from the perspective of a development agency, media can be expected to solve? For some media development practitioners, this is an uncomfortable question since it immediately dilutes the intrinsic role of a free, plural media as a critical component of a functioning democracy and society. It positions media as an instrument of policy, not a good in its own right. I share this concern, but I also understand that any professional of any development agency being asked to prioritise either time or money for an issue needs to be very clear about how that issue relates to their own development objectives, and how it delivers results.¹

The list is a long and familiar one. Media – at least the kind of media that media development seeks to support – underpins good governance and accountability, ensures political freedom and democratic inclusion, enhances dialogue and inhibits conflict, helps avoid famines, supports more effective markets, informs and provides a voice to marginalised groups; readers of this article could continue the list in multiple ways.

In my experience, and based on our own research, very few development agencies question that a free, plural and professional media provides these critical functions in society. At the same time, they tend to consider media support quite low on their list of development priorities. It is a source of considerable frustration to media development actors that the value that media at its best provides to democracy and society is generally acknowledged by development agencies, but the issue is so poorly considered when it comes to actually allocating money or time.

Media as guarantor of accountability

How does the United Kingdom (UK) Department for International Development (DFID) consider the issue of media within development? On the basis of its rhetoric and policy pronouncements, it could be said to be quite a significant priority. The media has been highlighted in recent “White Papers” – key policy papers issued by government departments in 2006 and 2009 – particularly with



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reference to the crucial role of media in ensuring governance and accountability. The last government's White Paper promised to spend five percent of all budget support on measures designed to enhance domestic accountability, including media. A new coalition government has reaffirmed this commitment.

Despite this, DFID has had no focal point on media as an issue for many years, and while it spends significant funding on it through project support through organisations, such as the BBC World Service Trust, acknowledges that the issue does not feature prominently on its list of policy priorities, even within the governance portfolio. It is not clear yet whether, under the new coalition govern-

ment, media development will become a higher priority in development policy.

Whatever happens with the UK Conservative-Liberal Democratic Coalition Government formed in 2009, the framework for considering the media can be expected to change, just as media development as an issue shifts in prominence and objective in most development agencies. Different agencies have different reasons at different times for being interested or disinterested in the role of media and more widely of communication processes in society. These can shift suddenly or gradually. Ten years ago, the World Bank became more interested in the role of media and communication, in part because it had published the 1999 World Development Report, *Know-*

Some Problems Media Development is designed to solve

Promoting political freedom and advancing democracy

Supporting more informed, efficient markets

Soft power

Mitigating hate, avoiding war and conflict

Promoting good governance and accountability

Avoiding famines

Supporting humanitarian responses

Economical and political inclusion of the poor

Supporting globalised digital economies

Countering Radicalisation



ledge for Development, which considered the flow of information in society to be central to economic development. Today, they are more interested in media's role as an accountability mechanism. The two interests are compatible and consistent, and there are multiple other factors at work, but the issue is that the development policy framework substantially shapes how an institution approaches an issue.

Greater focus on media likely

In the case of the UK, the dominant development paradigm over the last 13 years has been to invest in the state as the mechanism for delivering development, and an ever greater proportion of development aid has taken the form of direct budget support to governments. Support to media has, as a consequence, been principally of interest as a mechanism for making the state more accountable, more responsive or more capable. While issues of supporting democracy and citizen engagement in society have also featured as significant, the focus has been on improving the performance of the state first and foremost. DFID has been among the more influential actors in shaping the international aid effectiveness agenda, which also focuses heavily on building the capacity of the state to deliver development.

The emphasis may shift under a new government which, domestically, has a strong focus on enabling greater citizen agency and action under the label of the "Big Society". It is not entirely clear how much the new government will see development policy continuing to move towards supporting the developmental state, or whether it will see its domestic political agenda of the Big Society being reflected internationally. If this domestic political agenda does become better reflected in international development policy, then the key importance of media, not only as a guarantor of accountability but as an enabler of

DFID and Media Development: An unofficial case study

- New government
- Continued focus on fragile and conflict affected states
- Increasing focus on security and counter-radicalisation;
- Likely move from state-centric approach to citizen/society centric approach ("Big Society")
- Media Development likely to grow:
 - A stronger focus on citizen agency, action and enterprise;
 - Accountability and transparency an overriding agenda.
 - Counter-radicalisation and joined up government (ie DFID/FCO)

citizen initiative, action and engagement in society, business and politics would logically lead to a substantially greater focus on media development, and more broadly in the role of information and communication technologies – another area, strangely, that few development agencies have prioritised in their thinking or action.

Media and fragile states

There are complications to this, however, preeminent of which is DFID's focus on supporting countries which are most fragile and where development is most difficult. Media development organisations have been accused in recent years of adopting an overly simplistic, template approach to media, without understanding the political complexity of the countries in which they work. This criticism has been particularly levelled against media support interventions in fragile states, where DFID is increasingly concentrating its efforts. This is what one influential report on media support in fragile states concluded, published by the DFID funded London School of Economics (LSE) Crisis States Research Centre in 2005:

“In situations where the state is fragile and where the political process is unstable and de-legitimated, the primary objective of donor assistance should be supporting the formation of a functioning state. In such a scenario, unsophisticated liberalisation of the media can potentially undermine the state building project. The creation and sustaining of independent media is central to theories of democratisation. However, in the case of fragile states, it may also be misguided and potentially dangerous to assume that encouraging the creation of free and independent media will automatically strengthen civil society, or help establish a democratic system that will hold governments accountable. This approach underestimates the complexity of the contexts of fragile states.”¹²

DFID has focused increasingly heavily in recent years on developing a more sophisticated understanding of the political complexities and realities of the fragile contexts in which they work. Without understanding politics and how sustainable political settlements can be achieved, DFID has stressed, lasting development impact can too rapidly be derailed by conflict and instability. The role of media in fragile states is poorly researched, but for many within agencies such as DFID,

there is insufficient obvious evidence that media is playing a key role in underpinning sustainable political settlements to make it a development priority.

Indeed, many researchers are, as the LSE report suggests, expressing great caution about the benefits that media bring in fragile political contexts, a caution that has a long pedigree reaching back at least to the role of Radio Mille Collines and other extremist media in the 1994 Rwanda genocide. The conclusion drawn by some development policy makers is that, for all the critical advantages of media as a guarantor of democratic rights, accountability and political inclusion, making it a key plank of development strategy is too often too political, messy and difficult when political conditions are unstable and fragile. The growing incidences of hate media – the best documented recent example of which was around the Kenya 2007/8 elections, has fuelled such concerns.

Make media support a priority

Media development organisations find such conclusions baffling. We make several arguments, some of them old, and some of them new. We argue that the advantages of media greatly outweigh the disadvantages, and that

Fragile States: hate media now a reason to engage, not to disengage

- Rwanda Radio Mille Collines (interpreted as reason why not to focus on media)
- Kenya 2007/8 Elections (interpreted as why media should be supported – e.g. risk registers)
- Increasing security focus and concern over growth in extremist media
 - Taliban websites available globally in Dari/Farsi, Urdu, Arabic and English
 - Al Qaeda highly effective communication operation focused substantially at radicalising young populations
 - Al Shabab in Somalia, Hezbollah’s Al Manar

The status of policy debates

- OECD/DAC: Domestic accountability as component of Aid Effectiveness agenda
- EIDHR/SIDA: Media as political participation -> human rights agenda/freedom of expression
- US: Promoting democracy at a time of uncertainty?
 - Crisis of mainstream media business model
 - New emphasis on internet/digital freedom
 - Democratic Recession
 - Counter radicalisation

the whole point of media development is to help bring about a free, plural and professional media, capable of playing a positive democratic role in society, rather than a destructive one. We deny too that media development organisations do take a “template” approach, and that media development organisations often have a more sophisticated understanding of the political realities and complexities of the countries in which they work than many other mainstream development actors. And we point to considerable success in some fragile countries, such as Afghanistan, where media support has been considered to be one of the more successful areas of development intervention.

The ever more pressing need for ensuring that the citizens of aid recipient countries – especially fragile states – have greater avenues to demand accountability for development expenditures designed to benefit them adds to these arguments further. And, perhaps most undeniably, new technologies and especially the increasingly ubiquitous access to mobile telephony, is making access to information increasingly pervasive. Liberalisation of information is remorseless and increasingly universal including in many of the most fragile states.

For most media development organisations this is a cause of celebration, but even if there is an acknowledgement that increasingly fragmented communication environments can fuel tension in fragile states, it is very difficult to sustain a policy position which seeks to turn back the tide of access to information, particularly enabled by new technologies. Our role is to support media and communication processes and capacities that act in the public interest, to support the good that media and communication can do and to mitigate the bad. At a time of such huge change where media and communication are playing such a central role in redefining politics, business

and society – including in fragile states – it is curious that the issue remains so poorly prioritised among development agencies.

Agencies expected to refocus

There are signs that the attitudes to media development are changing within development agencies, and some of this is as much an acknowledgement of the harm that media can do, as well as the good. Agencies are beginning to focus more heavily on media, not simply as guarantor of good governance and accountability, but also an issue that needs to be incorporated in risk assessments. The realisation that the damage that media can do when it is

not supported, and particularly the horrific consequences of hate media – seen recently in the Kenya 2007/8 elections – are a major reason why media needs to be supported, not (as has tended to be concluded in the past) a reason why they should not. Media is increasingly being incorporated in the risk analysis carried out by development agencies working in fragile states, and in electoral cycle approaches.

For all these reasons, both positive – the growing need to ensure that funds channelled through government are subjected to increased domestic accountability – and negative – to offset the risks that more extreme media elements may increasingly fuel conflict and hate – we can probably expect development agencies, such as DFID, to increase rather than decrease the attention they accord to media development.



Political trends and media support: key issues

If media development is to live up to the challenges of such attention, however, it has as a sector to confront major challenges. The sector has always been varied but there are several “faultlines” which are increasingly shaping the environment within which media development organisations operate. Rather than go into any great detail, I will just flag a few of these.

Shift from institution to citizen

Historically, the principal focus of media development has been focused on strengthening media as a set of institutions – making newspapers and broadcast media more professional, more independent and more sustainable, and creating the legal and regulatory conditions in which they can survive as a dynamic fourth estate.

The much analysed financial crisis facing mainstream media in the industrialised world is not generally reflected in developing countries, where media continues to boom as it expands into new markets. However, from the perspective of ordinary citizens, their capacity to access information is being transformed and is no longer dependent on

a limited number of media institutions, but on an infinite number of individuals and networks accessible through new technology.

The concerns of those working to support governance or

development are principally focused on how citizens can access information and how they can articulate their own concerns and make them heard.

The focus will inevitably move from the institution to the citizen. Independent media institutions will continue to be critical, providing the kind of institutional muscle capable of standing up to overbearing government authority and making sense of the vast sea of information increasingly available to citizens. However, it is near inevitable that media development strategies will increasingly shift from meeting the professional, business and regulatory needs of media institutions to meeting the information and communication needs of citizens.

There are dangers in such an approach – not least that this may lead to a more instrumental use of media support organisations which could simply focus on feeding people with information that development agencies feel is important. Media development organisations – who are in any case already becoming more focused on media and communication – will need to be increasingly imaginative and proactive about how they manage this transformational change.

Linking to civil society movements

Media development in almost all cases has essentially journalistic roots. The reasons it has grown have been part of broader efforts to support or promote democracy, particularly in the great democratic wave that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall. It was largely designed to create the conditions in which citizens of former one party or developing states could have access to the same high quality, independent plural media that existed in large parts of the industrialised world. Journalists and media organisations were the principal drivers and hosts of media development.

Growing Faultlines in Media Development

Media Development as Institution Building and Professional Capacity Strengthening



Meeting Information and Communication Need (new technologies)

This is on one level obvious, but the rationale used by media development organisations is no longer their lone preserve. The provision of information to citizens, enabling them to demand greater accountability and take greater control of their lives, is increasingly now a central plank of civil society movements.

Access to information social movements, budget monitoring initiatives, aid transparency institutions and a host of other essentially information based organisations have, in many respects, moved onto a territory formerly solely occupied by media development and communication organisations. They are proving highly successful, not only at raising funding and profile, but in demonstrating impact – using information and communication to improve democracy and accountability.

One of the characteristics of some of the most successful of these movements has been the effective partnerships they have developed with media organisations. In only a few cases, however, have media development organisations made concrete common cause with these civil society movements, partly because of the natural journalistic scepticism of being involved in campaigning or aligning with specific civil society groups. My hunch is that this is changing, and increasingly productive linkages and alliances will increasingly be formed between civil society and media organisations.

The shift of power from West to East

The tectonic plates of international power are shifting. In the US and Europe, think tanks, governments and academics are busy debating how to respond to the remorseless rise of China and the emergence or re-emergence of Brazil, India, South Africa, Turkey, Russia and others. The implications for media development as a field and a sector may be profound.

The international promotion of free and plural media originated in the West – as an idea and as a strategy. Specific motives have varied between Western countries and between regions. Ask a governance adviser from DFID's Politics and the State Team how she views the role of media and you will probably get a slightly different answer to someone in the Office of Democracy and Governance within USAID. Their

response may differ again from that of someone in the Democracy, Human Rights and Equality Department of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. The objectives of different US based or Euro-

pean private foundations and philanthropists will be different again. Bring such professionals together, in fact, and they often find it quite difficult to agree on a common course of action in the context of media development, and have subtly different conceptions of what support to media can best achieve. At root, however, there will be some shared values that are, to a lesser or greater extent, rooted in the Western experience of what media brings to society.

Now, however, the idea of "the West" as the principal reference point for international relations is, after hundreds of years, in trouble. The world order that has shaped global discourse since the Second World War, exemplified by the G7 group of richest countries, has been supplanted by the G8, the G2 and now the G20. The US remains the main reference point for international relations, but is no longer universally dominant in them.



Western media in crisis

Economic crisis in the West is matched by economic boom in emerging economies. Europe, especially preoccupied with economic, currency and debt crises, is weakened and distracted, and, at least for now, is seen as losing power and international presence. Much of Europe is entering a new period of austerity and, potentially, introspection (this is not universal – Sweden, one of the champions of media development, is weathering the crisis well). The confidence that invigorated the Western democratic model for much of the 1990s and beyond, is being supplanted by a narrative of democratic recession and an acknowledgement that the most effective economic performer on the world stage is antidemocratic.

If advocates of democracy as “the worst possible system of government except for all the others that have been tried from time to time” are shifting uneasily in their seats, so too are advocates of exporting western style journalism around the world. The transformational crisis affecting western media organisations, as the traditional business models are swept aside by the migration of advertising to online media, is creating a curious reversal in international media discourse. It is the developing country media – still undergoing

explosive growth in media markets that are far from saturated – that are brimming with self confidence, vitality and optimism. The western media organisations are in a desperate fight for survival and in less fit state to

be holding themselves up as models for the rest of the world to follow.

Concepts of power are also being redefined. The idea that power emanates purely from military might is being supplanted by ideas of smart power (military power supplemented by commercial, diplomatic and development efforts) and of soft power (the influence or pulling power which nations exert through their reputation, and the cultural and other contributions they are seen to be making to the world).

What does this mean for those involved in media development?

1. Find models beyond democracy

The idea of democracy as a model of government around which the international community should organise itself is decreasingly discussed. Individual countries will continue to make democracy assistance a central pillar of their international relations. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s compelling address³ on internet freedom, in January 2010, made it clear that both funding and clear, forward looking strategic thinking will place freedom of expression at the core of the US’s foreign policy. Organisations like the Commonwealth will continue to organise themselves around a core democratic agenda. The new UK Coalition Government has a mention of support for media in the international development section of the agreement between the two parties, and the international development budget is the only one (alongside health) to be ring fenced from cuts – and indeed is designed to grow in the future.

However, these are increasingly national strategies, rather than exemplars of a global international norm. Should democracy assistance find itself on the agenda of the G20, it is likely to be a key source of tension rather

Eroding Faultlines in Media Development

Media Development assumptions (e.g. media most effective at delivering accountability, informed society, civic dialogue)



Civil Society assumptions (e.g. That budget monitoring, access to information movements combined with new technologies does so)

than agreement between the powers around the table. Even for countries, such as the UK, the prospects of democracy assistance as a core component of foreign policy seem much weaker. Conferences on foreign policy and analyses by foreign policy think tanks about the future of the “UK and the world” focus heavily on concepts such as “soft power”. The term “democracy” features less and less.

To the extent that the media development field owed its growth to the international effort to support democracy and democratic values after the fall of the Berlin wall, that era is undergoing decisive change. It will survive in individual national assistance strategies, but as an international organising principle it appears to be in decline.

2. Promote true independence

We will need to be watchful that media development does not fall back into the bad old days of the 1970s. Media development should be focused on advancing the interests of the citizens of the countries in which media development takes place. The Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD) needs, I believe, to champion that obvious principle as never before.

Concepts and strategies of media development should be driven, as much as possible, from within the countries and regions where media, and meeting citizens’ information and communication needs require assistance. However, in the 1960s and 70s, in the days of a multipolar world and a cold war, media assistance was focused on getting developing country media “on our side”, and echoed the broader Western efforts to recruit as many client states as possible. The extent to which, since 1989, media development has been focused on encouraging true independence, and how much has been supported to expand western influence, is beyond the scope of this

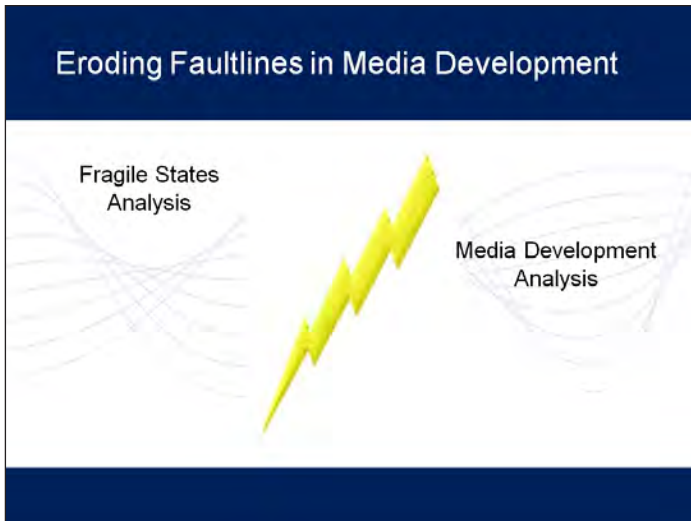
article, but at its best it has sought to assist genuinely independent journalism and media.

Now, however, China in particular is expanding its own media assistance efforts⁵ – and while being more open about this support than in previous eras, there are concerns that it is focused on promoting its own interests through media support. Just at the time when the international media development field has begun to develop the international presence and maturity to support strategies that are genuinely in the interests of the countries concerned, we may be sucked back into a game of media development being supported as a pawn of competing power interests.

3. Streamline targeted media support efforts

The capacity of global and multilateral organisations to advance investigative journalism and media development is likely to become more limited. The UN considers democracy to be one of its “core and indivisible values⁶”. It has a Democracy Fund, a Democracy Day, and its development programme, UNDP, devotes a substantial part of its budget to advancing democratic governance around the world. UNESCO dedicates a department to advancing freedom of expression. The World Bank places a major emphasis on promoting democratic accountability, and the free flow of knowledge and information. If truth be told, these organisations’ support to media over





recent years – whether as a component of advancing democracy or improving development outcomes – has too often been limited, incoherent and

sage this improving. The BRICS

powers are increasingly influential and powerful, and are either hostile or indifferent to these organisations' democracy building efforts or see their focus on "improving governance" as unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries.

4. Manage paradigm shift

Media development is experiencing two huge paradigm changing revolutions simultaneously. The rapid shift in power relations is being compounded by the even more rapid revolution in new technologies and the fundamental challenge it poses to media development efforts that traditionally sought to strengthen a series of institutions – newspapers, radio and television stations, training schools, etc. The provision of information and the capacity of people to communicate are less and less dependent on such institutions.

Need for universal models

These huge changes offer as many opportunities as they do challenges. It is true that most funding has come from the West, and some of the best and most innovative media support organisations have also been rooted in a Western tradition – I include my own in that category. But, for decades, some of the greatest innovation and creativity has also

come from outside of the Western tradition and sometimes in active resistance to it. The community media movements of Latin America and beyond, the vitality of private FM stations over the years, the infinite creativity of social media across much of the developing world, have been improving access to information, enabling democratic freedom of expression, and creating the information and communication environments that enable citizens to take control of their own lives: to build their businesses, protect their health, raise their voice, exercise an informed democratic choice at elections, understand the perspectives of those with whom they disagree. These are not Western notions but are being claimed as universal ones.

Western tradition still has much to offer, and organisations such as my own, the BBC World Service Trust, remain more self confident than ever in the relevance of its role of building the capacity and programming that generates greater access to creative, compelling, trusted information, and creates the platforms where people from very different political, religious, ethnic or other backgrounds can engage in informed public debate that can break down division and generate mutual understanding. We operate in increasingly crowded, complex and fragmented media and communication environments, but all those trends are making the values associated with organisations such as the BBC more, rather than less relevant. The new environment presents immense opportunity and excitement, but those opportunities are rooted in a fundamental respect of other new actors and realities.

These changes make an understanding of and capacity to support media and communication effort more, not less, relevant. The field will need to be more nimble and open to change than ever if it is to seize those opportunities.

¹ This analysis should not be taken to reflect the views of DFID. It is an informed but nevertheless partial, limited and individual perspective of an international observer based in London.

² Why Templates for Media Development Do Not Work in Fragile States; London School of Economics Crisis States Research Centre, 2005

³ <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135519.htm>

⁴ <http://www.chathamhouse.org/uk-and-world>

⁵ http://www.rjr.ru.ac.za/rjrpdf/rjr_no29/China_Africa_Mediascape.pdf

http://www.unis.unvienna.org/pdf/Democracy_UN_2008.pdf

The Problems we are trying to solve

Media training

Regulatory reform

Community media

Codes of ethics



Digital investments

Media Loan Funds/investment strategies

Countering radicalisation

Modern digital economies



Media development and social transformation

Message and the power of media in Africa

By Eric Chinje

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Media and development have often been mentioned in the same breath by development experts; media development, however, has never received the same level of attention within the development community. The result is that, in spite of an apparent ubiquity of development content, media continues to „exist“ outside the development space, in Africa and many other developing regions. A cursory analysis of media content in the region shows a significant gap between media content and national development agendas, and that gap widens for countries that lie at the low end of the development axis. For media to play a role in the economic and social development of nations, development experts must focus on issues of media sustainability, the content of media and the ability of media professionals to deliver desired messages.

Powerful instrument for social transformation

The most recent of history's great social upheavals – the Arab Awakening, as Al Jazeera calls it, or the Spring Revolution – brought discussion on the power of media into stark focus. As entrenched dictatorships fell through coordinated citizen action linked

by social media networks, it became obvious to all that traditional and digital media – the combined set of tools through which modern societies communicate – offered our human collective its most powerful instrument yet for structured interaction and social transformation.

What happened in Tunisia and Egypt and increasingly throughout the Middle East and parts of Africa, was clearly a testament to the power of the technologies of communication. Above all else, it was the validation of the fact that a powerful idea, unleashed through appropriate channels of communication, could result in truly historic outcomes. For the Spring Revolution, timing was important but it was that combination of idea and technology – the soft and hardware of media – which delivered the decisive punch that tumbled regimes and changed the face of governance in North Africa. There are lessons here for all of humanity and, more especially, for development experts as they take on the challenge of development in Africa today.

The first, of course, is that media – traditional and digital – do constitute the most important tool available to our human society for achieving outcomes that could be global

in scale and historic in scope. The second lesson is that the use of these technologies in a consistent and persuasive delivery of messages is necessary to achieve maximum impact. „This season of revolutionary change has been deepened, widened and accelerated by the power of social media. It’s never been easier to influence or be influenced,“ says Time Magazine Managing Editor Richard Stengel. Yet, and this is the third lesson, there is always need for a compelling message, a „cause celebre“ around which to rally populations, force change and transform society.

The third of these, the message – the content – of media, is that which ultimately defines the thrust of change and transformation. It is in content that media finds its transformational power. How then can media serve in addressing the larger global development challenge? What „messages“ could be funnelled through these transformative tools to achieve desired development outcomes?

Integral part of broader development strategies

Clearly it will take the strategic use of the hardware and software of media to achieve any intended outcomes. For this to happen, media, the technology and the message, have to be an integral part of any development strategy. The major challenges that development nations face, from economic integration to conflict prevention, public financial management and institutional transparency, food security and climate change, are issues which will never be fully addressed without an informed public discussion and the strategic use of media to sustain that conversation. Initiating and sustaining the development dialogue is core to the role of media in development. The question of how to do this must be asked and addressed by all in the development community who seek to incorporate into development strategies the

most effective tools of social transformation ever known. The question, however, raises important issues of the performance and sustainability of media; more significantly, it brings to the fore issues of capacity to support a necessary public development discourse.

Sustained capacity development

What capacity exists within African media to generate and sustain a public discourse on development topics? Is it possible to have an informed debate without informed media professionals? Developing capacity within media in Africa to deal with the critical challenges of development is integral to any strategy to use these powerful tools to mediate social transformation and regional development. It is the absence of this which explains the wide gap that continues to exist between media content and the development agendas of African countries.

The perception among media professionals that „development stories do not sell newspapers“ has to be dealt with, and the way to do this is by developing and delivering focused training on such matters as „finding and telling the development story“. But training alone will not be sufficient; keeping journalists on the development beat is equally as challenging. To address this, it will be important to take a more holistic view of the challenges of the media sector. Effective use of the media tool to support change, therefore, will involve strategic use of the full range of communication technologies, support for media development, clarity of messaging and an appropriately trained corps of media professionals. It will not suffice to focus on one to the exclusion of the other, as development organisations are wont to do. Training journalists to cover development must be accompanied by other measures to ensure the viability of media as a development „partner“.



DRC Media Sector Programme

From „coupagne“ to self-reliance?

By Mary Myers

Mary Myers is a freelance consultant specialising in radio in Africa. She is British and works from home near Salisbury, Wiltshire. She holds a BA from Oxford University and a PhD from Reading University. Since 2001, she has been consultant adviser to Britain's Department for International Development (DFID) on media-support in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). From 2002 to 2003, she was an adviser on communications and media within DFID's Social Development Division. With a background in NGO programme management, Mary has travelled and worked in more than 20 countries in Africa. Apart from working with DFID, recent clients have included the World Bank, National Endowment for Democracy, International Development Research Centre, Carleton University, France Coopération Internationale, Internews, Triple Line Consulting Ltd, Media Support Solutions and Farm Radio International.

Britain's Department for International Development (DFID) is currently funding a relatively large media support programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in partnership with the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the French foreign ministry worth approximately 18 million Euros over 5 years. Begun in 2007, just after the DRC's first ever democratic elections, it is called 'Media for Democracy and Accountability Programme'. Implemented by France Expertise Internationale, a French agency delegated by the foreign ministry, it is almost in its final year, ending in 2012. The aim is to support the development of an independent, well-regulated and professional media sector, which gives information and voice to the Congolese people, and helps them hold decision makers to account. I helped to design this programme, and am currently advising on how to measure its impact among audiences. This article looks at the successes and challenges of supporting independent media in this vast and fragile state in central Africa.

DRC media context

The Democratic Republic of Congo has much in common with the rest of Africa when it comes to shortcomings in its media sector. Here we find a media that is disorganised, impoverished, and riddled by institutionalised patronage and corruption. A lamentable lack of trust is present between citizens, the state, and the media. According to the World Bank, strikingly low literacy rates exist among the general population (65.5 percent), and large parts of the country are beyond the reach even of FM radio signals, let alone within reach of newspapers, TV, or the Internet. Media infrastructure (such as power lines, radio antennas, transmitters, and printing presses) has been ruined by years of neglect and war. The majority of journalists have had no formal training, and most media outlets are shoestring operations. Civil society is weak, and, despite 80 percent participation in presidential elections in 2006, civic participation is still in its infancy. Citizens are unaware of their basic rights and freedoms,

and completely unused to having a say in the running of their country.

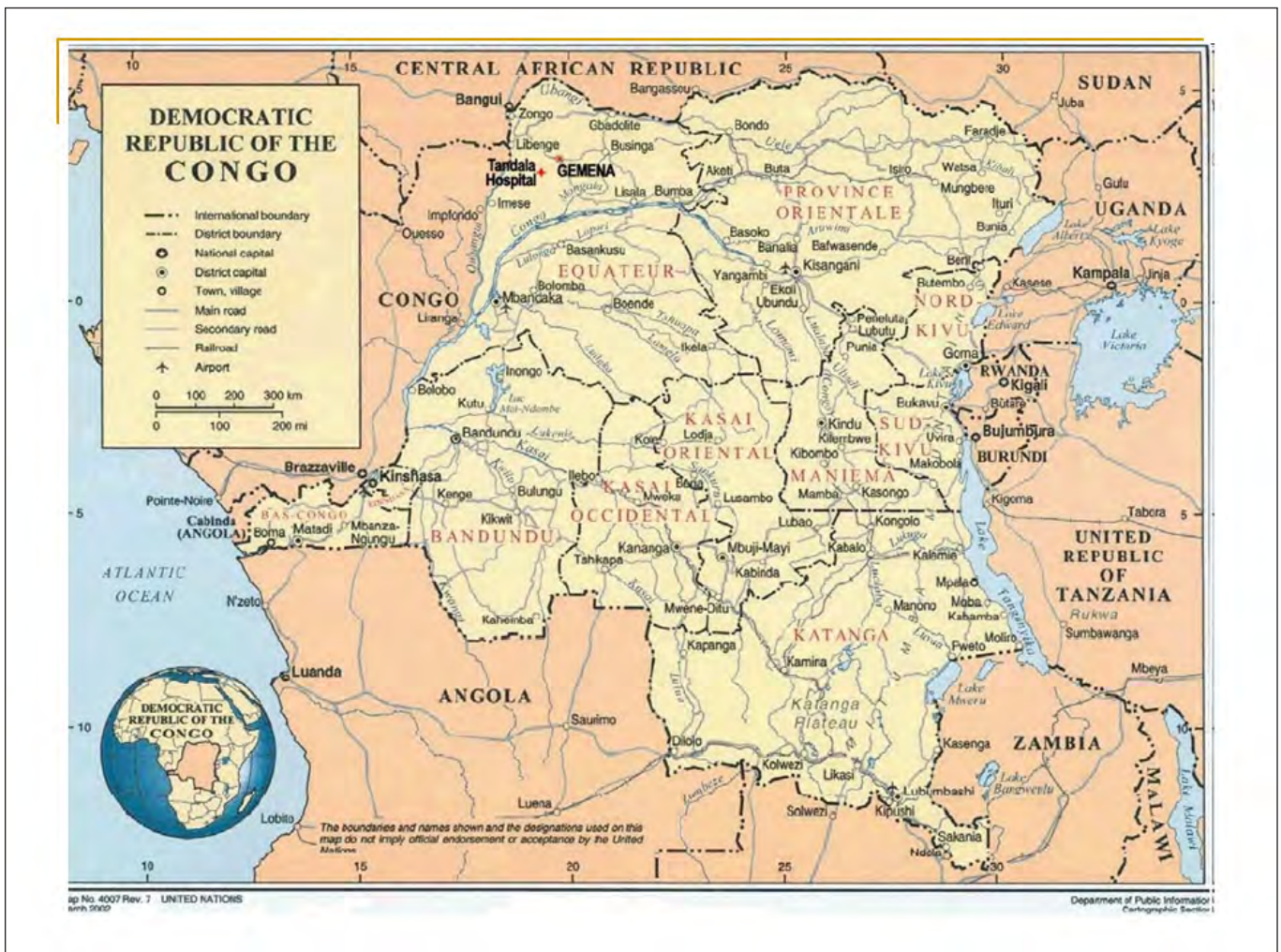
And yet, despite this grim background, extraordinary creativity and vibrancy are also found in the Congolese media sector. The DRC tops the African charts in terms of numbers of media outlets. Radio is a key source of information for most of the population; the press is relatively free by regional standards (though still far from ideal) and media outlets are many and various – even to the point of chaos. Since the peace deal of 2001, the number of radio stations in the country has boomed to an estimated 450, and TV stations are growing quickly: a survey in 2008 counted 82 TV channels in the country (51 in the capital alone, with an estimated 5 million

viewers). The written media is also diverse with at least 228 newspapers appearing on a regular basis nationwide (Frere 2008).

Despite all the difficulties of recent years, the media has kept Congolese music and culture alive through the darkest of times – and, of course, music is one of the DRC’s great exports.

A sector-wide approach

Built on the basis of thorough baseline research and political analysis, our large inter-agency media-support programme is already at its half-way point, and has already registered some successes. The ‘Media for Democracy and Accountability Programme’



takes a sector-wide approach to media support, and is organised under five themes, as follows:

- 1. Training and professionalisation of journalists, media managers and others within the media**
- 2. Support for the production of content promoting peace, democracy and good governance**
- 3. Support for regulation and legislation of the media sector**
- 4. Strengthening business management and promoting economic sustainability of media enterprises**
- 5. Support to public service broadcasting – mainly to Radio Okapi and to community radios all over the country.**

The lion's share of the funds goes into themes 1, 2 and 5, although 3 and 4 are really the most strategically important themes and focus of the programme. This illustrates one of the challenges of media support in a country like the DRC – it is often not a question of money, but more a matter of investing in long-term core support to key organisations (such as the national regulator, press unions and freedom-of-expression activists),

and behind-the-scenes pressure, lobbying and diplomacy, for example in multi-donor forums and direct access to the presidency via ambassadors.

Rather than just doing training or just supporting journalists' rights, some of the advantages of a large, sector-wide approach include:

– The fact that project implementers from all aspects of the media sector come together regularly in the same room to keep each other informed and to resolve issues – for example at the 2011 annual review of this programme, staff from the regulator (CSAC)¹ were in attendance alongside media managers, media researchers, NGOs, human rights activists and international donors. Many misconceptions about the role and the perspective of the regulator were resolved as a result, and the CSAC staff, for their part, gained a better 'map' of the size and extent of the media sector.

– There is less likelihood of piece-meal support to small media NGOs and outlets and less chance of duplication of effort, because the implementing organisation (in this case France Expertise Internationale) has an overview of almost all stakeholders in the sector.

– The government has fewer transaction costs in terms of dealing with donors, as the donor effort is, to some extent, harmonised.

Some successes

Some successes of the programme include support for the continuing and courageous work of human rights defenders, *Journaliste en Danger*; the country-wide coverage of reliable independent news and debate on Radio Okapi – estimated by the UN to be listened to by a third of the population every day (about 20 million people); various popular and pioneering TV and radio series, and educational soap-operas on governance, rights, voting and women's issues; the DRC's

A radio seller in Uvira (Eastern DRC)

Photo M. Myers



Community Radio, Eastern DRC

Photo M. Myers



first ever political satirical cartoon magazine; many different training schemes for journalists at all levels from community radio technicians to masters degrees for managers of media houses; and support to the national media regulator – the Haute Autorité des Médias (HAM)² – especially during elections. There are countless examples of independent radio stations helping to defend rights and services – from exposing cases of mass rape and helping to bring the perpetrators to justice, to helping to restore electrical power to isolated communities; from raising people’s awareness of where and how to vote, to encouraging more girls into school.

Many of these radio stations are supported by the programme – but also by other donors – for instance a big USAID-supported media programme has just been announced

in selected provinces. Several of the pilot schemes that the Programme has financed – such as solar and other alternative power for running radio station generators – have been taken up by other funders and supported on a larger scale. Many of the media outlets that have received management training have improved their incomes significantly – in some cases tripling them³.

The challenge of “coupage”

One of the biggest challenges still facing the programme, and which potentially undermines almost the entire drive towards independent and professional standards, is the widespread practice of ‘coupage’. This is literally the practice of journalists taking their cut (*couper* = ‘to cut’ in French). ‘Coupage’ is another name for brown envelope journalism:

A newspaper seller in Kinshasa

Photo M. Myers



journalists and editors being paid to cover certain stories or people in a favourable light, and paid to turn up at press conferences and to cover events, in the guise of being given money to cover their “transport,” “dinner,” or “per diems.” This practice is perpetuated by politicians, business interests, and even international donors. For instance, at the launch of the Participatory Poverty Assessment in Kinshasa in 2006, the World Bank was expected to pay the local media to turn up at the press conference. Frère describes ‘coupage’ as so normal that there are regular rates that a Congolese journalist can expect to ‘earn’:

“...there are standard rates: \$10 to \$20 for a newspaper reporter, \$20 to \$30 for a radio journalist (and between \$50 to \$200 for coverage by a TV team (to be distributed between the various team members: journalist, cameraman, sound engineer, technician)” (Frère, forthcoming)

On the one hand, ‘coupage’ has its roots in a lack of public purchasing power and investment, and, on the other hand, a willingness by powerful interest groups – for example warlords, Pentecostal churches, diamond barons, and politicians – to buy themselves positive publicity in the press. Even in the

capital, Kinshasa, despite its population of approximately 8 million, the market is not sufficiently large to sustain newspapers on their cover price alone. This state of affairs, coupled with low pay and lack of job security, has resulted in corruption among journalists and editors and, of course, bias, sensationalism, and lies. It is a truism to say that, as long as the press is not financially independent, it cannot be editorially independent – but nowhere is this truer than in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Promoting viable businesses

Clearly, what is needed to clean up the media sector is to tackle this economic problem at its base, and to help media outlets become viable businesses in their own right, so that they are no longer dependent on – or at the mercy of – vested interests, and can pay their staff a living wage.

The fact that financial security eliminates corruption is proven by Radio Okapi, whose journalists never accept ‘coupage’, and are well-known for unbiased reporting and quality journalism as a result. Radio Okapi is financially independent because it is a United Nations radio station with a neutral editorial line guaranteed by a Swiss NGO called Fondation Hirondelle, and funded by a group of international donors, of which the biggest is currently the programme being described here. Most Radio Okapi journalists have been able to withstand physical and political threats – although there have been two tragic assassinations of Okapi journalists in the East of the country over the last few years – and can raise issues that are much more risky for their counterparts in the Congolese media, who have no international protection and who are not paid a respectable wage.

Businesses and investors, such as cell phone, beer and cosmetics companies, are keen to

sponsor and advertise on the mass media – in fact, the advertising sector is growing in the DRC by about 35% per year - but are finding that the sector is too disorganised and too ill equipped to measure its audiences in a reliable manner. With marketing training and support for proper audience surveys, this could change the commercial outlook to the advantage of media managers.

Various paths to self-reliance

The programme has been promoting financial self-reliance, through, for example, the Panos Institute and the *Ecole Supérieur de Journalisme de Lille* in France, by running in-house training courses and masters degrees in business for media managers. The idea is that business know-how is imparted in the workplace and not – as so often happens – in a foreign environment away from the real-life pressures of the studio or newsroom. The other advantage of in-house training is that it removes the temptation of attending training just for the sake of collecting a per diem – a practice that is regrettably widespread and related to ‘coupage’. As a result, in at least one

case, a formerly pro-government broadcaster has found that it makes more financial sense to do balanced reporting than propaganda because they have higher audiences (and consequently higher advertising revenue) when they carry more interviews with the political opposition⁴.

Another strategy is to produce content of sufficient quality so as to make broadcasters want to pay for it. One small but significant triumph of our media support programme is a TV series we financed, which dramatised issues of governance and relations of ordinary people with the authorities and police in Kinshasa, called ‘M’pangiami’. This has proved so popular with audiences that it was actually bought by one of the big Congolese commercial TV channels, rather than being required to pay for air-time.

Furthermore, the ‘Media for Democracy and Accountability Programme’ is attempting to attract more advertisers to the quality-media by getting better audience-surveys done, which give a true picture of audience numbers and profiles. This involves training

‘Let me do my work’

‘Let me do MINE!’



- ‘No more hunger’
- ‘The Government should resign – no joke’

audience-research companies in statistical research techniques, and encouraging media managers to use their data to attract advertisers.

Despite these strategies, making media outlets financially secure, so that journalists can be paid decently and be less tempted to take ‘coupage’, is a long-term challenge. No doubt, it will mean that market forces will squeeze out many of the hundreds of media outfits that have proliferated recently. Meanwhile, there is a strong justification – I believe – for international donors not to leave everything to the market, but to subsidise the best quality media through programmes such as the ‘Media for Democracy and Accountability Programme’, to ensure that they continue to

fulfil the function of fourth estate, and promote democracy and accountability.

References:

France Expertise Internationale web-page for more details (in French) of the Programme and an interview with the Project Manager, Olivier Lechien: <http://www.fei.gouv.fr/fr/nos-projets/focus-sur/projet-a.html>

Frere, M.-S. (2008). Le Paysage Mediatique Congolais. Paris, France Cooperation Internationale.

¹ Conseil Supérieur de l’Audio-Visuel et de la Communication [High Council for Audio-Visuals and Communication]

² The HAM recently changed its status and its name to CSAC (see note 1)

³ Source: FEI Progress report to DFID (UK Aid) March-August 2011 (unpublished internal report).

⁴ Yves Renard, ESJ Lille, personal communication, October 2011, Kinshasa

Press Conference: ‘My friend, I can’t see the ‘coupage’ list, so I can’t concentrate’



- *‘Me neither, I can’t focus – where is that famous list?’*
- *‘Come on my friends, let’s show we’re professionals. Coupage or not, let’s put work first’*

Ways forward for international media development

Cooperation and partnerships

By Jesper Højberg

In November 2010, the international media support and press freedom community met with national partners at UNESCO in Paris to address media cooperation challenges in specific countries, such as the Philippines, Haiti, Azerbaijan, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Afghanistan. It was the third meeting of its kind, following a first meeting in Copenhagen in 2009, and a second meeting in New York in early 2010. The focus was on how the global media development and freedom of expression community, through a partnership approach, can improve the impact of media support efforts in specific countries.

Promoting a partnership approach

For the past twenty years, media development has suffered seriously from a lack of proper and effective cooperation, particularly among international media development partners. We are all familiar with the terrible track records of cooperation in the Balkans, East Timor, Afghanistan and elsewhere. This has negatively influenced the ability and willingness of national partners to seek joint solutions to press freedom and media development challenges. In the field

of media assistance, I would argue that “the chaos of good intentions” has been a significant feature. Also – to my knowledge – funds for media assistance, however well it reflects globally agreed issues around democracy and good governance, have never been provided under the condition that it is implemented through effective and cooperative partnerships.

In other aid sectors, donors have closely monitored INGOs and encouraged or even made coordination a condition. In the media field, I would argue that, as international media organisations, we have to some extent inverted the approach. We have, in a number of cases (Nepal, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Zimbabwe, etc.), promoted coordination among donors, particularly at country level. And this has proven successful – particularly in Zimbabwe.

Lack of concerted action within the global aid community

In various international fora, but principally through the Paris Declaration endorsed in 2005 and subsequent platforms for action,



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traditional donor countries have committed themselves to improve aid practices. They have, however, only to some extent succeeded, according to the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) 2009 report.

While they may have been successful, it is still only a relative success. Aid receiving countries such as Afghanistan, bi-lateral donor countries like the Nordic countries, the UN, European Commission and OECD are not impressed by the performance of the global aid community.

They share the view that the aid community knows the issues and what needs to be done. But now we need to act. We must change our behaviour and ensure that the aid principles agreed by the international community are adhered to.

Each of us must work towards joint planning, and establish partnerships between national and international actors. Integration must be maximised, we need a comprehensive perspective and our action must be strategic.

The urge for action is in line with the conclusions of the Accra Civil Society Aid Effectiveness Forum of September 2008. The final statement of the Forum pointed to the unacceptable gap between the global and universal acceptance of the Paris Declaration Principles and the translation of these principles into practice.

OECD DAC's Chair Eckhard Deutscher, in his Development Cooperation Report in 2009, shared these sentiments. "Our view of what is needed to reach the Paris Declaration targets is clearer than ever", he said. "At the same time, it is strikingly evident that more of the same will not get us there."

Applying the Paris Principles to international media support: major challenges

Harmonisation instead of fragmentation

For media organisations, harmonisation means adjusting their individual approach to the context in any given country. Specific indicators of success have been stipulated in the Paris Declaration, underlining the importance of establishing common arrangements and procedures within the context of a programme based approach.

Why has this been so difficult to achieve? During the years International Media Support (IMS) has been involved in facilitating joint partnerships, some common critical issues have made it difficult to fulfil the Paris Declaration goals within the global media development and press freedom community.

One important and destructive factor is the single-issue approach of many media support and press freedom organisations. OECD DAC refers to it as the fragmentation of efforts – aid coming in too many small slices.

HARMONISATION



Narrow mandates, such as being solely a training provider or a provider of protection, make harmonisation difficult.

In 2006, an assessment was carried out in Sri Lanka on what donor funds for media were allocated for. It revealed that more than 50 percent of funding went into training courses related to conflict reporting. No assessment of impact or relevance was carried out. A similar assessment in post-war Sudan showed that ad-hoc training was offered without a joint strategic objective.

Need for more coordination

Behind this reality lies a fact also highlighted by OECD DAC and the Paris Declaration: Donors – and in our case the media and press freedom organisations – hardly ever coordinate assessments. Every organisation carries out its own assessment and its own mission, which often results in repeating the same recommendations. Joint assessments could bear the risk of making certain organisations irrelevant.

The World Association of Newspapers (WAN) decided after the International Partnership joint assessment in Nepal in 2005 to disengage, since their publisher’s mandate was not a priority in the country. The assessment showed that protection issues would need higher priority, and the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) was therefore seen as a more obvious lead.

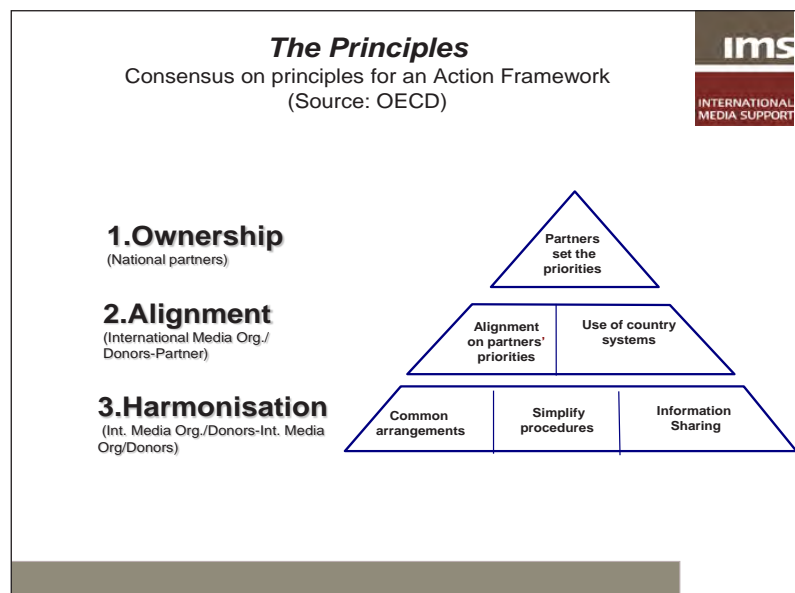
National partners are overburdened, being requested to answer the same questions over and over again. The absence of joint assessments by the international actors does not encourage national organisations to establish coalitions and alliances, and present joint assessments of media freedom challenges in their respective country.

Countless international media freedom organisations have visited Mexico to highlight, lobby and advocate the protection of Mexican journalists. In several instances, the internationals have been more preoccupied with profiling themselves than respectfully consulting with national organisations. Most of the assessments carried out, and recommendations made, are similar, become repetitive, and lack a clear operational agenda.

Without comprehensive assessments and a sector-wide understanding of key challenges it is, however, very difficult, if not impossible, to make the right strategic choices. Information may be shared on certain issues but it is more often the lowest common denominator that brings organisations together.

In most cases, only very limited interest, time or capacity are allocated to jointly identify the right strategic priorities which could result in an adequate division of labour within a broadly agreed media sector programme.

Zimbabwe can serve as a positive example here. The ongoing development of a media strategy for the country, involving both national





and international partners, has provided a framework for all actors involved, including the donors. In regard to training and capacity building, Deutsche Welle projects focus on bringing all actors together to create a coherent approach.

Media organisations are known to be very competitive in terms of accessing financial resources. But they are also known for attempting to control the media development and press freedom agenda in any given country. There is a lack of motivation to harmonise, and donors, donor politics, multilateral platforms and tender systems even encourage an extremely – sometimes political – competitive approach. We have seen

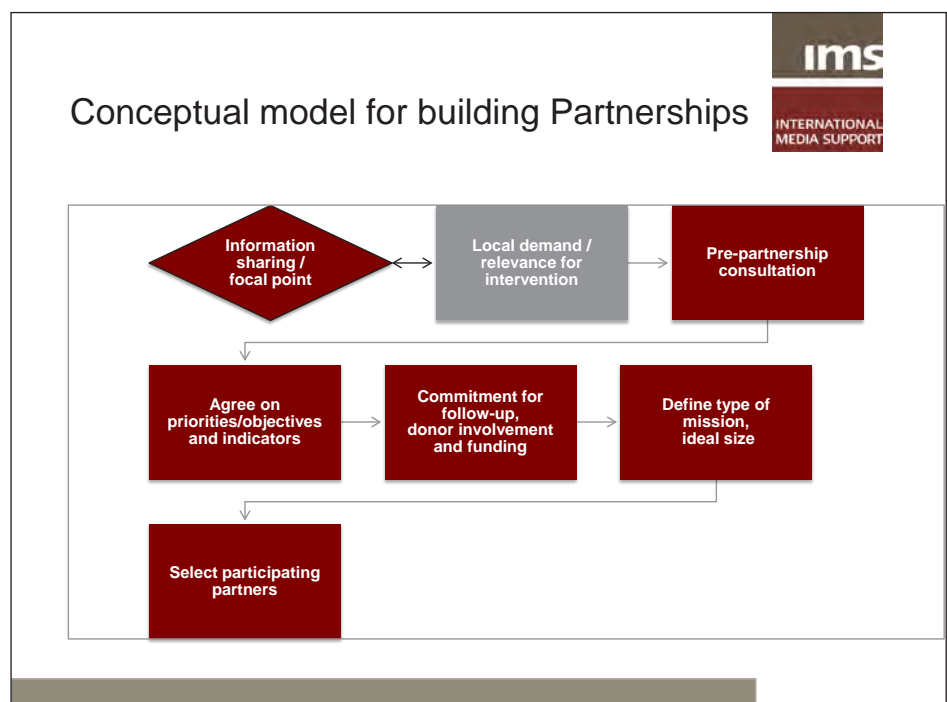
this in Iraq and it has also, to some extent, been the case in Haiti.

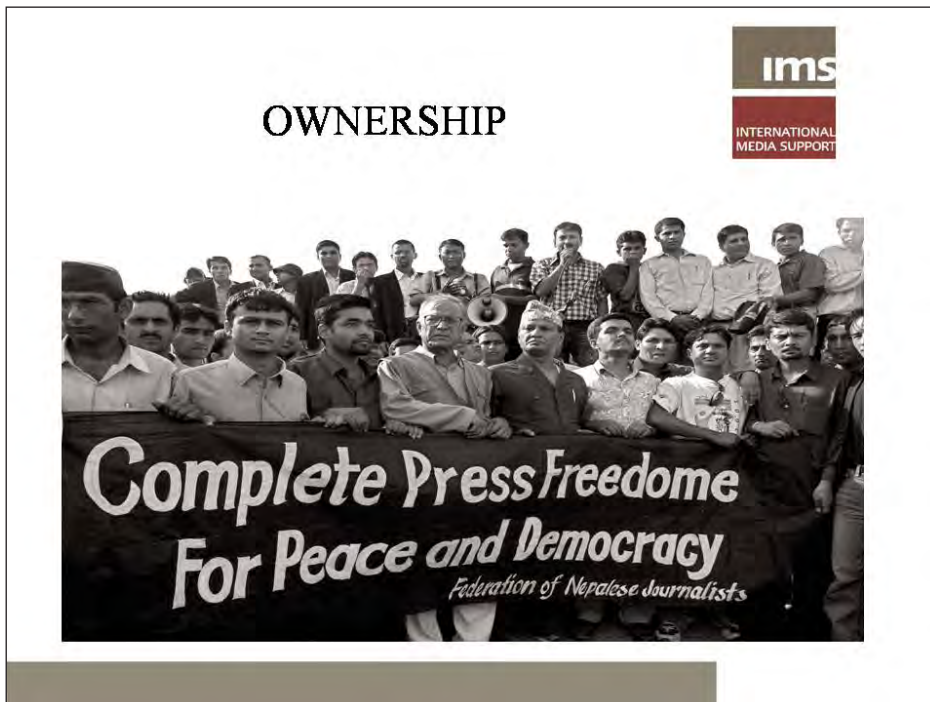
Alignment – strengthening national alliances and systems

Alignment is understood as adjusting to nationally developed systems and national development strategies. The Paris Declaration has established the existence of reliable country systems as an indicator of progress. Linked to this is the importance of strengthening a coordinated approach to capacity building of these national institutions.

In many countries, however, joint national systems or alliances do not exist, and supporting the set-up of such systems within the media sector has not been common practice. The international organisations have had their “natural” affiliates in each country, which to some extent is acceptable, because various interests do exist.

Only very few countries, such as Nepal, Zimbabwe and Colombia, have national alliances





that bring together various media actors. Though they play an important role, the alliances remain fragile and are not often actively backed by international actors. I would argue that only because of the existence of “Proyecto Antonio Narinio” in Colombia, which is a national alliance, has it been possible to break the curve of journalists being killed.

Strong and convincing national alliances and media development strategies are a precondition for successful alignment. In many cases, neither is in place, because it either has never been encouraged by international actors, or weak national alliances are unable to pull national actors together and keep international actors in line. Wherever international actors did not make enough efforts to adapt adequately to the national context, this has resulted in the application of narrowly defined international agendas and standards.

The lack of interest or ability of international partners to consult and ultimately align makes it even more difficult to convince

national partners to develop useful partnerships with them. Many national media partners have simply lost trust in international media organisations.

Ownership needs effective national leadership

The quest for national ownership and effective leadership through media development policies and strategies is closely connected to the principle of alignment. Ownership is a basic element, yet difficult to ensure. The Accra Agenda for Action took particular notice of the importance of country ownership.

As mentioned before, some countries, such as Zimbabwe, Nepal, Mexico, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Haiti and Liberia, have both an interest and an agenda setting capacity. Alliances have been established with or without the interference of international partners. In 2005, during IMS’s partnership engagement in Nepal, the Federation of Nepalese Journalists (FNJ) was a collectively agreed counterpart to the international organisations. It was

agenda setting and represented the various national actors during the time of crisis. It was supported by the IFJ, which was accepted by all international organisations. The FNJ never depended on the goodwill of international organisations, and requested that international lobby and advocacy objectives would follow a nationally set agenda.

Many times, however, international media and press freedom organisations do not take the facilitation of local agenda setting seriously enough. On the contrary, if an agenda has been established, it is often not respected by international actors, and funding as well as capacity building is limited.

Still, we must recognise the difficulty of exercising ownership in fragile states where the mere identification of legitimate owners poses a challenge. Ownership needs leadership at national level. In some cases, this kind of leadership is absent because media leaders and press freedom advocates have been forced into exile or because media organisations are ripped apart by politics of ethnicity.

The recognition by donors of the importance of promoting national and international leadership in specific countries is important to ensure successful partnerships.

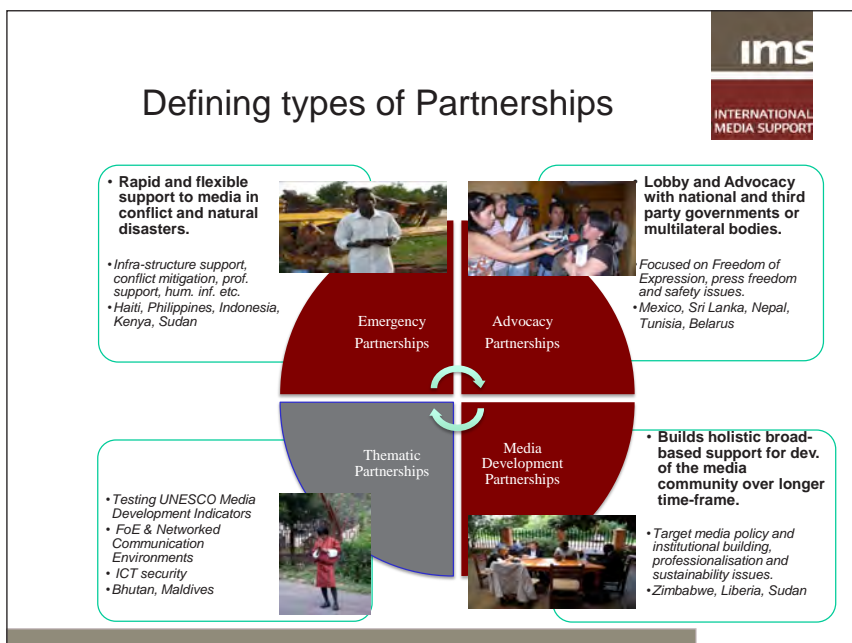
Opportunities: International Partnership Meetings

The objective of the global International Partnership meeting in Copenhagen in September 2009 was partly to initiate a process of ongoing strategic discussions that ultimately should improve the impact of joint efforts and partnerships – be it an advocacy, media development or emergency partnership.

The meeting in Copenhagen defined a few broad partnership principles and identified the need for a systematic and explicit strategy/manual for partnerships. A document highlighting the lessons learned, and issues that need to be dealt with in the future, was produced. This document was presented and further refined at a second partnership meeting in New York in 2010. It will constitute a platform for continued strategic discussions and present guidelines for new partnerships.

The meeting in Paris at UNESCO, in late November 2010, further discussed key strategic issues based on this original document and based on status reports from partnerships carried out in 2010.

The Paris meeting took stock of the partnerships initiated following New York, and reflected on lessons learned based on the key issues and considerations identified in Copenhagen.



Measuring the impact of media development

The Media Map Project methodology

By Tara Susman-Peña

Most stakeholders in international development would agree that news media are indispensable to achieving a broad range of development goals. A growing body of widely accepted evidence suggests that a robust, editorially free and independent media sector strengthens transparency and public accountability of government. This in turn lowers corruption and engenders the free flow of information that is the oxygen of democratic governance, commerce, and a market economy. Similarly, most observers agree that when media provide accurate, reliable information on health, food security, financial services, environmental safety, and other development issues, people are better able to cope with and find effective solutions to these problems on personal and societal levels.

Despite this general recognition, there is little empirically-based analysis to guide policymakers and donors on how to make the most effective use of their resources when assisting media development, and how best to measure the benefits of media assistance. The Media Map Project was conceived to

fill the gap in current research by analysing the empirical correlations between data on the media and its enabling environment on the one hand, and data on development on the other. It also investigates how specific media and communications interventions have affected development outcomes in different geographic locations across key areas such as democracy and governance, economic growth and poverty reduction, human rights and gender equality, and health. The Media Map Project is a two-year collaboration between Internews and The World Bank Institute, funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. This article aims to present the methodology for The Media Map Project.

Basic assumptions

First, I would like to lay out some basic assumptions that are often made about media development. This quick overview may appear obvious to those steeped in the world of media development, yet to begin the research process clearly, it is important to try to concretely define the assumptions we are testing. For this project, we are



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defining media development in a simple way: the process of improving the media's ability to communicate with the public, and the process of improving the public's ability to communicate, using media. Media development assistance consists of outsiders' attempts to help in this process.

Media development assistance is meant to promote, first of all, improvements in journalism in several areas: the safety and security of journalists; the quality of journalism and the ethics of those who practice it; media outlets' ability to provide unbiased information; and increasing training and professional development opportunities for journalists and editors. Media development assistance also works to strengthen the enabling environment, promoting media independence, supportive government policies, public demand for information, a rich variety of sources of information, and diverse and transparent media ownership. Lastly, media development activities can help to create and support a well-functioning information culture, wherein the public is media literate and engages with news sources, uses information from the media to make decisions that impact their lives, and has a variety of means to make their voices heard.

There is little point, of course, in improving the health of the media sector as an end unto itself. In turn, a strong media sector is considered to promote government accountability and transparency, democracy, human rights, business accountability and transparency, healthy markets and economic growth, better development outcomes, and citizen empowerment.

No tidy framework

This is a starting point, but not the end. We are open to finding out that any of these assumptions should be modified or discar-

ded, and we are interested in discovering things we didn't set out to find.

While we have a lot of questions, and are trying to get at the answers from a number of different perspectives, we don't have a tidy framework to lay out for you. We are interested, in particular, in a political economy perspective (questions such as: what is the media's role in strengthening responsible business and governance?), and from a contrasting angle, a capabilities perspective (e.g., do media help people make decisions that impact their own lives and the lives of their various communities?). We are also interested in questions that fall beyond these boundaries. We want to find out what the data have to say. The Media Map Project is working on these various issues in three phases, which overlap chronologically.

Part one: Quantitative data

In the first part, we are collecting and examining existing data on media and on global development, such as: the World Bank's World Governance Indicators and their disaggregated source data, other global development indicators such as the UN Human Development indicators, media indices such as Freedom House's Freedom of the Press Index and the Media Sustainability Index, sector-level data such as collected by the World Association of Newspapers, global opinion polls, audience research, and other relevant data sources.

This phase will result in a publicly available database that pulls together a number of these data sources, so that media development stakeholders have a resource for further analysis. It will also result in a report analyzing one or more key aspects of the relationships between media and development, and outlining other critical topics for further analysis.

Key research questions:

1. What quantitative data exists that measures various different aspects of media, from press freedom to access?
2. How could it be used to analyse the relationship between media and development? What does the analysis show?
3. What gaps and limitations does the data have?

Methodology

While most quantitative analysis related to the strength of the media sector heavily

relies on Freedom House's Freedom of the Press Index, other relevant, publicly-available data on media do exist. However, currently many of these datasets are hard to find, in difficult formats to work with, and are scattered about. So first, we are searching for and assembling the data, reviewing it, putting it into an accessible format, and describing the data in a general paper. Next, we are

facilitating the analysis of this data, by designing a web-based tool that will provide easy access to download media data sets in Excel. The website will also offer a data visualisation tool that will allow users to explore different fundamental questions about media and development (e.g., how does a specific country compare to other countries and its region, in terms of freedom of speech?). No special data skills will be required to use the tool. Lastly,

we are undertaking analysis of this data, and writing analytical econometric and statistical papers on different issues raised by the data (e.g., in Sub-Saharan Africa, how does the media help support responsible business and governance?). Much more analysis can be done than we have the capacity to realise at this point, and we hope that the accessibility of the data, and our own first steps, will facilitate further productive research.

Here's a glimpse of the media data we are focusing on for the website and for our analysis.

Data	Based on...	Description	# of Countries	Years
Freedom House FREEDOM OF THE PRESS	Assessment of experts/scholars	Annual survey covering legal, economic and political environment	195	1994-2008
Reporters Without Borders WORLD PRESS FREEDOM INDEX	Assessment of a network of 130 correspondents/journalists/researchers/jurists	Annual index measuring extent of legal and financial pressure on media sector of countries	175	2002-2009
IREX MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX	Assessment of panel of local experts in each country	Annual survey that gauges important aspects of a professional and sustainable media sector	80 (Africa, Eurasia, Europe and Middle East)	2005-2010 (varies across regions)
Global Integrity GLOBAL INTEGRITY INDEX (Sub-category on Civil Society, Public Information and Media)	Assessment of local experts/journalists/researchers	The index assesses the existence and effectiveness of anti-corruption mechanisms	Mostly developing countries (# varies with years). 28 countries in 2009; 40 in 2006; 25 in 2004	2004, 2006-2009
Money Matters Institute WEALTH OF NATIONS TRIANGLE INDEX	Expert assessment	The Index measures regional economic strength based in part on media capacity and freedom of information	70 (developing)	2001-2007
fesmedia Africa AFRICAN MEDIA BAROMETER	Assessment of panel of local experts in each country	Self-assessment exercise based on homegrown criteria derived from African Protocols and Declarations	26 African nations (not uniformly covered)	2005-2010

1. The list in table 1 shows datasets that are quantitative in nature, but based on expert assessment analysis rather than countable items.¹This data is publicly available.

2. The data in table 2 (p. 62) represent actual numbers of countable items, (e.g., numbers of people in a region with access to ICTs; dollars going from donors to recipients). The data is publicly available.

Table 1

Data	Description	# of Countries	Years
World Bank INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT (IC4D)	Takes an in-depth look at how ICT, and particularly broadband and mobile, are impacting economic growth in developing countries – considers aspects of access, usage and skills	150	1995-2008
World Bank WORLD DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS DATABASE	Annual survey of access to TV, radio, Internet, newspapers	225	1970-2008
UNESCO CULTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS DATA	Captures trends in the communications Industry	208	2004-2006
International Telecommunications Union ICT DEVELOPMENT INDEX	Based on actual access numbers; measures the overall ability of individuals in a country to access and use new ICTs.	181	1975-2008
AidData AIDDATA DATABASE	AidData database encompasses multilateral and bilateral donor foreign aid projects. Media assistance is identified as Aid for Communications Development.	This database does not include all years for all countries.	1945-2009 (as available; not all countries have all years)
OECD / DAC INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STATISTICS (IDS) ONLINE DATABASES	Provides Official Development Assistance (ODA) in "Communications" sector. The data is further classified into: Telecommunications, Radio/Print/TV, ICT, Communications and Administrative Policies. All numbers are in constant prices (2008 USD millions).	All	2002-2008

Table 2

3. The final list (table 3, p. 63) shows data sets based on numbers of countable items. They are not publicly available, so while we can use them for our analysis, unfortunately, we will not be able to make them available to the public. This type of data can be monetised, and is commonly sold at a significant price to private sector businesses interested in investing in media or buying advertising. The absence or scarcity of this type of data in some markets – Sub-Saharan Africa is a key example – can stagnate commercial market growth. Without this kind of data, it is difficult for the private sector to enter the market. On the other hand, without clients to purchase this data, companies will not invest in collecting it, creating a vicious cycle.

Media and economic development

We are currently at work on the first piece of quantitative analysis, focusing on the relationships between media and responsible business, and media and responsible governance, in Sub-Saharan Africa. Here is a quick example to give a sense of some of the analysis we are doing with this data. We see positive relationships between freedom of the press and both the strength of economies and good governance. For this graph, we have divided the Sub-Saharan African countries by Freedom House's assessments of whether they have a free press or not.² In the countries without a free press (Figure 1), while foreign aid has been overall on the rise, foreign direct

Data	Description	# of Countries	Years
GroupM THIS YEAR NEXT YEAR WORLDWIDE MEDIA AND MARKETING FORECASTS	Details various business aspects of the media sector of a country – expenditure, growth rates, principal sources of growth, marketing etc.	114	2003 – 2012 (forecast)
World Association of Newspapers WORLD PRESS TRENDS	Worldwide statistics on the newspaper industry	Up to 223 countries	2001 onwards
Balancing Act AD EXPENDITURE DATA	Advertisement expenditure in various media sectors (Print, TV, Radio, Outdoor)	15 Sub-Saharan African Nations	2006 and 2009
Broadcasting Board of Governors (InterMedia) AUDIENCE RESEARCH	Audience size, media consumption habits and preferences	~100	2002-2010 (not all countries for all years)

Table 3

investment has fallen and remained low. By contrast, in those countries deemed to have a free press, foreign aid has tapered a bit and then remained steady, while foreign direct investment (generally taken to be a measure of international confidence in the stability and growth of the economy) is significantly on the rise. This signals the potential for greater economic independence, if these countries continue on the current path. Note that we are not arguing that the status of the press causes these economic features; rather, that having a free press is an important characteristic of countries that are doing better economically by this measure. Free press countries are more likely to have greater foreign direct investment (FDI), which is an important measure that investors use to determine a country's economic strength.

Challenges

This example also reflects a key challenge for our analysis: the conundrum of correlation and causation. It is unlikely that we will ever be able to say, for example, that a country with a free press that has a vibrant media business sector will guarantee democratisation. However, we will likely be able to argue, after looking at the question from a number of angles, that a strong media sector is a

critical contributor to the development of a country. Is it a catalyst? Is it necessary, but not sufficient? The lynchpin? We don't have a precise understanding of this dynamic yet, and thus, have not yet identified the right metaphor.

Additionally, another challenge is gaps in the data. Data we would like to analyse does not exist, or has minimal years, many missing countries, and other deficits. We are currently focusing on Sub-Saharan Africa,

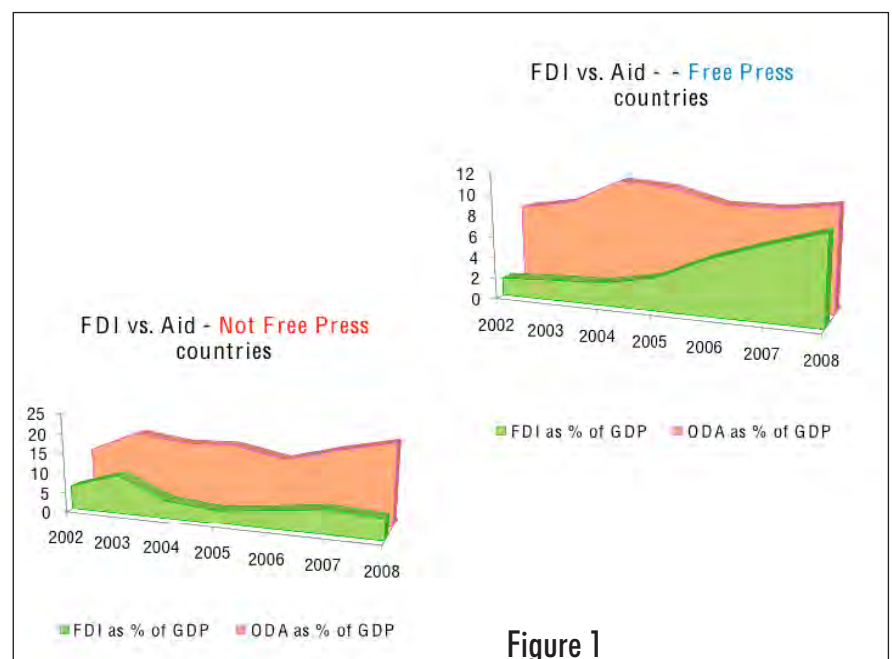


Figure 1

where this problem is very pronounced, but other regions are affected by this problem as well. Additionally, we have come across some very interesting studies (e.g., the BBC's study on Trust in the Media; Transparency International's Bribe Payer's Index), which we will use to the extent possible, but which only

an overview of the findings, to include an assessment of which tools and approaches appear to be effective for various development conditions. The report will also outline an agenda for action and next steps.

Countries chosen for case studies:



cover one or two years and very limited countries. So analysis that can be carried out with this data is limited.

Part two: Country case studies

The second part, uses country-level case studies to analyse the most effective investments in media development and their outcomes from interventions over the last 20 years. We chose Mali, DRC/Congo, Peru, Ukraine, and Indonesia as our five case study countries. We chose these countries in consultation with our international advisory board, and tried to assemble a group of countries with a diversity of geography, political situation, development challenges, donors, implementers, type of approach to media assistance, and emphasis of the interventions. Through collaborations with other organisations, we will be adding Bosnia, Cambodia and Kenya. This phase will result in a brief report giving

Key research questions:

1. What does the media landscape of the country look like? What role did media development interventions play in shaping the landscape?
 - a) What is the state of journalism in the country?
 - b) In what ways is the political economy / enabling environment of each country supporting or detracting from the development of the media sector?
 - c) What is the information culture of the country?
2. What donor-driven media development assistance was done in each country over the past 20 years? What were the major activities, and who were the players?
 - a) What had the most impact? What didn't work? Why?
3. How do these interventions fit into the overall development of the country?

Methodology

The framework draws upon the UNESCO's Media Development Indicators: a Framework for Assessing Media Development (2008) to try to get an inclusive perspective of media's role in society, help structure the

- Media landscape overview
- Literature review focusing on media development
- Key donor interviews
- Country media expert Delphi Study
- Oral history interviews and/or focus groups of implementing organisations and aid recipients.

Quantitative				
	Country and regional econometric data analysis	Audience research and market data analysis	Public opinion poll analysis	
Responding UNESCO Media Development Indicator / key research questions	Relationships between the media & governance; the media & the economy; economic strength of the media sector	Category 3: Media as a platform for democratic discourse	Category 3: Media as a platform for democratic discourse	

Qualitative				
	Country Development & Historical Background	Literature review focusing on Media Development	Media Landscape overview (what exists, ownership)	Media Law / regulatory landscape overview
Responding UNESCO Media Development Indicator / key research questions	Broader socio-historical context	What studies have been done on media development in each specific country? What is said about activities, impact, and lessons learned?	Category 2: Plurality & Diversity of Media, a level economic playing field and transparency of ownership; Category 5: Infrastructural capacity is sufficient to support independent and pluralistic media	Category 1: A system of regulation conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism & diversity of the media; Category 5

sets of questions, and offer some sources for research. The research framework is designed to approach these questions from a variety of angles. The framework is ambitious, and combines core elements that will be addressed for each case study, and enriching elements that can be incorporated as time and resources allow. With this room for expansion, the groundwork is laid for further opportunities to build upon the research.

Core research elements:

- Characteristics of country's development and historical background

The desk research plan includes quantitative and qualitative research. The graphs above map the type of research (top row), and methodology (second row). The third row maps the research methodology to the relevant UNESCO media development indicator, and any additional questions of interest.

The field research plan (p. 66) includes interviews and social network analysis of different stakeholders:

The key challenge is how to get a full picture of this complex landscape, especially the

	Key Donor Interviews	Country Media Expert Interviews	Oral history Interviews & / or focus groups of aid recipients	Rapid Photo Ethnography of Information culture	Social network analysis of donors, implementers, media organizations
Corresponding UNESCO Media Development Indicator / key research questions	Catalogue of donor activities in the country; how reflective that is of the donors' MD spending; donor goals and perceptions of impact	Category 2, Category 3, and Category 4: Professional capacity building and supporting institutions that underpin freedom of expression, pluralism, and diversity	How were media development interventions implemented? What worked? What didn't work? What was the impact? What would you have done differently?	How does information flow? What do people want to know? How and where do they get their information? What sources are trusted and why? How is information used to make impactful decisions?	How do information and resources flow? What are the patterns of trust? Which stakeholders are powerful? Which relationships work?

story on the ground (i.e., understanding the information culture, how voice operates). The framework is flexible and the process iterative, so we can adjust and improve it as we move forward.

Part three: Donor decision-making

The third part will investigate the evolution of how donors evaluate the impact of media development interventions over the past two decades, focusing on a group of donors with diverse motivations, strategies, and spending patterns. It will examine how these donors use (or fail to use) impact assessments to inform intervention strategy and budgets. This phase aims to achieve a better understanding of how donors make decisions around their investments in media assistance, and what stakeholders consider to be the most effective investments.

Key research questions:

1. What are donors' motivations and decision-making processes for funding media development interventions? To what degree are media development interventions aligned with the donor country's foreign policy?
2. How do donors manage the question of impact? (How) do they incorporate impact assessment (both project-level and macro-

level) into their decision-making about projects, regional strategy, policy, and spending? The research from this phase consists of a review and analysis of available studies that assess impact at the project and sector level, including available impact evaluations, evaluation guides and evaluation policy briefs. Additionally, we will conduct approximately 25 interviews with donors in the home offices and in country offices.

Challenges

The challenge for this piece of the research is in donor willingness or ability to cooperate. This section was originally framed as a "follow the money" exercise investigating what activities donors were spending money on, and how much money they were spending. After a literature review, we realised that this approach had been attempted at least half a dozen times, and researchers kept hitting the same walls. Myers sums up the problem of donor clarity and transparency, "Mapping the media-support sector will remain a challenge until assistance to media and information programmes are defined as such. . . . [Donors] should start disaggregating media sector support, in their record systems, so that systematic evaluation methods can be established. In this way a better understanding can be developed of which media interventions work and which do not, and best

practice can be identified.”³Because of these challenges, assessments of the field have resulted in complex, patchwork overviews that include long structured lists of donors, implementers, and recipient countries, and trace overall geographic, philosophical, and historical trends in funding and impact. These studies provide rich detail and analysis for some donor organisations and recipient countries, but also include quick summaries or even gaping holes in others. Given that these challenges were precipitated to a great degree by inconsistent definitions of media development, even within organisations, and not well-defined budget lines, it is quite possible that our new approach will be beset by these same challenges.

Goals

What do we hope to achieve? Overall, this research aims to provide donors, media deve-

lopment organisations, policymakers, and other stakeholders with a better understanding of available data related to media and development, analytical tools to evaluate the relationships between media and various development objectives, and empirical evidence of why and under what conditions media development interventions have had an impact.

Lastly, in addition to filling a gap in current research, The Media Map Project aspires to bridge a more significant gap. Despite the general recognition of its importance, media often plays a tangential role or is forgotten altogether in mainstream discussions and strategy for increasing the impact of general development interventions. Thus, an underlying goal of this project is to raise awareness – and frankly, the status – of media development assistance amongst general development stakeholders.

Coda, November 2011: Key findings

Currently, we are wrapping up the Media Map Project. The website, www.MediaMapResource.org, provides free access to approximately 30 datasets focusing on the media sector and ICTs, in addition to four simple visualisations to aid exploration of the data. Fifteen research reports are being published on the site; the final summary report will be available in January 2012.

Media in governance and economic development

There has been extensive econometric and statistical research done that has found a

strong connection between a free press and both economic development and democracy. Most of this research has used macro (country-level) data and has looked for correlations rather than causation. In almost all instances, Freedom House’s Freedom of the Press Index has been used as a proxy for the health of the media sector. While there are certainly gaps in the existing research, taken together as a body of work, it provides clear and compelling evidence that freedom of the press is an important ingredient in good governance and economic growth. If not sufficient to drive either on its own, the evidence shows that a free press is certainly necessary for a

functioning democracy and can strengthen economic growth.

Lack of strategic thinking

However, so far the evidence provided by this research has failed to influence decision-makers in any profound way at the policy level for international aid. While most donor governments provide some kind of support to local media, this support is fraught with many problems, many of which stem from a lack of strategic thinking about media support. The key challenge could be summed up as a problem of not connecting the dots. In part, donors do not incorporate what has been learned in academic studies into practice of development. In part, donors are not taking enough opportunities to learn from their own experience. A greater

commitment to data collection, impact measurement, ongoing organisational learning, and other knowledge-centered practices would be potentially quite helpful in better detailing the specifics of exactly how this dynamic of media's impact on development actually works in various country contexts. To confirm the existence of such a relationship is one thing; to understand both what makes it function well, and how best to support its development, is quite another.

Overall, the major theme that crosses the three components of the research is that donors' approaches to media development assistance has lacked explicit and deliberate diagnostics, learning from and coordination with other donor initiatives, ongoing data collection, capturing learning and sharing it throughout a donor organisation on a regular



Desk Research



basis, and impact analysis that is then incorporated into strategy and budgeting.

Media cut across

Despite these shortcomings, and even as a tiny fraction of all aid given to developing countries, it is clear that support to media can and has made a positive difference in many instances. Research clearly shows the strong relationship between the media sector and both development and governance. The media cut across, and thus have the potential to impact, all other sectors in society. In this age of heightened emphasis on aid effectiveness, it is imperative that donors increase their focus on, and bring rigorous analysis and strategic thinking to, supporting free, independent, and high quality media as an integral component of their development work.

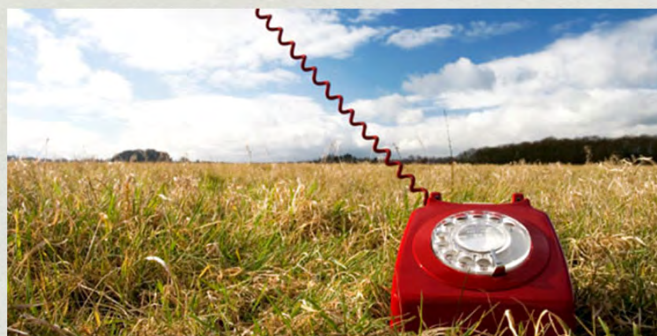
¹The Wealth of Nations Triangle Index is an aggregate index that evenly weighs a combination of different types of data, both expert assessment and actual numbers.

²Free press: Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Comoros, Ghana, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda. Not free press: Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Central African Rep., Dem. Rep. of Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Zimbabwe.

³Mary Myers, "Donor Support for Media Development: The Demand for Accountability" Paper for the Uppsala University Conference: "Whose Voices? Media and Pluralism in the Context of Democratisation" September 20-21, 2007 at the Collegium for Development Studies Uppsala University, p. 43



Field Research



FoME Mission Statement

The German "Forum Media and Development" (Forum Medien und Entwicklung) is a network of institutions and individuals active in the field of media development cooperation. It serves as the German platform for the exchange of experiences, research and further elaboration of concepts. It facilitates the dialogue between media practitioners, development politics and the scientific community.

The members of the German "Forum Media and Development" advocate the human right to freedom of speech. They are convinced that free and independent media are essential for the development of liberal democracies. Free and independent media ensure that all groups of society can participate in public opinion forming. At the same time they demand transparency and accountability from political, social and economic players. This is also of particular importance with regard to poverty reduction and the promotion of sustainable development. Therefore, the German "Forum Media and Development" endeavours to strengthen the importance of media aid in the context of development cooperation.

The activities of the Forum include:

- exchange of information and experiences among the members
- exchange with media representatives from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe
- cooperation in carrying out joint projects, research and evaluations
- coordination and representation of the interests of the non-governmental organisations that are concerned with media development cooperation – at national, European and international level
- further elaboration of the political and strategic framework of the German media development cooperation
- advice to the German government and its implementing organisations.

The founding members of the Forum Media and Development:

Dr. Christoph Dietz, Catholic Media Council (CAMECO)

Evelyn Ehrlenspiel, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES)

Dr. Hartmut Ihne, Center for Development Research (ZEF)

Andrea Sofie Jannusch, CAMECO

Jürgen Klußmann, Evangelical Academy of Rhineland

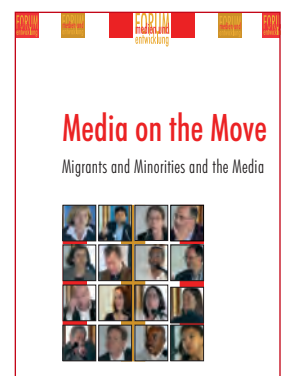
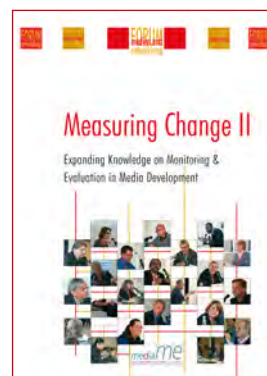
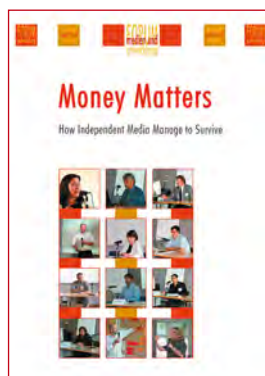
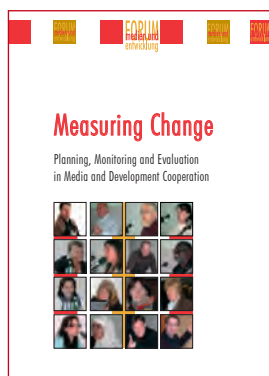
Michael Lingenthal, Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS)

Dr. Helmut Osang, Deutsche Welle Academy

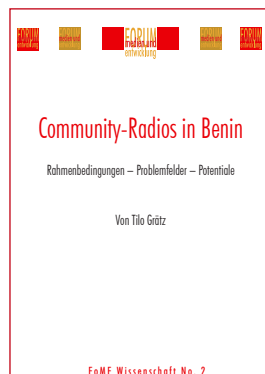
Frank Priess, KAS

Berlin/Bonn/Aachen, 2006

FoME Conference Reports



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