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NOTE: At the time of publication, author Monroe Price was affiliated with Yeshiva University. Currently (February, 2008), he is a faculty member of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania.

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Mapping Media Assistance

Abstract

Although it has roots in earlier decades, media assistance emerged as a significant aspect of development work in the 1980s and the 1990s, particularly following the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. Media aid has evolved from relatively modest programs with minor donations of equipment and training tours for journalists to long-term, multi-faceted projects with multi-million dollar budgets.

In official policy documents describing the goals and objectives of foreign aid to developing countries or territories, the European Commission, the United States government, and other donor governments and foundations identify media freedom as crucial to building democratic, prosperous societies. These donor governments view efforts to promote democratic governance and assist media as a fundamental element of international development work, along with more established efforts to provide emergency food or material aid.

Development strategies for states or regions usually include assistance designed to promote a free flow of information and independent, free media that hold elected representatives accountable. Donor governments tend to place media assistance within broader categories of international development and often do not create separate departments focusing exclusively on media initiatives. Instead, media assistance programs usually fall under governance, civil society, democratisation, or similar departments. Media assistance programs can also be found under the umbrella of humanitarian assistance. During the conflict in former Yugoslavia, the import of newsprint was initially prohibited under the international sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro. This prohibition was lifted when paper supplies were classified as humanitarian assistance.

Comments

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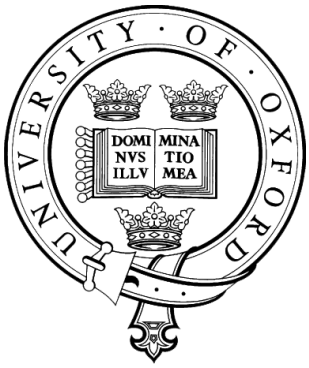

February 1, 2002

Draft prepared for discussion at the World Bank-USAID Paris meeting. Designed to be supplemented there.

by Monroe E. Price, Bethany Davis Noll, Daniel De Luce

The Programme in Comparative Media Law & Policy,
Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, University of Oxford

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INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITION OF MEDIA ASSISTANCE

Although it has roots in earlier decades, media assistance emerged as a significant aspect of development work in the 1980s and the 1990s, particularly following the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. Media aid has evolved from relatively modest programs with minor donations of equipment and training tours for journalists to long-term, multi-faceted projects with multi-million dollar budgets.

In official policy documents describing the goals and objectives of foreign aid to developing countries or territories, the European Commission, the United States government, and other donor governments and foundations identify media freedom as crucial to building democratic, prosperous societies. These donor governments view efforts to promote democratic governance and assist media as a fundamental element of international development work, along with more established efforts to provide emergency food or material aid.

Development strategies for states or regions usually include assistance designed to promote a free flow of information and independent, free media that hold elected representatives accountable. Donor governments tend to place media assistance within broader categories of international development and often do not create separate departments focusing exclusively on media initiatives. Instead, media assistance programs usually fall under governance, civil society, democratisation, or similar departments. Media assistance programs can also be found under the umbrella of humanitarian assistance. During the conflict in former Yugoslavia, the import of newsprint was initially prohibited under the international sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro. This prohibition was lifted when paper supplies were classified as humanitarian assistance.

The purpose of this study is to provide a 'map' of media assistance. Like all maps, this one has artificial limitations. It is confined largely to the post-Soviet period. It is a map of media assistance efforts, based almost wholly on experiences on activities emanating from Europe and the United States, though a richer analysis would include a much wider geographical net. Unlike the cartographers who map mountains and lakes, we benefit from the cooperation of those being mapped as they help make the document more accurate. Nonetheless, it is a project in process and the complexity of the sector makes it almost impossible to provide every detail in what is inevitably a superficial map.

Our method will be to develop broad outlines of the sector and then focus in on a few features of the terrain. As in many industries, there are dominant players at each level, but also many niche participants who play a critical role and are necessary for understanding the overall picture. The sector is growing rapidly and changing in many ways. Donors or 'investors' and entities in the sector are always looking for new areas (subject matter, geographical) of growth. Those who require funding seek to expand the pool of suppliers of funds and try to describe an expanded notion of need or demand for their services. There are areas of intense competition and areas of cooperation if not collusion. Over time, 'successful' models emerge and some participants withdraw, either because their product is unsupported in the marketplace, or because the nature of the demand changes.

Media assistance primarily takes the form of journalism training, direct support to news organisations, efforts to aid media law reform, support for professional journalism and broadcast associations, support for developing financial sustainability of media outlets, and initiatives designed to transcend national, religious or ethnic barriers in the media.

Media assistance, as described in this study, aims to strengthen indigenous media in transition societies. Media assistance could (but by our definition does not) consist of the direct broadcasting into a target society of international radio, such as the broadcasting efforts of Voice of America or the BBC World Service. Media assistance is also an important part of peacekeeping efforts in post-conflict zones.

In our definition, media assistance includes:

A. *Journalism training and education* for reporters and editors in print and broadcast news. This includes technical training, advanced training for investigative journalism, and training in specialist subjects such as human rights, economics, or the environment. There is increased demand for longer-term training conducted 'on site' in the newsroom. Donors often assist development of new journalism schools, the reform of existing journalism faculties and curriculum, the development of press centres, or the development of alternative, in-service training such as offered by media institutes and associations. Specific activities include: in-country residencies by expat experts; third-country training; third-country internships and long-term study programs; in-country training by local experts; and training of trainers (TOT).

B. *Training in marketing, business management, and efforts to ensure financial independence.* These efforts are aimed at helping media outlets become commercially viable and sustainable in the medium or longer term. Activities

include: business training, advertising development, management training, loan programs, capitalization, and grants for commodities.

C. *Training that focuses on transforming state broadcasters into genuine public service networks*, including journalism training for editorial staff and technical advice for the broadcaster's managers and producers.

D. *Training in professional media ethics, accountability, and professionalism*. This includes assistance for ratings firms and market surveys, battling corruption within media, support for codes of ethics, and efforts to establish entities such as ombudsmen, arbitration councils, and press complaints commissions that help ensure press accountability and greater public access to the press.

E. *Material assistance.* This work is aimed at helping build the infrastructure needed to ensure continued media independence. Activities include: assistance for technical capacity (email, Internet, computers, software, cameras, and so on), business development, printing presses, transmitters, websites, and alternative distribution systems for the sale of newspapers and magazines, and assistance purchasing photo services and news wire subscriptions.

F. *Assistance in developing networks of independent media* including providing assistance in program sharing arrangements, linking production, distribution, and management of broadcast material.

G. *Assistance and advice in building democratic legal and regulatory frameworks for media.* This can take the form of providing expertise on draft laws to parliamentary committees or government ministries when appropriate, providing advice and background documents for regulatory bodies, offering legal advice and analysis to international governmental organisations and media freedom activists, and training lawyers, journalists, and judges on relevant legal issues (also includes supporting indigenous advocacy groups such as free speech NGOs, associations, legal networks, and so on). Sometimes these initiatives are part of broader judicial or legal reform projects.

H. *Trade association development*. This includes assistance in the creation of professional associations of journalists and trade associations of broadcasters or publishers and support for the organization of lobbying campaigns aimed at reforming restrictions on media freedom.

I. *Legal Defence.* Support or training for the legal defence of journalists and news organisations facing harassment by a particular regime.

J. *Conflict prevention initiatives* that attempt to educate journalists about reporting on alienated communities and overcoming religious, ethnic, or national prejudice. Also includes efforts to train journalists how to report conflict while still upholding the values of balance, fairness, and responsibility in their coverage of international affairs.

K. *Security training.* Some groups focus on security training for journalists, mainly in areas of conflict and where there are significant security risks for journalists. Efforts in this area include studies into post-traumatic stress disorder, basic safety training, and the provision of safety equipment.

L. *Support for legal advocacy*. Establishment, training, and support for 'media monitoring' and watchdog groups that monitor press freedom and provide protection for journalists.

M. *Social and cultural development.* This includes programs that seek to develop community radio and journalism.[1]

N. *New communications assistance.* Assistance in developing information technology; building new Internet sites; establishing Cyber cafes and 'telecentres;' helping ensure unrestrictive regulation; and Internet access.

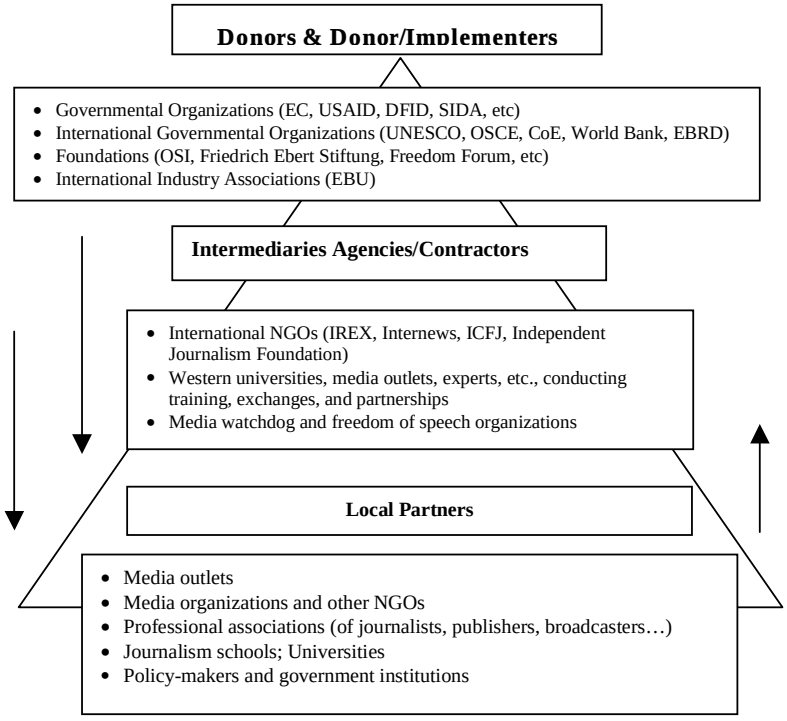
One or more of these activities can define media assistance organizations. Some entities have developed a specialization in particular functions while other entities focus on particular geographic regions. Entities with a particular geographic focus usually articulate specific philosophical goals that are achieved through one or more of the above efforts. Questions of coordination and efficiency have emerged because some groups have specialized in one or more of the same areas. In a newly competitive environment such as this, efforts at coordination, efforts to create a reasonable division of responsibility, and efforts to create a brand or ensure the existence of local allies so that demand is guaranteed, all help shape the media assistance sector. Coordination has also become an issue for organizations that wish to cover the same geographical regions, while at the same time ensuring that parts of the world are not deprived of media assistance. Often there has been substantial assistance in a particular region, but not others, and the industry may lack a 'global' understanding of media developments, needs, and assistance.

1

MEDIA ASSISTANCE: PARTICIPATION AND STRUCTURE

The functions outlined above can be used as a way of categorizing participants. But a second mode of mapping is to describe this sector in terms of its structure and level of participation. This is the most traditional map: one that tries to evoke tiers of involvement—donors and donees, governments, quasi-governmental organizations and NGOs, funders, intermediaries, local partners. The field of media assistance includes several levels of donors and actors (see Figure 1). Some actors participate in more than one level; indeed, this may be increasingly the case. Also, while each level of actors has affected the media development sector, each has also developed its own visions and agendas. For schematic purposes, the demarcation of levels may be helpful in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1
Donors and Actors



A. Donors and Donor/Implementers

As demonstrated in figure 1, three main types of donors support the media assistance sector: governmental organizations (GOs), international governmental organizations

(IGOs), including IGOs that act for governments and private foundations. The first two groups are the largest donors in the sector. The complexity of modern arrangements results, often, in difficulty in categorisation. Undoubtedly, some classifications we have made are tentative.

i. Governmental Organizations

a. United States Government

Before 1990, United States government media assistance was largely administered and provided by The United States Information Agency (USIA) / United States Information Service (USIS) or the National Endowment for Democracy. USIA funded, from its Washington, D.C. office, journalism training grants, as did the missions located in the local embassies. Effective October 1999, the USIA was consolidated into the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs, US Department of State. In its current organization the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs (ECA) reports to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (Charlotte Beers). ECA seeks to foster mutual understanding between the United States and other countries through international educational and training programs. The bureau does so by promoting personal, professional, and institutional ties between private citizens and organizations in the United States and abroad. It manages the Fulbright Program and the Humphrey Scholars Program, among others. The principal office issues Requests for Grant Proposals.

With implementation of the Freedom Support Act, USAID became the most substantial agent for USG grants or contracts (though USIA, NED, and now the ECA as USIA's successor continue funding efforts). The shift from USIA to USAID is significant both as to amount, management style, notion of mission, and relationship to development and democracy.

Here we focus on USAID as a donor organization, though other elements of US policy come into play, including assistance through the Voice of America and RFE / RL. Under the Bush administration, a substantial reordering of USAID is taking place, which will begin to be finalized during 2002. Among other changes, the reorganization will set up three pillar bureaus (Global Health; Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade; and Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance), and eliminate the Global and Humanitarian Response Bureaus. This reorganization has implications for media assistance policies, but since, at the time of writing, the reorganization has not been completed we begin with the structure as it stood before 2002. That structure, depicted in Figure 2, remains a useful guide to explain what happened in media assistance during the 1990s, and it provides us with a starting point to examine future efforts at the USAID.[2]

Most USAID assistance projects, including media assistance, have been implemented under the four regional bureaus (Africa, Latin American and the Caribbean, Europe and Eurasia, and Asia Near East) and the Bureau for Humanitarian Response, which includes the Office for Transition Initiatives. In the late 1980s and early 1990s most USAID media assistance was concentrated in the LAC region. However, for much of the post-Soviet decade, activity, and especially funding, was focused within the Europe and Eurasia Region. The function of the E&E Bureau was to provide funding for efforts that would increase long term transitions to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and in Central Asia. Most of the large contracts and grants for journalism assistance, structural policy development, and aid in media infrastructures originated in this Bureau. Some examples of such projects are the establishment of an Internet Center at the Tashkent Institute of Irrigation and Agricultural and Mechanical Engineers, financed by USAID / Central Asia Republics Mission. The center provides students, scientists, and agriculture and water resources specialists with free access to global information via the Internet.

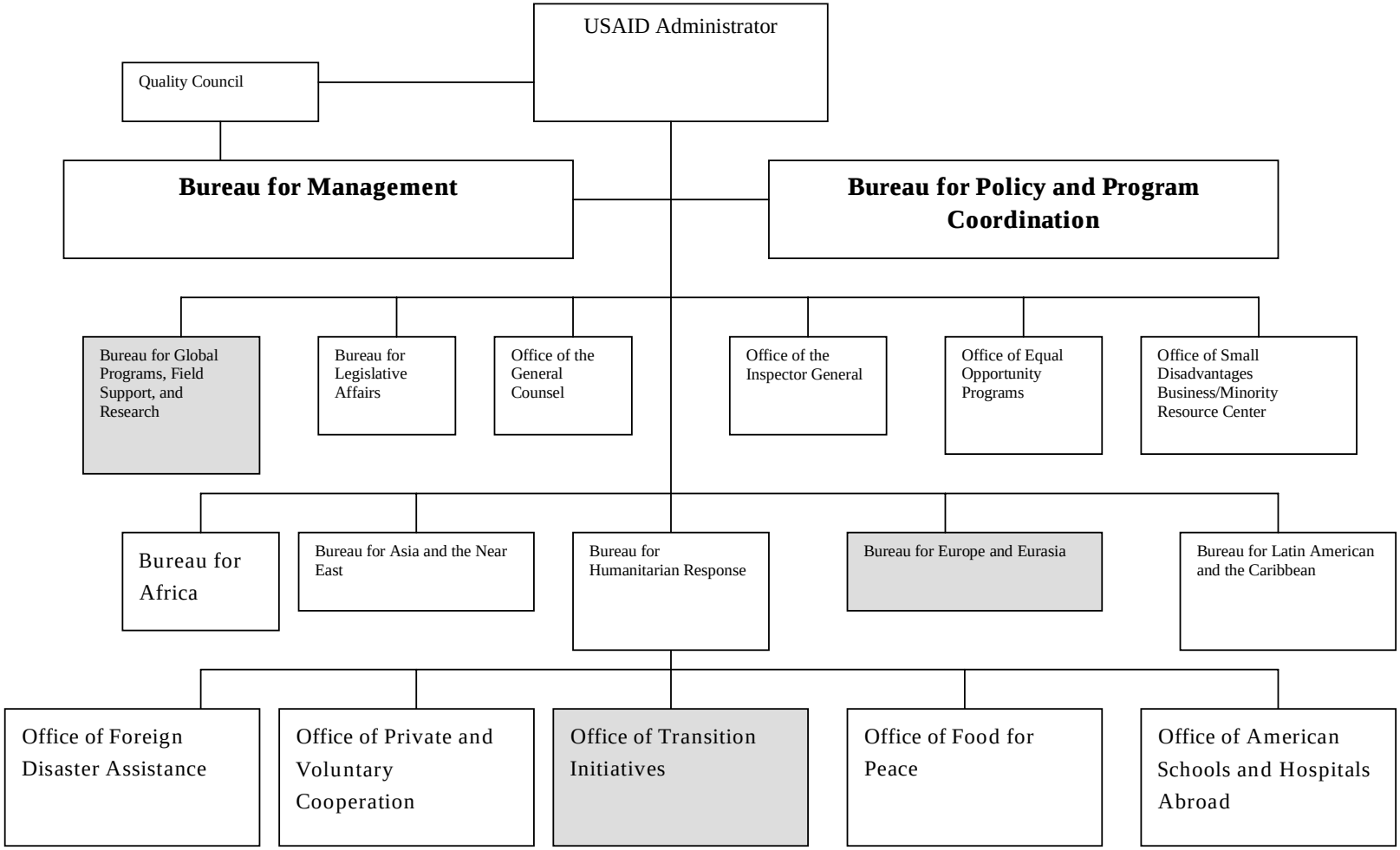
The Office of Transition Initiatives, in the Bureau for Humanitarian Response (before reorganization), also implements sizeable media assistance projects. OTI was created in 1994 to respond rapidly to emergencies and post-conflict situations, and then hand over their projects to the Mission in country or to an NGO, which will manage the more long-term efforts. For example, the OTI response to post-conflict situations in Indonesia, East Timor, and Kosovo included large media programs.

Created in 1994, the Democracy and Governance Center (under the Global Bureau) 'helps USAID field missions design and implement democracy strategies, provides technical and intellectual leadership in the field of democracy development, and manages some USAID programs directly'. Now called the Office of Democracy and Governance, it has sought to improve the effectiveness of USAID media assistance programs through training, evaluations, and research publications, such as *The Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media* study which was supported jointly with the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. The Office has also been working with the World Bank on cooperative approaches to broaden donor interest in media assistance, including a joint workshop in Paris in February 2002.

FIGURE 2

Internal Structure of the United States Agency for International Development Pre-2002

(Shaded office or bureau indicates location of media assistance work)



b. European Commission

The European Commission is the major source of funding for media assistance at the European level. Almost all of its media assistance work has been part of its larger program of human rights and democratisation. The EC, both under its previous organization and its reorganization, has two levels of assistance. First, there are macro-projects, implemented in partnership with international organizations that work with local entities. These partners, as is indicated below, include the Council of Europe (CoE) and the Office of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In addition, the EC has had a microproject scheme of up to €50,000 that directly funds local organizations. For the last two years these funds have been distributed by the EC delegation in the target country. Much of the administration of media assistance, at least in the former Yugoslavia, is done by the European Reconstruction Agency (EAR), based in Thessaloniki. Prior to a grand restructuring of the EC, which began in 1999 under the Prodi Commission, most media assistance was under Directorate 1.

From the beginning of 2001 important reforms were put in place for the fulfilment of projects of the kind generally subject of this study. The Foreign Relations Directorate-General (Relex) retained responsibility for overall policy relations with developing nations. The Development Directorate-General, under Commissioner Poul Nielson, is responsible for relations with Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific States. Also under the direction of Poul Nielson, is the European Community Humanitarian Office, responsible for 'delivering aid to victims of catastrophes or conflicts outside the European Union.' The reforms put in place an improved system of programming to ensure that external assistance actions in these Directorate-Generals reflect the EU's priorities and complement other EU policies.

EuropeAid was established generally to manage implementation of assistance programs. EuropeAid is responsible for all phases of the project cycle that follow the programming phase (identification, appraisal, preparation of the financing decision, implementation and monitoring, evaluation). EuropeAid is also involved in the initiatives of the Relex family in improving programming documents and in defining their content, in establishing evaluation programmes for policies and in ensuring the appropriate feedback from evaluation.

EuropeAid is structured into eight Directorates. Six Directorates responsible for operations (five Directorates for geographical programmes and one Directorate for horizontal programmes) and two functional Directorates (one for operational support and the other for organisational support). For example, Directorate A is Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia. This Directorate includes, among other divisions, one on Social Development and Institutional Support, one on Coordination for Europe and

one on Economic Reform (private sector). Other regional directorates have somewhat different subcategories.

Community funding has been directed to the development of independent press and broadcasting, the professionalisation of media, and the generation of networks of information and inter-regional exchanges of information on human rights. Projects have included the production of reference materials for journalists, training programmes on issues such as media and elections and media pluralism, media law, and the role of journalists in conflict situations. Support was also provided for particular publications, for the establishment of journalists' institutes and networks, media monitoring and professional training on the media and development issues. Partner organisations included journalists associations and press institutes, freedom of expression NGOs, news agencies, individual newspapers and broadcast organisations. There was a doubling of expenditures from 1996 to 1999 for this purpose, with approximately €10,000,000 allocated in 1999.

Related projects involve education in human rights in various parts of the world, funded with the aim of promoting public awareness about the value of human rights and democracy, about Commission activities, and of increasing specialised knowledge for human rights professionals.

The EC has also supported programs to protect journalists and to train them, such as the Association for Democracy in the Balkans program to train journalists in new technologies and enhance the role of journalists associations in South Eastern Europe. In 1997, the Commission supported this project to the amount of €196,752. It aimed to provide means of securing a responsible free press for journalists in the Balkans. Specific activities included training journalists from Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, and Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in modern mass media techniques, publishing reports, and holding seminars on the comparative experience of European journalists' associations.

Through the MEDA programme (1996) and the amended MEDA II programme (1999), the EC has funded development efforts in 12 Mediterranean states (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia (Maghreb); Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Lebanon, Syria (Mashrek); Turkey, Cyprus and Malta). Libya has observer status at some meetings. In this region, media development activities have included civil society projects and freedom of press initiatives in Turkey.

TACIS serves as one final example of a framework under which the EC provides technical assistance to media. TACIS, which was created in 1991, provides European Commission grants for technical assistance to 13 countries in Eastern Europe and

Central Asia. TACIS aid focuses on broad areas such as institution building, legal reform, economic development social development, nuclear safety, environmental protection, agricultural development and other categories. Under a EC regulation issued in January 2000, media development falls under "social development and democratisation". Previously, media assistance came under "human rights and democracy".

c. European State-Based Funding Initiatives

Many European states have their own mechanism for direct media assistance efforts are for the coordination of contributions to Europe-wide efforts. We have not focused on these important bodies. Two examples are the United Kingdom's Department for International Development and the Swedish International Development Agency. The United Kingdom's Department for International Development has been particularly active in specific countries, such as Serbia, Russia, and Sierra Leone. SIDA is a government agency for bilateral international development cooperation and is very active in Central and Eastern Europe.

ii. International Governmental Organizations (established by inter-governmental treaty)

a. Council of Europe

The Council of Europe (CoE), an intergovernmental international organization, has specifically designated a Media Division, under the Directorate General for Human Rights, for media assistance work. The CoE has 43 member states and is made up of the Parliamentary Assembly (deliberative body), the Committee of Ministers (decisionmaking body), and the Secretariat General. The Committee of Ministers decides what actions need to be taken independently or on the basis of recommendations made by the Parliamentary Assembly. These decisions take various forms, including conventions and recommendations and make up the bulk of the organization's intergovernmental work.

The intergovernmental work of the Council feeds the Council's various assistance programs, which are based throughout the secretariat. In other words, texts adopted by the states provide the impetus and legitimacy to many different types of assistance programs. In the early 1990s, the Council of Europe focused most of its energy this intergovernmental work with a small percentage of resources devoted to assistance work. Now, assistance work makes up a larger percentage of overall work, with the goal being a ratio between intergovernmental and assistance work nearer to 50-50. As assistance programs in general have grown so has media assistance. Media assistance is mainly located in the Media Division. In 2002, the direct budget for

assistance programs in the Media Division was approximately €216,000. That funding is supplemented by the budget for assistance under the Stability Pact (in the two-year period of 2000/2001 that budget was about €700,000), voluntary contributions from Member States for assistance programs (about €50,000), and programs that are funded as joint initiatives between the European Commission and the CoE; or the European Agency for Reconstruction and the CoE. These initiatives arise out of meetings between various members of each organization and are planned and funded jointly. In addition to a shift towards more assistance, the Media Division itself has experienced a geographical shift throughout the years. For example the priorities at the beginning of the 1990s would have included Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. The three priority areas now are South Eastern Europe (Stability Pact), the CIS (Russia, Ukraine and Belarus), and the South Caucasus. In general, the Council focuses on assistance in Member States and in accession states so it does not work in Central Asia and beyond.

The Council's authority and priorities relate largely to the implementation of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Media Division is particularly involved in the implementation of Article 10 of the Convention on Human Rights, the European Standard in the Area of Freedom of Expression, and the European Convention on Transfronteir Television (all recommendations and declarations of the Committee of Ministers). Because integration into Europe is seen, from the transition societies, as such an important goal, and because gaining CoE approval is perceived as a first step toward such integration, the Council commands a certain amount of authority and influence.

The most prominent area of assistance at this point for the CoE is legislative assistance. This assistance stems directly out of the work done on Conventions and the work that is done with accession countries. However, many other types of assistance supplement it so that the legislative reforms are not implemented in a vacuum (for example, seminars that train journalists in professionalism, and so on). Another area, which will be of rising importance for Council assistance programs, is the area of minority rights. The recently passed Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (27/11/2001) contains an article that addresses media. Because of this, the Media Division, in conjunction with other specialized departments for the Council (such as the Minority Department) will find itself called upon to implement assistance programs in countries where this Convention needs to be reinforced or brought into agreement with existing policies and legislation.

In this way, the CoE has focused largely on freedom of expression and media legislation and has benefited from the experience and knowledge of member states. As listed on its website, its current priorities in the media sector are:

- Media and democracy (monitoring media concentrations; studying the implication of the new communications technologies for human rights and democracy; ensuring a high degree of protection for rights holders, freedom of information, etc.);
- Media in a pan-European perspective (working out strategies for deepening commitment to media freedoms, etc.);
- Media and human rights (protection of journalists' sources of information, media reporting on legal proceedings). The European Audiovisual Observatory.

The Internet and other new technologies are not a major focus for the Media Division at the moment since the Division tends to concentrate more on countries that still need assistance with basic aspects of freedom of speech and expression. However, the intergovernmental work done by the Council does focus on the Internet and other new technologies.

Assistance programs are designed in a couple of different ways. The first, most common way for a media assistance program to develop is through requests from member states. The fact that the CoE often deals directly with governments makes it unique among media assistance actors. Once the Media Division knows its budget and priorities, it will send out a set of offers to the Council Member States and certain states will respond to the offer by requesting, for example, help in the preparatory phase of media legislation development. Once the Media Division has developed a proposal in response to a request, the Committee of Ministers must agree to the request by consensus. A unique example of this type of program is the 'Action Plan for Ukraine'. In 2001, the Parliamentary Assembly considered expelling Ukraine from the Council for delaying political reforms and repressing journalists and opposition figures. In response and as a way to avoid sanctions, Ukraine sent in several requests for media assistance. The Media Division then designed a two-year 'Action Plan' in order to address some of Ukraine's most egregious problems.

So as not to be totally dependent on requests from member states, especially where there are difficult media problems the member state would not acknowledge, the media division also works with and receives requests for projects from a nucleus of international NGOs (including Article 19, International Federation of Journalists, and the World Association of Newspapers) that the Council regularly consults. Once the Media Division receives a request from these NGOs, they review it and if they decide to go ahead with the project they may begin implementation right away. Approval by the Member States is not necessary.

Recently, the Council has made a conscious effort to develop programs with local NGOs. These programs are developed in much the same way as the projects that are implemented by international NGOs. The media division will develop a program and contact local NGOs for project proposals to carry out that program. This work is especially important in countries where the Media Division does not have official government contacts.

Since its projects range from official legislative assistance to training seminars on media and elections, for example, implementation is divided between NGOs and Council staff. Council staff, often in conjunction with media experts and national civil servants, carries out about 60% of the programs. These programs are usually legislative assistance programs that focus on the implementation of Conventions that are signed in the Council. The other 40% of assistance programs, especially projects that are aimed more at developing better business practices for media, for example, would be executed by professional organizations and NGOs that have experience in that area, such as WAN.

b. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is a joint effort of the United States and Europe, and exists in large part on the basis of EU Member State contributions. Freimut Duve is the High Commissioner for Media Freedom and responsible for the management of the OSCE's media assistance efforts.

OSCE media assistance includes media legislation, monitoring, protection of journalists, and broadcast licensing issues. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, OSCE's Department of Media Affairs has worked with national authorities to ensure the proper implementation and understanding of media laws such as the Freedom of Access to Information Act and Act on Protection Against Defamation. The OSCE organized a mixed commission of local and international experts to draft Freedom of Information Acts and defamation laws. It also produced practical guidelines to improve police/journalist relations. OSCE has taken on specific and crucial post-conflict media related roles. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, OSCE responsibilities included assistance in the conduct of elections and ensuring fair media coverage as part of that process. OSCE oversees the Temporary Media Commission in Kosovo, a body charged with regulating the country's broadcast sector.

c. World Bank

The World Bank has increasingly seen media development within target societies as vital for the achievement of many of its goals. For example, the sustained campaign

against corruption at the World Bank requires an effective press with investigative reporting skills. The World Bank Institute (WBI) has provided training in investigative journalism and examined defects in the enabling environment for such a press, including restrictions on press freedom, lack of access to information, lack of media accountability (highlighting the need for media self regulation) and, in some countries, monopoly private ownership of newspapers, radio and television. The WBI has, over the past five years, trained nearly 1,000 journalists from Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe in investigative journalism. On December 1st it facilitated a videoconference with journalists in Africa on 'Self Regulation in the Media: An Examination of Press Councils'. The WBI has also cosponsored training conferences between parliamentarians and the press such as a recent one in India (cosponsored by the Commonwealth Press Union) for institutions of the Commonwealth. Given the relationship between levels of press freedom, the degree of checks and balances in government, and levels of corruption, the conference was part of an effort to promote government accountability and improved governance, key to poverty reduction and sustainable development.

As a result of research done for the 'World Development Report 2002', the WBI has also begun to provide training and other assistance to media so as to enhance its capacity to contribute to development goals. The kinds of training would be similar to, but not exactly the same as training for anti-corruption measures.

In the MENA region (Middle East and Africa) and generally, the Bank provides training and support to journalists to encourage understanding of and reporting about complex development projects. Through direct training or less directly through loan negotiations enhances government transparency and information disclosure. In selected contexts the Bank has provided advice and counsel on projects involving the privatisation of state controlled media.

d. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

Under the head of Communication and Information, there are several relevant areas, including the Communication and Development Division, the Division for Freedom of Expression, Democracy, and Peace, (Intergovernmental Programme for the Development of Communication), the Information Division (General Information Programme), and the Infomatics and Infostructure Division (Information Infomatics Programme).

As an example, the Communication Development Division aims at improving communications capabilities in Member States and fostering the concept of public service broadcasting. The International Programme for the Development of

Communication (IPDC) is an intergovernmental body run by the Communications and Development division. The IPDC focuses on the promotion of press freedom, media independence and pluralism, community media, development of human resources for the media, modernization of national and regional news agencies, radio as well as television organizations. It does this through projects that are approved annually by the Intergovernmental Council and funded through contributions by Member States. Contributions total US$85 million. As reported on its website, 'the biggest voluntary contributions have been made by Denmark, Germany, Finland, France, India, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Russia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.' Some examples of IPDC projects include restructuring of the Pan African News Agency, computerization of radio newsrooms in the Asia and Pacific region, establishment of community radio stations in rural areas in the Philippines, and the computerization of the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) and staff training.

The Division for Freedom of Expression, Democracy and Peace conducts 'public awareness' activities, such as the organization of 3 May, World Press Freedom Day, the annual UNESCO-Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize, and other actions aimed at increasing public knowledge of the values and importance of freedom of expression. It provides assistance to Member States in areas such as reforming media legislation, establishing and maintaining voluntary and self-regulatory codes of ethics for journalists, and enhancing cooperation with legislators and other national and international authorities. UNESCO and its partners also conduct projects in conflict and post conflict contexts with the aim of reinforcing independent and pluralistic media and providing non-partisan information in these regions.

e. United Nations

Although the UN Security Council has called on the UN secretariat to act as a mediator in conflicts or as an interim administrator for countries where a central authority has collapsed, it has yet to establish a dedicated media development arm that could be prepared to act in peacekeeping or peacemaking scenarios. Instead, the UN's approach to media assistance has been ad hoc and dispersed throughout several different branches of the organization. The UN has built up expertise and clear policies in other development and post-conflict categories but has yet to draw up a standard approach to media assistance.

Despite this, the United Nations has an increasing role in peacekeeping operations, where it has responsibility among other work, to help structure or restructure media. The peacekeeping management arm of the UN Secretariat, Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) is responsible for the administration of contracts

concerning these tasks. In societies where the state has disintegrated after bloodshed such as East Timor or Sierra Leone, the UN missions have attempted to provide some framework for the media to evolve. In East Timor, the UN ran the public information campaign that preceded the elections in 1999 and the mission's press and information office oversaw later efforts to create a legal framework for the media sector.[3] The UN Mission's legal department drafted regulations on telecommunications and broadcast law, spectrum usage and licensing as well as codes of conduct for the press. The UN mission also set out policies for the development of the public radio and television networks. This approach evolved in response to the chaos that followed the conflict and neither the Security Council nor UN headquarters had prepared a strategy for media development at the outset of the UN mission.

In Sierra Leone, the UN mission provided advice to the government on media regulation and produced radio programming that was eventually broadcast on a UN radio station.

Several other areas of the UN perform media-related assistance work as part of their general mission.[4] At the UN Millennium Summit United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was charged with assisting to reduce poverty, globally with a strategy that focuses on, among six major areas, Information and Communications Technology. To accomplish this goal, UNDP is determining the extent of "e-readiness" in individual developing countries. Drawing on UNDP's network of 136 country offices and relationship with governments, it will identify concrete steps needed to foster and ensure the broader development of domestic ICT sectors.

In early 2000, to improve the cohesion and consistency of UNDP partnerships, the Administrator created a new Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partnerships (BRSP). This brought responsibility for a number of key strategic partnerships—the UN system, donor countries, civil society organizations, the Bretton Woods and other financial institutions, including regional development banks, the private sector—under one umbrella. One such partnership is with the Markle Foundation, the Global Digital Opportunity Initiative designed to improve Internet infrastructure in developing societies.

f. Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe

The Stability Pact, launched in 10 June 1999, is a discussion forum composed of donor countries that fund certain activities. It was established to provide, in part, greater horizontal cooperation, through Working Tables, among the countries of South-Eastern Europe (namely Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia). The

Stability Pact constitutes a coordinative framework for reconstruction of the region in the wake of the conflicts that took place in the Balkans from 1991 to 1999. The pact is a political process intended to bring about improvement of general conditions in the region in all areas by means of internal reforms and increased cooperation. The pact began with three main 'tables': (1) Democratisation and Human Rights; (2) Economic Reconstruction, Development and Cooperation; and (3) Security Issues. The Working Table on Democratisation and Human Rights was established to address:

> Democratisation and human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to national minorities; free and independent media; civil society building; rule of law and law enforcement; institution building; efficient administration and good governance; development of common rules of conduct on border related questions; other related questions of interest to the participants.

In 2000, Germany provided 300 million DM for non-military funding of Stability Pact activities with some small fraction going for media-related functions. In many cases, national funding patterns do not change because of the Stability Pact even if an activity is attributed to it. The Stability Pact Task Force on Media performed intermediate functions like listing a group of projects, which it identified, and for which there were or should be governmental, and NGO donors, that would contribute to regional growth. It emphasized, in one such offering that all projects listed were from non-governmental organisations based in the countries of the Stability Pact. The projects listed included, technical assistance for a broadcasting law in Montenegro, assistance to Albanian and Greek journalists to establish a common declaration upholding the principles of a civilized society, and the alleviation of hate speech through a half million dollar project to 'influence the process of transformation of Bulgarian media into an active partner of civil society that will play a crucial role in the process of social transformation to influence the process of transformation of Bulgarian media into an active partner of civil society that will play a crucial role in the process of social transformation.'

iii. Public and Private Foundations

a. Private Foundations

Although smaller in scope, private foundations have played an increasingly important role in media development initiatives around the world. Of these foundations there are several private operational foundations, including the Open Society Institutes (Soros Foundation Network), the Freedom Forum, now increasingly, the Markle Foundation.

US foundations that have been involved in media assistance include the Rockefeller Foundation, the Markle Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, and the MacArthur Foundation. The Ford Foundation has funded the Glasnost Defense Foundation since the early 1990s. In 1999, the Ford Foundation provided a grant to the GDF for $330,000 and in 2001 they provided a grant of $171,500 for support of activities to protect journalists' rights. The Markle Foundation has long been associated with communications policy issues and was largely responsible for the funding, early in the post-Soviet transition, of the Commission on Radio and Television Policy, a body initially composed of US and Soviet broadcasting executives and public figures interested in their work. It provided the initial grant for the Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy at the University of Oxford. The Bertelsmann Foundation has sought to provide assistance including in the area of self-regulation.

The Independent Journalism Foundation is another example of a foundation seeking to provide aid to media around the world. The IJF received start up grants from the International Media Fund, Time Inc, and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, in addition to *The New York Times Foundation*. In a way, it operates at two levels: as a donor and as a local partner. It has a tradition of not seeking US government funding, though it is now working with ProMedia, an IREX program funded by USAID.

The Open Society Institutes (OSI), in New York, Baltimore, Brussels, Budapest, and Paris are private operating and grantmaking foundations that are part of the Soros Foundation Network. These foundations have had the most dramatic influence over the media landscape in many post-communist countries, providing aid to independent-minded media coupled with support for a myriad of civil society initiatives. George Soros, Founder of the Soros Foundation Network, contributed more than US$15 million in 1990 alone to ‘democratic dissidents and organizations’ in Eastern Europe.[5] OSI support for independent radio stations such as Radio B92 in Belgrade and other initiatives helped contribute to the defeat of authoritarian regimes in the Balkans. Because of its role and impact we provide some focus on its philosophy and means of operation.

National foundations in target countries first produce a media strategy paper that fits into a larger democratisation strategy for that country. National OSI foundations are comprised of prominent civil society activists and experts from the target country. A description of the media sector and the general political conditions comes from this group of local experts.

These OSI national foundations then discuss their strategy paper with the central OSI office in Budapest, where a multi-national media development staff reviews and comments on the national foundation's plan. Sometimes members of national foundations travel to Budapest to discuss the strategy in more detail. In some cases, a local media advisory board is formed to assess media projects and initiatives. Through an intensive consultative process, a media strategy is eventually forged that balances the role of central leadership at headquarters with first-hand knowledge of those living in the target society.

With a dedicated media development section, OSI seeks to ensure that qualified experts review media projects in a coherent manner. Although it receives less financial support than some other development efforts within OSI, media assistance issues are given a high policy priority and a department at headquarters that monitors all media development projects and media policy issues. In combination with its strong local presence, OSI also has a prominent international profile, often enabling the organisation to participate in policy discussions or debates on media policy issues.

Although its budgets are smaller than those of many major donor governments, OSI seeks to leverage its influence through its advocacy efforts in Brussels, Washington DC and elsewhere. Due to its significant funding role in the Balkans, OSI is a member of the coordinating body for the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, working as a virtually equal partner with donor governments in formulating development policy.

OSI programmes have had the most impact when conducted over a longer period, as various media and civil society initiatives gradually raise awareness and promote open debate. Although OSI's formula contains safeguards to ensure proposals are discussed thoroughly by consensus, OSI retains sufficient flexibility to take action in emergencies.

The Freedom Forum is another example of an operational foundation. Before serious cutbacks in all its international work in 2001, the Freedom Forum had offices in Buenos Aires, London, Hong Kong, Moscow, and Johannesburg. It had journalism libraries in 17 cities, often in conjunction with training centers established by others, including the Independent Journalism Foundation.

b. Politische Stiftungen

'Political foundations' (politische Stiftungen) in Germany (including Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung) have supported media development initiatives throughout the world, including in the

Balkans, Latin America, and Asia. The government of Germany is the main funder of the Stiftungen and that funding is voted on in the Federal Parliament; however, the selection of projects and partners, the project planning and execution, are left up to the foundation. Each foundation is also linked to a particular political party, but they are not permitted to support those parties.

As an example, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung estimates that it spends 10 percent of it budget on media assistance programs (though that rate has decreased recently). The foundation promotes regional research and documentation centers for communication such as Asian Media and Information Communications Centre (AMIC), Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para America Latina (CIESPAL), African Council on Communication Education (ACCE) in Kenya, Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication (CARIMAC) and so on. It also supports regional TV news exchange systems on a cooperative basis such as Asiavision, Arabvision, Afro-Vision, Caribvision; supports training and production centers for TV in Singapore, Sri Lanka, Jamaica, Kenya, Ghana; provides consultancy services for the reforming of national broadcast systems (such as, South Africa and Indonesia); and supplies workers education by radio and TV in the Caribbean, Africa, the Arab world. In contrast to many US based foundations, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung jointly develops projects with NGOs and their staff work together with the staff of their partner organizations in the fulfilment of their projects.

B. Intermediary Organizations/Contractors

There are many types of groups which act as intermediaries in the implementation of media assistance projects. (Indeed, as we have already indicated, some donors, including foundations and governments act as implementers as well). Most donor governments and foundations fund non-governmental organisations, expert consultancies, or university departments to implement media assistance programmes through competitive contracts or grant arrangements. Another smaller category of implementer is the category of international industry associations, like the EBU.

i. Western Universities, Contractors, Media Companies

In 1990, Jimmy Carter founded a Commission on Radio and Television, which was intended to increase dialogue (during what was still the Gorbachev period) between American networks and Russian and Eastern European state television entities was established. The Commission is a project of the Carter Center at Emory University and the DeWitt Wallace Center for Communications and Journalism at Duke University Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy and is largely funded by the Markle Foundation. The Commission's most significant output is guidebooks such as *Television and Elections,* which has been used in Russia, Ukraine, Romania, the West

Bank, Bosnia, and Lithuania to name a few. In connection with the work of the Commission, the Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program provided technical assistance in a series of seminars that explored important issues facing transition societies and published reports based on these seminars such as 'Democracy on the Air,' and 'Television Autonomy & the State.' Other examples include the Florida International University Media Center and the Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy, Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Oxford University.

ii. Non-governmental Media Assistance Providers (Operational)

Specialised NGOs have grown increasingly influential, shaping the policies of donor governments and spawning domestic branches of their organisations in the target countries. Some government ministries ask these media NGOs to draft overall media development strategies for countries or geographic regions. Media NGOs say they work to maintain an independent approach to media assistance without allowing reliance on a single donor government to exert undue influence over their work. Some NGOs have established internal rules about avoiding dependence on any one donor source.

In its broadest sense, the term non-governmental organization (NGO) refers to an organization that is independent from government. The World Bank defines NGOs as "private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development" (Operational Directive 14.70). [6] Despite these definitions, there is a wide range of funding strategies among NGOs and many depend almost solely on government funding, while still often maintaining an important degree of autonomy.

In this respect, NGOs prefer grants or flexible arrangements that allow a maximum of autonomy and flexibility in the field. On the other hand, government agencies often prefer close supervision of a project through explicit contractual arrangements. Staff members at media NGOs have charged donor governments with interfering in some projects and lacking knowledge of local political or media market conditions in target countries. Some civil servants criticise the NGOs for failing to understand broader foreign policy concerns or for pushing for open-ended initiatives that only serve to sustain the NGO's existence.

Large NGOs based in the US and funded primarily by the US government have sometimes created niches in various types of training or media assistance. As time goes on, and as entities get larger with more comprehensive mandates, their tendency to specialize naturally diminishes. Still, the marks of their early focus stay

with them. The International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) has evolved a very broad mandate, including (1) assisting the development of professional journalism; (2) developing / supporting indigenous support institutions such as journalists, broadcasters, publishers associations, free speech NGOs; (3) reforming legal and regulatory framework, legal analyses and assistance; and (4) improving business viability of independent media.

Goal articulations have different shades. Internews aims to establish: a media assistance NGO; at least one media industry association (such as an association of stations); at least one association of journalists; and a 'media monitoring' NGO (such as, CPJ, RSF, Adil Soz, GDF) in each country. Each such entity has its own somewhat separate methodology and culture of adaptation.

USAID and other funding entities have often produced or buttressed regional concentrations and medium-specific work among the recipient NGOs. For example, the USAID has often funded a different entity for print and broadcasting as in Russia, where Internews has the broadcast contract and IREX has the print contract.

Also, IREX and Internews have specialized, in their beginnings, in the post-Soviet transitional states while an entity like Florida International University Media Center specializes in Latin America. As transitions have taken place, as needs have shifted and opportunities elsewhere expanded, the nature of focus has changed. Internews has become more global, both in terms of funding sources and societies in which it is involved. Other examples of focus are the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ), which has instituted numerous programs in Latin America and has the USAID contract for Georgia.

Press Now, established in 1993, is an example of an organization that receives ongoing funding from the Dutch government, but also receives funding from other sources including the Open Society Institute, the National Committee for International Co-operation and Sustainable Development (NCDO), the Markle Foundation, and the Oestreicher Foundation. The organization has raised almost 3 million guilders for the support of independent media in the Balkans and the countries of Southeastern Europe. Press Now's activities include information dissemination, technical assistance, mediation, and facilitating exchanges between media in ex-Yugoslavia and the Netherlands. Previously the organization would fund projects in target countries. Recently they set up their own office in target countries. They have slightly expanded into the former Soviet Union, including Moldova.

The Danish Baltic Media Center, a non-profit organization, receives funding from several international sources, but is primarily funded by the Danish government. The Center promotes "democracy, social development, and a peaceful international co-operation through the active participation of the media." It provides technical assistance help and consulting services to Western European media for a fee. Outside of Western Europe it provides these services free of charge.

Norwegian People's Aid, one of the countries largest NGOs founded in 1939 by the Norwegian labour movement, and Switzerland's Medienhilfe Ex-Jugoslawien, 'a non-government and non-profit organization supporting independent media and professional journalism in the area of the former Yugoslavia' are both active in the media assistance sector.

One example of a specialty player is *Fondation Hirondelle,* which devotes itself exclusively to establishing radio stations in conflict zones (such as Sierra Leone). Funded in part by the Swiss government, *Fondation Hirondelle* has developed the capacity to identify frequencies, negotiate temporary facilities, act as an intermediary during crisis, provide objective information during elections, and then determine an orderly transition for the station.

The European Journalism Centre, which has focused on basic journalistic training, and the European Institute for the Media, which has focused on media monitoring initiatives, cooperates with the European Commission and a range of media NGOs and universities. The European Institute of Media (EIM) is not essentially a media aid organization, but has grown into one based on its work as a research organization with specific media priorities. Its earliest model was to assist donors and target countries identify issues for discussion. Originally, it was not a granting entity. Now, its Media Democracy Program has two main contracts: one for the CIS and one for other transition societies. Its three year contracts for these two activities amount to approximately €2,000,000. The EIM, in terms of technical assistance, formerly focussed on work with regulatory authorities and legal questions for traditional media. Now it is beginning a focus on regulation of new technologies. The European Union relies principally on EIM for country-by-country media monitoring during election cycles.

We turn now to a few specific examples of media assistance specialization in order to give a more in depth look at the strategies some NGOs have developed.

a. International Research & Exchanges Board

The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) has worked on media assistance since the early 1990s and began long-term comprehensive programs in 1995, funded by USAID. IREX's approach is to provide a combination of technical assistance (training and consulting) and grants to independent media and institutions to support the development of professional journalism, the development of supporting institutions such as NGOs and associations, the development of a supportive legal and regulatory system, and the development of financially viable independent media.

IREX establishes a local project office in the target country, usually consisting of expatriate and local media advisors. This provides a combination of best Western practices, best local practices, and an understanding of the local situation. The strategy is developed first and foremost by these locally based experts, working with the funder, USAID, local media partners, and other donors. IREX in Washington DC provides strategic oversight, support, and can help share best practices from IREX's experience across the region.

IREX focuses on developing indigenous institutions and media outlets. It seeks to work with those with a track record in professionalism, a commitment to editorial and financial independence. In some cases, IREX has helped start media organizations although this is not its preferred approach if indigenous capacity exists. IREX also seeks wide cooperation with other donors and implementers such as OSI, Press Now, Medienhilfe, Swedish Helsinki Committee, and others. IREX has found that some of its more complex and larger activities, such as support for B92, CCN in Croatia, *Nezavisne Novine* in Bosnia have benefited from combined and coordinated donor efforts. The NIS hasn't seen such large and comprehensive projects due to its current stage of development, but donor/implementation coordination there has also remained important to IREX's work.

b. The Internews Approach

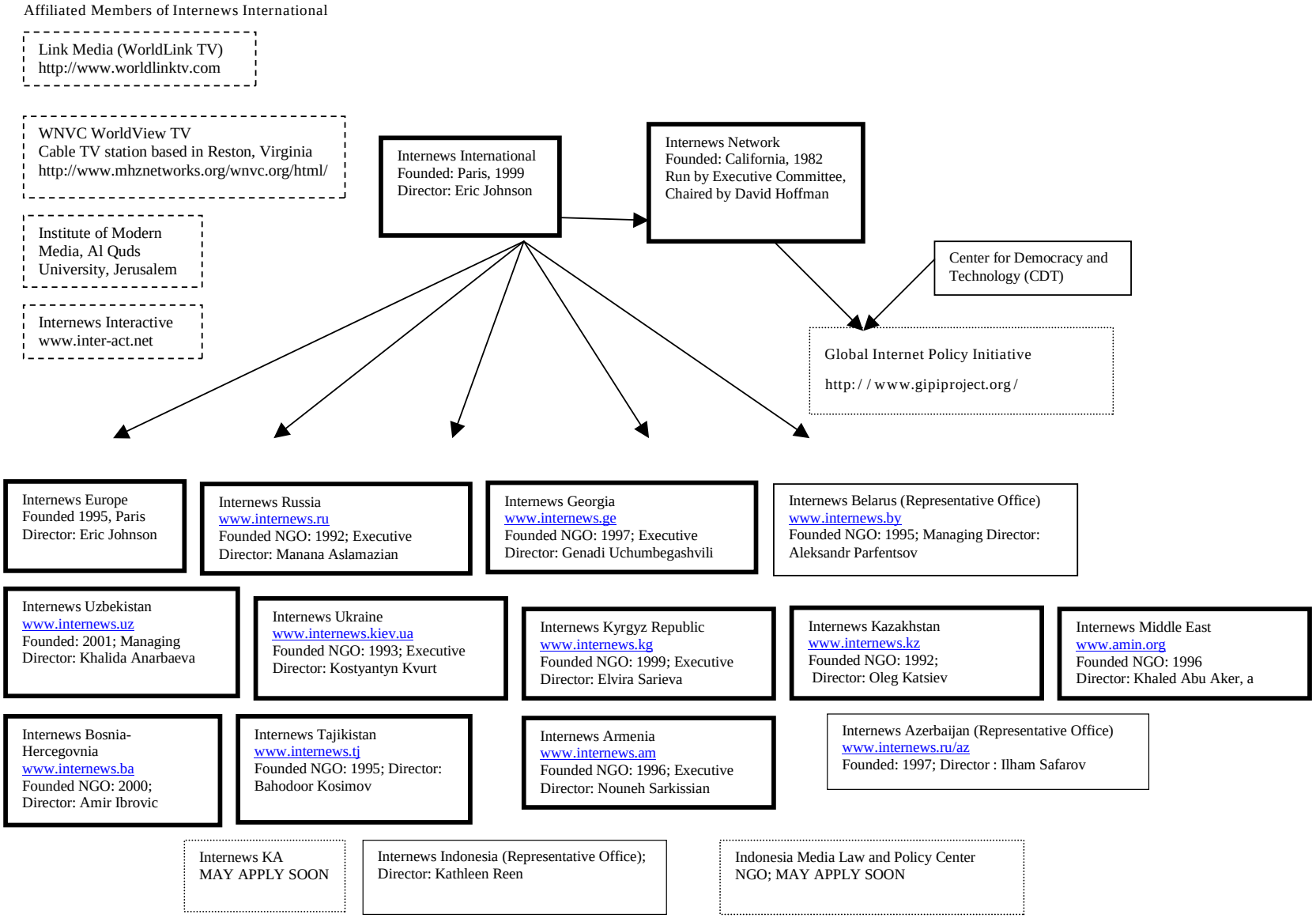
Internews, founded during the 1980s, established itself as a global entity involved in media assistance in the 1990s when it increased in size and in prominence in response to the media assistance needs of many post-communist countries. Internews is unique, however, because it has a brand. It establishes itself in a country and founds a local 'Internews' that will carry out the work of a media assistance NGO. Internews establishes these local NGOs because they believe that a longer term initiative is much more beneficial. Their goal is to establish NGOs that eventually are not seen as 'Western assistance organizations' and can carry out continuing efforts in that

country. These local NGOs constitute the 16 member organizations of Internews International (based in Paris), an association established in 1998. Internews Network (based in California) takes the lead in project and resource development, while the country-based Internews International members focus on project implementation on the ground.

Internews has also increased its concentration on media policy reform and issues involving ownership, regulation and licensing, access, censorship, development assistance, public versus private broadcasting, privacy, journalistic ethics, consumer education and the digital divide. The OSI has provided funding to Internews Europe for at least one lawyer in Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Bosnia and Herzegovina to advise media and to assist them in their relationships with governments.

Figure 3 provides a map of the structure of Internews and its many regional members. This structure allows for funding flexibility (the European Commission can fund Internews through Internews Europe and the US government can fund Internews through Internews Network, based in California) and gives Internews a wide regional base. This map, however, does not include any of the media monitoring organizations, press associations, or other initiatives that Internews has been helped establish.

FIGURE 3
Internews



iii. Non-governmental Watchdog and Press Freedom Groups (Advocacy)

Over the last ten to fifteen years, the role of media freedom NGOs such as *Reporters Sans Frontieres* (RSF), Article 19, the International Press Institute (IPI), Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), and others has evolved from letter writing protest campaigns to lobbying, policy making, and direct aid to news organisations in some cases.[7] The Independent Federation of Journalists (IFJ), the world's largest organization of journalists, strengthens the role of national journalist associations and, in particular, their contribution to press freedom and human rights issues.

Certain entities, like the Commonwealth Press Union (CPU), the World Association of Newspapers (WAN), and the World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC) have grown from or originated in industry associations, which have greatly expanded their roles as champions of press freedoms for their members. There are regional organizations, like the South East Asian Press Alliance (SEAPA), that bring press-related perspectives to training and law reform efforts.

In the same way that human rights NGOs have added political advocacy to their traditional development efforts, many media freedom NGOs have moved beyond merely protesting press freedom threats. Article 19 has helped write amicus curiae briefs on media freedom cases for courts, including the European Court and has assisted with the drafting of laws in Kosovo/a and Indonesia. Lawyers with the Open Society Institute have helped draft defamation and Freedom of Information laws in Bosnia-Herzegovoina and broadcasting legislation in Kosovo/a. IREX/ProMedia has supported legal defence work in Ukraine and Belarus, assisting reporters and news organisations facing costly defamation suits or other repressive legal actions. Freedom House has long engaged in a ranking of countries in terms of press freedoms.

In the 1990s, some new NGOs worked to defend journalistic freedom while also delivering aid directly to news organisations in former Yugoslavia and elsewhere. Medienhilfe, in Switzerland and Press Now, in the Netherlands, were established in 1992 and 1993 respectively in direct response to the Yugoslav conflict. These organisations have become involved in policy debates inside the European Union on media development efforts in South-Eastern Europe. Press Now started with emergency aid to independent media in 1994, then launched projects aimed at bolstering infrastructure for non-state media in 1995 and now supports a variety of media programs and engages in policy discussions with the Dutch government and the European Union.

Media development organisations such as Search for Common Ground and the Centre for War, Peace and the News Media seek to prevent or heal conflict through a combination of journalism training, seminars and production of original broadcasts. The new field of conflict resolution has become a part of the media development agenda.

C. Local Partners

Local partners are a crucial component of any development project, adding necessary insights into the recipient community that ensure a program will prove effective. Local partners are likely to come in the form of media outlets, but also include journalist organizations, domestic universities, and other domestic media assistance organizations such as the Media Institute for Southern Africa, the Center for Independent Journalism, the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, the Moscow Media Law and Policy Institute (MGU), and the Iberoamerican Institute of Freedom of Information at the Iberoamerican University in Mexico City.

Organizations such as the Open Society Institute, Press Now, SIDA and other donor agencies or actors have worked to support indigenous institutions that will carry on the development of independent media once the original project is completed. The goal is to nurture local organizations (journalist associations, trade associations, free speech NGOs, media centres, and so on) which will represent the interests of media to the authorities and support free speech, provide training and consultation, and connect the local media community to relevant international organizations (the International Federation of Journalists, the Committee to Protect Journalists, and so on).

Still, many international media assistance efforts have slighted the local partner's role, with the donor and implementing agency formulating initiatives with sometimes only superficial consultation with experts in a target society. Donor governments now often require local partners to be identified during the tender process and increasing weight is placed on the role of local partners. Some NGOs such as the Open Society Institute or Search for Common Ground rely on local experts generating project and policy ideas with a modest degree of consultation or supervision from the outside.

The use of local actors or intermediaries sometimes presents a dilemma. While local actors are more cost-effective and have valuable expertise, they might be subject to political pressure that hinders their impartiality or lack administrative capacity, requiring extensive monitoring.[8] Local actors sometimes lack experience in independent-minded, quality journalism and media business management, posing the risk of perpetuating poor practises. On the other hand, similar suggestions,

though of a different dimension, have been made concerning the external participants.

Local organizations find it difficult to compete against large international organizations, whose capacity allows them to win larger tenders. Large international organizations become larger, more expert, more capable of responding to tenders, and more reliable for donors. The result can be a lack of institutionalisation in the media sector, with projects that are unsustainable once the international organizations withdraw from a target society. Given that few local organizations have the resources to carry out an effective media assistance program, many donors and intermediaries now aim to strengthen local capacity. The goal is to ensure professionally strong and financially viable media outlets and second to support local institutions, which will carry on the work in the future. Some NGOs have tried to conduct internal training designed to establish permanent local institutions or associations. Donors have also sought to reform journalism university programs to provide continuing education for the long-term development of a media sector.

An example of a specialty player establishing local entities is the Independent Journalism Foundation. While operating in part as funder, the IJF runs several training centres that are located in a number of transition societies. The Centers for Independent Journalism are designed in order to help consolidate efforts (training, legal reform, management assistance) in a community. In some entities, there is a Reporting Diversity project, in others an International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) project on reporting women's health issues. There are standard components of an IJF Center: (a) Library, (b) Local staff, (c) Mock News Room, and (d) Broadcast training program with Internet connections (as a tool and as a mode of reporting). Each Center functions as a training entity with courses, often in conjunction with a local university, and with resident US journalists. They also run special programs such as Roma Mainstream Media Internship, and Secondary School Summer programs. Each segment also has historic donors (usually funding went to IJF which then funded each entity). For example, the Freedom Forum Foundation sponsored libraries while other donors include the International Media Fund (which received funding from US government), the German Marshall Fund, and Knight Ridder (which sponsored resident journalists).

D. Industry Associations

An example of a donor / implementer that functions more as a technical assistance entity is the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), the largest professional association of national broadcasters in the world. Headquartered in Geneva, the EBU negotiates broadcasting rights for major sports events, operates the Eurovision and Euroradio networks, organizes programme exchanges, stimulates and coordinates co-

productions, and provides a full range of other legal and strategic services. In Brussels, the EBU represents the interests of public service broadcasters before the European institutions. With its principal expertise in public service broadcasting and capacities in the technical, legal and programming fields, the EBU has provided assistance in the formation of counterparts and in the transition from state broadcasters to public service models. The legal department provides expertise on national broadcasting legislation, especially in support of the development of independent public service broadcasting in the new democracies. To this end, it monitors and analyses developments in media law and related areas and ensures, through its legal network, an exchange of views and information throughout Europe. In 1998, Dr. Werner Rumphorst prepared, for the EBU a model public service broadcasting law, a document that aims to explain the role of public service broadcasting in a democratic society and outline a way to establish legislation for public service broadcasting in transition societies.[9]

2

MEDIA ASSISTANCE: AREAS OF SPECIALISATION

Although the European Union, EU member states, and the US have often jointly funded the same or similar initiatives, there is sometimes, though not always, a clear difference in specialisation. This is most evident in the approach to public service broadcasting. The European view is more likely to favour a strong public broadcasting sector and assistance for the transformation of state broadcasters into genuine public service networks. The US approach emphasises aid for the development of a robust commercial media sector and a reluctance to offer direct support for public broadcasting reform.[10] This transatlantic divergence, which reflects the different broadcasting traditions in the US compared to the EU, has sometimes preoccupied donors to the detriment of the target society's media. Recent activities, as in Indonesia, suggest that the different entities have begun to accept that there is probably room for both approaches and there is a need for developing both public and private media sectors. Hybrid models that mix public service obligations with commercial funding, based in part on the Channel 4 model in the United Kingdom, may provide a way forward. The draft broadcasting law in Serbia allows for stations to fulfil a public service role with civil society NGO support.

It is also possible to map media assistance efforts in terms of areas of geographical specialty or spheres of interest. Germany, for example, has had a special interest in the development of the media sphere in certain parts of Central and Eastern Europe. France has had an understandable tradition of interest in francophone countries (as has Canada) and in Romania and Albania. One form of media assistance, at the early stages of post-Soviet transition, was for donor state encouragement of foreign investment, by lenders and press entities in the donor state, to help foster a private press in the target society and help protect them from pressures from local governments.

In order to gain a better idea of the range of specialization and the range of activity currently underway in media assistance, we plan to list each area of concentration, describe the activity in this area of assistance, and then begun to identify the organizations and donors that specialize in those areas. This will be a preliminary categorization, where we place the NGO or donor under the area(s) of specialization for which they are most known. We look forward to receiving input from many organizations as we place them on the map. As it is completed, we hope to provide a snapshot of media assistance efforts as they stand today.

This section is under construction.

Journalism training and education

Training in marketing, business management, and efforts to ensure financial independence.

Training that focuses on transforming state broadcasters into genuine public service networks,

Training in professional media ethics, accountability, and professionalism.

Material assistance.

Assistance in developing networks of independent media including providing assistance in program sharing arrangements, linking production, distribution, and management of broadcast material.

Assistance and advice in building democratic legal and regulatory frameworks for media.

Trade and professional association development.

Legal Defence.

Conflict prevention.

Security training.

Support for legal advocacy.

Social and cultural development.

New communications assistance.

3

MAPPING CRITERIA FOR MEDIA DEVELOPMENT: WHEN AND WHOM TO ASSIST?

Organizations could be mapped according to the specific criteria they use to determine whether to support media development. Different organizations have different goals and so articulate different prerequisites for the media they will agree to assist. They also stipulate different ideals for the relationship that an entity they assist has with the state and its place in the political development of the state. One could also map whether the funding actions of donor organizations and NGOs conform to the criteria and objectives they state in advance.

Every target society's media sector has its own characteristics and historical context. Judging which news outlet or association to assist is a delicate process. Although there are no strict rules that can be applied, government agencies and NGOs have sought to formulate criteria to guide media assistance, posing pertinent questions or benchmarks to decide if a recipient will truly benefit from the aid and will use it responsibly and for the articulated goals.

In a policy document produced in February 2001, the British Department for International Development (DFID) suggests any assistance should be preceded by key questions such as: 'Will the assistance increase media freedom and effectiveness? Will it help to improve the quality of governance?'[11] On legal issues, DFID poses the following question: 'How comprehensive and effective are legislation and freedom of information provisions in giving the legislature, citizens, and the media access to government information?'

The DFID document asserts that support for media is more effective if it is linked with broader efforts aimed at making government institutions accountable. 'Even independent and skilful media will have limited impact without the other institutions that can use news and opinions to hold the government to account effectively.' DFID warns against assistance for media supported or controlled indirectly by the local government and that media practise is not always easily transferred across cultures.

Medienhilfe, a media assistance NGO based in Switzerland, has drawn up six points as the guiding criteria for its media support activities:

1. Media who are not owned or controlled by a state or para-state structures;
2. Media whose editorial policy is not controlled or influenced by any political party;
3. Media whose coverage complies with professional criteria and journalist ethics;
4. Media who have engaged against nationalism and have promoted dialogue, understanding and peaceful cohabitation of people with different ethnic and religious background;
5. Media who have been promoting civil society and democratisation processes;
6. Special attention is given to cross-border and network media projects.

The criteria for Press Now are very similar. According to their website, they will support media if:

1. They are not state-owned;
2. Their editorial policy is not influenced by governmental structures;
3. They are not connected to any political party;
4. They do not spread propaganda;
5. They take a stand against war and ethnic conflicts;
6. They contribute to a reconstruction of democracy;

According to an interview with Internews, the decision to work in a certain region is based on the chances of developing independent media in that region. The organization looks for the possibility of change in the government or in the legal system of the country as well as the existence of independent media before it will decide to work in a certain country. IREX assesses the strengths and weaknesses of existing media structures in a certain region before deciding to work in that region, and before deciding what areas to focus on. According to Mark Whitehouse, IREX will do a country assessment study that analyses each media sector. Once they have ascertained the sector that would most benefit from their work, IREX will begin to work in that area.

Nevertheless, such feasibility studies are often not conducted at all prior to the launch of a major project and little or no attempt is made by donor governments to conduct a systematic review of a country's media sector. When feasibility studies are pursued, they are sometimes written by an NGO with a vested interest in winning a development contract instead of an independent actor.

According to Internews, evaluating the needs of a target society remains a great challenge without sufficient funding. 'This is a difficult question, as many of the possible solutions are expensive and long-term, when many donors and implementing organizations work on much shorter time-frames,' Internews said in a PCMLP survey. 'As a first basic step, solid market research and audience surveys enhance our ability to support news operations, but in very few places do we have the luxury to purchase or create such rating systems. More in-depth focus groups and surveys could add to an even deeper understanding of the societies in which we work.'

USAID asked the Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy at the University of Oxford to examine the legal, regulatory, and other conditions necessary to foster a free, open media sphere in transitional or developing countries. The resulting study, *The Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media*, serves as a guide for donors as well as for reporters, lawyers, and activists campaigning for journalistic freedom in transitional countries.

To contain or prevent armed conflict, donor governments sometimes supplement media assistance projects with an expansion of extra-territorial broadcast programming and even consider jamming inflammatory broadcasts in emergencies. Media NGOs tend to oppose such measures and favour projects that focus exclusively on supporting indigenous media and alternative voices as a way of countering regime media. Although international broadcasters such as the BBC World Service enjoy a significant audience in some less developed countries, media NGOs say an authentic, local news voice remains the best way to cultivate open debate or to counter a repressive climate.

In accordance with *Medienhilfe's* criteria, many donors will only provide equipment or training to news outlets with a proven track record and decline to support the creation of brand new ventures. The radio station B-92 in the Serbian capital Belgrade is an example of an authentic local voice that benefited from generous international support without losing its local credibility. What started as a small student station became a crucial window to the world for a population inundated with state propaganda, eventually helping to undermine the autocratic rule of the Milosevic regime. Stations invented and supervised by donor governments in Bosnia-Herzegovina have often failed to take root in the same way and have never played the kind of pivotal social or political role enjoyed by B-92.

Veran Matic, the director of Radio B-92, at a conference in January 1999, stated that donor governments can bolster media freedom by avoiding artificial creations: 'Only those initiatives which have taken root and become an integral part of the social

fabric of the area in conflict stand a chance of yielding satisfactory results: initiatives from the outside would surely fail as they can never do more than mimic cultural patterns, this mimicry is obvious to the local community and the information it carries is disregarded.'

Articulating the criteria for media assistance is much easier than evaluating the effect of a particular media assistance project. When has a project run its course and what defines success? Tracking the results of training or direct aid to a news organisation is a subjective exercise that defies quantitative measurement. Donors and implementing organisations struggle with how best to measure the impact of their work on a target society and for the media sector in particular. USAID has come up with a universal scale that rates a society's overall media freedom and journalistic standards and IREX has developed a Media Sustainability Index, which is a macro-level look with micro-level indicators.[12] Internews has created comparative media indices in selected countries to define progress toward the development of open media. [13]

The European Commission often requires implementing NGOs to include a 3 to 5 percent budget line to cover the costs of annual evaluations of a particular project. But other donor governments do not set aside money for evaluation activities. According to UK's DFID, conducting independent and comprehensive evaluation of journalism training is simply too expensive for the limited development budgets available.

Media NGOs say the efficacy of training can be checked to a degree through questionnaires, monitoring visits, and audience surveys. But some difficult environments present difficult policy choices. Should training be continued even in repressive conditions that prevent younger journalists from putting their skills into practise? In such a scenario, is it more productive to keep training reporters, to concentrate on lobbying efforts for legal reform, or to simply cancel media assistance altogether? Should business training be promoted in impoverished economies?

4

MAPPING FUNDING LEVELS

Another large scale way of mapping media assistance is through a study and analysis of funding patterns. Relevant questions include:

- What is the appropriate balance between short-term and long term funding of indigenous media institutions?
- Are there shifts in the percentage of funding for media assistance projects among donor countries?
- How have donor funding patterns changed over a fifteen year period in terms of the total amount available?
- How have donor patterns of funding shifted for particular kinds of media assistance projects that are funded?
- Has donor funding become increasingly based in governments and IGOs with less funding coming from foundations?
- Is there a pattern of government funding for NGOs? Do major implementing NGOs have a diversity of funding ,and when does concentrated government funding alter the nature of the NGO?
- What funding patterns enhance sustainability?
- In multilateral assistance efforts, as in post-conflict contexts, to what extent do donors insist on control of their own part of the media rehabilitation program?

We cannot, at this time, and maybe never will be able to have answers to all of these questions. We present figures here only to give a sense of scale and range of sources. Overall funding for media-related programs has increased markedly over the past five to ten years, according to available figures and interviews with donor agencies. For example, in 1995, UNESCO's budget for media assistance was US$800,000. This rose to US$2 million in 2000. What we present here are a few examples of statements concerning funding, but they are only illustrative.

A. Government and International Governmental Organizations

Media assistance has become a regular part of development aid packages, usually falling under civil society, governance or democratisation categories.

Some media development organisations say donor governments in recent years have begun placing a higher priority on promoting media freedom and pluralism but others maintain that it still receives too little attention and support among policy

makers. For donor governments, when and where media assistance should be provided depends on an evolving set of criteria. Other political and economic factors come into play as well as the preferences of individual actors. In countries wholly dependent on outside aid, some donor governments choose to use this leverage to urge media reform and sponsor media assistance to independent-minded outlets. In other regions, other foreign policy interests take precedence and media development issues are cast aside or given a much lower priority in terms of policy and aid expenditure.

i. United States Government

A USAID official has estimated USAID expenditures for 'free flow of information' assistance over the decade 1991 to 2001 at above US$260,000,000. This figure does not include other US government funded media assistance, such as by the USIA (now part of the State Department) or the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). In addition, USAID funded many activities that have a small media assistance component as part of a larger activity, (such as training journalists to cover NGO activities under a large NGO assistance program), and these smaller activities are typically overlooked when doing such funding calculations. As a segment of this, USAID spent more than US$20 million in Ukraine on media assistance over the past decade, and more than US$30 million in Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1996.

The ratio of media assistance funding to overall development programs is in general small. In 2000, USAID spent about US$38 million globally on media assistance efforts, about 0.6 percent of total USAID spending. Geographically speaking this funding varies across regions. Of the US$260 million that USAID spent on media assistance between 1991 and 2001 more than 2/3 was spent in the Europe and Eurasia region. The remaining media assistance funds at USAID were roughly equally distributed among the Asia and Near East region, Africa, and the Latin America and Caribbean region. Over the last 10 years funding has increased in the Asia and Near East region and decreased in the Latin America and Caribbean region.

As a percentage, total media aid for some countries was slightly larger than the average 0.6 percent for media assistance globally. In Ukraine, USAID has devoted about 13 percent of its total funding to the country to democratisation efforts since 1992, and of that, about 2 percent to media assistance.

The Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), on the other hand, as a division of USAID's Bureau of Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, shows a much greater percentage of funding for media assistance. Based on rough estimates, OTI has spent about 10 percent of its annual budget on media assistance. In FY2000, they spent about US$5.5 million from an overall budget of US$55 million, and in the past five

years, they have spent about US$26 million. When broken down by country, media assistance in OTI programs can range from 0 to 100% of all support. However, it should be noted that OTI uses a broad definition of media assistance. In OTI's newest program in Afghanistan, support for media will be part of its estimated $16 million of assistance. OTI's initial tranche of $3.4 million was directed at increasing the availability of humanitarian information available to vulnerable populations in and around Afghanistan, and to building journalistic capacity inside the country. OTI designs its country programs based on acute needs, which, when unmet, can potentially destabilize a country. In the case of Afghanistan, lack of information and the reduced capacity of Afghan media, emerged as a key priority. As the year progresses and other donors move in, OTI's percentage of media assistance as part of its overall support in Afghanistan may vary.

ii. The European Commission

The European Commission, through the European Initiative for Human Rights and Democracy (EIDHR), spent €4.3 million on media assistance in 1996. In 1998, the total budget for the EIDHR was €97.4 million, of which €6 million was devoted to media assistance (approximately 0.6 percent of total). In 1999, the total budget rose to approximately €101 million, of which €9.7 million was devoted to media assistance (approximately 9.6 percent of total). These figures do not include significant contributions from other areas of the European Union budget devoted to development cooperation and cooperation with associated countries.[14]

To provide an example of some of the country percentages, out of €400 million set aside for Serbia by the European Commission, some €2 million was designated for media development, or 0.5 percent. In another particular example, under the MEDA programme, EC funding to Turkey for big-scale bilateral projects between 1995 and 1999 totalled approximately €321,763,396.00. Out of that, €8,000,000.00 (approximately 2.5% of total) was spent on civil society programs and €35,000 (approximately 0.01% of total) on freedom of the press initiatives.[15]

Under the TACIS program of the EC, large-scale funding for media has been rare (One exception was a €2 million project to support the development of independent media in Chechnya). Smaller projects of less than €200,000 are more common but, generally, media assistance has not received a high priority under TACIS policy objectives.

Funding is also affected by the length of time it takes to implement a program. For example, for TACIS, EC financial and administrative offices must evaluate and approve proposed projects. An action plan for one year takes about 12 months to

prepare and, following the signature of the recipient state, about 12 additional months are required to prepare implementation of the aid package.

Other EU external assistance, such as EIDHR or rapid reaction funding, can be mobilised more quickly under simpler procedures. European Commissioners, members of the European Parliament and EU member states have expressed dissatisfaction with delays associated with EU international aid over the past several years. Numerous reforms have been adopted to streamline the administrative process and reduce the time it takes to deliver committed funding.

B. Private Foundations

OSI is one example of a private foundation that has greatly affected the media landscape of many post-communist countries. OSI's national foundations have media assistance budgets ranging from US$25,000 to 1 million and annual budgets at OSI headquarters are about US$5 million. But OSI has discretionary authority to spend much higher sums in situations deemed to be urgent or dire. For example, OSI spent an additional US$10 million on media assistance in Russia in 1998 following the collapse of the rouble.

OSI has chosen to decrease spending on media assistance in countries deemed to be consolidating democratic development, such as South Africa or Central European states. Yet they have expanded media assistance in West Africa and Asia in recent years. Expenditure on media assistance has increased since 1990 but has remained relatively stable overall for the past several years, according to OSI staff.

C. Intermediaries

The size and budgets for many intermediaries in the field of media assistance have increased dramatically. The budget for the Baltic Media Center, which is funded by the Danish government, has increased from 5 million DKK in 1995 to about 12 million DKK in 2000. The World Association of Newspapers says its budget in 2000 (US$2 million) is ten times higher than its 1990 budget. The Commonwealth Broadcasting Association's spending on media development has increased from 20,000 GBP to 200,000 GBP between 1995 and 2000.

In 1982, Internews had a staff of 3 and now has a global operation with either a representative office or a local Internews NGO in 16 countries. Its annual budget has grown from US$2.8 million in 1992, to US$9.3 million in 1995, to about US$ 17 million in 2001. Much of Internews funding has come from USAID though it receives substantial funding from other donor governments, agencies and foundations.

Other NGOs could not provide precise figures but confirmed that funding for media development in transitional countries has increased significantly over the past decade.

5

MAPPING MEDIA ASSISTANCE AND PATTERNS OF TRANSITION

Finally, for analytical purposes, we suggest some capacity to map media assistance specialization in terms of the character or nature of the government in the target society. The approach is derived, adapted, and expanded from a project conducted under the auspices of the Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy, in which Dr. Beata Rozumilowicz outlined four stages for media development, to which different media assistance needs may correspond.[16] The model can serve as an additional way of suggesting how patterns for assisting media sectors evolve in transitional settings. It is one way of demonstrating that the application of different types of media assistance may depend on where a country is in a stage of development. It is important to suggest a few caveats: (a) a 'stages' analysis suggests linear development, but progression from one stage to another is hardly inevitable; (b) these are stages of political development influenced only in part by media assistance efforts; (c) the model focuses on changes in political structures and not business environments; (d) the model is derived mainly from experiences in Central and Eastern Europe and may have limited applicability elsewhere.

Thus, the function of the model is to map particular forms of assistance to particular broad political sets of arrangements and, also, to map donors and intermediaries in terms of their focus or concentration on environments in which such specific moments in political transition exist. Thus, USAID's OTI, would specialize in assistance programs during crisises, including during post-conflict peace-keeping arrangements. The same is true of Switzerland's *Fondation Hirondelle*. Historically, intermediaries like the Independent Journalism Foundation have worked more intensively in what are here called primary or secondary transition societies.

A. Pre Transition

This phase occurs before a transition, when the transition may indeed be only a remote possibility, or, indeed, after a transition when there has been backsliding. In this context, one possibility is to lay the groundwork for possible future reforms and needs. Often there is very little willingness on the part of the regime in place to accept open criticism, opposition parties, and so on. Belarus might be an example of this stage at present as might Zimbabwe or other states receiving low Freedom House rankings.[17]

In this environment, assistance is basic in nature, including:

- Identifying soft-liners and reformers within the ruling regime and helping (via materials, information or moral support) them to disseminate their opinions and criticisms;
- Working to persuade the regime to recognize an opposition, either structured or unstructured;
- Helping an identifiable opposition group find access to communications outlets to disseminate their views;
- Persuading the regime to allow for greater levels of criticism without reprisals;
- Using international broadcasting to disseminate alternative information sources;
- Providing useful criticisms regarding media freedom and other human rights violations;
- Identifying and supporting a future civil society.
- Increasing international broadcasting efforts or funding external civil society press activity.

There have been and continue to be many examples of assistance mapped to such a context, including efforts by the Council of Europe, responding to requests by NGOs, to fund external broadcasters of surrogate programming into Belarus, travel grants to researchers and journalists from Belarus to Europe and the United States. State Department efforts to enlarge the number of voices in Iran fall within this category.

B. Primary Transition

This period is marked by the beginnings of systematic change in a formerly authoritarian regime and the final destruction of the old system and the establishment of new institutional and regulatory structures. During this period, the regime shows a willingness to change, including a formal or informal relinquishing of power to opposition forces within the country.

Most important during this phase, according to Rozumilowicz, are the legal, institutional and economic changes that begin to happen within the country, including those in media law. Key assistance programs relating to law reform would include:

- Analysis of legislative media models;
- Analysis of economic legislation that will impact media development, and the formulation of appropriate media laws to offset negative effects;
- Assistance from known media law experts in drafting legislation;

- Consultation with experts from other nations who have gone through similar situations (to ensure trouble-shooting);
- Developing skills to lobby the government for desired legislative solutions;
- Forming these ideals in the context of other developing institutions within the country;
- Issuing state subsidies and tax incentives to state-owned and private media, as reforming economic structures sometimes cannot support or sustain them.

This is a time and series of places where broad media assistance efforts—almost all the kinds discussed in this mapping exercise—are undertaken. Clearly, much of the work in Central and Eastern Europe in the early 1990s could be analysed in these terms. One issue now is how and whether these forms of assistance can adapt in new geographical and cultural settings such as Indonesia.

C. Secondary Stage

This is a sensitive period since, as mentioned, linear progress is hardly the easy norm. At this point, according to Rozumilowicz, there are three possibilities that exist: immediate consolidation (acceptance by the regime), authoritarian backlash (rejection by the regime), or institutional revision (the reforming regime attempts to use the new media legislation to their advantage). Certain of these problems are played out in many transitional settings, Russia, at the moment being the most dramatic.

Many media assistance agencies that are comfortable in the primary transition stage may have difficulty in contexts where the circumstances for linear advance are not present. In Uganda, for example, a great deal of attention must be paid to secondary stage intervention to preserve primary stage enhancements.

Strategies for media development (focussing on legal reform) employed at this stage include:

- Establishing seminars and training for both politicians and journalists in order to explain the new institutional and legal order and its functions;
- Holding roundtables for journalists and policymakers to discuss problems and build solutions;
- Building networks of media professionals for cooperation among those in similar fields;
- Holding seminars for investigative and responsible journalism, focusing on objectivity and self-regulation;
- Encouraging foreign investment to ensure independence for those who lack an adequate domestic economic system.

D. Late/Mature Stage

At this stage, actors in the media sector may experience friction with the authorities. This friction should be monitored, but is not radically obstructionist. The main task is to solidify commitments to the new system by drawing larger segments of society into its forum and by strengthening democratic commitment via participation.

Options suggested in the Rozumilowicz study for supporting media at this stage include:

- Establishing international awards linked to financial support in order to associate a sense of prestige with free and independent journalism and professionalism;
- Creating international training institutes for media regulators;
- Building or financing libraries and other technical assistance centres;
- Establishing educational programs in primary and secondary schools to discuss and promote the benefits of independent media in democratic societies;
- Establishing educational scholarships to promote investigative journalism and media management;
- Encouraging exchanges of media professionals to raise awareness of alternative approaches, creative solutions, and international networking;
- Providing secondary training, seminars, and conferences for media professionals to ensure continued commitment to professionalism and new developments in the field;
- Introducing newly-emerging media technologies, as traditional media sectors become stable and regularized.

One media assistance question presented by the late / mature stage is when to alter or withdraw assistance efforts. In Central and Eastern Europe, the late / mature media assistance efforts usually focus on accession questions, and technical assistance, by the Council of Europe and others, often has to do with the process of compliance.
Human Rights and related questions arise with what might be considered the most mature or consolidated democracies, where adverse circumstances place pressures on established practices. National security issues also may cause a need for intervention, monitoring, aid, or criticism.

E. Post-Conflict Environments

A special set of media assistance interventions has occurred in post-conflict environments often in connection with peace-keeping operations. A group of media assistance donors and implementers have focused on this arena. Among the steps taken are the following

- Analysing a possible regulatory framework that will help achieve stability and meet needs of peace-keeping organization;
- Establishing a legal framework, including framework for licensing;
- Establishing a regulatory framework for speech, including apparatus for dealing with speech that is particularly sensitive in a post-conflict environment;
- Recreating or creating a media system that serves a civil society—including recruiting, training, and financing journalism efforts;
- Creating and supporting institutions to train journalists;
- Achieving protocol between military and civilian authorities;
- Considering innovative techniques for serving emergency communications and media needs.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosovo there was pioneering work in media assistance in this category. The UN, NATO, and OSCE may play a role here that is greater than in other contexts. Institutions that have participated in primary and secondary transitions may have to adapt their models for media assistance for the differentiated context.

6

AFGHANISTAN: A CASE STUDY IN POST-CONFLICT MEDIA ASSISTANCE

Afghanistan can serve as an example of adaptation of existing media assistance actors to a post-conflict context. The traditional set of post-conflict media assistance actors has been augmented by the entry of some additional groups. Already, questions have arisen about the relationship of the new government to any assistance effort, levels of available funding, coordination of NGO efforts, differences in implementation philosophy, and the relationship of media assistance to long term political objectives. It is yet unclear whether the system will be centralized, how much influence the neighbouring countries will have on Afghanistan's media space, or what standards will be established to maintain stability. Nor is it clear whether donors will, among them, designate or divide up particular areas of media assistance. Because media assistance is now a relatively mature industry, recognized participants with long-term relationships with principal donors may play a larger coordinating role. Already, one can see outliers, or innovators, traditional participants, specialists and others acting in efforts to rebuild Afghanistan's media. A few examples may be helpful:

At the end of 2001, the USAID Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) launched the Afghanistan Emergency Information Program (AEIP). This effort was structured as a partnership among International Organization of Migration (IOM), the Voice of America (VOA), and the Afghanistan Media Resource Center (AMRC). The program provides $1.7 million to supply information about humanitarian assistance for Afghanistan's people. The grant is for specific humanitarian programming, not for a general structuring of an independent radio.

Through the International Organization for Migration, OTI is delivering more than 30,000 radios, with the intention that they will go 'to the most vulnerable groups in Afghanistan, including those who have been forced out of their homes.' Radios are also being provided to designated groups: teachers, municipal workers and hospital staff. For example, by early January, USAID claimed that more than 20,000 battery-operated radios had been distributed in Herat, Taloquan, Andkhoi, Kunduz, the Faryab region and other locations. The OTI effort also funds expanded VOA broadcasts that will give Afghans information about the relief effort. According to Andrew S. Natsios, USAID administrator, 'These radios and daily broadcasts will dramatically increase the Afghans people's direct access to accurate information, so they can make better informed decisions about their future. Media can play a vital

role in providing critical information on health, agricultural news for farmers, and provide positive examples of inter-ethnic cooperation.'

The European Union is also committed to helping improve the media situation in Afghanistan. The Rapid Reaction Mechanism of the European Union has funded the Denmark based Baltic Media Centre €234,000 to begin the task of establishing an independent public service radio broadcaster. Working with Radio Afghanistan, the Centre will begin by broadcasting necessary information such as political developments and humanitarian aid. It will also focus on training and will coordinate local radios to create a national public service radio broadcaster.

Italy, Iran, Uzbekistan, and the Netherlands, among many other countries, have all also pledged aid. Iran has provided transmitters to local broadcasters in Western Afghanistan in regions across its border.

On December 18th, 2001, BBC Monitoring reported Prime Minister Berlusconi stating 'Today, on the government's initiative, parliament approved the construction of a station of democracy and liberty [in Afghanistan].' The Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran (the government station) has reportedly provided a contribution to radio and televisions technical facilities in Afghanistan. Uzbekistan engineers of the Company of the Republic of Uzbekistan, UzTeleRadio, are working on a new transmitter for Balkh television in Afghanistan. They have donated two cameras, two colour TV monitors, two video cassette recorders and other equipment. An organization in The Netherlands has launched an initiative called 'Radio Reed Flute', which will 'use Internet and radio to enable Afghans in Afghanistan and in the Diaspora to communicate and create a civil society network aimed at rehabilitating and reconstructing Afghanistan'.[18]

The United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) has begun the process of analysing needed regulatory and training initiatives that should be part of a general operation to rebuild. Issues of media assistance have arisen at donor meetings in conjunction with the rehabilitation of Afghanistan.

7

CHALLENGES FOR AN EXPANDING FIELD

While certain factors might be outside the actors' control, the sector faces a number of challenges amid rising donor expenditure and expectations. These include problems that arise from lack of coordination on the donor level, a not fully developed intermediary field, insufficient evaluation, lopsided geographical dispersion, uneven attention to the different areas of media assistance, need for greater local partner involvement in programs, conflicting philosophies, and the want of an enabling environment in many developing countries.

A. Problems with Donor Level Coordination

Funders of media assistance naturally have an enormous effect on the quality and capacity of media assistance efforts. Because of this the donor structure presents several challenges to the media assistance sector.

One example of a commonly agreed upon challenge is the greater need for long-term planning and the need to coordinate new media and old media expectations. Because of the emergency nature of rebuilding efforts, or other budgetary issues, media development programs often lack an overall long-term vision that incorporates them into other aspects of political or economic life. The result is that many programs are completely unsustainable once donor money is gone. Thus there is a greater need to invest in local organizations that can carry on media projects once the short intervention period has ended.

Another problem that the donor community faces is the need to coordinate new media and old media expectations. Although most transitional countries are still in need of basic journalistic training, much of the developed world has moved on to other media policy issues related to the advent of new technologies. Transitional countries are thus pressured to address both sets of issues to keep up with international commercial developments. Donors must work to create a realistic framework to allow transitional societies to pursue both development goals without neglecting fundamental freedom of expression issues.

Donor governments often choose the geographical area of assistance based on political, economic, or historical ties. They sometimes devote more assistance to former colonies with cultural, linguistic ties or to countries where conflict or instability poses a threat to national interests and levels of expenditure are not always equivalent across geographic regions. There are other funding priorities.

Media assistance has enjoyed a high priority in some regions such as the former Yugoslavia, while receiving much lower levels of donor support in African countries plagued by conflict, disease, and poverty. For example, the media assistance budget for the Dutch media NGO Press Now, which only covers South-Eastern Europe, is equivalent to the budget for another Dutch media assistance fund that covers Asia and Africa. Donors maintain that media assistance is not necessarily the highest priority in extremely impoverished countries with low literacy and pressing health and social issues. In the Balkans, donors believe that media assistance has more of a chance to prove successful. As the media development sector evolves, donor development strategies will have to address how media assistance should be distributed across geographic boundaries.

Some difficulties have also arisen out of a lack of coordination between different types of assistance that could, ideally, complement each other and aid the media industry. In its 1999 report, The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach, USAID defined two main types of media support[19]:

- **Direct Media Support**: those that directly support the media sphere (including anything from journalism training to media reform, access to information, capitalization of the media sector
- **Indirect Media Support**: media assistance activities that might indirectly contribute to media development (like civic education and communication campaigns)

USAID noted that few development missions have been able to think strategically about the relationship between media and society, and have therefore been hesitant to engage in media sector support. Others, 'daunted by the difficulty of reporting results in this field' have focused only on journalistic training, rather than other sectoral issues.[20]

Because media and democracy are tightly intertwined and donors are seeking ways to link media development efforts with other initiatives designed to bolster respect for human rights, economic reform, judicial reform, citizen participation, women's rights, children's rights, and parliamentary democracy. Some media NGOs work closely with other NGOs on broader campaigns to raise awareness among journalists or the wider public on crucial issues. Support for independent media, and a true enabling environment for such a media sector, can result not only in higher quality newspapers and television, but also in higher citizen participation in society, transparency, and other activities that contribute to a healthy democracy.[21] Donors and implementing organisations are still looking for the best ways to link media development with wider democracy initiatives.

The donor industry has met several challenges in the last ten to fifteen years. As has been indicated above, questions that can be asked include: Is there a balance—or is balance a desirable objective—on the donor side? Is there a diversity of donors with a variety of philosophies or approaches that can respond to varying contexts. Is there adequate geographical spread on the donor side? Is there adequate embracing or participation of donors outside of the US-European context? Are there sufficient niche donors to respond to opportunities that may not be identifiable through larger bureaucracies and are there mechanisms for such lubrication to take place? Finally, does the donor industry need a common strategy?

B. Intermediary Field not Fully Developed

One of the challenges that the maturing sector of media assistance faces is the lack of a large enough pool of expertise in the intermediary organizations. The size and level of funding in the sector makes finding sufficient expertise and the resources necessary for large scale media assistance difficult. In more mature development sectors there are more organizations with more experience that can compete for tenders. For media projects, on the other hand, donor governments often turn to the same organisation or handful of organisations again and again. 'In agriculture, education, civil engineering or public administration, we would have a much stronger field to tap into,' said Garth Glentworth, governance adviser at the UK Department for International Development. 'In the media sector, there is not the depth of field there yet.' If donor governments and foundations continue to increase spending on media assistance and research, the sector may evolve in a similar fashion to other development sectors with wider competition for tenders and more extensive available research.

Also, because the work of media assistance intermediaries only began in the mid-1980s and the 1990s, many intermediaries, NGOs, research institutions, and media freedom organizations have only recently begun to formalize their missions, establish an agenda, and generate a coherent plan for growth and expansion. Questions that need to be asked include: Is there sufficient diversity and competition at the intermediate level? Is there consolidation, and are there informal barriers to entry? Have new players arisen from the transition societies that more effectively participate in the process of providing technical assistance?

C. Conflicting Philosophies

Philosophies of assistance and media freedom affect how the sector grows and matures. Media assistance programs have historically been designed to deliver more open, democratic societies. They are also, in some instances, designed to provide the

underpinning for an improved market economy. The extent of donor government and foundation investment in media assistance depends, to a large extent, on the level of confidence that media assistance can perform these functions.

In a conflict-prone world, media assistance is an auxiliary to other forms of conflict prevention and conflict resolution. In the post-September 11 world, there will be pressure to move resources from the transitional settings of the 1990s to the conflict zones of the successor environment. But past experience illustrates the danger of withdrawing too soon before democratic gains are consolidated. Fragile institutions and societies still depend on outside assistance and an early pulling of the plug can jeopardize years of work.

Media assistance in conflict zones and as part of a peacekeeping process may require approaches different from those of what might, in hindsight, be called 'traditional transitions.' The shift to democratic institutions seems, in many contexts, to be further off in the future. Media assistance may become more common in the 'pre-transition' stage, a stage described in political science works on the 'stages of transition' (see above). There may be more of an emphasis on media assistance that contributes to future stability or to economic reform rather than democratic reform.

Another challenge will be the increased effort to support public diplomacy efforts internationally, particularly from the US government perspective. Up until now, there has been a sharp division between public diplomacy efforts, international broadcasting, and media development assistance. These boundaries may come under pressure from time to time as short term goals (such as stability or participation in an a coalition or alliance) supersede the long terms goal of supporting media reform as a means to democratisation and economic growth.

Questions that need to be asked in this area are: Is there a sufficient understanding of the potential relationship between media development and economic development? Similarly, is there an adequate understanding of the relationship between media development and political development (both subjects of this Paris meeting)?

D. Insufficient Evaluations

Historically, there has been little evaluation of media assistance efforts, before or after their completion. Feasibility assessments that examine a society's media sector, with legal and political analysis, audience surveys, and focus group research, are ways to help ensure media assistance is more effective. But, lack of reliable data, resources, expertise, and the will needed to do academic studies in a sometimes highly political and crisis-driven environment hamper the evaluative efforts in the sector. Such

assessments are more common in other development sectors and may become more realistic financially as the media development sector matures and expands.

Questions that need to be asked in this area include: Is there a sufficient process of evaluation to determine the efficacy of media assistance approaches? Is there a fine enough sense of what objectives should be met in terms of sustainability, short term political gains, long term stability and moves to democracy or market reform?

E. Want of an Enabling Environment

One of the largest challenges for development efforts is the lack of an enabling environment that allows independent media to develop in countries throughout the world. Funding agencies and intermediary implementation agencies face legacies of undemocratic structures, politicians, and traditions, which make the creation of enabling laws and policies difficult or impossible. Often local news outlets or associations need political support from donors and international governmental organisations to allow them to operate or to help pressure governments to change repressive policies.

F. Uneven Geographical Dispersion

The need for a combined approach to media and democratisation work is especially important in post-conflict societies, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, or Afghanistan, where an overhaul of the media system is necessary for not only democratic development but for regional stability. This realization has led to increased international intervention in the media sphere, with the United Nations or other international authority attempting to restructure entire media environments—creating regulatory agencies, issuing licenses, and training journalists throughout the region.

Questions that need to be asked in this area include: Are patterns of media assistance that are grounded in Central and Eastern European experience transferable and is there a migration of focus of media assistance efforts and what are the consequences of that?

G. Need for Greater Involvement of Local Partners

In July 2000, the International Center for Journalists organized a conference in London for media assistance agencies to discuss problems and directions for media initiatives throughout Europe. Participants agreed on the need for lasting partnerships with local actors (rather than short-term emergency assistance), an

enhanced role for local trainers, more assistance to professional associations, and management training.

H. Reconciling New Media and Old Media Needs

Finally, while organizations have developed their own specialties, there are still areas that lack sufficient attention. As the sector has grown in response to the numerous crises of the 1990s and the 2000s, it has developed in some areas and not in others. Areas that lack sufficient attention may include: media literacy and children and violence.

Not surprisingly, one area seized by some NGOs and donor groups is the area of aid involving the new technologies, particularly the Internet and satellite radio. UNDP has launched a number of major initiatives. There remains a difference of opinion on the comparative return on investment in turning to high tech telecommunications and information structures as compared to traditional media, including broadcasting. Internews and the Center for Democracy and Technology have established the Global Internet Policy Initiative to provide assistance in enhancing the legal and regulatory environment for more effective and democratic use of the Internet. UNESCO, through its Intergovernmental Informatics Programme, is concerned with such issues as fostering the access to diversified contents for the 'info have-nots', by developing a strong 'public domain' of information accessible on-line and off-line, and by promoting cultural and linguistic pluralism in the Information Society.

WEBSITES

American Bar Association Central and East European Law Initiative	www.abanet.org/ceeli
Article 19	www.article19.org
Asian Media Information and Communication Centre	www.amic.org.sg
Association for Democracy in the Balkans	www.cksee.org/main.htm
Baltic Media Center	www.bmc.dk
Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs	http://exchanges.state.gov
Carnegie Corporation	www.carnegie.org
Center for Democracy and Technology	www.cdt.org
Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para America Latina (CIESPAL)	www.ciespal.net
Commission on Radio and Television	http://www-pps.aas.duke.edu/centers/dewitt/policy/index1.html
Committee to Protect Journalists	www.cpj.org
Commonwealth Press Association	www.cba.org.uk/
Commonwealth Press Union	www.cpu.org.uk
Council of Europe Media Division	www.humanrights.coe.int/media
Department for International Development	www.dfid.gov.uk
European Agency for Reconstruction	www.ear.eu.int
European Broadcasting Union	www.ebu.ch
European Initiative for Human Rights and Democracy	www.europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/ddh_en.htm
European Institute for the Media	www.eim.org
European Journalism Center	www.ijnet.org
Fondation Hirondelle	www.hirondelle.org
Ford Foundation	www.fordfound.org
Freedom Forum	www.freedomforum.org
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	www.fes.de
Friedrich Naumann Stiftung	www.fnst.de
German Marshall Fund of the US	www.gmfus.org
Glasnost Defense Foundation	http://www.gdf.ru/
Global Internet Policy Initiative	www.gipiproject.org
Independent Journalism Foundation	www.ijf-cij.org
International Federation of Journalists	www.ifj.org
International Press Institute	www.freemedia.at

International Research and Exchanges Board	www.irex.org
International Woman's Media Foundation	www.iwmf.org
Internews	www.internews.org
Knight Ridder	www.knightridder.com
Konrad Adenaur	www.kas.de
MacArthur Foundation	www.macfound.org
Markle Foundation	www.markle.org
Media Institute of Southern Africa	www.misanet.org
Medienhilfe Ex-Jugoslawien	www.medienhilfe.ch
Moscow Media Law and Policy Centre	http://www.medialaw.ru
National Endowment for Democracy	www.ned.org
Norwegian People's Aid	www.npaid.org
OSCE Mission to Bosnia Herzegovina Media Affairs Department	www.oscebih.org/mediaaffairs/eng/media-affairs.htm
OSI Budapest--network media program	www.osi.hu/nmp
OSI Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute	www.osi.hu/colpi
Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism	www.pcij.org
PRESS NOW	www.pressnow.org
Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy	http://pcmlp.socleg.ox.ac.uk
ProMedia	www.irex.org/programs/promedia
Reporters san Frontieres	www.rsf.fr
Rockefeller Foundation	www.rockfound.org
Soros Foundation	www.soros.org
Stability Pact Media Task Force	www.stabilitypact.org/stabilitypactcgi
Swedish International Development Agency	http://www.sida.se
UNESCO www.unesco.org	www.unesco.org
United Nations	www.un.org
United Nations Development Programme	www.undp.org
USAID Europe/Eurasia	www.usaid.gov/regions/europe_eurasia
USAID Office of Transition Initiatives	www.usaid.gov/hum_response/oti
World Association of Newspapers	www.wan-press.org
World Bank	www.worldbank.org
World Press Freedom Committee	www.wpfc.org

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[1] See the UNESCO IPDC homepage for an example of this type of development: http://www.unesco.org/webworld/com/strength/strength01.shtml.

[2] For an outline of the new organizations see: http://www.usaid.gov/about/usaidchart.htm.

3 See David Wimhurst "Preparing a Plebiscite under Fire: The United Nations and public information in East Timor" in Monroe Price and Mark Thompson (eds.) *Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights, and the Management of Media Space*. London: Kluwer International Law, 2002.

[4] For a good outline of the internal structure of the United Nations see: http://www.un.org/aboutun/chart.html

[5] Larry Diamond, Promoting Democracy in the 1990s: Actors and Instruments, Issues and Imperatives, December 1995. Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, www.ccpdc.org

[6] http://docs.lib.duke.edu/igo/guides/ngo/define.htm

[7] Helen Darbishire, Media Law Program Manager at the Open Society Institute, describes this evolution in her chapter in *Forging Peace*, edited by Monroe Price and Mark Thompson, (Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming spring 2002).

[8] USAID, 'The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach,' Technical Publications Series: June 1999.

[9] http://www.ebu.ch/leg_p_model_law_psb.pdf

[10] In a 1999 report, US AID recognized the lower level of support of public service broadcasting coming from the US as compared to Europe. USAID, 'The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach,' Technical Publications Series: June 1999.

[11] 'The Media in Governance, Developing Free and Effective Media to Serve the Interests of the Poor, A Guide to Assistance,' Governance Department, DFID, UK, February 2001.

[12] See http://www.irex.org/publications-resources/msi_2001/index.htm.

[13] Internews said its most effective attempt at evaluation was a project initiated by the Russian Union of Journalists and implemented with financial and programmatic support from Internews and the participation of several other Russian free speech organizations. The assessment included an analysis of the openness of media in each of Russia's 89

administrative units and indices of relative freedom of speech and descriptions of legal or other problems.

[14] Report from the Commission, 14/11/2000, COM (2000).

[15] See http://www.deltur.cec.eu.int/english/e-mali-bilateral-1.html

[16] See Beata Rozumilowicz, 'Democratic Change: A Theoretical Perspective,' in *Media Reform: Demcratizing the Media, Democratizing the State*, edited by Monroe Price, Beata Rozumilowicz and Stefaan Verhulst, Routledge: 2001.

[17] See the Freedom House ratings at: http://www.freedomhouse.org/ratings

[18] See Radio Netherlands' website. Available at: http://www.rnw.nl/realradio/html/foreign_aid.html.

[19] USAID, 'The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach,' Technical Publications Series: June 1999.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.