DEVELOPING INDEPENDENT
MEDIA
AS AN INSTITUTION OF
ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNANCE

A HOW-TO GUIDE

THE WORLD BANK

Shanthi Kalathil

DEVELOPING INDEPENDENT MEDIA AS AN INSTITUTION OF ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNANCE

DEVELOPING INDEPENDENT MEDIA AS AN INSTITUTION OF ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNANCE

A HOW-TO GUIDE

SHANTHI KALATHIL

THE WORLD BANK
Washington, D.C.

1 2 3 4 14 13 12 11

Contents

Boxes

Figures

Tables

Foreword

The World Bank's Communication for Governance and Accountability Program (CommGAP) has spent several years exploring the linkages between the media and governance reform. The first stage of this process produced *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform*, an edited volume that explored key issues surrounding the role of the media in democratic governance and the policy interventions that might enable this role.

This how-to guide represents the second stage of that process: turning theoretical and policy conclusions into a practical guide for those seeking to enhance good governance by empowering the media. An early needs assessment revealed limited understanding of media development and the role it can play in fostering accountable governance. This toolkit accordingly provides the whys, hows, whens, and whats of supporting the development of independent, pluralistic and sustainable media.

As part of the production process, CommGAP convened four meetings in 2009—three in Washington, D.C., and one in London—that solicited advice, input, and concrete suggestions from media development experts. This guide thus reflects decades of collective experience and the assembled best practices of a wide cross-section of the media development community. I would like to thank all those who contributed their time and expertise to this process.

As noted recently by World Bank President Robert Zoellick, "Institutions matter, but so do citizens." We at CommGAP hope this publication can serve as one tool for those in the business of helping citizens demand better governance.

Sina Odugbemi
Program Head
Communication for Governance and Accountability Program

Acknowledgments

This guide greatly benefited from the process of peer review within the World Bank, which engaged a wide cross-section of thematic experts. I am appreciative of the thoughtful comments and suggestions of Steve Burgess, Ed Campos, Eric Chinje, Sahr Kpundeh, Sumir Lal, Mark Nelson, Loty Salazar, Janmejay Singh, and Jeff Thindwa. Any remaining errors or omissions are mine alone.

Finally, my deep appreciation goes to the media professionals who have inspired this work by seeking out and disseminating the truth, even in the harshest of circumstances. To them, and to my family, thank you.

Shanthi Kalathil

About the Author

Shanthi Kalathil is an international development consultant and author, focusing on the intersection among governance, development, and the public sphere. She is co-author of *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule* (Carnegie Endowment, 2003), a widely cited work that examined the role of the Internet in promoting political transition in eight authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes. Kalathil has spent the past decade advising the U.S. government, international organizations, and civil society on the role of traditional and new media in supporting democracy and good governance. Previously a Senior Democracy Fellow and Media Advisor at the U.S. Agency for International Development, she currently acts as a regular consultant for the Communication for Governance and Accountability Program at the World Bank and serves on the Advisory Board of the Center for International Media Assistance at the National Endowment for Democracy. A former Hong Kong-based staff reporter for the *Wall Street Journal Asia,* Kalathil holds degrees from U.C. Berkeley and the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Target Audience for the Toolkit

This toolkit was designed for governance advisers who are interested in strengthening independent media (also known as media development) but are not sure how to go about it. It introduces the fundamentals of media development and explains how to conceptualize and analyze the media sector. It then helps users tailor programming on the basis of political economy analysis and in the context of individual countries. It also includes ideas for monitoring and evaluating media development programs, guidance on the practical aspects of getting the work done, and links to additional resources.

Why a toolkit on media development? Many donor organizations use the media of partner countries to communicate about development goals, but few engage in programs intended to strengthen the media sector itself. In preparing this framework, the World Bank's Communication for Governance and Accountability Program (CommGAP) surveyed a number of governance advisers at donor organizations and foundations around the world. The survey revealed that while many advisers were interested in working with the media in their respective countries, very few understood the concept of media development and how such programs could play a key role in advancing good governance.

Development discourse has increasingly taken note of the role of an independent media sector in supporting good governance. Reflecting this interest, CommGAP has engaged in a multiyear effort to study the relationship between the media and governance reform. The first stage of this effort produced an edited volume, *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform*,[1] that explored key issues surrounding the media and governance. These issues

included the ideal role of the media system in strengthening democratic governance, the conditions under which media systems fulfill their objectives, and the most effective policy interventions for helping the news media live up to their democratic potential. The second stage of this effort, presented here, is meant to bridge the gap between theory and practice. It offers practical guidance on programming strategies that have been field-tested in many countries.

To inform this handbook, CommGAP held a number of working group meetings in Washington, D.C., and London with senior media development experts whose collective experience in the field spans the globe. CommGAP has drawn on that breadth of practical knowledge, along with the growing body of publications on this topic, to make media development easy to understand and put into practice, even for those with no previous experience.

The goal here is to clarify priorities and policies in this area by transforming donors, funders, and other interested parties into intelligent consumers of specialist services. Users can gain a comprehensive appreciation of the role media development plays in advancing the good governance agenda and a better understanding of how to create well-designed media development programs, whether in-house or by engaging outside experts. This guide can also help in articulating the value of media development to a broader audience interested in good governance and development.

Note

1. Norris, Pippa, ed., 2010. *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Media Development: A Key Part of Governance Reform

A free press is not a luxury. A free press is at the absolute core of equitable development, because if you cannot enfranchise poor people, if they do not have a right to expression, if there is no searchlight on corruption and inequitable practices, you cannot build up the public consensus needed to bring about change.

– James Wolfensohn, former president, World Bank

In any given country, the media sector ideally performs a number of roles. It provides accurate news and information to the public. It facilitates public debate and discussion on a wide range of issues, and sometimes sets the agenda for such debate. It holds powerful state and nonstate interests accountable, serving as a watchdog for the public interest. In essence, an independent media sector is a key factor in good governance.

Yet getting to that ideal state is far from easy. Financial sustainability is extremely difficult for many media outlets, as is editorial independence from government, the private sector, and other powerful interests. Restrictive laws and regulations stifle the development of the media. Access to information and the skills to create content are often lacking. There is a clear need to support independent and pluralistic media around the world.

As part of the broad, donor-led governance agenda, media development is not well understood. Many development professionals erroneously believe that it is concerned with disseminating messages by donors or working with local actors to use the media to achieve development goals. In fact, media development is an important and conceptually distinct area of activity that supports and promotes a pluralistic, editorially independent, and financially

sustainable media sector. An independent media sector buttresses key governance goals such as voice, accountability, and transparency—not through dissemination of messages about these issues but by its very existence.

Donor organizations that engage in supporting good governance increasingly recognize the importance of also supporting independent media. The World Bank's Guidance Note on Bank Multi-Stakeholder Engagement explicitly describes good practice with respect to media development, noting that the Governance and Anticorruption (GAC) strategy stresses the importance of developing independent and competitive media that can investigate, monitor, and provide feedback on government performance, including corruption.

Media development is often confused with *communication for development*, which is a separate but related field. Communication for development typically sees the media as a means to achieve broad development goals, while media development sees strengthening the media as an end in itself. (This conceptual distinction is sometimes blurred in practice, as noted in some of the sample activities in "From Assessment to Program Concept.")

How Media Development Programs Support the Governance Agenda

Some people believe that worrying about the media is the privilege of economically developed, politically stable countries. In developing countries, the argument goes, issues such as poverty reduction, security, and education should trump luxuries such as an independent media sector. This short-sighted argument fails to take into account the media's essential role in helping to achieve development and governance outcomes. Just as voice and accountability are now considered crucial to development outcomes, an independent media sector is crucial to achieving voice and accountability objectives. As noted in *Public Sentinel*, the media system in each country should be regarded as one of the core institutions affecting governance. Genuine transparency and accountability also require other factors to be in place: civil society capacity, citizen-state bridging mechanisms, and attitudes/capacities of state actors. A strong, independent media sector helps create an enabling environment to support and enrich these other elements.

- **A strong media sector directly supports good governance.** A pluralistic, sustainable, editorially independent media sector is a cornerstone of good governance and long-term development. The media can act as a sounding board for government policies, an avenue for citizen participation, a national and local town hall, a force for accountability, and a bulwark against abuse of power. Without the media, it is difficult for citizens to raise and discuss issues of development that affect their lives. Whatever the form, media have the potential to contribute to an informed, empowered citizenry and to foster responsive, legitimate, and effective government.

- **A strong, independent media sector promotes voice and accountability.** Voice and accountability have been widely accepted as fundamental components of good governance. While other avenues can lead to voice and accountability, few are as direct and essential as an independent, pluralistic media sector. Not only do the media directly promote the expression of citizen voice and hold powerful institutions (including those in business, government, and civil society) to account, they amplify other accountability efforts as well.

- **A strong, independent media sector complements and reinforces other good governance goals.** Developing a strong, editorially independent media sector can positively and mutually reinforce a host of other good governance goals. For instance, a pluralistic and independent media sector can and should complement anticorruption programs by helping set agendas, unearth corruption, and explain the importance and benefits of a corruption-free society. Media can help government become more effective and responsive by providing a clear picture of citizen needs and desires. They can enhance transparency at all levels of society by shining a light on local governments, civil society organizations, political parties, elections, parliaments, and so on. And they contribute strongly to the formation of an informed citizenry that demands good governance from its institutions.

Where Do Media Fit? Incorporating Media Sector Analysis into Broad-Based Governance Assessments

Unfortunately, the templates for many broad-based governance assessments do not include a systematic analysis of the media sector. There are a few exceptions; for instance, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which has long supported media development programs, includes a media component in its revised democracy and governance assessment tool. Other donors might include an emphasis on "voice and accountability," with its implicit incorporation of the media. However, for the most part, templates for governance analysis and assessment do not provide explicit guidance on how to treat the media sector. Because the media are overlooked at this key stage of the process, they generally are not included in subsequent analytic and programmatic action.

It would be impossible to address how media can be incorporated significantly into every organization's governance template. However, the following are examples of questions that can be posed in a broad-based governance assessment:

- Does the country enjoy the free flow of information and ideas? Why or why not? What effect does this have on the country's quality of governance?
- Do the media ever hold the government or private sector accountable for their actions? Do they help increase government transparency or public demands for transparency? Why or why not?

- Do the media play a role in fostering public debate and dialogue? What effect does this have on the country's quality of governance?
- Is the media sector a potential arena for political competition? If so, what are the implications for the country's system of governance? If not, why not?
- Is the media sector generally considered to be independent of government or other influence? Why or why not?
- How is the ownership of the media sector structured? Are there one or two large media owners? How does ownership structure affect the diversity and plurality of voices?

Another way to gain an understanding of the media sector while conducting base-level country analysis is to refer to global and regional indexes, such as the Freedom House Freedom of the Press survey, the IREX Media Sustainability Index, and analyses compiled by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as Reporters Without Borders. These indexes are not comprehensive, but they provide a qualified understanding of the media sector that can contribute to the broader governance picture. That, in turn, opens the door to the deeper strategic analysis of the media sector outlined in this toolkit.

Grasping the Fundamentals: Building Blocks of an Independent Media Sector

An independent media sector comprises many moving parts, all interlocking and interdependent. For a media sector to truly buttress good governance, each of these parts must function well, lending strength to the whole. The parts can be grouped roughly into five categories: infrastructure, skilled professionals, a supportive economic and business environment, an enabling regulatory and legal environment, and a media-literate civil society. Without basic infrastructure in place (which can run the gamut from cell phones to radio frequencies to print distribution mechanisms), news and information cannot be exchanged freely. High editorial standards and professional journalists are equally crucial, but they cannot function without a well-managed, economically sustainable organization behind them. Media businesses and good journalism alike cannot thrive without a comprehensive web of legislation and regulation to enable the free flow of information. All these elements are reinforced by a media-literate public and civil society organizations that support independent media and hold media organizations and governments to account, thereby facilitating transparency, accountability, and a vibrant public sphere.

The following sections describe these main parts of the media sector. Understanding their role and function is crucial to constructing an effective media development program.

Infrastructure

A functioning media infrastructure is a basic underpinning for the rest of the media sector. This does not necessarily mean a host of sophisticated

broadcasting or other media systems. Vibrant media sectors can exist in even the least developed countries, with a minimum of infrastructure; indeed, in some developing countries that lack traditional telecommunications infrastructure, cell phone infrastructure has enabled people to "catch up" with the information age more quickly. Infrastructure is not limited to the traditional media components of broadcasting and print; it may include the transportation system (to deliver print goods), the telecommunications system (which is rapidly converging with broadcast and cable to form the backbone of the digital information era), cable and other networks, radio towers, financial infrastructure, and even social institutions such as literacy and the culture of communication in a country. For example, do people listen to the radio? Do they spread news by word of mouth? Are cell phones used to transmit news and information?

Even in environments where sophisticated systems exist, however, people may not be able to access reliable news and information. A comprehensive media development program will first seek to determine the news and information needs of a population, then recommend the infrastructure improvements that will have the greatest effect.

Professional Skills and Editorial Independence

An independent media sector cannot exist without a critical mass of trained, skilled professionals—from journalists to editors to production experts to media managers to executives to technicians to technology specialists. Although the nature of news dissemination is rapidly changing with the increasing relevance of new media, there is no substitute for the professional journalism skills and ethical training acquired through a combination of on-the-job-training, continuing education, and peer networking. A core group of skilled professionals ensures that news production values are high and that widely held ethical standards are followed, whether in a new medium or a traditional one. (Even in the realm of citizen journalism, for instance, evolving best practice is debated and discussed.) This, in turn, helps the media sector perform its core functions of informing the public with reliable news and information, holding powerful interests to account, and facilitating public discussion and debate.

Sustainability and Business Development

Over time, the development of a financially sustainable, editorially independent media sector requires the corresponding development of media business and financial infrastructure and expertise. Ideally, this hard and soft infrastructure includes (but is not limited to) functioning, transparent media markets; a sophisticated advertising sector; technical skills and executive expertise

Case Study: Boosting Reporting Capacity While Covering Development Issues: Environmental Journalism in Asia

Sometimes it is possible to combine a communication-for-development approach with media development. For instance, training reporters how to cover a particular development issue in depth conveys information about the development issue and at the same time builds capacity in the media sector. Helping journalists hone their investigative skills while they work on specific development issues can establish a strong foundation for investigative reporting, even in semi-permissive or nonpermissive environments.

The Earth Journalism Network (EJN), launched by Internews in 2004, helps journalists in developing countries cover the environment more effectively. EJN has been particularly active in Asia and has worked with environmental journalists from Indonesia, China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, and Laos, as well as Mexico and several countries in East Africa.

In Thailand, EJN has cosponsored landmark workshops introducing regional journalists to environmental issues. One such workshop took 13 journalists working in Thailand to the highlands for six days, where they learned about the complex interplay among farmers, forests, loggers, and government, and the various approaches that would allow a balance between development and environmental concerns.

Workshops focused on investigative environmental reporting have led to award-winning stories that have changed public policy. EJN took a dozen Hanoi-based journalists to Tam Dao National Park in Vietnam as part of a training workshop; there, they uncovered an "eco-tourism" project that would have destroyed tropical forest to make way for a golf course and a casino. When the stories were published, the government ordered the project scrapped.

In Southwestern China, an EJN-trained journalist uncovered a major pollution scandal, leading the government to order the clean-up of numerous illegally polluting factories. Assured by a city official that there were no local problems with pollution, an environmental reporter from *China Business* became suspicious. "I was inspired by the workshop … [on] investigative reporting, so when the deputy mayor told us that there were no coal and chemical plants in its area of jurisdiction, I thought it was time to try what I had learned," the reporter said. In reality, the city had launched a power station project without due process, and there were several air and water pollution issues. The reporter's work triggered an onsite investigation by the government inspection team, and the scandal became one of the year's biggest environmental stories in China.

(Source: Internews)

in media management; and separation between business and editorial departments in news organizations. A media development program can focus on a number of these areas or target one. Financial sustainability can be challenging, but many development programs working with media outlets in very poor regions have been able to craft solutions tailored specifically for their environments.

Financial sustainability is of concern not only to private sector media. Community radio stations and public service broadcasters also must have the knowledge to plan how they will sustain operations in the future, whether through a combination of state funding, voluntary donations and services, or via innovative methods of fundraising through digital media. No media outlet is exempt from addressing questions of sustainability.

An Enabling Environment for Independent Media

The existence of an independent media sector is enabled and shaped by a complex web of legislation, regulation, and other institutional factors. Overarching government policy toward media—its vision of media's contribution to the public good—shapes the sector and the regulation. Freedom of information, libel, and licensing laws all directly affect the media sector; in addition, various institutions of government (legislature, judiciary, and executive) can have a profound direct or indirect effect on the sector. Increasingly, telecommunications regulation is playing a part in how the traditional media sector adapts to the new information age.

Media Organizations and a Media-Literate Public

A strong, independent media sector needs the reinforcement of civil society. Complementary independent organizations—such as journalists' unions, professional associations, freedom of the press watchdogs, and media monitoring groups—ensure that governments are not impeding the free flow of information; they also ensure that media organizations themselves are adhering to high standards of professionalism and accuracy, and engaging the public. These organizations can also act as the first line of defense when journalists and other media sector professionals are harassed.

In addition to civil society organizations, the public plays an important role in fostering an enabling environment for independent media: a media-literate public will demand professionalism and high standards from the media sector. The public can act as a watchdog over the media and ensure that the media sector is a potent watchdog over state power. Moreover, with the increasingly widespread use of digital media production, the public is not merely a consumer of media but a producer as well. Media literacy implies wide public familiarity with the role of media and the tools used to produce media.

From Assessment to Program Concept: Political Economy Analysis

In the world of donor funding for governance programs, it has become increasingly clear that a purely technical approach may no longer be sufficient to achieve results, because the technical approach tends to leave politics out of the equation—and avoiding politics is impossible in discussing issues of voice, accountability, and good governance.

The assessment and program design framework presented here layers political economy analysis on top of technical analysis. This ensures that technical programs map onto a strategic approach that considers the role of institutions, stakeholder incentives, and political realities that shape the media sector. Focusing on the individual political realities of each country's media sector helps avoid the "cookie-cutter program" problem. This approach can also help donors avoid duplication while focusing on sectors where their involvement will be most effective.

Typically, political economy analysis focuses on institutions and stakeholders to help the government enact better policy in the desired sector or area. Particularly with respect to media development, government is only one player in the equation. While it can set policy for the media sector, government alone cannot foster the development of a healthy, vibrant, independent sector. Developing this kind of media sector requires the active participation of a number of different actors, including news-literate citizens, journalism institutions, an appropriate private sector climate, and supporting NGOs. Accordingly, the strategic assessment devised for this framework focuses less

on the government as a main player and more on identifying potential constituencies for reform in a number of institutions.

This focus on political economy analysis does not mean that the technical approach should be secondary. Projects grounded in local realities and technical expertise should always form the basis for a comprehensive media development program. Rather, a strategic analysis should enable technical assistance to achieve its maximum impact by illuminating potential roadblocks, highlighting objectives, and determining feasibility.

Framework for Analysis

The first step toward achieving sustained change is a dedicated media assessment—one that looks at the various institutions, arenas, and actors of the media sector. (This assessment is not the same as the broad governance assessment described in the previous section. The governance assessment sets the stage for the more detailed analytic framework presented here.) Ideally, the assessment is performed by a team with substantial expertise in both media development and the country's media/political landscape. Usually, a team consisting of a media development expert and one or more local media experts can provide the necessary technical and local knowledge to conduct a comprehensive assessment.

It is important to go beyond merely asking fact-based, quantitative questions about the media sector—how many newspapers, how many radio stations, how are they regulated, and so on. While these questions are important, they do not provide a strategic overview of the sector.
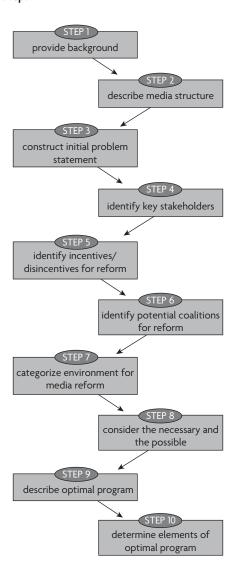
To understand what drives—or blocks—reform and opening in the media sector, the assessment should go beyond collecting data points to ask more strategic questions: What are the forces propelling and constraining the development of an independent media sector? Who will be the winners and losers in a process of broad-based reform? Who are the potential coalition partners who might be brought together to advocate for an opening and strengthening of the media sector? What are other institutions doing and how can resources be leveraged to achieve a lasting impact?

The following step-by-step framework will help guide assessment and analysis of the media sector, creating a solid base for program design.

Step 1: Provide the Background
Describe the political and economic backdrop of the country, paying attention to factors relevant to media reform. Include a brief political history of the country; its governance structure, including how power is concentrated; economic development; literacy; role of civil society; influence of public opinion; and recent political developments that influence the media sector.

Figure 4.1. Analytical Steps

STEP 1
provide background

STEP 2
describe media structure

STEP 3
construct initial problem
statement

STEP 4
identify key stakeholders

STEP 5
identify incentives/
disincentives for reform

STEP 6
identify potential coalitions
for reform

STEP 7
categorize environment for
media reform

STEP 8
consider the necessary and
the possible

STEP 9
describe optimal program

STEP 10
determine elements of
optimal program

Step 2: Describe the Media Sector

Analyze the media sector, paying particular attention to the following:

- Describe the historical role and trajectory of the media sector.
- Analyze the five "building block" areas mentioned earlier: infrastructure (including, if relevant, digital media and convergence trends); professional skills; the media business and economic arena; the enabling environment; and media organizations and media literacy. Analyze underlying factors that contribute to the status quo (e.g., media ownership patterns, government media policy, public attitudes toward media), and hypothesize future trajectories for each area given no donor involvement.

- Determine what type of media (e.g., print, broadcast, satellite, digital) is most influential among various groups (e.g., the elite, the rural poor) and why.
- Analyze the various media arenas: national, provincial, local. What are the characteristics of media at each level? How do local media intersect with international and transnational media?
- Dissect any other special circumstances that affect the media sector, including but not limited to such factors as presence of conflict, level of economic development, ongoing political transition, and widespread corruption or cronyism.

This information should be collected primarily through on-the-ground interviews and fact-finding, as well as reviews of any existing surveys and media indexes. ("Practical Considerations for Donors" offers suggestions for hiring consultants, and appendix A contains several sample questions that can be used in this portion of the analysis.)

Steps 1 and 2 establish a foundation for assessing the media sector strategically and will help the toolkit user drill down to tactics.

Step 3: Construct an Initial Problem Statement

After analyzing the core media sector issues, concisely summarize the main issues or challenges for the sector.

An initial problem statement might read as follows: "In Country A the journalists are highly skilled, the constitution protects free speech, and there is a lively culture of open debate and exchange. While the elites read the newspapers and online material, most people get their information through television and radio. Free speech is constitutionally protected, but in practice the government censors information related to security, while journalists reporting on corruption are frequently harassed or threatened. Private sector groups use their ownership of media to support their own business interests."

Note that steps 1 and 2 are not performed merely to get to step 3. Asking key questions about the media sector and mapping out a complete picture of the relationships among the media, government, private sector, civil society, and any other interests will not only facilitate the other steps in the analysis but also provide a solid basis for devising a grounded and intelligent media development program.

Step 4: Identify the Key Stakeholders

Identify key stakeholders who have influence over or a particular interest in the media sector. Stakeholders may vary from country to country but typically include several of these groups:

Media Entities	• Telecommunications and digital media industry
• Media outlets (for profit and not-for-profit)	**State and Government Institutions**
• Community media	• Ministry of information
• Media owners	• Ministry of security
• Bloggers	• Ministry of telecommunications

- Ministry of finance
- Office of executive (president/prime minister)
- Parliament
- Opposition parties
- State broadcaster
- Armed forces/intelligence services
- Ministry of justice and all aspects of judicial system, including Supreme Court
- Provincial, county, or other government branches (including community councils and informal and traditional governance institutions)

Civil Society Actors

- Press freedom advocacy organizations
- Official journalist unions
- Unofficial journalist associations
- Legal advocacy/rule of law NGOs
- Media industry associations (publishers, broadcasters, and other media industry groups)
- Anticorruption NGOs/networks

- Media watchdog organizations
- Human rights organizations
- The public
- Local community groups
- Digital activists

Private Sector

- Advertising firms and associations
- Public relations firms and associations
- Private enterprises that own or influence the media
- Chambers of commerce
- Telecommunications businesses
- Other media infrastructure businesses

Other Institutional Actors

- International donors and foundations
- International networks and associations
- Educational institutions (e.g., universities, private schools, media training centers)

Step 5: Identify Incentives and Disincentives for Reform

For each relevant stakeholder, consider these questions:

- What does this group have to gain or lose from reforms that seek to create a more independent, pluralistic media?
- Is this group likely to support media liberalization/reform or oppose it?
- What reforms is this group likely to support and oppose? Be specific.
- How influential might this group be in strengthening media reform or stopping it?

In answering these questions, determine the biggest potential winners and losers from media sector reform, then rank each in terms of influence (i.e., ability to produce change in the media sector). This step may benefit from carefully facilitated discussion with some (perhaps not all) key stakeholders, depending on the context.

One way to understand the political picture is to graphically map significant institutional support and opposition to media reform in general—or to a specific issue, such as conversion of the state broadcaster to public service broadcasting.[1] Figure 4.2 shows a core group of support around the executive for media reform. Significant opponents are shown on the right and left, with their distance from the center indicating their degree of opposition. The relative type size of each entity indicates its political clout on the issue of media reform. (The "right" and "left" distinctions in this figure are for the sake of example; other terms may better fit the situation in the country being analyzed and can be labeled on the map.)

Step 6: Identify Potential Coalitions for Reform

At this point, consider which groups might join together to support a more independent media sector, creating a potent constituency for reform. Under

Figure 4.2. Sample Stakeholder Map: Media Reform

opposed	supportive	core support	supportive	opposed
	civil society	executive	ministry of telecoms	ministry of security
parliament		international donors	business groups	
		journalists' union		
the public			publishers	ministry of information

what circumstances might these constituencies coalesce? What incentives might these groups have to partner to form a coalition? What specific objectives might this coalition achieve? What challenges is this coalition likely to face?

Next, assess what type of media reform might be possible given the groups (and the relative influence they bring to bear) aligned for and aligned against media sector reform, as well as the backdrop of the media environment in which these stakeholders operate.

For instance, one environment might feature a semi-authoritarian government that is eager to increase investment and economic ties with the rest of the world. The executive and parliament are in favor of increased media openness, believing it might help fight corruption and improve the investment climate for business. A recently unveiled anticorruption campaign might provide the window of opportunity to push the boundaries in the media sector. Under these circumstances, civil society groups might align themselves with the government's anticorruption stance to push for greater freedom by journalists to unmask corruption and cover anticorruption activities. Once this greater freedom has been established, journalists might be able to move to cover other subjects as well.

In considering potential coalitions for reform, remember that media reform is a long-term process that typically outlasts the individual efforts of one or two champions in specific government departments. While policy champions can play important roles, it is vital to ensure that media reform programs are rooted in institutional change rather than individual efforts. Therefore, identifying potential coalitions for reform should take into account institutional character as well as individual personalities.

Step 7: Categorize the Environment for Media Reform

Not all environments are conducive to the process of developing an independent media sector. Some might offer extremely fertile ground for media reform; others—particularly if an authoritarian government is seeking to maintain strict control over information—may be extremely unwelcoming.

> **Box 4.1. Priorities and Sequencing**
>
> The political economy analysis framework does not specifically address the question of priori-tizing and sequencing. It is impossible to include a generic template for sequencing activities, because so much depends on the individual environment. The idea behind using multistep political economy analysis is to allow issues of prioritization and sequencing to come to the fore naturally, rather than imposing priorities through a template.

Determining the type of environment surrounding media development is an important step that will guide programmatic activities in the next section.

At this point, the assessment should have painted a full picture of the various components of the media sector and analyzed the political climate in which the sector operates. Using this information, consider whether the environment for media reform is permissive, semi-permissive or nonpermissive. These categories are not strictly linked to the form of government in the country. For instance, a democratic country might have a semi-permissive environment for media reform if powerful coalitions are aligned against it. Generally, authoritarian governments do not create permissive environments for independent media, but a government in a period of political transition or opening may offer a temporarily permissive environment.

These categories are not meant to be strictly delineated. Rather, they will give a sense of what types of programs might be possible or likely to succeed in a given country. For instance, a country in which the executive branch, parliament, and civil society support independent media will allow a wide array of programmatic choices. A country with a semi-permissive environment—for example, in which an authoritarian government maintains a hold on information but supports a certain amount of media opening to aid anticorruption efforts—will present a narrower selection of programmatic choices. Government attitudes toward donor involvement in media are also an important factor.

Media development is likely to be most needed in semi- or nonpermissive environments, which present obstacles such as state hostility to media reform, institutional roadblocks, lack of capacity, a poor economic environment, and corruption. These challenges do not mean that support for independent media is impossible. However, funders must consider what type of program is possible, under what circumstances, and what resources to devote to it. The scope of a media program in a nonpermissive environment will naturally be smaller than that in more permissive environments. The section "From Concept to Design" discusses the program components most likely to be suitable for each type of environment.

Case Study: One-on-One Journalist Mentoring: A Uganda Example

In many environments, ranging from permissive to nonpermissive, journalists lack key skills such as the ability to perform independent research, analysis, and multiple sourcing. To strengthen these skills, Panos London uses a hands-on mentoring approach with selected journalists in developing countries. Panos London commissions a feature, then supports the journalist in researching, analyzing, and structuring the information by critiquing successive drafts. The process can take as long as two months. This editor-mentoring/distance-learning approach gives journalists much more detailed feedback and support than their regular editors generally have time for.

Tabu Butagira, a senior journalist for the *Daily Monitor*, Uganda's leading independent paper, describes his experience of working with a Panos London editor-mentor on a feature about the taxation of mobile phones in Uganda.

"The assignment for a feature story for Panos London on mobile phone tax was my first such internationally commissioned work. My ordinary beat is covering politics, security, and diplomacy. Much of my journalistic career has been shaped by self-teaching (reading). However, on-the-job mentorship by some of my supervisors has enriched my learning, as well as outside placements, one being at *The Times* of London.

"Yet none of these trainings focused on features writing, in which, I admit, I still have limited crafting skills. Thus, the assignment seemed akin to delving into the unknown. When Lilly [Peel, news and features editor at Panos London] received the first draft and got back as promised, nothing was hidden of her honest dislike—perhaps disappointment—in the story's lack of focus and its bad packaging. She cut out substantial material which she said read like a press release from MTN, one of the mobile operators in Uganda, and chided me for being verbose. I felt professionally challenged in a way my in-house seniors had never done, and realized how much I just didn't know. But I never lost hope. In fact I got inspired, learning something for which I would ordinarily have to pay a tuition fee, and wrote back appreciating Lilly's 'no-holds-barred' mentoring approach.

"Thereafter, we kept in constant touch through phone calls and emailing. Lilly sent telephone contacts of Ugandan experts on telecommunications; she emailed related stories and literature, including reports and newspaper articles, and raised pertinent questions I must answer in the story. My second draft, which turned out to be the last copy, earned the compliment 'fantastic.' The next thing: I saw the article

up on the Panos website. I felt so pleased to have been enriched forthrightly. I have since employed the technique of clarity and simplicity. What's key for me was to understand the principles behind writing informative pieces."

(Source: Panos)

Step 8: Consider the Necessary and the Possible

After identifying the environment, it is time to impose reality on the universe of options. Determine what is possible given the resources and political realities. Assess what other donors are and are not doing, identify the gaps, and consider the specific resources (including technical, political, monetary) and intended funding time frame that your organization can bring to the table. Determine the most important aspects of a reform program that your organization can feasibly and capably address. However, remember that effective donor coordination can sometimes carry out a holistic media development program for a country even if individual donors would be unable to engage in such a program on their own, owing to budgetary, political, or other constraints. (For more on donor coordination and achieving goals, see "Practical Considerations for Donors.")

If national-level institutions are aligned against sweeping media reform, a program that emphasizes local media (e.g., at the provincial or community level) might be the best route. Government opposition does not completely rule out the possibility of a program; in fact, oppositional environments are often the ones most in need of a media development program.

Step 9: Describe an Optimal Program

Summarize what you have learned so far, then describe the optimal program, including specific areas of assistance, if relevant. At this point, if you have followed the exercise correctly, a natural direction will arise from the analysis and lead toward a program emphasis. (See the two examples in the box below.)

Box 4.2. Sample Optimal Programs for Media Reform

Example 1

Country X is a semi-authoritarian country that is undergoing a period of political transition, with some opening in the media sector (particularly broadcast, which reaches the most people) to allow much greater freedom of expression. The president, ministry of information, civil society, and courts support media reform. The military and security sectors oppose it but are unlikely to be able to block reform if support by the president,

Box 4.2. (*continued*)

parliament, and civil society holds. The country needs more professional journalists, and its media legislation is outdated. There is a window of opportunity now to affect this legislation.

The country has a well-developed business sector, and media businesses are thriving but are perhaps too dependent on government advertising, which could constrain their independence. Media-related civil society organizations could help raise awareness and push a reform agenda, but they lack capacity and the ability to reach out to allies in the government. Other major donors are currently engaged in large programs to train journalists and strengthen the advertising sector.

This assessment concludes that (1) the environment for media development is relatively permissive, and (2) the enabling environment is the most fruitful area to focus on. Specifically, there is a distinct opportunity to help with the revision of outdated media legislation, working with both government and civil society. Another area to focus on is civil society strengthening—helping media civil society organizations with advocacy and outreach, and connecting them with international partners and networks. There may be synergies with existing media development programs to train journalists; for instance, a program could develop a module on understanding the courts and rule of law, particularly as it pertains to passage of media legislation, so that coverage can be informed and balanced. Because of the current political opening, a national-level approach is recommended.

Example 2

Country Y has only recently (within the past 10 years) emerged from serious conflict and state fragility, and is in the process of building stable, democratic institutions of governance. While there is plenty of political will and support from the citizenry to deepen democratic systems of governance, the country is suffering from a severe lack of capacity after years of conflict. The executive branch, parliament, and security sectors are all relatively supportive of development of the media sector, although certain actors see advantages to the status quo (they can manipulate the media to their advantage in its current state). The country suffers from widespread poverty, and the economic environment for media businesses is poor. Civil society is thriving, albeit unfocused. The enabling environment for media resembles a blank slate, as old laws are in the process of being revised, and parliament is eager to pass new media legislation that will enable the country's democratic institutions to deepen further. However, conservative elements are pushing for restrictive media laws and amendments to the constitution that could seriously impede the development of an independent media sector in the years to come. Many donors are working on bits and pieces of media-related assistance; most are focusing on communication for development and some on training journalists, with little coherence or coordination among programs.

Because of the country's recent emergence from conflict and the factors supporting and opposing broad-based media development, this can be termed a semi-permissive environment for media assistance. Given this environment and the overwhelming capacity gap in all sectors, the most effective assistance strategy is a comprehensive program focusing on infrastructure assistance, core professional training, media business development, and deepening of the enabling environment. The comprehensive approach allows all four areas of focus to mutually reinforce each other, enabling a strategic focus on long-term media sector development. Because most of the population listens to the radio for news and information, efforts will concentrate generally on the radio sector. This comprehensive approach will be a unique contribution, as other donor efforts are piecemeal and largely tactical. Coordinating with other donors—particularly on the enabling environment issues (pushing back against restrictive media legislation)—will be both necessary and beneficial.

After completing this step, move to the next section for specifics about technical assistance activities and putting the program together.

Note

1. This type of political map is drawn from Derick W. Brinkerhoff and Benjamin L. Crosby, *Managing Policy Reform*. Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 2002. See the book for other helpful ways to map stakeholder support.

5

From Concept to Design: Putting the Program Together

After completing steps 1 through 9, it is time to focus on step 10: determining the technical assistance components of the optimal media development program. It is important to think both holistically and strategically when designing programs, even if resources are limited. A program that plunks down a sum of money for "training journalists," then measures success by the number of journalists trained, is unlikely to have a substantive impact. Users of this guide are more likely to achieve meaningful results by piecing together a series of programmatic activities shaped by strategic insight into the country's media sector.

Readers can use this section to select programmatic activities that are appropriate for individual country contexts. For instance, the environment for Country X (described earlier) is permissive for media development, while the enabling environment has been identified as a strategic window of opportunity. One can look in section "Permissive Environments: Program Components" under "Enabling Environment" to find appropriate programmatic components. If a country were identified as semi-permissive or nonpermissive, one would look under the corresponding section to find the most appropriate activities. Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 summarize briefly the activities for each of the three environments: Permissive, symbolized as ○; semi-permissive, symbolized by ◖; and nonpermissive, symbolized by ●. The text following the tables elaborates on the activities.

The lists of program components are not meant to be exhaustive, nor should the categories in which they are placed be considered rigid. Rather, these lists and categories should be used as a jumping-off point, with room for

substitution, recombination, or invention of programmatic activities that fully reflect the realities of the country. The purpose is to give an example of the types of activities that have been employed in the past and stimulate thinking on these subjects so that new programs will be fresh and innovative.

Each suggested program activity has one to three plus signs next to it, roughly indicating the degree of political will needed to successfully implement the activity. Activities with three pluses require a thorough understanding of stakeholder interests, a substantial degree of coalition building, and the ability to marshal political will to attain challenging goals, such as implementing freedom of information legislation or reforming the state broadcaster into a public service broadcaster. One-plus activities tend to be simpler activities that can be implemented without a lot of political will, such as

---

Box 5.1. Building Media Infrastructure: Keep in Mind

This section does not contain specific programmatic recommendations for building infrastructure in different environments, as recommended activities generally depend on the specific needs of the country and its population. However, best practices have converged on a few key points that are applicable in environments ranging from permissive to nonpermissive.

- Take on media infrastructure projects in consultation with (as appropriate) governments, local community groups, the outlets that will use the infrastructure, and others who may be affected.
- Infrastructure can encompass anything from multi-user transmission systems to individual stations and studios. Building a transmission system may require multiple consultations, such as with the national government over law and regulation, with local governments over land use issues, with the intended users of the system, and with the surrounding community (which is the group most frequently left out of consultations). Programs to build infrastructure must understand the regulations governing such installations and plan for the resultant effects, including cost and technology issues.
- Infrastructure planning should be predicated on a thorough needs assessment, in which the community is surveyed on key questions. How do people obtain information? What mode of information transmission is most trusted, and why? What type of regulatory environment governs the intended infrastructure? What type of media infrastructure will best serve the needs of the population now and into the future, and what will the community actually use? Planning may sometimes entail skipping older infrastructure (traditional telecom/broadcasting) in favor of digital infrastructure.
- Ensure that local populations/media outlets/institutions will be able to own and operate the infrastructure after the donors leave. Too many media infrastructure projects are built with the assumption that they can be easily transferred when the donors stop maintaining them, but this is often not the case. Donors may need to train key staff and equip them to train others.
- Consider legacy costs of the infrastructure. What are the ongoing operating costs? What upgrades will be required in the future, and what additional capital investment would those require? What future regulatory changes might affect the infrastructure? What is the local availability of service and parts? Be aware that cutting-edge equipment might not stand the test of time.
- Media infrastructure projects can be a vital and necessary step in the media development process. However, they should not be viewed as an easy substitute for engaging in the true substance of media development: professional skills development, encouraging sustainability, promoting an enabling environment, and supporting a media-literate civil society. Media infrastructure is not divorced from the political economy of the media system. The factors that affect the independence of the media sector also encompass infrastructure; thus, when possible, encourage nonpartisan ownership and management approaches to infrastructure.
- One or two outlets can sometimes gain a huge advantage based on a donor's infrastructure investment. While this is not necessarily always a bad thing, donors must thoroughly understand the political and market consequences of their investment.

simple training seminars or study tours. Two-plus activities fall somewhere in between.

The book also includes several "Keep in Mind" checklists. These represent best practice guidelines culled from the collective wisdom of media development consultants and practitioners.

○ **Permissive Environments: Program Components**

Table 5.1. Permissive Environment: Program Components

Improving Professional Skills (pages 24–27)	Enabling Environment (pages 30–33)
• Train/mentor journalists **++** • Train/mentor editors and other content-related management executives **+** • Work with bloggers and other digital media content producers to generate high-quality products and carve out norms for online content production **+** • Encourage innovation in digital media production **+** • Train journalists and bloggers in investigative journalism **+** • Train specialized "beat reporters" **+** • Work with universities to improve journalism/media curricula **++** • Help instill professional ethics **++** • Set up and increase the capacity of local trainers/training centers **+** • Support productions that deal with governance or development issues while simultaneously training local journalists **+** • Establish a fund designed to promote local production **++**	• Support local bar associations and professional associations related to media law **+** • Establish media law centers tied to universities **++** • Support the streamlining, transparency and accountability of the broadcast license approval process **+++** • Promote enabling policy and legislation for community media **+++** • Support legal and judicial training in media law **+** • Train legislators and legislative staff on aspects of media law **++** • Educate law enforcement about the role of reporters and the media **+** • Support the establishment and/or further professionalization and strengthening of an independent broadcast regulator **+++** • Organize study tours for regulatory body staff **++** • Work with government and civil society to pass freedom of information legislation **+++** • Support government record-keeping capacity at the local and national level **+++** • Incorporate international guarantees of freedom of expression into national legal systems **+++** • Support efforts to bring defamation law into line with best practice international trends **+++** • Train government officials on how to respond to journalists **++**
Sustainability and Business Development (pages 27–30) • Train/mentor media business professionals **+** • Develop the local advertising sector **++** • Encourage development of domestic media-focused philanthropy **++** • Set up a loan facility or investment vehicle for media, or explore loan guarantees for media outlets **++** • Encourage outlets to explore and pilot innovative business models **+** • Help to set up an independent audit board of circulation **++** • Help set up a broadcast rating system for television and/or radio **++** • Encourage locally driven market and audience research for broadcast, online, and print media **+** • Establish synergies with country and donor economic development programs **++** • Support media industry groups to encourage professionalization and networking **+** • Work with outlets on understanding and separating the editorial and business sides of media **+**	**Media Organizations and a Media-Literate Public (pages 33–35)** • Support media monitoring organizations **+** • Support journalist/blogger/editor associations **+** • Assist media-related civil society organizations with fundamental training in organizational development, lobbying, and coalition-building **+** • Support media literacy education, particularly within the educational system **++** • Work with citizen journalism groups to encourage media literacy and high standards **+** • Support community listening club **++** • Support tools to measure media literacy in developing countries **++**

+ simple activities/little political will required.
++ more complex activities/more political will required.
+++ most complex activities/most political will required.

○ **Permissive Environments: Improving Professional Skills**

○ *Train/mentor journalists.* Journalism training can take place at all levels and in many different areas. Years of media development experience have shown that isolated two-week training courses are much less effective than a holistic mentoring approach that provides on-the-job training to several layers of a news organization at its own location. This is not always practical, of course, but any approach that works with journalists over an extended period—whether through distance education, online mentoring, or some other form of interaction—typically bears more long-lasting fruit than one-off training seminars. Management buy-in from a news organization is essential to ensure that journalist training is sustainable and valued. Requiring media outlets to share the costs of training (even if it's just providing lunch) can make management more likely to regard it as important; this requirement can be waived for community media outlets. +

○ *Train/mentor editors and other content-related management executives.* Good media development programs go beyond training journalists to ensure that every aspect of the news production process is included in an overall training approach. Journalists cannot produce high-quality products if their editors and managers are not skilled. Editors and other managers should be included in the training process at all levels. Casting this process as continuing education or executive education can be helpful for attracting senior-level participants. +

○ *Work with bloggers and other digital media content producers to generate high-quality products and carve out norms for online content production.* If none exist, donors can help establish and support dedicated online media outlets to provide politically unbiased news and information. Because online journalism and content production are relatively new, professional standards and ethics are evolving. A common understanding of basic ethics and principles for bloggers and others using new media can ensure that information presented online is clear and as factual as possible. +

○ *Encourage innovation in digital media production.* Some of the most innovative uses of digital media come from the developing world. Donors can encourage innovation by establishing funds or prizes; setting up centers where digital media producers and activists can have access to technology, information, and resources; and encouraging networking among digital media producers. +

○ *Train journalists and bloggers in investigative journalism.* Investigative journalism is an important part of any media sector, but donors often misunderstand its nature and purpose. Often, what donors think of as "investigative journalism" is simply good journalism—checking facts, searching for hidden sources of information, and leaving no stone unturned. Investigative reporting training should not be prioritized over basic reporting training, as it is a

skill that requires extra time, effort, and money. Before embarking on an investigative training program, ensure that news organizations have the human and financial resources to commit to investigative reporting, and that all concerned are fully aware of the risks. +

○ *Train specialized beat reporters.* Journalists, bloggers, and other media sector professionals who specialize in a single topic can become experts on the subject, allowing them to report in depth and explain complicated concepts to the public. Media outlets in developing countries do not often have the resources to carry specialized beat reporters, but targeted training and mentoring can help carve out time and space for dedicated coverage of key topics, such as municipal budgets, public health, and education. +

Case Study: Building Supporting Institutions in Ukraine

A vibrant network of media associations supports many other media development goals. In Ukraine, the media development organization Internews works to strengthen the capacity, viability, and professionalism of associations and local Ukrainian media support organizations.

Internews has supported the 10-year-old Independent Association of Broadcasters (IAB), which has developed into a strong and viable organization—the largest electronic media association in Ukraine—whose major goal is to protect the interests and rights of member broadcasters and help guarantee a level playing field. IAB has successfully lobbied for many changes in media regulations, including expansion of advertising opportunities for local firms on foreign cable television channels. Although IAB originally received operational support from Internews, it has reduced this dependence over the past several years—increasing membership and dues help sustain daily operations as well as legal and training centers. Internews still provides support for IAB's targeted projects, including information hotlines and specialized trainings in election coverage and new media. IAB is currently focusing its expertise on lobbying for a transparent conversion strategy to digital broadcasting in Ukraine, which is critically important for the independent television market, especially regional broadcasters.

Media development organizations such as Internews and IREX have also supported the Ukrainian Association of Press Publishers (UAPP),

which unites 98 publishers that include national newspapers and glossy magazines from Kyiv and the regions. The 11-member board oversees six working groups in the association's priority areas, which include advertising, distribution, and legislation. UAPP is an active member of the World Association of Newspapers. With IAB, it has developed a concept for a highly visible annual journalism competition to reward high standards in professional journalism.

The Association of Independent Regional Publishers of Ukraine (AIRPU) unites 20 regional publishers whose circulations are no less than weekly. The association was formed to concentrate on region-specific issues, to help its members increase advertising revenue and circulation, and to provide education and enhanced technology to create a stronger regional press. Since 2006, Internews has provided support for training and legal activities, as well as some operational support. AIRPU is an associate member of UAPP and an active member of the World Association of Newspapers.

(Source: Internews)

○ *Work with universities to improve journalism/media curricula.* Some universities might be too bureaucratic or conservative to be effective partners, but some have a strong teaching infrastructure (especially for cross-disciplinary training); resources to incorporate student-run media on campus; and the ability to meet funder standards for monitoring, budgeting, and evaluation. In considering a university as training partner, select carefully; rather than teaching the practice of journalism, some departments teach communication theory, which is less likely to be compatible with a media development program. Consider the appropriateness of the department's public output (publications, productions); the institutions where students work as interns (or whether they do at all); the institutions that hire graduates of the department; permissiveness within the power structure of the department; whether the university allows for skill development and concrete output; the ability and willingness of faculty to provide practical training; and whether media outlets themselves value graduates. ++

○ *Help instill professional ethics.* International ethics standards apply to media development and should be emphasized in training. However, sometimes these ethics are best presented by local experts, in a local context, with practical advice on working toward ethics standards in specific situations. Teaching

ethical standards that are impossible to follow, given dominant practice, is likely to backfire. Rather, alternative models should be provided and discussion encouraged about the best way to change existing practices. Ultimately, training in ethics can be reinforced by the promotion of industry self-regulation and self-generated codes of conduct; it should be woven into generalized training rather than presented as a stand-alone issue, except in cases where corruption is a severe problem in the media. ++

○ *Set up and increase the capacity of local trainers/training centers.* In implementing a media development program, it is not enough to bring in expatriate trainers who leave when the training program is finished. The best programs increase the capacity of local professionals, who can then act as trainers for their colleagues. Supporting existing training centers (or, if none exist, setting them up) can also help develop long-term capacity—but be sure to consider the issue of sustainability. +

○ *Support productions that deal with governance or development issues while simultaneously training local journalists.* Production of specific content can be part of a media development program, as long as it also emphasizes the skills that trainees learn through production. The outcome should be not merely the content but lasting skill development on the part of those who have worked on the production. +

○ *Establish a fund to promote local production.* Local production requires time and resources that may be scarce. A dedicated fund for local productions may help local news and media organizations (radio, TV, or Internet-based) develop their own ideas for programming while at the same time practicing newly acquired skills. Applying for grants from the fund will require applicants to think through all aspects of the production. Donors can also invest in local production facilities, although they should ensure that grantees will be able to take ownership of and maintain equipment. ++

○ **Permissive Environments: Sustainability and Business Development**

○ *Train/mentor media business professionals.* While the news aspect of media development typically gets the most attention, it is vitally important to ensure that media sector business professionals—from advertising sales to business development to management—acquire the skills needed to run sustainable and, if appropriate, profitable media. Activity examples include in-house mentoring for media business professionals or executive education certification for senior-level management, run by experienced media business executives or other trainers with relevant expertise. +

○ *Develop the local advertising sector.* Some environments, while politically permissive, may have undeveloped advertising sectors or strongly state-dominated sectors. Sample activities might include working with local businesses to develop their advertising capabilities and a culture of advertising, working with local ad firms to professionalize and standardize, and working with local economic development programs to ensure that the market for advertising is robust and appropriate for the type of media prevalent in the country. ++

○ *Encourage development of domestic media-focused philanthropy.* Often, overseas donor funding floods a country, only to dry up when the donors move on. Grantees may not yet be at the point of being self-sustaining—indeed, many community and other local entities may never be self-sustaining. Donors can help develop a domestic philanthropy base that is willing and able to fund independent media on a nonpartisan, non-self-interested basis. This may require ongoing dialogue with corporations and wealthy individuals about the process, purpose, and tradition of philanthropy, particularly in areas where such practices are uncommon. ++

Case Study: Postconflict Broadcasting

In 1999, following the NATO bombing campaign that drove Serbian troops out of Kosovo, the province's broadcast infrastructure was heavily damaged, compounding the neglect it had suffered in previous years. Terrestrial television and radio transmission was limited by this damage at a time when the province's citizens were finally able to build their own independent broadcasters. USAID, working with IREX, initiated an effort to rebuild the transmission system for Kosovo for the benefit of private and public broadcasters.

From the beginning, the plan was developed to ensure that the transmission system remained independent of government and remained nonpartisan. Substantial money and effort went into acquiring the equipment necessary to cover most of Kosovo; equal effort went into the development of the institution, the Kosovo Terrestrial Transmission Network (KTTN). This project demonstrates that efforts to develop infrastructure typically include issues of broadcaster independence. KTTN eliminated the possibility of state control over transmission sites—a frequent method of restricting broadcasters. It also helped reduce costs to broadcasters by ensuring cooperation and pooling of resources. These savings could be used by the broadcasters to improve their own operations.

> KTTN was constituted as an NGO, run by a board of broadcasters who received national licenses; it was the first transmission system in the region that was not state-controlled. The state and private broadcasters agreed to use the network as their primary means of transmission. IREX provided strategic development planning and training for KTTN to develop its sustainability plan. KTTN prioritized neither state nor private broadcasters in granting access to its transmission towers and equipment. The NGO pooled the resources of the broadcasters and donors to develop the system, reducing the cost to each station. The system generated revenue by renting space on its towers and providing support services. Eventually, KTTN transitioned to a Limited Liability Corporation to allow it to better generate and invest revenue. It became owned by the broadcasters with national licenses. Currently, KTTN operates without donor support.
>
> (Source: IREX)

○ *Set up a loan facility or investment vehicle for media, or explore loan guarantees for media outlets.* The Media Development Loan Fund is perhaps the best example of a dedicated investment/loan vehicle for media outlets, infusing nearly $100 million in loans, grants, and equity investments. With buy-in from local "social investors," a local media investment fund can provide low-cost loans or grants to start-up media businesses. There are many creative ways to help media outlets obtain the capital they need while maintaining a focus on long-term sustainability rather than extended grant-seeking. ++

○ *Encourage outlets to explore and pilot innovative business models.* In an environment where traditional media are joining with digital media to form hybrid media outlets, there is plenty of scope for innovation, particularly with respect to revenue generation. By providing funding for pilots, start-ups, and new programs, donors can help media outlets explore innovative business models. +

○ *Help set up an independent audit board of circulation.* Independent audit boards ensure a level playing field for print advertising and help build a stable base on which private sector print media companies can compete. Without such an entity, newspapers can easily inflate their circulation claims. ++

○ *Help set up a broadcast rating system for radio or television.* A broadcast rating system provides a basis for advertising and assists in the formation of a supportive environment for private broadcasting. ++

○ *Encourage locally driven market and audience research for print, broadcast, and online media.* While donors may initially fund such market research themselves, they should develop mechanisms—such as joint industry committees—to ensure that it is sustainable and meets international standards. Such programs should incorporate training for media outlets on how to use audience research to develop the content the audience finds valuable and to better market themselves to advertisers. +

○ *Establish synergies with country and donor economic development programs.* Because many media organizations are also businesses, a media development program can benefit from existing economic development programs that target the private sector. There may be opportunities to seek additional funding for the business side of media programs under the aegis of private sector development. ++

○ *Support media industry groups to encourage professionalization and networking.* Just as it is important for journalists, bloggers, and others on the content-production side to network and build communities, it is important for publishers and media managers to network, exchange ideas, explore business opportunities, and, if necessary, form a common front against threats to free expression. +

○ *Work with outlets on understanding and separating the editorial and business sides of media.* Training seminars can sensitize the business and editorial departments of news outlets to each other's functions and to the "firewall" that separates them. This understanding is important to ensure editorial independence. +

○ **Permissive Environments: Enabling Environment**

○ *Support local bar associations and professional associations related to media law.* Local bar associations promulgate norms about professional and ethical behavior, provide ongoing training and education, and serve as centers for networking and knowledge sharing. Particularly with respect to media law, associations can build communities of practice, which in turn help ensure that changes in media law are written, interpreted, and executed fairly. +

○ *Establish media law centers tied to universities.* Media law centers are knowledge resource bases and hubs for media law activity, but they can quickly wither in the absence of institutional support. Tying such centers to universities gives them an additional fundraising platform and a wider pool of expertise to tap, although care must be taken in choosing the university. ++

○ *Support the streamlining, transparency, and accountability of the broadcast license approval process.* Broadcast license awards can be influenced by bribery or political concerns, or they might simply be confusing. Donors can help clarify government policy and support the appropriate regulatory body in streamlining license application procedures and making them transparent. +++

○ *Support conversion to digital broadcasting to ensure a fair, open, and politically neutral decisionmaking process.* With the advent of digital technology, broadcast television is going through a global shift, forcing government regulators to make decisions about relicensing and reallocation of airwaves. Not only can this complex process become politically charged, but regulators may lack the technical knowledge necessary to take full advantage of digitalization. Donors can support regulator capacity development in this area to ensure that the switch to digital broadcasting goes smoothly and benefits the entire population. Donors can also advocate for a waiver for some countries to allow them time to purchase the necessary equipment to make the switch. +++

○ *Promote enabling policy and legislation for community media.* Community media can be an important part of the media sector, particularly in least developed countries that lack sophisticated media infrastructure or a thriving national-level media. Often, community media can benefit from legislation that specifically empowers their creation by lowering barriers to entry. Donors can work with governments in permissive environments to create an enabling environment specifically for community media. +++

○ *Support legal and judicial training in media law.* Despite a permissive environment for media development, lawyers and judges may still be unaware of the intricacies of media law and regulation, particularly various international norms and standards. Libel law, for instance, takes different forms in many countries, and it is important for judicial professionals to be up to date. Donors can set up continuing education courses for lawyers and judges, complete with certificates. +

○ *Train legislators and legislative staff on aspects of media law.* In many countries, writing laws falls to understaffed legislators who may have a poor understanding of media law precedent and international norms. Even when the intent is to preserve the independence of the media, poor understanding can harm the media sector. Specialized training for legislators and legislative staff can ensure that the enabling environment for independent media extends to those crafting the laws. ++

○ *Educate law enforcement about the role of reporters and the media.* Law enforcement officers sometimes misinterpret media laws and harass journalists.

Training law enforcement on the roles and rights of media professionals can help ensure that legal freedoms translate to reality. ++

○ *Support the establishment or further professionalization and strengthening of an independent broadcast regulator.* An independent broadcast regulator should be free of political and economic influence and interference, hold as its chief purpose the pursuit of the public interest in broadcasting, and function in a fair and transparent manner. Achieving these goals can be difficult. Activities that can help establish or further professionalize an independent regulator include staff training and mentoring; assistance with technical issues (e.g., spectrum allocation); establishment of a monitoring capacity to ensure that decisions are based on reliable data; assistance with streamlining and depoliticizing governance structure; and building acceptance and credibility in the community. +++

○ *Organize study tours for regulatory body staff.* Assuming that an independent regulator is up and running, with mentoring/coaching already in place for staff, regional study tours can be a useful way to expose staff to professional practices at other regulatory agencies while giving them a chance to network and troubleshoot together. This type of study tour works best when staff members connect with similarly positioned staff at well-functioning regulatory agencies, who can provide lessons learned. ++

○ *Work with government and civil society to pass freedom of information legislation.* This activity requires time and effort, and should be pursued only if the political economy analysis shows that various stakeholders are aligned favorably on the issue. Freedom of information legislation can be a boon for media and civil society oversight of government, but it requires a longer time line, incorporating planning and follow-through to ensure implementation. In addition, efforts must be made to change the culture surrounding freedom of information so that implementation is bolstered by a receptive environment. +++

○ *Support government record-keeping capacity at the local and national levels.* Even when freedom of information legislation is on the books, poor record-keeping can hamper media access. Making sure that governments are able and willing to respond to media requests for information is an important part of ensuring the free flow of information and of changing the culture of freedom of information. +++

○ *Incorporate international guarantees of freedom of expression into national legal systems.* This is a highly intensive, politically charged activity that has the greatest chance of success in a permissive postconflict or transitional environment, where state institutions are rebuilding and a wide open space exists for media

legislation. A constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression can provide practical protection, underpin regulatory approaches, and guide public and government expectations, particularly with respect to the public's right to critique government action. +++

○ *Support efforts to bring defamation law into line with international best practice trends.* Internationally, it is considered best practice to repeal criminal defamation laws and replace them, when necessary, with civil defamation laws. In addition, defamation laws should not provide special protection for public officials. In many countries, defamation laws (particularly criminal laws) can be misapplied to have a chilling effect on freedom of expression. Working with a broad coalition of civil society and government actors, donors can help amend defamation law to encourage free expression. +++

○ *Train government officials on how to respond to journalists.* Particularly in newly permissive environments (e.g., after a political transition), government officials may not know how to respond to aggressive journalist questioning and may be unfamiliar with the role of a free press. Training government spokespersons and equipping press offices is one way to ensure that the government understands the proper way to handle journalists; working across government to sensitize bureaucrats about the role of the media (and government transparency, if applicable) is another way to foster an enabling environment for independent media. ++

○ **Permissive Environments: Media Organizations and a Media-Literate Public**

○ *Support media monitoring organizations.* Organizations dedicated to monitoring the media (both traditional and digital) serve various purposes. They can point to slippage in standards and biases that can creep into reporting, and thus keep the media on its toes. They can also monitor for more overt manipulation and hate speech, particularly in conflict-torn societies. These organizations must be independent from media outlets, which means they must constantly seek neutral outside funding. Alternative funding models, such as a pooled fund among various media outlets, can help shield such organizations from bias and influence. ++

○ *Support journalist/blogger/editor associations.* Journalist and other media professional associations can be an important vehicle for those in the media sector to network, share norms and best practices, and, if necessary, organize collectively. In some countries, however, journalist associations can be polarized and politically affiliated, so exercise care in choosing whether and how to fund such organizations. +

Box 5.2. Media Literacy: Keep in Mind

- Think of media literacy as a basic skill set, much like critical thinking skills, that can be incorporated into other facets of media development or even into other development objectives, such as civic education.
- Media literacy should not just teach people to understand and critique media; it should help them use and produce media as well.
- Community radio programs afford a useful opportunity to practice media literacy skills, particularly among rural populations.
- Media literacy is particularly important in conflict and postconflict states, and is a better guard against hate speech than heavy-handed state controls.
- Media literacy projects may take time to bear fruit. Be patient and stick with programs over the long haul.
- Because media literacy is a fairly new area in media development, ensure that those who are designing and implementing programs understand how media literacy enhances an independent media sector.
- In designing media literacy programs, consider government officials and bureaucrats. Provide media literacy training to government officials to help them understand their relationship with the media.

○ *Assist media-related civil society organizations with fundamental training in organizational development, lobbying, and coalition building.* Using a political economy lens on the media sector requires thinking strategically about coalition building; however, many media sector civil society organizations lack deep expertise in strategic communication, lobbying, and coalition building. In many environments, it is necessary to work with NGOs to build coalitions to effect genuine reform in the media sector. +

○ *Support media literacy education, particularly in the educational system.* Media literacy for the general public is not a primary concern for many donors, but it is an important part of a healthy, independent media sector. If training media professionals and other activities is the supply side, supporting the public's appetite for high-quality news is the demand side. Often, media literacy education can be worked into existing civic education or other education initiatives. Research has shown that civic education is most effective when it is delivered through the school system rather than seminar-style as adult training. Coordination with other funders, perhaps through a consortium, can help bring donors from different sectors (such as governance, education, and human rights) together to support media literacy. ++

○ *Work with citizen journalism groups to encourage media literacy and high standards.* Citizen journalism is a good example of how media literacy is evolving—in many places, the public is producing media using digital tools. Not all citizen journalism hews to internationally recognized standards for professional journalism, however. Working with citizen journalism projects to understand evolving norms for digital media production is a good way to achieve media literacy goals while encouraging diversity and vibrancy in the media sector. +

○ *Support community listening clubs.* Community listening clubs—where groups from the local community gather to listen to and discuss radio shows—can be a good venue for discussing media framing, content, and other issues related to how news is presented. This approach has often been used to engage citizens in dialogue about development messages; it can also be used to stimulate discussion and critiques of the media itself, thereby boosting media literacy. ++

○ *Support tools to measure media literacy in developing countries.* While specific indexes measure various aspects of media sector development and press freedom around the world, there are few global or regional indicators for media literacy. Donors may wish to consider supporting survey research or indexes that determine how a country's population accesses and uses media. ++

◑ Semi-Permissive Environments: Program Components
◑ Semi-Permissive Environments: Professional Skills Development/Training

◑ *Train/mentor journalists and future journalists, particularly in an educational/ university environment.* As in permissive environments, isolated two-week

Table 5.2. Semi-Permissive Environments: Program Components

Professional Skills Development/Training (pages 35–38)

- Train/mentor journalists and future journalists, particularly in an educational/university environment +
- Train/mentor editors and other content-related management executives +
- Set up national-level prizes for reporting, blogging, and other forms of media production ++
- Work with digital media ++
- Work with local media ++
- Train media professionals and produce content on development goals +
- Study tours for media leaders ++
- Train journalists and bloggers in investigative journalism, as appropriate ++
- Work with universities to improve journalism/media curricula ++
- Support student publications ++

Sustainability and Business Development (pages 40–41)

- Train/mentor media business professionals +
- Develop the local advertising sector ++
- Encourage development of domestic media-focused philanthropy ++
- Encourage innovative business models ++
- Establish synergies with country and donor economic development programs ++
- Support media industry groups to encourage professionalization and networking +

- Work with outlets on understanding and separating the editorial and business sides of media +

Enabling Environment (pages 41–44)

- Set up media legal defense funds +
- Build the capacity of local media NGOs +
- Support advocates against the licensing of journalists or print media +
- Build the capacity of local media NGOs +
- Help set up a media self-regulatory body +++
- Train government officials on how to respond to journalists ++
- Support local bar associations and professional associations related to media law +
- Establish media law centers tied to universities ++
- Support transparency and professionalism in the broadcast license approval process +++
- Promote enabling legislation for community media +++

Media Organizations and a Media-Literate Public (pages 44–45)

- Support journalist/blogger/editor associations +
- Support press freedom watchdog organizations +
- Assist media-related civil society organizations with fundamental training in organizational development, lobbying, and coalition-building +
- Support community listening clubs ++

+ simple activities/little political will required.
++ more complex activities/more political will required.
+++ most complex activities/most political will required.

Box 5.3. Professional Skills: Keep in Mind

- Match training strategies to the needs of the community as well as the goals and resources of the donor.
- To avoid duplicating existing efforts, learn what other donors are doing in the same area.
- If possible, plan for long-term engagement; short-term donor engagement has a diminished impact.
- If possible, make training practical, accessible, fee-based, nonintrusive, and holistic (i.e., engaging all parts of a news organization).
- Consider south/south learning: bring in practitioners from other developing countries to encourage sharing of common experiences.
- Explore local circumstances and realities to determine where investment in universities, training centers, or centers affiliated with universities will yield the best results; not all learning institutions are created equal. The less academic and more hands-on the training, the better for media development purposes.
- Ideally, ministries of information and other government administrators should be kept at an arm's length from the training and content-production aspects of media development programs. If you must work with the government, find allies within it, possibly from departments other than information ministries. Choose departments to work with according to their interest in specific development outcomes.
- At universities, consider using or setting up student media projects for training purposes.
- In working with community media, partner with members of an established community radio or professional association. Be aware of the political leanings of community centers and community media. Survey journalists to learn about the credibility of community centers and media.
- If you are working with governments, remember that participants in media training programs might have to be protected from potential government interference. Their names should never be given to government administrators.
- In dealing with issues such as anticorruption, investigative journalism, and online media, be aware of the consequences for trainees and protect them and their identities, if necessary.
- Determine the suitable level of donor visibility. Some countries are extremely sensitive to media development programs, while others are not. Hire program staff with a deep understanding of political and media sensitivities.
- Be prepared to support trainees, grantees, and other affiliates in case of political consequences.
- While some crossover exists between media development and communication for development, remember that media development is primarily about supporting the media sector's independence as a tangible development goal in itself, separate from other development outcomes. Many projects involve the media in some fashion, but only a small percentage of these have the same goals as a true media development program.

training courses are much less effective than a holistic mentoring approach that provides on-the-job training to several layers of a news organization at its own location. However, this is not always possible in semi-permissive environments. Consider working with universities or established training centers rather than with the outlets themselves, if this is politically safer for all involved. Form partnerships with universities that are willing to adopt a hands-on approach to journalism rather than an academic, theory-based, or ideological approach. +

◑ *Train/mentor editors and other content-related management executives.* As in permissive environments, training is necessary to ensure a high level of news and information quality. However, this may not be possible in a semi-permissive environment, given political and other sensitivities. Continuing education

courses for those higher up in the traditional media news chain can instill professional values, although there may be "red lines" that editors have learned they cannot cross. Sensitivity to local norms and values in semi-permissive environments will ensure the most productive experience for participants. +

◑ *Set up national-level prizes for reporting, blogging, and other forms of media production.* Endowing a prestigious and financially remunerative prize can help highlight examples of good reporting for all media professionals. Prizes can also be linked to training courses; requiring a final product that will then be submitted for competition can provide extra motivation for trainees. ++

◑ *Work with digital media.* In some semi-permissive environments, it may be easier to work with digital media than with traditional media outlets, as the former are not as heavily scrutinized or regulated. Activities can run the gamut from training bloggers to working with cell phone applications to provide news and information. Remember that digital media have the potential to expose users to government scrutiny in a way that traditional media do not. This requires additional sensitivity. ++

◑ *Work with local media.* In semi-permissive environments, local media may not be as politically sensitive as national-level media. Local media also have a better chance of connecting with communities and non-elites outside the capital and major cities, and can have a positive, direct impact on people's lives and on good governance at the local level. ++

◑ *Train media professionals and produce content on development goals.* This has the highest chance of success if the issue—such as health, the environment, or agriculture—aligns with the country's top-level development goals. Training should aim to produce media content on the subject while simultaneously raising the skill levels of the media professionals involved. In this activity, the emphasis is on building skills and professional capacity within the media sector, not on disseminating development messages. +

◑ *Arrange study tours for media leaders.* In a country with a mixed semi-permissive and nonpermissive environment, it may be impossible to conduct full-fledged programs to work with various aspects of the media sector. In this case, it might be possible to arrange study tours for media leaders, preferably to a similar country with a more permissive environment. Although such tours in and of themselves are rarely effective in supporting independent media, they can expose media leaders in less permissive environments to new practices and help them build networks of peer contacts. ++

◑ *Train journalists and bloggers in investigative journalism, as appropriate.* In semi-permissive environments with an authoritarian or semi-authoritarian

government, donors often think that an investigative journalism program will help the media uncover government abuses of power and thus hold the government to account. The reality is that investigative journalism is time-consuming and expensive, and is sometimes seen as a panacea in semi-permissive environments. Investigative journalism is founded on basic journalism skills; before putting an investigative program in place, make sure that fundamental skills have been addressed. ++

◖ *Work with universities to improve journalism/media curricula.* If working directly with media outlets is too sensitive, it may be possible to partner with universities instead, although this is not always the case. Again, as with permissive environments, it is important to select partner universities carefully. Many so-called journalism departments focus primarily on media theory, which results in poorly trained journalists. Consider the appropriateness of the department's public output (publications, productions); the institutions where students work as interns; the institutions that hire graduates of the department; the permissiveness within the power structure of the department;

Case Study: Producing Programs and Training Journalists in Semi-Permissive Environments

A project called *Beyt al-Arabi* (Arab House) demonstrates the challenges and some solutions to strengthening independent journalism in countries where government controls the media to different degrees and where unexpected political changes can wreak havoc with the best-laid plans.

The Arab House idea originally came from a Jordanian journalist during a brainstorming session at government-run Jordan Television in 2005. His idea was to create a cross-border television show that would explore social issues that are rarely covered by Arab media, such as housing, health, the environment, and women's rights. Participating TV networks in each country would produce a short segment on the issue, and those pieces would be woven into one program. In this process, dozens of TV journalists would be trained to produce in-depth coverage rarely seen by Middle Eastern audiences.

The International Center for Journalists (ICFJ), which sponsored the brainstorming, liked the idea and secured funding to try the project in three countries: Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. The partners were to be independent television stations in each country. That was easy in Lebanon, which has many nongovernment stations. In Jordan, a media executive seemed on course to launch ATV, the country's first private

television news station, and he and his staff were eager to participate in the program. Even in Syria—which has the most restricted information environment of the three countries—efforts were under way to establish quasi-independent television stations.

Arab House began during a period of relative openness in Syria, but the situation worsened soon after the project launched in 2007. The Syrian TV station that had expressed interest withdrew without giving a reason, so the project continued with just the Lebanese and Jordanian partners. When it became clear that Jordan's ATV station would not be allowed to broadcast, ICFJ partnered with state-owned Jordan Television instead.

Despite those setbacks, the project went forward successfully. With guidance from Egyptian, Lebanese, and U.S. trainers, the two stations produced 16 long-format reports on issues such as pollution, education, water, and transportation, focusing on solutions rather than just presenting the problems. The shows, led by anchors from Jordan and Lebanon, were broadcast in the two countries and in the entire Middle East via satellite. More than 30 journalists were trained on in-depth reporting and production. The best of those journalists became trainers themselves.

JTV produced high-quality stories without government interference. After the project ended, it continued to produce its own show—Jordan House—on similar themes. The Lebanese partner, LBC, also produced high-quality stories, and its satellite channel broadcast the shows to a much wider audience than originally planned. However, as instability and violence returned to Lebanon, social issues were eclipsed by coverage of political tensions.

The Arab House project opened the door for a new media development project in Syria. The Knight International Journalism Fellow working in Lebanon maintained strong contacts in Syria, and when Arab House ended, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Damascus asked her to help them develop a network of young journalists who would cover social issues online. With funding from UNDP, she helped create the Tawasul network of young journalists who produce multimedia stories on issues including the environment, health, and religious tolerance. As in many countries, there is more freedom for Web-based journalism in Syria than for print or broadcast journalism.

The Tawasul network has remained vibrant long after the end of the original project, but it illustrates a difficulty of working in semi- or nonpermissive media environments. ICFJ and the Knight Fellow had to maintain a careful balance—gaining the support of the Ministry of

Information (without which the project couldn't have proceeded) while ensuring that the government would not control the content.

For projects in semi-permissive countries, this balancing act is a serious challenge, but one that can be overcome with diplomacy and care. Journalists in these countries know where the "red lines" are, and they should be trusted to know how far they can go in crossing them. Often, projects that encourage reporting on health, the environment, business, and education can succeed where projects focusing on human rights or government malfeasance might not.

Training journalists to cover social issues pays off in two ways. First, these are important issues, and quality journalism can lead to changes that make people healthier and more prosperous. Second, journalists can learn reporting and producing techniques that they can apply later to coverage of politics and other controversial issues if they choose.

(Source: ICFJ)

whether the institution allows for skill development and concrete output, and whether faculty are willing and able to provide practical training. ++

◗ *Support student publications.* In the context of working with universities, opportunities may arise to help set up student publications, broadcasts, podcasts, blogs, and other media platforms. This provides students with practical, hands-on experience. Incentives such as contests, prizes, and other recognition can be good motivators. ++

◗ Semi-Permissive Environments: Sustainability and Business Development

◗ *Train/mentor media business professionals.* In both permissive and semi-permissive environments, it is important to ensure that media sector business professionals—from advertising sales to business development to management—acquire the skills they need to run sustainable and, as appropriate, profitable commercial media or sustainable not-for-profit media. Because this aspect of media development can be tied in with economic development programs, it may be somewhat less politically sensitive in semi-permissive environments and thus easier to carry out. Activity examples include in-house mentoring for media business professionals and executive education certification for senior-level management, run by experienced media business executives or other trainers with relevant expertise. +

◗ *Develop the local advertising sector*. As with training media business professionals, developing the local advertising sector may be less sensitive than other activities in semi-permissive environments. Sample activities include working with local businesses to develop their advertising capabilities and a culture of advertising; working with local ad firms to professionalize and standardize; and working with local economic development programs to ensure that the market for advertising is robust. ++

◗ *Encourage the development of domestic media-focused philanthropy*. As in permissive environments, it is helpful to encourage a domestic philanthropy base that can fund independent media and media-related NGOs on a nonpartisan, non-self-interested basis. Particularly in semi-permissive environments—where foreign funding of the media sector can be a sensitive issue—the development of a domestic funding base can help ensure that deserving nonprofit media outlets receive some support. This is a long-term effort, however. ++

◗ *Encourage innovative business models*. Semi-permissive environments can sometimes, by virtue of the very challenges they impose, lead to creative business models for media. Moreover—again because of greater challenges—digital media may play a larger and more important role in communicating information in these environments. With donor assistance, media outlets (traditional, digital, and hybrid) can experiment with different business models (e.g., based on advertising, subscriptions, or donations) to find those uniquely suited to their environment. ++

◗ *Establish synergies with country and donor economic development programs*. Particularly in semi-permissive environments, media development programs may find benefits to seeking synergies with economic development programs that target the private sector. Focusing on the business side of media development may be somewhat less sensitive, although a good media development program in a semi-permissive environment should also have a content-based focus. ++

◗ *Support media industry groups to encourage professionalization and networking*. As in permissive environments, it is important for publishers, media managers, and others to network, exchange ideas, explore business opportunities, and, if necessary, form a common front against threats to free expression. +

◗ *Work with outlets on understanding and separating the editorial and business sides of media*. In semi-permissive environments, there may be considerable corruption and influence over media content. Clearly separating the business and editorial sides of media outlets can help reduce such influence. Training seminars can sensitize the business and editorial departments about each other's functions and about the firewall that separates them. This activity works

best if paired with efforts to increase financial independence and reduce incentives for pay-to-play. +

◗ **Semi-Permissive Environments: Enabling Environment**

◗ *Set up media legal defense funds.* For journalists, bloggers, and other news/information providers who are imprisoned or harassed by authorities, a media legal defense fund can be a lifeline. This is particularly important in semi- or nonpermissive environments. +

◗ *Build the capacity of local media-related NGOs.* As in permissive environments, local media- and information-related NGOs form part of the enabling web surrounding the media sector; in particular, they can serve as watchdogs to ensure that attacks on the media and media professionals do not go unnoticed. In semi-permissive environments, these organizations are likely to require standard capacity building, as well as additional training on how to ensure safety for themselves and their members. +

◗ *Support advocates against the licensing of journalists or print media.* Although licensing sounds benign and is common in the broadcast sector, licensing of print media can have a chilling effect on the media sector. Traditionally, broadcasting required a permit because the bandwidth was limited; this is not the case with print. Rather than requiring licenses for print or online outlets, regulatory authorities should encourage industry self-regulation through codes of conduct or perhaps a self-governing body. Donors can help by providing strategic advice to authorities and supporting campaigns to end licensing for print and online media providers. +

◗ *Build the capacity of local media-related NGOs.* As in permissive environments, local media- and information-related NGOs form part of the enabling web surrounding the media structure. In semi- and nonpermissive environments, these NGOs can be a lifeline for local journalists, bloggers, and others, helping them stay connected to the global community of practice and blowing the whistle on government interference in the media sector. In semi-permissive environments, these NGOs frequently struggle to survive and can become the target of government harassment. Donors can help by funding training in organizational capacity, legal defense, strategic communication, and other activities. +

◗ *Help set up a media self-regulatory body.* Generally, to foster the growth of an independent media sector, print and online media content should be self-regulated; that is, regulated by industry codes of conduct rather than by state-driven legislation or regulation. However, in some semi-permissive

Box 5.4.   Enabling Environment: Keep in Mind

- Donors can often use existing treaties, such as Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in advocating for more open information environments.
- Because media enabling environment goals are often very large and difficult to achieve, organize them into a hierarchy. Identify the broad issues that must be dealt with first, then move to more specific issues.
- In working on changes to media legislation/regulation, build in structures for implementation, both legally and in the broader society. For instance, involving civil society in the development of key legislation increases the likelihood of its involvement in implementation and thus gives it a greater chance of success. Also keep in mind the cost of implementation, and factor that into all relevant budgets.
- Be patient—legal reform may take as much as several generations to be implemented and become part of the national culture. Such programs may also be costly.
- Take time to build trust and grounded relationships with local media and with communication-related legislators and policymakers; without their support, lasting change in the enabling environment is not possible.
- Establish an advisory board to develop a concept for media legal reform that can be published and presented to the government as a policy option, and build public support around this document.
- Establish contacts among local attorney associations, local media, and individual journalists to encourage the formation of long-term relationships. Networking among local actors is important.
- Consider what is possible. For instance, if decriminalization of libel is unlikely, break the problem down into the charges convicted journalists might face (prison or fines). Or, if total decriminalization is impossible, try to get imprisonment off the table.
- Setting up an independent regulator from scratch takes a lot of time, money, and political will. Setting up commissions can be difficult as they need structures, protections, appointments, and community buy-in.
- Promote transparency of media ownership by establishing a legal framework that demands it. If a regulator is in place, ensure that it has the necessary powers to request that media outlets give information about their ownership.
- In supporting state broadcasters, sequence your support and have them report on their progress. State broadcasters should make a commitment and show change before donors proceed to the next level of support. First require editorial independence, then an increase in financial independence.
- Incorporate media literacy elements into enabling environment programs. A citizenry that is informed about the role of the media, sophisticated in its information-seeking, and knowledgeable about the relationships among the media, civil society, and government can help solidify the enabling environment for an independent media sector.
- Ensure access to licenses for different societal voices and different types of media.

environments—particularly during conflict or immediately postconflict—issues such as hate speech require special attention. Depending on the needs of the media sector, assistance can be provided to set up a formal or unofficial self-regulatory body charged with mediating between citizens and print/online media, improving professional standards, monitoring unprofessional reporting or conduct, and serving as a watchdog to protect the media from undue influence. Donors can provide assistance to set up a governance structure for this body and ensure that it balances its responsibilities to the press and the public fairly. +++

◗ *Train government officials on how to respond to journalists.* As in permissive environments, government officials may not know how to respond to aggressive journalist questioning and may be unfamiliar with the role of a free press. Activities might include training government spokespersons, equipping press offices, and working across government to sensitize bureaucrats about the role of the media (and government transparency, if applicable). ++

◗ *Support local bar associations and professional associations related to media law.* Where they exist, local bar associations promulgate norms about professional and ethical behavior, provide ongoing training and education, and serve as centers for networking and knowledge sharing. In semi-permissive environments, they can be important networking, support, and resource organizations for media law professionals. +

◗ *Establish media law centers tied to universities.* As in permissive environments, media law centers can serve as hubs for media law activity and as knowledge resource bases. They may be more politically sensitive in semi-permissive environments; linking them to established, politically neutral institutions such as universities gives them an additional fundraising platform and a wider pool of expertise to tap. ++

◗ *Support transparency and professionalism in the broadcast license approval process.* Particularly in semi-permissive environments, broadcast license awards can be influenced by bribery or political concerns, or they are simply confusing. Donors can help the appropriate regulatory agency streamline license application procedures and make them transparent. +++

◗ *Promote enabling legislation for community media.* In semi-permissive environments, working with community media can sometimes be less politically sensitive than working with national-level media outlets and institutions. Moreover, they can be powerful conduits for news and information, and can help build media skills at the grassroots level. Donors can work with governments in semi-permissive environments to create an enabling environment specifically for community media. +++

◗ **Semi-Permissive Environments: Media Organizations and a Media-Literate Public**

◗ *Support journalist/blogger/editor associations.* In semi-permissive environments, such organizations are particularly important for networking and organizing. They may be more politically sensitive in semi-permissive environments. +

◗ *Support press freedom watchdog organizations.* These organizations can be very important for journalists working in repressive conditions, and they often

suffer politically. Funding from outside sources is sometimes the only way these organizations can stay afloat, particularly in semi- and nonpermissive environments. +

◐ *Assist media-related civil society organizations with fundamental training in organizational development, lobbying, and coalition building.* In semi-permissive and nonpermissive environments, media sector civil society organizations may lack resources and capacity, particularly with respect to strategic communication, lobbying, and coalition building. +

◐ *Support community listening clubs.* Although this may not be possible in all semi-permissive environments, community listening clubs—where groups from the local community gather to listen to and discuss radio shows—can be a good venue for discussing media framing, content, and other issues related to how news is presented. This approach has often been used to engage citizens in dialogue about development messages; it can also be used to stimulate discussion and critiques of the media, thereby boosting media literacy. ++

● Nonpermissive Environments: Program Components

● Nonpermissive Environments: Professional Skills Development/Training

● *Think outside normal media parameters.* Consider media and information institutions that might go overlooked, such as libraries and other information-enabling institutions that do not trigger political sensitivities ++

● *Focus content production on development topics.* Media messaging can be built into broader, nonsensitive development aid, providing an opportunity to instill some skills training at the same time. A project need not be labeled "media development" to include some media development benefits. ++

Table 5.3. Nonpermissive Environments: Program Components

Professional Skills Development/Training (pages 45–46)	Enabling Environment (page 48)
• Think outside normal "media" parameters **++** • Focus on content production on development topics **++** • Consider focusing on digital media, if it is relatively less restricted than traditional media **++** • Consider supporting exile or diaspora media **+** • Consider external/international broadcasting **+**	• Set up media legal defense and protection funds **+** • Support local actors trying to revoke the most punitive legislation against free expression and independent media, or apply pressure **++** • Support links to international advocacy organizations **+**
Sustainability and Business Development (pages 46–47)	**Media Organizations and a Media-Literate Public (page 49)**
• Train/mentor media business professionals **+** • Develop the local advertising sector **++**	• Support independent media NGOs **+** • Support media literacy through other development goals **++**

+ simple activities/little political will required.
++ more complex activities/more political will required.
+++ most complex activities/most political will required.

● *Consider focusing on digital media, if they are less restricted than traditional media*. This strategy can work in some—but not all—semi-permissive and nonpermissive environments. Because digital media can be harder to regulate, they are sometimes off the radar screen of authoritarian governments, although this is increasingly uncommon. As always, be aware of the potential effect of such programs on beneficiaries; they could be at risk. ++

● *Consider supporting exile or diaspora media*. Frequently, diaspora-based media are the only media that manage to find their way, often unofficially, into an authoritarian or otherwise nonpermissive environment. Their audience tends to be influentials in society, which means that these media can have a dispro-portionate impact. Diaspora media can also play a role in seeding an indepen-dent media sector, in hopes of a political opening that allows greater media freedom. Be selective, however, as exile/diaspora media are often highly politi-cized and can be out of touch with the home country. +

● *Consider external/international broadcasting*. International broadcasting typi-cally does not fall under the purview of media development, but it is some-times the only source of information for people in a repressive political environment. Digital media are increasingly able to get information across borders, but their reach depends on citizens' access to technology. These options ensure some flow of information to those who cannot benefit from a traditional media development program because their environment is so restrictive. ++

● **Nonpermissive Environments: Sustainability and Business Development**

Train/mentor media business professionals. In totally nonpermissive environ-ments, there may be few media businesses per se; however, those that do exist can benefit from the same type of training as in semi-permissive environ-ments. Because it can be tied in with economic development programs, this aspect of media development is somewhat less politically sensitive. Depend-ing on the situation, activities might include in-house mentoring for media business professionals or executive education certification for senior-level management, run by experienced media business executives or other trainers with relevant expertise. +

● *Develop the local advertising sector*. As with training media business profes-sionals, developing the local advertising sector may be less sensitive than other activities in nonpermissive environments. Sample activities include working with local businesses to develop their advertising capabilities and a culture of advertising; working with local ad firms to professionalize and standardize; and working with local economic development programs to ensure that the market for advertising is robust. ++

Case Study: Financial Viability in Afghanistan

Afghanistan boasts a number of independent, Afghan-owned radio stations, but a lack of accuracy in advertising pricing and the lack of an established advertising culture made the long-term viability of these stations difficult. Many station managers were content to survive without commercial advertising revenue, relying instead on NGO advertising dollars, even though they understand that this revenue source will eventually disappear.

To address these challenges in the short term, Internews (a media development organization that supports many of these stations) established a revenue-sharing system within its *Salam Watandar* (Hello Countrymen) national radio programming service to provide a consistent funding stream for partner local radio stations. *Salam Watandar* delivers high-quality news, current affairs, and educational and cultural programming to listeners in colloquial Pashtu and Dari to supplement the local programming produced by each station. Because of its national reach through the partner stations, *Salam Watandar* can successfully sell advertising to a variety of interests. The partner stations sign a memorandum of understanding promising to broadcast *Salam Watandar's* programming; in return, the stations receive almost 70 percent of the advertising revenue, along with a package of Internews technical and development services.

To address the long-term financial viability of local stations, Internews continues to invest in training activities designed to improve local station managers' understanding of commercial and advertising culture, while also encouraging continued community buy-in and support for the stations. In 2005 a training center was established in Kabul as part of Nai, a local Afghan media development NGO. The center offers training in a variety of subjects, including financial sustainability, to media professionals from around the country. In 2010 two more Nai training centers were established in provincial centers (Mazar-i-Sharif and Jalalabad), partly to deploy training and mentoring resources closer to the stations. In addition to business development training, Internews has helped stations develop financial management systems, including planning for replacement of expensive items such as computers, transmitters, and generators.

Ongoing Internews activities to support local radio station sustainability include mentored mini-grants for local business development activities, helping stations begin to map the networks and resources in their own communities. Future plans include helping stations develop

their own basic audience research capacity—to allow them to adapt their programming to reflect audience preferences—and increasing the stations' capacity to evolve along with the rapidly maturing media industry, which now includes local television stations and in which mobile content delivery will become a factor.

(Source: Internews)

Box 5.5. Sustainability: Keep in Mind

- Although most media development efforts should work toward being sustainable, in some circumstances it is not necessary to aim for sustainability beyond a certain time frame (i.e., in a disaster or crisis situation).
- Long-term donor involvement is more likely than short-term engagement to produce sustainable media outlets.
- Do not flood the market with media outlets.
- Do not let sustainability considerations preclude experimentation.
- Set sustainability objectives at the beginning of the project, but be prepared to revisit them over time.
- Align goals with a realistic analysis of what is needed; don't fund a project for 2 years if it is likely to need 10 years to become established. If you have enough money only for a two-year project, choose your outcomes accordingly.
- Rather than expecting that the entire media market will be sustainable over long periods, look for pockets of sustainability in certain sectors (e.g., community media).
- Ensure that the people who are working on your project are aware of the time line and any financial limitations. Encourage them to plan their work accordingly.

● **Nonpermissive Environments: Enabling Environment**

● *Set up media legal defense and protection funds.* As in semi-permissive environments, journalists, bloggers, and other news/information providers are frequently imprisoned or harassed by authorities. In such cases, legal defense funds can be a lifeline, although this depends on the legal environment. In some nonpermissive environments, even mounting a legal defense may not carry that much weight. In these situations, simply monitoring and publicizing the situation of journalists, bloggers, and others can be helpful in drawing international attention to the situation. +

● *Support local actors who are trying to revoke the most punitive legislation against free expression and independent media, or apply pressure.* Often, in the most repressive environments, little can be done within the country to change laws or regulations. However, in some countries, local actors may be working on specific regulations and could use international support. This support must be carefully given, to ensure that it does not endanger grantees. If no work is

possible inside the country, international diplomatic pressure can sometimes be an effective government-to-government lever. ++

● *Support links to international advocacy organizations.* International advocacy organizations can help publicize and garner support for media outlets in extremely restrictive environments. Where political space exists, donors can help train individuals and organizations on how to appeal to international audiences. ++

● **Nonpermissive Environments: Media Organizations and a Media-Literate Public**

● *Support independent media-related NGOs.* Often, the least permissive environments for media development have little space for the kinds of ancillary organizations and public media literacy that support an independent media. Where possible, it is important to help the media-related NGOs that do exist with targeted grants and support. These organizations—unlike those in permissive or semi-permissive environments—are frequently underground and run on a shoestring; a little donor support can go a long way. However, as always in these environments, donors must be careful not to inadvertently endanger grantees with their support. These organizations are sometimes based outside the country's borders but seek to have an influence on the country's media; when no in-country alternative exists, this approach is sometimes necessary. ++

● *Support media literacy through other development goals.* Because media literacy is strongly tied to basic education, elements of media literacy can be worked into education assistance programs. Donors can also be creative in working media literacy programs into mainstream development programs; for example, encouraging participants in other development programs to record their experiences and become familiar with various kinds of media, even if their use is restricted. ++

Other Factors to Consider

The preceding sections have provided some basic tools to construct a media development program; however, contextual, practical, and other issues often arise. This section addresses issues that are not covered in the assessment or program design sections of the toolkit.

Working with Various Forms of Media in Different Arenas

While some media development programs can work successfully with a broad range of media, others focus on one particular type. Generally speaking, print media tend to reach the literate portion of the population and thus the relative elite; print is also cost-intensive. Television (terrestrial/satellite/cable) reaches many more people but can sometimes miss the rural poor. Radio typically has a large potential reach, particularly among the poor, but decisionmakers may gravitate elsewhere. Digital media can have a mixed base of users; while access to computer-based media that requires broadband infrastructure is expensive and thus typically associated with elites, cell-phone-based communication has the potential to reach large portions of the population and offers much room for innovation.

The precise strategy to pursue will emerge during the assessment phase. For instance, if the program seeks to complement an ongoing push toward decentralization and good governance at the local level, it might want to work with local or community radio stations while working on the appropriate enabling legislation. Sometimes, the assessment process will indicate that the print media sector offers greater opportunities for reform and influence. Sometimes it is advantageous to work with more than one kind of media.

Another question is which arena to work in: national versus provincial or local. Often, donors gravitate toward working at the national level, particularly with the state broadcaster or with publications based in the capital city. While this approach is valuable, particularly to reach the elites, provincial and other local-level initiatives can have powerful effects. In Indonesia, for instance, media assistance groups worked with a number of small local radio stations across the country, which had an effect on the quality of news and information reaching millions of listeners. Working at the national level does not necessarily preclude working at other levels; it is a question of donor resources and commitment.

At the programmatic level, the preliminary media assessment will provide guidance on which arena to address. For instance, if the information sources in the capital are strong and either sustainable or already well-funded by donors, it makes more sense to concentrate on lower-level media, which tend to get less notice from donors. In a postconflict situation—where a more sweeping approach is needed to help rebuild institutions (e.g., transforming the state broadcaster)—a national focus would be more appropriate.

Working in Conflict and Postconflict Environments

In conflict and postconflict situations, news and reliable information can be a lifeline. The lack of reliable information can prevent people from obtaining emergency health care, food, and shelter. Communication and media activities are a part of nearly all donor activities in these environments, although very few could be categorized as media development. Most focus on providing public information and messages rather than on the essential hard and soft infrastructure of the media sector itself. However, media development is crucial in conflict and postconflict environments; the media not only help hold governments accountable during a period when opportunities for corruption are rife but can help create a public opinion feedback loop for government during the crucial rebuilding period.

Conflict and postconflict environments can range from extremely nonpermissive (persistent conflict, hate speech, lawlessness) to permissive (e.g., a postconflict period of opening). Media development programs in these environments must be sensitive to many factors, including but not limited to the media's role in the conflict; dealing with hate speech; providing the right level of assistance for the media sector's absorptive capacity; and dealing with local ownership issues in a reconstruction environment. Media development programs in these environments often come under pressure to constrain certain information flows in the name of restricting hate speech; however, the preferred approach is one that tries to instill professional journalism values.

The following brief list of activities in conflict and postconflict environments is a sampling of the types of activities carried out in these situations over the years. Many of the activities in the previous section can also

Box 6.1. Conflict and Postconflict Environments: Keep in Mind

- Be aware of the media's role in the conflict and ensure that all programs are designed with this sensitivity in mind.
- Ensure the safety and security of all trainees and grantees. Guard identities if necessary, and choose safe and neutral venues for training. Do not put trainees or trainers at risk.
- Do not lower journalistic standards in conflict environments. The correct response to inflammatory reporting or hate speech is to ensure that credible sources of information exist and that they remain as impartial as possible.
- Donors should not leave conflict environments before training has had sustainable effects. Donors sometimes pull out of projects once the immediate conflict or postconflict period has ended, leaving promising projects to founder before they have developed the capacity to sustain themselves or to fundraise successfully.
- Even though public information campaigns should not be fused with media development projects, the two are often conflated in postconflict environments. When possible, ensure that public information campaigns also have a media development angle.
- Media literacy in postconflict environments can be an effective guard against hate speech. Media-literate citizens understand the value of professional, bias-free reporting and will thoughtfully engage with news and information. Rather than trying to control the supply of news, donors should help the public better understand the role of media, as well as citizens' role in consuming and producing information.

Case Study: Postconflict Media Strengthening: Radio Stations in Burundi

Following the end of the open-conflict phase of Burundi's civil war in 2000, the country embarked on a process of building democratic institutions, including independent media. At that time, the economic environment for media was very difficult: the legal framework was unfavorable, the government's commitment to media independence was uncertain, and media outlets themselves were isolated and weak. However, the directors of radio stations were committed to the crucial role of radio in the peace-building process.

In 2003 a conference marking African Information Day inspired Burundi's six independent radio stations to band together to lobby the government for more supportive laws and lowered taxes. They approached Panos Paris for support, and the Burundi Broadcasters Association (ABR) was born. Panos Paris covered office costs, a coordinator's salary, management training, and funding for some activities. ABR soon demonstrated its effectiveness as a voice for the independent media sector. After an ABR-hosted meeting in 2004, the government launched an investigation into media finances. The investigation revealed that, far from being independent, 8 of the 10 existing radio stations were 80 percent dependent on external donors. To reduce this dependence, the government reduced taxes and bandwidth charges.

The first postwar elections in 2005 provided the chance for ABR to demonstrate the value of a professional and organized radio sector. ABR member stations—allied with all the main political parties—worked with civil society organizations to produce joint programs on election-related issues for national broadcast and monitored the election process. The incoming president acknowledged that the media had contributed to an election that was largely free and fair.

But this honeymoon didn't last. In response to growing government pressure on the media, ABR organized meetings, protests, and radio debates, educating the public about the roles, responsibilities, and rights of independent media. ABR also worked to strengthen the media's professional standards and to improve the quality of broadcast content—organizing training workshops and joint productions on development issues such as education and health.

The independent media's voice was strengthened when ABR joined other media organizations in a federation under the *Maison de la Presse de Burundi*. In 2008 ABR also established a training and resource center to continue building media capacity and sustainability. The Centre for Audiovisual Resources offers training in all aspects of TV and radio broadcasting (journalistic, managerial, and technical), technical/equipment services (maintenance, purchasing, and renting), and facilities for joint productions.

By 2010 ABR had 13 members, including the seven most influential independent radio stations, and three full-time staff. It has been regularly cited as Burundi's leading media professional organization. The battle for independence is not over, but debate about journalism standards and rights is open and robust, with ABR often in the lead defending the independence of its members.

ABR shows that when independent radio stations are divided, they are vulnerable to economic and political pressures; united, they can support one another and form an independent force that government cannot ignore. External support—both financial and technical—can be crucial in enabling scattered individual media outlets to come together and experience the benefits of partnership.

(Source: Panos)

be modified for certain conflict situations. As always, a thorough assessment process will help the donor select and modify activities for a particular environment.

- *Build infrastructure that operates in a nonpartisan manner.* In postconflict environments, access to information can be politicized. For instance, it

might be wise to contract a nonpartisan group to build and run transmission infrastructure.

- *Train journalists to operate in a conflict, postconflict, or divided environment.* While journalism training should always seek to instill professional skills, values, and ethics above all, activities can be modified to address conflict environments. Activities for journalism training in these types of environments include supporting multiethnic teams of reporters and newsrooms; specialized training in conflict-sensitive reporting; establishing neutral or ethnically cross-cutting journalist unions; and self-generated codes of conduct for journalists operating in conflict zones.
- *Work with local and community radio.* If little or no media infrastructure remains following a conflict, a local or community radio initiative can ensure that communities stay informed and have a voice. A community radio station is not expensive and can serve as a springboard for community mobilization around reconstruction.
- *Provide specific guidance on media regulation/legislation.* Particularly in postconflict states, where the state is attempting to create or recreate a considerable amount of legislation, guidance on media legislation is crucial. Donors might bring in international experts to advise legislators and civil society groups how to craft media legislation that hews to international best practice while reflecting local realities. If hate speech has been prevalent in the media, it may be advisable to set up a temporary independent arbitration body to resolve media-related disputes.
- *Support and connect media associations.* In fragile situations, media professionals and the associations that represent them may come under threat from both state and nonstate actors. Linking these associations to a wider global network is one way to ensure that abuses are brought to international attention. Conferences and associations can be used as venues to bring together journalists who are divided along ethnic or other lines.

Anticipating Change: The Evolving Media Landscape

The field of independent media development has been engulfed by the rapid spread of new information and communication technology. Journalists and traditional news media organizations realize that new media forms and applications (websites, blogs, social networking media, cell phone messaging, crowdsourcing, and other innovations) are having a profound effect on their work. New technologies are not simply being incorporated into the rules of the media game, they are changing the rules. Incorporating new media technologies into traditional media development models is more complicated than simply transposing existing activities to digital media. Donors must also consider questions of access, patterns of use, the nonorganic quality of top-down, donor-driven programs; technical literacy; and regulatory and infrastructure implications.

Box 6.2. Anticipating Change: Keep in Mind

- Work with innovative local partners who stay abreast of changes in technology and apply them to the local environment. Do not prescribe how to achieve innovation or sustainability; rather, help partners learn to adapt to their environment.
- In choosing the type of media to support, consider both the developments in worldwide media markets and local circumstances. Are the media of your choice likely to be overtaken by new trends in the foreseeable future?
- Be aware that old and new media increasingly merge in permeable business models. Stay abreast of new business models.
- New media enable citizen journalism. Provide training for citizen journalists as well as for professional journalists.
- Be willing to tolerate some failure as the price of innovation in the digital media realm. Donors traditionally focus on measurable results and deliverables, but special funding mechanisms to encourage innovative pilot projects can deviate from traditional donor models.
- If the population lacks access to new communication technologies, think about providing access as part of the program, or work with others who can provide access.
- When introducing new communication tools into a community, do not prescribe how they should be used. Provide training and examples, and promote awareness of the tools, but let the community find its own uses.
- Give people the skills to master the huge amount of information available through new media. Enable people to find and use relevant and valuable information.
- Identify and use synergies between traditional media and citizen media.
- Teach journalism trainees to use traditional as well citizen media as sources, because the quality of the content increases as the number of sources increases. Promote awareness of links between traditional and citizen media.
- Educate local broadcasters about the meaning of convergence. In this education, always maintain a public interest perspective.
- Include community radio in discussions about building a legal framework for convergence issues.
- Because many telecommunication companies are internationally based, national-level responses to convergence may not be sufficient. Build international coalitions that will lobby for best practices.
- Advocate for transparency and public participation in the matter of convergence. Ensure that the digital frequency allocation process remains corruption-free and focused on the public interest.

Donors should constantly be aware of the rapidly changing nature of the media landscape, which will have significant consequences for programs designed to support independent media. Flexibility and the willingness to tolerate some failure as the price of innovation are paramount, along with support for the creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurialism of local partners.

Because digital media have permeated the field of media development, activities that include a digital media component were included throughout "From Assessment to Program Concept." However, these suggestions should be considered only as a starting point. In-country partner organizations and individuals will often have the freshest and most innovative ideas for working with technology to empower the media sector.

Monitoring and Evaluation: Finding What Works

Monitoring and evaluation are vital components of a media development program. As with other development projects, media development projects must show that they are effective and are having an impact. Projects should rely on various monitoring and evaluation measures to provide a full picture.

A media development program can be monitored in a number of ways. Regular contact and feedback from grantees and others in the field is helpful; feedback can be provided in the form of quarterly (or some other frequency) reports, through focus groups, or informally. While monitoring is important so that donors and other interested parties can understand how programs are proceeding, donors should not overburden grantees with reporting requirements, as this can cut significantly into time spent on the program itself. If the program consists of working with specific media outlets, donors can directly read/view/interact with the outlet to get a sense of its performance over time.

Program evaluation—gauging the success and impact of a program—can be conducted at a number of different levels. The most basic level is the *output level*. This evaluation might consist of counting the number of journalists trained or the number of media outlets assisted. While some donors use output reporting, it is not particularly effective for evaluating the success of a media development program. Counting the number of journalists trained does not say much about the impact the program has had on the independent media sector. Output-based reporting is primarily used to satisfy donor requirements for quantifiable ways to describe how money was allocated.

The next level of evaluation is the *outcome level*. An outcome is a higher level of result than mere output; it might attempt to describe the overall results

Case Study: Media and Elections: Special Challenges and Programs in Iraq

Iraqi journalists have experienced years of violence, suffering high rates of injury and death on the job. Meanwhile, the media sector remains highly politicized, with media clearly aligned along political, ethnic, and religious lines. Iraq went through a period of several elections and referenda from 2005 to 2010. The environment in the country posed a challenge for international development agencies that were trying to help the media prepare for the elections and fulfill their role of informing the electorate.

IREX provided assistance to journalists, media outlets, and the electoral commission during the various elections. Many of the decisions were dictated by security: in-house training with foreign trainers was not possible in most media; large gatherings of journalists were potential targets; bombings and curfews often meant that planned workshops could not be completed; monitoring of trainees' ability to apply their new skills after they returned to their outlets was problematic.

IREX's work over the course of these elections emphasized assistance to specific media to develop specialized election programming. Dozens of debate programs, call-in shows, and roundtables were produced by and aired on leading television stations. The programs focused on informing the voters not only of the mechanisms of the voting process but also on issues and candidates. Live audiences and call-ins encouraged citizen participation. Dozens of radio shows were supported following similar formats, and more than a million special election inserts were supported for newspapers. IREX selected media outlet partners on the basis of the outlet's commitment to produce professional and independent election programming, as well as on available audience research to ensure that the programming was reaching key audiences.

At the same time, IREX supported the Iraqi Higher Electoral Commission (IHEC) in its work with journalists. IREX supported the IHEC press center that dispensed election news and held press conferences, helped IHEC ensure that journalists were accredited without bias, and helped IHEC work with journalists and media outlets.

Several lessons emerged from this process:

- Immediate priorities (such as nurturing an informed electorate) must be balanced with long-term priorities (such as creating a pool of professional journalists able to report on elections). Trade-offs are likely in any environment.

- Training in election reporting helps develop long-term capacity, but its effect on the current election is difficult to determine, particularly in a conflict environment.
- Supporting specific election programming for broadcast and print will likely have a greater effect on creating an informed electorate, but this may be at the expense of supporting more journalists in developing their skills.
- Training is necessary—journalists must understand specific election laws, codes of conduct that may apply, and the basics of sound election reporting. However, this information should be integrated into longer term training programs that take place regardless of elections.
- The choice of media partners should be determined on the basis of sound research to reach a wide audience or, in some cases, marginalized audiences.

(Source: IREX)

of a training program on the professional capacity of journalists in the region. A sample outcome from a journalism training program might be "journalists in the capital demonstrated greater professional skills in their work."

The third level of evaluation is the *impact level*. At this level, one seeks to answer questions about the effect of the media development program on the media sector. Has the program had an impact on the independence, plurality, sustainability, and vibrancy of the sector? Finally, the media development program can be evaluated in terms of the development of democratic good governance in the country.

Answers at each evaluation level can be obtained in various ways, although the higher the level, the more difficult it is to effectively attribute results to the program. At the output level, measuring is relatively easy (which is why some donors favor it)—simply measure the tangible outputs of the program. Not all programs lend themselves to measurement by output-based indicators; while training programs produce lots of outputs, a program that seeks to transform the state broadcaster into a public service broadcaster does not. However, for the most part, output-based indicators are easy to collect.

Outcome indicators are slightly more complex. To answer the question "What is the outcome of the program component that helps media NGOs lobby for greater freedom of expression?" one might try to determine how many NGOs were assisted, whether and how they used their training, whether this training resulted in more successful lobbying efforts, and whether those efforts resulted in greater freedom of expression. Answering these types of

questions may require survey research work (a budget for which must be built in to the program) or an independent assessment team to conduct a qualitative evaluation of the project. The assessment team, or whoever is doing the evaluation, might gather information on a number of different indicators to determine program impact. Sometimes proxy indicators are used if it is impossible to gather the data needed. For instance, counting the number of defamation cases lodged by the government against journalists from year to year could help paint a picture of the enabling environment.

Higher-level impact is even more difficult to assess. Many donors contract independent assessment teams that perform a qualitative study of the program and its effects on the media sector; if possible, such a study should also assess the program's impact on the state of governance more broadly. Because of lack of time or money, many programs focus on the internal success of the media program but stop short of measuring its broader impact. For the field to advance, donors, funders, and others should commit to answering higher-level impact questions, as these are the issues that will determine the future effectiveness of assistance in this area.

At the outcome and impact levels, one can also measure the country's progress against various independently generated indexes, including the Freedom House Freedom of the Press index (global), IREX's Media Sustainability Index (MSI) (applicable only to countries in certain regions), or against local indexes. The MSI has subcategories that align with many components of a typical media development program, allowing for a more granular portrait of developments in the media sector. However, attributing movement in such indexes to donor involvement (or to a specific program) is difficult. The indexes are therefore usually combined with other qualitative indicators to provide a more balanced picture.

Ideally, a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) plan should be built into the media development program in the design phase. That way, baselines can be established and intended results can be carefully considered. This approach ensures that the evaluation process is an integral part of the program, rather than a meaningless appendage. Not all programs will lend themselves to a strict M&E plan. A strict results-reporting plan may not be appropriate for programs in postconflict environments or for those specifically designed to encourage innovation with digital technologies or business models,.

For a list of sample media development indicators, see appendix B.

Practical Considerations for Donors: Getting the Work Done

As mentioned at the beginning of this toolkit, the goal is not to make every donor or funder an instant expert in media development. Rather, the goal is to help donors become intelligent consumers of specialist services in this area. Once the processes of assessment and program design are well understood, donors and funders can make informed decisions about how to outsource some of the key steps.

Country-based governance advisers often possess the in-house expertise to analyze the country's political situation, but they usually do not have the in-depth understanding of the media sector (nor do they have the time) to conduct the political economy analysis. If this is the case, donors or funders generally assemble a media assessment team for specific countries or regions. Media assessment teams are usually made up of one or two media development experts (who understand the fundamental principles of media development as well as the priorities and processes of the donor or funder organization) and one or two local media experts (who may not be cognizant in media development but have a deep understanding of the country's or region's media sector and its players). This team can employ the process outlined in "From Assessment to Program Concept" to conduct a deep analysis of the media sector, map the stakeholders, and create an informed and practical program design for media development.

In some cases, the donor or funder may wish to hire consultants to perform only steps 1 through 3 of the political economy analysis (i.e., produce a comprehensive review of the media sector) without engaging in the necessary analysis to recommend a program design. In this case, the donor can map the

Case Study: Independent Television in Kosovo

In 1999, after the withdrawal of Serbian forces, Kosovo faced a dearth of independent media. Few Albanian language media existed, the broadcast infrastructure was heavily damaged, and the province was a UN protectorate.

To address this situation, IREX and USAID, working in close partnership with the Open Society Institute (OSI), began a program to support the establishment of two independent television stations (RTV21 and KTV) to broadcast to all of Kosovo and provide its citizens with news and information. The stations had little equipment for studios, news gathering, or transmission. And they had little experience with independent television, coming from print, radio, or the former Pristina TV, a branch of the Yugoslav state broadcaster.

By 2008, RTV-21 and KTV had reached financial viability, split 50 percent of the audience between them, and were considered leaders in news and public affairs programming. They were in healthy competition with the state subsidized public broadcaster, RTK. These three stations complemented a group of regional stations serving local areas as well as a vibrant radio market. The new stations weathered the international economic downturn and continue today as sustainable and professional television operations

What were the elements of support that made this success possible?

- IREX, USAID, and OSI worked in close coordination. Work plans and funding were shared and plans for support developed in concert.
- OSI and USAID committed to provide multiyear operational and equipment support to the stations, provided they agreed to develop a long-term strategic plan to become sustainable.
- IREX—with the support of OSI and in coordination with the stations themselves—developed a "whole station" approach that included the following:
  - Long-term management training and mentoring. IREX committed to work collegially with both stations to improve their management through consulting and mentoring.
  - Development of financial management and accounting systems to international standards, so station management would have a complete picture of revenue and expense flows.
  - Audience research. Regular audience research and training in the use of research allowed both stations to understand their

audience, develop programming that attracted an audience, and sell their stations to advertisers.

○ Long-term journalism training. This multiyear effort helped improve the quality of news programming.

○ IREX and the stations worked together to develop the training and consultancy plans to ensure full buy-in and agreement from management and ownership.

○ The importance of leadership. Both stations had dynamic and committed leadership, without which the donor assistance would not have achieved the success it did.

(Source: IREX)

broad contours of the program in-house, then use this outline to inform the proposal solicitation process. Consultants can be brought on at any stage of the process to lend expert analysis, conduct stakeholder interviews, or assist with monitoring and evaluation.

Grants to media development programs can take various forms. Some donors and funders prefer to directly fund media outlets and NGOs through a series of small grants. Others roll out solicitations for large programs with many moving pieces; these solicitations are bid on by implementing organizations. With small grants, the funding organization can more closely connect with recipients and monitor progress directly; larger grants enable more comprehensive programs and the potential for wider impact. To administer large, comprehensive programs, many donors turn to an established organization or consortium of organizations that has the in-depth knowledge of media development, the experience, and the local capability to successfully conduct a media development program. Proposals can be solicited through a competitive process or through the donor's or funder's own granting or contracting mechanisms. Media development programs can be funded through either grants or contracts. Some implementing organizations—mainly those that receive grants—say it is politically easier and more palatable to fund such programs through granting mechanisms rather than contracting mechanisms, as the former create a bit more political space for all stakeholders.

While there is no one right way to fund a media development program, experts suggest that it's best not to choose one or two pet outlets for direct budget support. This sometimes happens when donors become acquainted with the operations of particular media outlets. Favoring a few outlets can

Box 8.1. Getting the Work Done: Keep in Mind

- Design solicitations with clear objectives, but do not be overly rigid in prescribing the methods that will be used. Allow grantees to cooperate.
- Do not rely on inflexible time lines and exit strategies. Such time lines are often artificial and do not align with the actual situation. Program goals should match program realities.
- Consider projects with multiple income sources; for instance, the involvement of several donors or a mixed business model with donor support as well as commercial sources of revenue.
- Work with like-minded donors who might continue funding after yours ends. Plan the project in increments that can be taken over consecutively by different donors. Or consider setting up a regular donor meeting on media, so donors can exchange information on their respective projects—this helps with synergies if not outright coordination. Effective donor coordination can be a very important element in determining the ultimate impact of a project.
- If media development in a particular environment is too politically sensitive, consider funding the efforts of other donors or funders who have the ability to work in politically charged environments, or working in tandem with such donors to achieve a holistic media development program.

distort the natural development of a media market and can have lasting effects on the sustainability of the entire sector. (An exception would be when the failure of one or two crucial outlets would damage citizens' access to independent information; for instance, if little or no capital is available to counteract the state or private "friends of the state.") Donors should seek to level the playing field and create an overall environment in which independent outlets can succeed.

While the phrase "donor coordination" has become something of a cliché in development, it can play a very important role in media development. Not all donors are able to engage in media development in the same way, so communication among donors can ensure that the sum total of donor efforts in a country has a holistic effect, even if every donor cannot implement a holistic program. In some situations, certain aspects of media development programs might be too politically sensitive for some donors or funders to take on. These donors can work creatively with other donors to achieve media development objectives—participating in coordinated efforts, setting aside funds for other donors to use, or even just remaining engaged and supporting overall goals, particularly with key government or civil society interlocutors.

Donor coordination—or its less rigorous cousin, donor alignment—can also be important for the ultimate sustainability of some media development efforts. A successful media development program should not remain donor-funded any longer than necessary; however, a comprehensive program can take several years to realize its goals. At the same time, many donor funding cycles do not extend beyond two to three years, and long-range funding plans can be unrealistic. Donor coordination at the beginning of an ambitious project can lay the groundwork for other donors to take up funding after one donor's cycle tapers off.

●

Resources

This work has drawn upon and benefited from many of the resources in this list. Users are encouraged to consult the works listed here for more in-depth explanation of some of the topics covered in this guide.

A Mobile Voice: The Use of Mobile Phones in Citizen Media, USAID, PACT Katrin Verclas. http://mobileactive.org/files/A%20Mobile%20Voice-The%20Role%20of%20Mobile%20Phones%20in%20Citizen%20Media.pdf

A Responsible Press Office, Marguerite H. Sullivan. http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/media/pressoffice.pdf

Access Controlled: The Shaping of Power, Rights, and Rules in Cyberspace. Berkman Center. http://www.access-controlled.net/authors/

Blogs and Bullets: New Media in Contentious Politics. Sean Aday, Henry Farrel, Marc Lynch, John Sides, John Kelly, Ethan Zuckerman. United States Institute of Peace, 2010. http://www.usip.org/files/resources/pw65.pdf

Broadcasting in UN Blue: The Unexamined Past and Uncertain Future of Peacekeeping Radio. Bill Orme, Center for International Media Assistance, 2010. http://cima.ned.org/publications/research-reports/broadcasting-un-blue

Broadcasting, Voice, and Accountability: A Public Interest Approach to Policy, Law, and Regulation. Steve Buckley, Kreszentia Duer, Toby Mendel, and Sean O Siochru with Monroe E. Price and Marc Raboy. http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/0,,contentMDK:21747844~pagePK:209023~piPK:207535~theSitePK:213799,00.html

Developing Radio Partners: Guidebook on Sustainability. http://www.developingradiopartners.org/downloads/Hi%20Res%20Guidebook.pdf

Empowering Independent Media: U.S. Efforts to Foster Free and Independent News Around the World. Center for International Media Assistance, 2008. http://cima.ned.org/publications/research-reports/empowering-independent-media

Evaluating Development Cooperation: Summary of Key Norms and Standards. OECD DAC Network on Evaluation, 2005. http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/12/56/41612905.pdf

Evaluating the Evaluators: Media Freedom Indexes and What They Measure. John Burgess, Center for International Media Assistance, 2010. http://cima.ned.org/publications/research-reports/evaluating-evaluators-media-freedom-indexes-and-what-they-measure

Good, But How Good? Monitoring and Evaluation of Media Assistance Projects. Andy Mosher, Center for International Media Assistance, 2009. http://cima.ned.org/publications/research-reports/good-how-good-monitoring-and-evaluation-media-assistance-projects

How to Assess Your Media Landscape. Fackson Banda and Guy Berger, 2008. http://www.gfmd-athensconference.com/files/Fackson_Banda_9_dec_1430_1600.pdf or http://www.centreforcommunicationrights.net/images/stories/database/tools/how-to-assess-your-media-landscape-2008.pdf

Making Poverty the Story. PANOS. http://www.panos.org.uk/download.php?id=9

Media Assistance: Challenges and Opportunities for the Professional Development of Journalists. Working Group Report. Center for International Media Assistance, 2007: http://cima.ned.org/publications/working-group-reports/media-assistance-challenges-and-opportunities-professional-develo

Media Development Indicators: A Framework for Assessing Media Development. UNESCO, 2008. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001631/163102e.pdf

Media Development Indicators: A Framework for Assessing Media Development. UNESCO, 2009. http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=26032&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Media Law Assistance: Establishing an Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media to Flourish. Working Group Report. Center for International Media Assistance, 2007: http://cima.ned.org/publications/working-group-reports/media-law-assistance-establishing-enabling-environment-free-and-i

Media Literacy: Citizen Journalists. Center for International Media Assistance, 2009. http://cima.ned.org/publications/research-reports/media-literacy-citizen-journalists

Media Literacy: Empowering Youth Worldwide. Center for International Media Assistance, 2009. http://cima.ned.org/publications/research-reports/media-literacy-empowering-youth-worldwide

Media Literacy: Understanding the News. Susan D. Moeller. Center for International Media Assistance, 2009. http://cima.ned.org/publications/research-reports/media-literacy-understanding-news

Media Matters 2009–2011. http://issuu.com/gfmd/docs/gfmd_media_matters_2009-2011_

Media Matters, Global Forum for Media Development. http://www.internews.org/pubs/gfmd/mediamatters.pdf

Media Missionaries, Ellen Hume. http://www.ellenhume.com/articles/missionaries.pdf

Monitoring and Evaluations Information and Communication Development Programmes. Guidelines. Department for International Development, U.K. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http:/www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/icd-guidelines.pdf

New Media and International Media Development: A Resource Guide for Europe and Eurasia. USAID. http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/dem_gov/docs/new_media_and_international_media_development.pdf

Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform. Ed. Pippa Norris, 2010. http://www.scribd.com/doc/23947219/Public-Sentinel-News-Media-and-Governance-Reform

The Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media: Contribution to Transparent and Accountable Governance. Monroe Price, University of Pennsylvania, 2002. http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/65/

The Right To Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development, ed. Roumeen Islam. http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/RighttoTell/righttotellOverview.pdf

The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach. USAID, 1999: http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnace630.pdf

The Role of the Free Press in Promoting Democratization, Good Governance, and Human Development. Pippa Norris, Harvard University and UNESCO, 2006. http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/programs/ai/rti/articles/undp_rti_2006/annex3_background_paper.pdf

Toward Economic Sustainability of the Media in Developing Countries. Working Group Report. Center for International Media Assistance, 2007: http://cima.ned.org/publications/working-group-reports/toward-economic-sustainability-media-developing-countries

Wireless Technology for Social Change, UN Foundation/Vodaphone report, Katrin Verclas. http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/business/2008/unvodaphone.pdf

Appendix A. Sample Assessment Questions

The following questions are offered as a starting point to flesh out the analytical process described in chapter 4, particularly steps 1 and 2. The process can also be augmented by using some of the indicators mentioned in appendix B.

- How does the majority of the population exchange information: word of mouth, print, radio, TV, Internet, cell phone, or some other platform?
- What type of infrastructure exists for each type of medium? Where would a targeted intervention have the most impact? Where does local capacity exist to operate, repair, and replace new infrastructure, and how can this be supported?
- What are the key trends with respect to digital convergence? Can people access and create digital content? What structural, political, regulatory, economic, or other factors are helping or hindering access to the Internet and other digital forms of communication?
- What is the capacity level of the print/broadcast/Internet-based media? Where might capacity building have the greatest impact? What are the needs of industry professionals, and where are they being least met?
- What types of university-level and continuing education programs exist for news professionals? Are university programs primarily academic, or do they include a hands-on, practical component? Does the media curriculum focus unduly on ideological aspects of media? Do continuing education programs include elements relating to new technologies and the changing media landscape?

- What are the laws and regulations governing the media sector? Do some laws and regulations restrict the free flow of information? If so, is there political support for a more open media sector? What other institutions and factors affect the functioning of the media sector? Does the sector practice self-censorship?

- Is there a state broadcaster; if so, what role does it play? Are efforts under way to transform the state broadcaster into a public service broadcaster? If so, how successful are they?

- How would one characterize the business and economic environment surrounding the media sector? Is it dominated by the state, by private interests, or by some mixture? Is there healthy competition? Are structural elements in place to support the development of a financially sustainable and editorially independent media sector—an advertising industry, an independent circulation board, a cadre of experienced media managers?

- What political factors constrain the media sector? Are these deep-seated institutional obstacles or relatively transient factors? What might cause them to shift?

- Within specific institutions that make policy or crucial decisions related to the media, is there a critical mass of expert knowledge; for instance, skilled media lawyers cognizant in international as well as domestic media law? Do judges and the court system understand various aspects of media law? Do the parliament, media regulator, and executive branch have staff capacity to analyze and help craft media-related legislation?

- Are there local organizations that support the development of an independent media sector—professional organizations, unions, media legal defense funds, media watchdog organizations, training centers for journalists, advertising associations? Does the local media community see a need for such organizations; if so, in which specific areas?

- Are comprehensive or isolated training programs already in place for the media sector? Who conducts them, and how effective are they? Is additional or different programming needed; if so, in what areas? What are the funding sources for the training programs, and are they sustainable? If not, when are they likely to run out?

- Does broad understanding exist among the population of the role of an independent press? Are specific media literacy programs in place; if so, what are they? Does the population engage with the press through talkback forums, letters to publications, emails, short message service (SMS), and so on? To what extent does the public trust different types of media, and why?

Appendix B. Sample Indicators for Media Development Programs

The sample indicators below—adapted primarily from the *USAID Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators* and the *UNESCO Media Development Indicators*—are included primarily to illustrate the kinds of indicators that can be used in monitoring and evaluating media development programs. The list is not comprehensive; it can be used as a basis to develop other indicators suited to each program or organization's specific needs. For more exhaustive lists of indicators, consult the publications mentioned above.

The indicators shown here provide a broad snapshot of the media sector. If collected at different times during the life cycle of the project, they can show changes over time in the sector. They do not address outputs of specific media programs; for example, number of journalists trained or number of investigative stories generated as a result of a specific program. For basic output-level indicators, it is best to start with specific base-level program deliverables and tailor the output indicators to match the objectives. As noted in the body of this report, output-level indicators provide the most value when they are paired with higher-level indicators such as those listed below or with widely available macro-level indexes such as those published by Freedom House, Reporters Without Borders, and IREX.

Indicator	Relevance
Percentage of population listening to radio, watching TV, reading the news, obtaining information from computer-based Internet, obtaining information from cell phones	Shows how much of the population is reached by different information channels
Number of lawsuits in a year for slander or libel against media organizations for criticizing government or those with close ties to government	Proxy for government-linked attacks on media
Number of incidents of violence targeting journalists in a year	Proxy to indicate the extent to which media entities feel constrained in reporting or engage in self-censorship
Number of crimes against journalists that are prosecuted in a year	Proxy to indicate presence of an enabling environment that effectively protects media and media institutions
Extent to which the broadcasting code does not compromise the editorial independence of the media; for example, through imposing prior restraint	Proxy to indicate existence of enabling environment that promotes fairness and impartiality
Extent to which freedom of expression is guaranteed in law and respected in practice	Indicates presence of enabling environment that broadly supports an independent media sector
Extent to which access to information/right to information is guaranteed in law and respected in practice	Indicates presence of enabling environment that broadly supports an independent media sector
Average percentage of media revenues derived from advertising by target private sector independent media entities	Proxy for sustainability of private sector media
State does not discriminate through advertising policy or use advertising to favor certain outlets over others for political or other reasons	Indicates extent to which level playing field exists in media advertising
Number of target media entities that make new capital investments	Proxy to indicate media outlets' ability to remain competitive
Number of university programs offering hands-on, practical (as opposed to solely academic) journalism courses	Proxy for skill level of young/new journalists
Percentage of population that trusts available news sources	Proxy—trust correlates with quality of media reporting and analysis
Number of media outlets that have clear codes of ethics and professional editorial guidelines	Indicates media capacity for self-regulation—proxy for professionalism/independence of media sector
Extent to which independent journalist associations exist and disseminate good practice	Indicates media capacity for self-regulation—proxy for professionalism/independence of media sector and enabling environment
Extent to which effective regulations prevent undue ownership concentration and promote plurality	Proxy for plurality and diversity of media
Number of websites blocked by state because they have been deemed sensitive or detrimental	Proxy for government censorship of media

Appendix C. Sample Terms of Reference for Media Development Consultant

Scope of Work for the Media Development Consultant

This sample text is included to give donors and funders a basic template for outsourcing some of the work described in this toolkit. It can be modified as needed, depending on the nature of the task to be performed.

General Objectives of the Assignment

The objectives of this assignment are to (1) perform a multistep media sector analysis of Country X, led by Consultant working with media assessment team, and (2) design a media development program that will reflect the priorities laid out in the analysis.

Scope of Responsibilities and Tasks
Media assessment

- Consultant will lead media assessment team in Country X to conduct a range of stakeholder interviews and, if needed, focus groups on various aspects of the media sector.
- Consultant will lead team in conducting multistep political economy analysis of the media sector.
- Consultant, in conjunction with team, will produce a freestanding media assessment of Country X.

Media development program design

- Using results of the multistep political economy analysis, Consultant will design a media development program tailored to the Country X environment, taking into account the particular needs and strengths of the donor organization.

Selection Criteria

- Master's degree or higher preferred in related field (political science, journalism, communication), with 10+ years expertise in media development and governance, preferably in the field
- Proven analysis, writing, and editing skills
- Experience leading teams in the field, managing people and multiple tasks under tight deadlines
- Strong diplomatic, interpersonal, and teamwork skills; demonstrated client orientation; sensitive to working in various environments
- Willingness and ability to travel internationally
- Fluency in language of Country X a plus

Index

Boxes, figures, and tables are indicated by b, f, and t following page numbers.

Developing Independent Media as an Institution of Accountable Governance is designed to familiarize users with the process of designing a program to support independent media, as part of an agenda for good governance. The book introduces readers to independent media development, provides an analytical framework for conceptualizing the media sector, and describes different components that can be combined to form a program that is tailored to a specific country or environment. The book also provides suggestions on new media, complex environments, and monitoring and evaluation.

The Communication for Governance & Accountability Program (CommGAP) seeks to promote good and accountable governance through the use of innovative communication approaches and techniques that strengthen the constitutive elements of the public sphere: engaged citizenries, vibrant civil societies, plural and independent media systems, and open government institutions. Communication links these elements, forming a framework for national dialogue through which informed public opinion is shaped about key issues of public concern. CommGAP posits that sound analysis and understanding of the structural and process aspects of communication and their interrelationships make critical contributions to governance reform.

CommGAP is funded through a multi-donor trust fund. The founding donor of this trust fund is the UK's Department for International Development (DFID).

Web site: http://www.worldbank.org/commgap
Blog: http://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere

DFID Department for International Development

CommGAP
Innovative Solutions for Governance

THE WORLD BANK

9 780821 386293

90000