



Media Assistance:

Review of the Recent Literature and Other Donors' Approaches

A Capitalisation Exercise (CapEx) for the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)

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Acronyms & Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
C4D	Communication for Development
CAMECO	Catholic Media Council
CapEx	Capitalisation Exercise
CDAC	Communicating with Disaster Affected Communities
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIMA	Center for International Media Assistance
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DFID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EMB	Electoral Monitoring Body
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GFMD	Global Forum for Media Development
GOSAC	Governance, Open Societies and Anti-corruption Department (DFID)
GovNet	Governance Network of the OECD/DAC
GTF	Governance and Transparency Fund (DFID)
HQ	Headquarters
ICD	Information and Communication for Development (former DFID unit)
ICFJ	International Center for Journalists
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFEX	International Freedom of Expression Exchange (former name)
IMS	International Media Support
IPDC	International Programme for the Development of Communication (UNESCO)
IREX	International Research and Exchanges Board
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
IWPR	Institute for War and Peace Reporting
LSE	London School of Economics
m	million
MDI	Media Development Indicator
MIL	Media and Information Literacy
MISA	Media Institute for Southern Africa
MLA	Main Line of Action (UNESCO)
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD/DAC	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development/Development Assistance Committee
OGC	Oslo Governance Centre (UNDP)
OSF	Open Society Foundation
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation
SEK	Swedish Krona
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
TMF	Tanzania Media Fund/Foundation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United National Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USD	United States Dollar

I. INTRODUCTION

The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) has commissioned iMedia Associates (iMedia) to conduct a Capitalisation Exercise (CapEx) of its media assistance, with the primary objective of examining its current programmes and bringing out lessons learned. As the second output¹ of this CapEx, iMedia has carried out a review of what other donors are doing on media assistance. As agreed, it focuses on current media support by five donors/agencies: DFID (UK Aid), Sida (Sweden), UNESCO, UNDP and the Knight Foundation. We have chosen the five donors to reflect the diversity of donor-types, namely two large and influential Western donors (UK's DFID and Swedish Sida), agencies in the UN system (UNDP and UNESCO) and a well-endowed US-based private foundation (Knight Foundation²). This review of other donors also synthesises key findings from a literature review of the wider media assistance sector in order to identify good practice and situate SDC's approach in relation to other donors. Our emphasis is on current programmes, policy documents and funding mechanisms.

Methodology

The methods we used to compile this data were desk-based internet searches, document review and phone interviews with several donor representatives to understand their practice and approaches to media assistance. For UNESCO, Knight and Sida we relied on existing profiles compiled recently by the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) in Washington D.C.³, supplementing this with our own searches, reading and interviews. For DFID and UNDP, we did more original research and interviews because they have not yet been profiled by CIMA. We collated all materials in a spreadsheet, read and analysed them, and produced an annotated bibliography of key documents as well as a list of references (see p. 24 below). The five donors' approaches to media assistance are case-studies annexed to this report.

Definitions and Methodological Challenges

For the purposes of this CapEx study, 'media' are defined as encompassing traditional media (broadcast media, audio visual and print journalism) as well as digital, social and mobile media.

Although it is relatively straightforward to define what is included in the term 'media' it is less straightforward to define 'media assistance' (despite the fact that digital and social media and citizen journalism have fundamentally disrupted the old certainties about who are the producers and consumers of media content). To avoid confusion, for the purposes of this study, we shall be concentrating mainly on media assistance in the context of good governance and accountability. 'Media assistance' can encompass everything from using the media to encourage people to vote, to a national programme to train investigative journalists, or support to a website that exposes corruption. Sometimes 'media assistance' includes support to ICT / telecommunications

¹ The first was a brief Inception Report, November 2016 and the third is the main report: 'SDC's Media Assistance: Final Report of Capitalisation Exercise', June 2017

² Note that Knight is one of many private foundations providing media assistance. These include the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Independent Journalism Foundation, the Mac Arthur Foundation, the Markle Foundation, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Open Society Foundations (OSF). Knight and OSF are two of the biggest on media.

³ See the donor profiles on CIMA's website: <http://www.cima.ned.org/donor-profiles/>

infrastructure (such as expanding Internet or mobile phone access), support to the print/online/audio-visual sector for artistic and cultural productions (e.g. cinema, photography, digital arts etc.) or even using the media for public relations on the part of the donor country.

A binary distinction is usually made between 'communications for development (C4D)' and 'media development' but perhaps a more useful four-part categorisation is made by Cauhape-Cazaux and Kalathil in their 2015 study for CIMA/OECD entitled *Official Development Assistance for Media: Figures and Findings* (see below), although even with this four-part typology, the distinctions are often blurred in practice. Cauhape-Cazaux and Kalathil discerned the following **four categories** of media support as follows⁴:

1. Media development projects: The main purpose of these interventions is to strengthen the quality, sustainability and/or independence of news and factual output. Media houses are the main "direct" beneficiaries of these projects and frequently are directly involved in the execution as counterparts of the project. Initiatives to promote freedom of information and to protect journalists have also been included under this category.

2. Communication for development is the use of media and communication in order to promote or facilitate development goals, [including those related to good governance⁵]. In these cases, media is more an instrument than a target, and is not considered the direct beneficiary (but could be an indirect one).

3. Public diplomacy is the promotion of a country's foreign policy interests (including aid development policy) by informing and influencing the foreign audience through the media. It could include the promotion of national language, culture, policies, and values. It contains also the promotion of the donor or multilateral development agency activities.

4. Media infrastructure: This includes support for broadcasting infrastructure, as well as provision of basic equipment, such as building and equipping of TV and radio stations. [Also support to the provision of ICT and telecommunications infrastructure – both hard and software.⁶]

There is a difficulty in obtaining reliable data about budgets and how money is spent on media assistance by donors. This is mainly because 'media assistance' is rarely defined as a separate category of overseas aid; it is normally embedded within other programmes and not recorded as a distinct budget line. UNESCO and the Knight Foundation are exceptions to this rule because they are donors/agencies specially mandated to support journalism and freedom of expression. Depending on the way a donor is organised internally, media assistance/interventions can be filed under public diplomacy, governance and accountability, human rights, advocacy, electoral support, rural development, women/youth/children's programmes, peace-building... in fact almost all aspects of aid and development. Thus, one donor may appear a bigger supporter of media assistance than

⁴ Eduardo González Cauhapé-Cazaux & Shanthi Kalathil, (2015), pp. 7-8.

⁵ Author's own addition, not originally in the Cauhapé-Cazaux & Kalathil typology.

⁶ Also author's own addition.

another, simply because they have labelled their aid in a different way. For example, Germany emerges as the biggest Western donor to media in the Cauhapé-Cazaux and Kalathil study (2015) whereas most other studies⁷ put the USA as the front-runner; this is because, under the OECD categories a significant percentage of German funds (67%) is dedicated to public broadcasting i.e., productions of Deutsche Welle, whereas most other donors do not classify their international broadcasting expenditure as media assistance.

⁷ For example: Krishna Kumar, (2006), 'Promoting Independent Media : Strategies for democracy assistance'; and Mary Myers, (2009), 'Funding for Media Development by Donors Outside the United States: A Report to the Centre for International Media Assistance'

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

i. Context, History and Recent trends in Media Assistance (Western donors)

Switzerland is one of about 25 industrialized countries which have had aid programmes involving media assistance since the 1990's, if not longer. While total global media assistance is thought to be a small fraction of all donors' Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), it is nevertheless significant and is estimated to be in the region of US \$625 million per year, worldwide⁸. The figures fluctuate over time but funding to independent media has recently constituted approximately two percent of total support for governance by OECD member countries—or less than half a percent of official development assistance overall⁹.

SDC spending compared with other donors

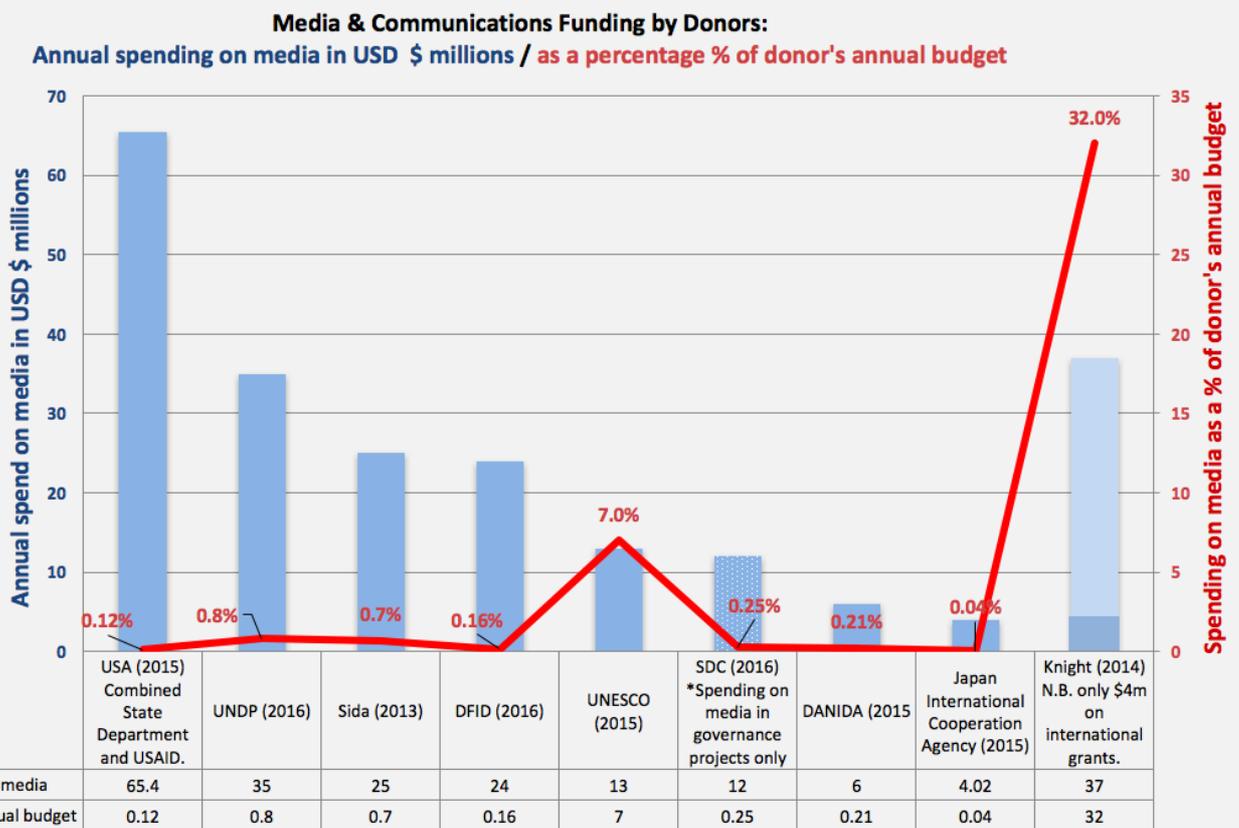


Figure 1: Media and Communications Funding by Donors

*** Key to sources:**

USA figure: CIMA, *Donor Profile: US Government*. Note: the figure given for the USA is for comparison only – we have not researched this donor in depth.

Knight Foundation figure: CIMA, *Donor Profile: Knight Foundation*.

⁸ Current estimate by Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) <http://www.cima.ned.org/what-is-media-development/> accessed June 2017

⁹ Shanthy Kalathil, (2017a.)

UNDP figure: iMedia's own estimate based on research

Sida figure: CIMA, *Donor Profile: Sida*, <http://www.cima.ned.org/donor-profiles/sida/>, accessed 12th January 2017.

DFID figure: iMedia's own estimate based on online research and interviews with DFID officials and other key informants

UNESCO figure: iMedia's own estimate based on online research and interview with UNESCO official

SDC figure: iMedia's own estimate based on interviews with SDC key informants

DANIDA figure: Shanthi Kalathil, CIMA (2017)

Japan figure: Shanthi Kalathil, CIMA (2017)

The graph above shows media and communications spending by a selection of major donors in recent years, showing both the comparative size of their media-assistance budgets and their media-spend as a percentage of their overall annual budgets. It shows that SDC (sixth from the left) is a medium-sized donor on media projects: smaller than Sweden (Sida) and the UK (DFID) but larger than Denmark (Danida) or Japan (JICA)¹⁰.

A brief look at the history of media assistance shows that Western donors started funding media initiatives in developing countries during the late colonial period (1950s and early 1960s)¹¹. During the Cold War period, the Western and Eastern blocs used aid to some extent to support media initiatives in their respective 'client states' in the developing world¹². However, it was after 1989 that resources really started 'pouring in' to the media sector, notably from the USA to countries of Eastern Europe, formerly part of the Soviet bloc¹³. It has been estimated that at least US\$ 600 million was spent worldwide on media assistance by the US government and media foundations alone during the decade after 1989, with the European Union probably matching the US contributions with funding, training, equipment and legal advice. Foreign donors played a crucial role in helping to free the airwaves from state monopolies with famous initiatives such as Radio/TV B92 in Serbia¹⁴. Meanwhile in Africa, where broadcasting was liberalised in 23 countries during the 1990s, donors also had a significant role to play, especially in encouraging community media and using radio and TV for social and behaviour change¹⁵. International advocacy and monitoring groups such as Article 19 and Reporters Without Borders, were set up during the 1980s and 1990s too, most of them funded by western governments and private foundations.

The genocide in Rwanda of 1994 was a significant moment in the history of media assistance, as it galvanised donors to find ways to counter the role that radio played there in stoking ethnic violence by broadcasting hate speech. Another significant – more positive - moment was in 1995 when UNESCO adopted the 'Windhoek Declaration on Promoting an Independent Africa Press'. This set African – and international – standards for independent media at the time and established May

¹⁰ We have counted only SDC's spending on media and governance here, whereas we are almost certain that the figures for the other donors are for all their media and communications for development, including media used for raising awareness on health, agriculture, education etc. as well as, in some instances, telecoms and ICT. So, if we had the figure for SDC's other communications work we believe SDC's total would probably be several millions of US dollars higher, although probably still slightly behind Sida and DFID. It is interesting to note that SDC, at 0.25%, spends a slightly higher proportion of its overall budget on media than the USA, DFID, Danida and JICA each do (and, again, this figure would be even higher were non-governance media projects added to the calculation).

¹¹ Amelia Arsenault & Shawn Powers, (2010)

¹² See, for instance, Louise Bourgault, (1995)

¹³ Ellen Hume, (2004)

¹⁴ Radio B92 was launched in former Yugoslavia in 1989 with financial help from USAID and the Soros Foundation (now Open Society Foundation); during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s it was among the few stations that maintained its independence from the government.

¹⁵ Mary Myers, (2014)

3rd as World Press Freedom Day. Capacity-building was a priority in the context of the new-found pluralism that accompanied the wave of democratisation that swept across Africa and Eastern Europe at this time and many donors launched journalist training programmes, fellowships and international prizes for independent reporting.

During the 1990s and early 2000s there was phenomenal growth in new technological opportunities, with first satellite broadcasting, then digital technologies and the internet revolutionising broadcasting and disrupting the traditional influence of newspapers the world over. New rules had to be established to regulate the media in the face of these changes and donors played a role in helping to establish national and international regulatory bodies, local professional bodies (such as press associations) and regional advocacy and training institutes such as the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA)¹⁶.

It was in the early/mid 2000s that 'media assistance' or 'media development' found something of a home for itself in the 'good governance agenda' and started to be properly differentiated from 'communication-for-development' by donors and their partners. It was also at this time that several major donors started taking stock of their media assistance and started codifying, strategizing and setting themselves indicators and targets for media assistance. For example, DFID brought out its initial policy paper on media and governance in 2001¹⁷ and a white paper in 2006 in which support to a free and independent media was set out as a significant component of good governance¹⁸. In 2002 the World Bank brought out a landmark report entitled *The Right to Tell*, asserting that a free press was a cornerstone of equitable development, saying: 'the media can expose corruption. They can keep a check on public policy by throwing a spotlight on government action. They let people voice diverse opinions on governance and reform...'¹⁹.

Other donors published policy papers in the same vein, around this same period, including SDC's orientation guide about media and social accountability in 2007²⁰ and USAID's evaluation of its media assistance programmes in 2003²¹ and again in 2008²². Of particular note were UNDP's guidelines for media interventions (2006)²³ and UNESCO's Media Development Indicators (2008)²⁴. It was also in 2008 that the Global Forum for Media Development was established with a grant from the Open Society Foundation, with a head office in Brussels; this is a network of more than 180 media assistance groups around the world²⁵.

In 2010 the Media Map project was launched by Internews and the World Bank Institute, funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation²⁶. This constituted a valuable resource for policy-makers and researchers, usefully comparing the status of press freedom in countries around the world.

The Arab Spring of 2010-12 was significant for those studying the evolution of media assistance. At first these popular revolutions seemed to be a triumph of freedom of expression and the power

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ DFID, (2001)

¹⁸ DFID, (2006)

¹⁹ Roumeen Islam, Simeon Djankov & Caralee McLeish, (2002)

²⁰ Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), (2007)

²¹ Kumar, Krishna, (2003)

²² Steven E. Finkel, Anibal Perez Linan, and Mitchell A. Seligson, (2008)

²³ See Annotated Bibliography for: UNDP, (2006), 'Communication for Empowerment: Media Strategies for Vulnerable Groups'

²⁴ See Annotated Bibliography for: UNESCO, (2008), *Media Development Indicators*

²⁵ GFMD website: <http://gfmd.info/>

²⁶ *Media Map Project* website, <https://www.internews.org/research-publications/media-map-project>

of social media, and also a vindication for Western donor support to independent media, citizen journalists, bloggers and so on. However, when most of the region descended into chaos and renewed authoritarianism this called into question the power of the media - particularly social media – because it seemed to have failed to bring about the ‘digital democracy’ that many had hoped for.

Meanwhile, other major world events of recent years, such as the Iraq war, presented a very mixed picture of where media support could lead: the divisions and conflict in Iraq were fuelled by the deeply polarised ethno-sectarian character of much of the media in the country – but also sometimes ameliorated by some of the independent media that have proliferated there recently, partly with Western donor support.²⁷ In contrast, the restoration of a vibrant media scene in Afghanistan following the fall of the Taliban presented a more positive picture of what donor assistance to the media sector could help achieve²⁸, although even here the picture is obviously not completely positive.

Reviewing such recent examples, amongst others, James Deane concludes, in a 2015 essay, entitled *Media and Communications and Governance – It's Time for a Rethink*, that OECD donors do not prioritise media support, partly because of its mixed history, saying: ‘Governance strategies have been generally poor at integrating media and communication issues into their analysis, research and strategic plans’ and that ‘the strategies needed to support more informed societies are shrouded in contention and a lack of consensus’.²⁹

Cauhapé-Cazaux & Kalathil (2015) concur, saying:

‘Because support for independent media tends to be even more politically sensitive than support for elections and/or political parties, it has a slim chance of making it into official consensus documents on strategic aid priorities.’³⁰

Nevertheless, independent media does remain a part of the global development agenda, albeit a relatively marginal part. A clear sign of this continuing donor commitment is the fact that in 2011 the OECD/DAC network on governance (GovNet) selected the media, alongside parliaments and political parties, as ‘one of three key strands requiring greater clarity and focus in donor support to domestic accountability’³¹.

As the global environment for independent media seems to be growing steadily worse - Freedom House reports that press freedom declined to its lowest point in 12 years in 2015³² - donors continue to try to respond. An important factor in encouraging donor interest has been the rise in terrorist attacks around the globe, associated with religious extremism, and a sense among the international community that the media can be harnessed to counter this violent extremism in a number of positive ways³³. A further significant action was the agreement by the UN and its Member States that, among the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals, Goal 16 should be focused on improved governance, including a target to increase ‘public access to information and

²⁷ James Deane, (2015), (see annotated bibliography), and Abir Awad and Tim Eaton, (2013)

²⁸ David Page and Shirazuddin Siddiqi, (2012)

²⁹ James Deane (2015) p.265 and p.273

³⁰ Cauhapé-Cazaux & Kalathil (2015) p. 5

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 7.

³² Freedom House, *Freedom of the Press 2016* (see reference list for web site URL)

³³ Several studies have recently appeared reviewing media and communication efforts to counter violent extremism, for example: Kate Ferguson, (2016)

protect fundamental freedoms in accordance with national legislation and international agreements³⁴.

In terms of recent trends in media assistance, the latest overview paper from CIMA by Kalathil (2017)³⁵ discerns some signs that priorities within this field may be shifting. Assistance to media development, the report suggests, is beginning to acknowledge the importance of supporting media ecosystems more broadly, though perhaps not as quickly as some observers would like. The report also highlights several other important findings:

- Media development is emerging as a distinct funding area, but the lack of common budget codes still makes it difficult to trace spending on this topic.
- Though North-South funding continues to predominate, funds from new private donors and new governmental donors are beginning to reshape the sector.
- Research on media and media development, while not entirely neglected, remains a low priority in spite of being a recognized need.

ii. The Main Debates around Media Assistance

As the above review of the history and trends in media assistance has shown, it is not a straightforward field. There are debates and lack of consensus about almost every aspect of it, starting with **how to define media assistance?** (which we have looked at above); then **does it work?; should donors get involved and how?; and finally, how can it be evaluated?**

Does Media Assistance work?

On the question of whether supporting the media sector can bring about desired governance outcomes, the short answer is that it depends on the context. There are many examples of projects which have successfully supported independent media in developing countries (see our boxes on Radio Okapi³⁶ (Democratic Republic of Congo) and on the Tanzanian Media Fund³⁷). There are also examples that demonstrate a direct link between more or better media and less corruption, or fairer elections, or better government services. In an often quoted example, Ritva Reinikka and Jakob Svensson in 2003 found a strong link between newspaper information campaigns and reduction in corruption in Uganda. In another, more recent study by BBC Media Action involving 23,000 respondents across seven countries, it was shown that audiences of BBC Media Action programmes have greater political knowledge, and are more likely to engage in political discussion and political activities such as writing to an MP or voting, than those who do not watch or listen to programmes³⁸, even accounting for factors such as education, age and gender. Compellingly, a DFID 2015 review of the evidence around corruption argued that evidence “consistently indicates

³⁴ United Nations, (2015)

³⁵ Shanthi Kalathil, (2017)

³⁶ The ‘success story’ (see Box 1 ‘Radio Okapi’) is based on the author’s experience as an external evaluator of Radio Okapi, as well as on facts from the Fondation Hirondelle website: <http://www.hirondelle.org/index.php/en/our-media-outlets/current-programmes/democratic-republic-of-the-congo>

³⁷ The ‘success story (see Box 2 ‘Tanzanian Media Fund/Foundation’) is based on an external review carried out by iMedia Associates, November 2014.

³⁸ DFID, (2016)

freedom of the press can reduce corruption and that the media plays a role in the effectiveness of other social accountability mechanisms.”³⁹

As the UK academic Martin Scott says in his book *Media and Development* (2014)⁴⁰, ‘there is now a wealth of statistical research, using country-level data, which supports the existence of a link between media development indicators of democracy and good governance.’

But as often as not, the link between media and governance outcomes in such studies tend only to show positive correlations, not causal relationships. As Scott says:

‘the connections between media development and key aspects of development, including good governance, democracy and economic development, are multiple, complex and contingent upon local circumstances... we must recognize that the media’s impact is contingent upon other actors and processes. For investigative journalism to be effective, for example, it is not enough to simply expose wrongdoing. Other mechanisms of accountability, such as the judiciary, parliament and civil society, need to act if the powerful are to be held accountable.’⁴¹

Box 1

Success Story : Radio Okapi : Dem.Rep. Congo

Radio Okapi, a leading media house with 14 million listeners per day, produces and broadcasts news and information that is appreciated by the public for its quality, professionalism, impartiality and for the constructive role that it plays in the development of the country. Radio Okapi was launched in 2002 by the United Nation’s Mission in the DRC, with support from Fondation Hironnelle (a Swiss media NGO), with funding from the UK, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany and the USA. Its programmes in five languages (from 4 AM to 9 PM in French, Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba and Kikongo), include features and interactive programmes. Its website www.radiookapi.net is the most popular news and information site in the DRC, with more than 1.5 million visits per month. Although becoming independent of donors remains a challenge, advertising revenue generated by a separate advertising department, Hironnelle Communication, has boosted Radio Okapi’s budget and prospects for future sustainability.

³⁹ DFID (January 2015)

⁴⁰ Martin Scott, (2014), p.122

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.109 and 113

Box 2: Success Story: Tanzania Media Fund

The Tanzania Media Fund/Foundation is one of the largest scale and longest running media development programmes anywhere, providing the resources and timescale to effect measurable change in public interest and investigative journalism in Tanzania. Launched in 2009, and funded initially by the governments of Switzerland, Denmark, Ireland and UK, with support via the Dutch NGO, HIVOS, the fund has now transitioned to local ownership, to become a foundation. A recent external evaluation found that the fund had resulted in significant improvements in media focus and standards. For example, the fund gave sub-grants to 242 individual grantees to produce public interest pieces in the media; this resulted in many genuinely ground-breaking stories, according to an external review (Gordon Adam, 2014).

In two other reviews of the wider evidence for a link between media and good governance, Mary Myers also concludes 'those who assume a simple relationship [between media or digital technologies] and political change are making serious mistakes. As ever, context is all.'⁴²

For further discussion about the efficacy of donor initiatives, see also: Arsenault and Powers' literature review (2010) and Nelson and Susman Pena's 2012 report entitled *Rethinking Media Development*⁴³. For a discussion about what constitutes robust evidence, see BBC Media Action's 2014 working paper entitled *Reframing the evidence debates*⁴⁴.

Should donors get involved?

The question of whether donors should get involved in media assistance reflects a broader question about values and norms in international development. Although our historical review has shown a fairly constant, if low key, commitment to the field by donors over the years, and some examples of very successful projects, the field of media support has not gone without criticism. The following eight critiques are the most salient ones⁴⁵:

1. Support to the media is open to accusations of cultural imperialism and donor governments have been accused of imposing Western models of journalism without consideration of or respect for local communication cultures and practices. Academics such as Manyozo (2012)⁴⁶ have written in this vein, as has Papoutsaki (2007)⁴⁷; the latter has critiqued decades of Western-style journalism education in Papua New Guinea which was not only culturally inappropriate (for example, combative interviews with elders) but also lacked an appreciation of local information needs.

⁴² Mary Myers, (2012) and Mary Myers, (2013), p.33

⁴³ Mark Nelson & Tara Susman-Pena, (2012)

⁴⁴ Kavita Abraham-Dowsing, Anna Godfrey and Zoe Khor, (2014)

⁴⁵ Acknowledgements to Jessica Noske-Turner (2014) for identifying and discussing many of these critiques

⁴⁶ Linje Manyozo, (2012)

⁴⁷ Evangelia Papoutsaki (2007)

2. Independent media are often equated - especially in the USA - with commercial media, as opposed to state-controlled monopolies. By contrast, public service broadcasting provided by the state but aiming for neutrality and even-handedness – such as the BBC model in the UK - is a stronger tradition in Europe. So what 'independent media' actually means has been a contested issue for a long time (see, for instance, the MacBride Report of 1980⁴⁸). Linked to this is the fact that donor countries' own domestic philosophies and policies are perceptible in their media assistance policies; for instance the Chinese approach to media assistance is very different from those of the OECD, being all about soft-power and largely devoid of any consideration of the right to free expression. Berger (2010)⁴⁹ is among those who have highlighted the various donor biases and Banda (2009)⁵⁰ and Kalathil (2017)⁵¹ provide good introductions to Chinese media policies in Africa and globally.

3. Media support can be accused of being too supply-driven and not driven by country ownership. As Tara Susman Pena writes in her report *Making Media Development More Effective* (2012)⁵²: "Much of media development focuses on training as opposed to creating institutional structures that build the capacity of the media over time. The supply-driven approach is also evidenced by outsiders' failure to recognize that they are trying to change what is a fundamentally different cultural perspective about what a media system is and what its role within a country should be."

4. Media assistance, particularly in conflict/post-conflict situations, can support unbridled, open communication which can leave the way open for damaging hate-speech and the undermining of peace-building initiatives. Therefore, extreme caution is required in such situations. A key report on this issue is by Putzel and van de Zwan (2005) *Why Templates for Media Development do not work in Crisis States*⁵³.

5. Media assistance projects are particularly vulnerable to sustainability problems, say many scholars and practitioners. For instance, according to Kumar (2006), (cited in Noske-Turner, 2014), in the 1990s, a glut of financially unsustainable media outlets, supported almost entirely by international donors in the former Soviet bloc were not only a waste of donor resources but in fact worsened the viability of non-subsidised outlets.

6. Partners and beneficiaries of media assistance can be critical of donors' short project time-frames, uncoordinated policy-making, and other restrictive and/or over-bureaucratic funding mechanisms and burdensome reporting requirements. This criticism is not unique to media projects, of course, but it is sometimes argued that media initiatives are special because they can be particularly slow to show results and because they often deal with private sector entities (e.g. commercial radio stations or newspapers) which are not amenable to the usual reporting requirements from donors. Some small civil society organisations and community-based media outlets have been overwhelmed by the substantial support they receive from donors and fail to manage their budgets effectively for lack of management skills – a sudden injection of funds can completely destabilise a local organisation or even kill it⁵⁴.

⁴⁸ MacBride, (1980)

⁴⁹ Guy Berger, (2010)

⁵⁰ Fackson Banda, (2009) pp. 343-361

⁵¹ Shanthi Kalathil, (2017 b.)

⁵² Tara Susman Pena, (2012)

⁵³ James Putzel & Joost van der Zwan, (2005)

⁵⁴ See Marie-Soleil Frère, (2011)

7. Media assistance can often place insufficient emphasis on political and structural factors. Critics urge attention to understanding and tackling the norms, systems of patronage, and power relations that play a significant role in determining the content and style of state broadcasting in new democracies.^{55 56}

8. Finally, donors have been criticised by academics such as Becker and Vlad (2011)⁵⁷ and others, for a lack of transparency over evaluations of media assistance projects due to perceived political sensitivities. Evidence of what works should be matched, it is argued, with openness about failures - but both are rare. Without donor openness it is difficult for academics to take an interest in the area. Myers, Dietz and Frère (2014)⁵⁸ highlight this fact, saying:

‘international media assistance [is] an opaque field of development which is difficult to study... Practitioners, who are invariably attached to NGOs or to donor agencies themselves, are bound by tacit rules of confidentiality and professional competition which limit open access to reports and the ground-truth of what is happening... For example, discussion about value for money is very rare.’

How can media assistance be evaluated?

The question of how media assistance can be evaluated is a perennial one. As an official from the European Commission once said: ‘media development is not about building roads. We can't measure the impact of our projects by measuring the number of roads built. We need to understand the difficulty of determining appropriate indicators’ (Thomas Huyghebaert, quoted in Alcorn et al., 2011⁵⁹). This problem (i.e. ‘what is our unit of measurement?’) is one of several challenges in monitoring and evaluating media assistance. Another big challenge is isolating the effects of a media intervention from other factors, which is sometimes called the ‘attribution problem’.

Further difficulties are presented by the short duration of many projects and evaluations, making it difficult for donors and implementers to measure long-term impact. There is also the problem of media assistance not having a clear home within most donors'/agencies' internal organisational architecture, making it difficult to design and implement coherent monitoring and evaluation (M&E) strategies.

In a review entitled *Mapping Donor Decision Making on Media Development*, Alcorn et.al. (2011)⁶⁰ bring out all these M&E challenges. Interestingly, these authors found that evaluation reports are rarely used to inform future funding decisions in media assistance. Noske-Turner (2015)⁶¹ believes that this may be because the timing of external evaluations in relation to the project cycles often means that funding decisions for future phases are made well before summative evaluations at the project's completion are undertaken. Another reason may be that political considerations tend to trump technical measures of success or failure; most civil servants know that even the most successful programmes can sometimes be cancelled if a change of government so dictates.

⁵⁵ Simon Milligan and Graham Mytton, (2009)

⁵⁶ Milligan and Mytton, (2009), cited by Noske-Turner, (2014), p. 69

⁵⁷ Lee B. Becker and Tudor Vlad, (2011)

⁵⁸ Mary Myers, Christoph Dietz & Marie-Soleil Frère, (2014), p.4

⁵⁹ J. Alcorn, A. Chen, E. Gardner & H. Matsumoto, (2011)

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Jessica Noske-Turner, (2015), p. 51

In terms of approaches to the evaluation problem, in 2010 a group of media practitioners met in Caux in Switzerland to discuss media assistance in conflict and post-conflict environments. As a result of this workshop, they produced the 'Caux Principles', most of which are applicable across all media assistance, not just in conflict zones (summarised as follows):⁶²

- Principle 1. Expand Financial Support for Evaluation of Media Interventions in Conflict
- Principle 2. Encourage Flexible Program and Research Designs that Are Sensitive to Changing Conflict Conditions
- Principle 3. Carefully Select Conflict-Specific Media Indicators
- Principle 4. Engage and Collaborate with Local Researchers Familiar with Conflict Conditions
- Principle 5. Foster Learning, Sharing, and Collaboration about Evaluation
- Principle 6. Embed Evaluation into the Entire Project's Life Cycle and Beyond
- Principle 7. Promote Realistic Evaluation Practices
- Principle 8. Work to Promote Greater Clarity Surrounding Evaluation

BBC Media Action is another body that has done some serious thinking about how to measure and assess media initiatives; they have a dedicated Research and Learning department which is heavily supported by DFID (UK government). BBC Media Action have a useful approach to assessing impact which distinguishes between four interdependent levels of media intervention: *system/policy, institution/organisation, practitioner and audience*⁶³.

⁶² The Caux Principles can be found in full in: Amelia Arsenault, Sheldon Himelfarb, & Susan Abbott, (2011)

⁶³ See BBC Media Action website: 'Our approach to capacity strengthening'
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/what-we-do/capacity>

iii. Five Donor Case-studies - Summaries

The following provides an 'at a glance' summary about the media assistance practice and priorities of the five selected donors: DFID (UK), Sida (Sweden), Knight Foundation, UNESCO and UNDP. The full case-studies on these five donors are provided in the Annexes.

DFID

Name: Department for International Development – DFID. HQ - London

Overall budget: estimated (2016) GBP £12 billion or US \$14.5 billion.

Spend on media assistance: GBP £20 million (US \$24m) per year (an estimate for 2016)

Percentage of DFID's total budget spent on media and free flow of information: **0.16%**

Media assistance priorities: support to media to play a role in enhancing good governance and accountability, and citizen engagement; support to BBC Media Action; capacity-building, support to institutions and independent media organisations, public interest and investigative journalism; generation of evidence about role of media in development.

Focus areas/countries: Aid is spent in over 50 countries, with priority given to fragile and conflict-affected countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and the Middle East. Some activity in the Caribbean, South Pacific, South East Asia, Central Europe, Central Asia and North Africa.

Strengths: DFID is an active player in the media assistance arena, mostly in support of clear development outcomes. It has invested substantially in generating policy and research evidence.

Challenges: Media's institutional home lies primarily within the Governance Department of DFID's Policy Division but there is no focal point or in-house expertise on media. Nor has consideration of media and communications been integrated into tools and processes for designing programmes of support. For example, the media does not feature strongly enough in the political economy analyses which underpin the design of business cases, to permit its potential role to be fully explored.

Lessons DFID has learned: In practice much of DFID's thinking around media assistance has been contracted out to key actors, particularly BBC Media Action. Thus DFID has not learned lessons as an institution itself, but has often generously funded lesson-learning for the wider media-assistance sector. There is support for this from the very top of the organisation. Policy analysis and research evidence generated as a result of DFID's funding is directly influencing other donors to take media assistance more seriously and understand it better, for example via the contributions by BBC Media Action to meetings and publications of the OECD DAC Governance Network.

Sida (Sweden)

Name: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) – HQ Stockholm

Overall budget: estimated (2016) US \$3.3 billion.

Spend on media assistance: US \$24m per year (an estimate for 2013)

Percentage of Sida's total budget spent on media and freedom of info: **0.7%**

Media assistance priorities: media freedom in non-democratic countries and in conflict/post-conflict areas; internet-based media; journalist training, safety of journalists, support to institutions and independent media organisations, and investigative journalism.

Focus areas/countries: 33 countries, mostly in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa, some South East Asian countries.

Strengths: Clear and up to date strategy on media assistance based on the rights-based approach. Media support has a clear institution home within Sida's 'Democracy, human rights and freedom of expression' field of work.

Challenges: Diminishing budget and “how to craft long-term funding commitments that are sustainable and proactive, while also attending to the immediate needs of media organisations, include capacity, journalists safety (especially during conflicts), and in many countries, a shrinking space for civil society”⁶⁴.

Lessons Sida has learned: A 2013 review⁶⁵ found that Sida had spread itself too thinly across too many projects; another conclusion was that its freedom-of-expression strategy was too risk averse. The report also highlighted the difficulties of operating in the freedom of expression area: “Some of the results are impressive, but many of them constitute isolated islands in a sea of increased oppression”⁶⁶.

Knight Foundation

Name: The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, USA

Budget: Grant spending overall (2013): US \$120.7m

Overall worth of the foundation (2014): US \$2.4 billion.

Spend on media assistance: US \$38m per year (2014 figure) but approx. US\$ 4m on international initiatives

Percentage of Knight’s total grant-spending spent on media innovation and journalism: **32%**

Media assistance priorities: media in the USA, but some assistance to developing countries; traditional journalism; technology innovation; digital projects.

Focus areas/countries: mostly the USA but some US\$4m on international projects involving exchanges with US journalists, core-support for US based international institutes and think-tanks, international awards for journalistic excellence, regional initiatives in Africa, Asia, Cuba etc.

Strengths: well-endowed financial base; able to be responsive and flexible in its grant-making strategy

Challenges: not especially oriented towards developing country media assistance; challenged by the current disruption of traditional journalism by digital technology and the ‘post-truth’ era of U.S. policy.

Lessons Knight Foundation has learned: In recent scenario planning for the future, Knight has identified three themes: ‘technology, economic disparity and race’ and a commitment to be ‘flexible’ and ‘responsive to a dynamic context’ in a ‘rapidly changing world’⁶⁷.

UNESCO

Budget overall (2016): US \$326m per year

Spend on ‘communication and information’: US \$22.9m per year (2015 figure).

Percentage of UNESCO’s total budget spent on communication and information yearly: approx. **7%**

Media assistance priorities: Promoting an enabling environment for freedom of expression, press freedom and journalistic safety, facilitating pluralism and participation in media, and supporting sustainable and independent media institutions

Focus areas/countries: Post-conflict countries and countries in transition

⁶⁴ CIMA, Donor Profile : Sida

⁶⁵ Ljungman et al (2013)

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 68

⁶⁷ Alberto Iburguen, (2016)

Strengths: Clear mandate; Media Development Indicators are internationally recognised benchmark; IPDC (International Programme for the Development of Communication) is a dedicated fund for media assistance supported by many member states

Challenges: Relatively small budget; UNESCO, being an inter-governmental organisation, is unlikely to fund media activities that governments might deem unacceptably partisan.

Lessons UNESCO has learned: UNESCO, among other major international groups, has brought attention recently to how the fundamental challenges to media systems pose fundamental challenges to governance and democracy. UNESCO has realised the need to emphasise threats to journalist safety as a major current issue worldwide. Meanwhile it continues (on relatively little funding) to be one of the few major international institutions helping those working in the media sector to connect with broader reform and governance agendas.

UNDP

Budget overall (2015): US \$ 4.5 billion per year

Spend on media: estimated between US \$25m and US\$50m is currently being spent on media and communications work by UNDP per year

Percentage of UNDP's total budget spent on media and communications yearly: approx. **0.8%**

Media assistance priorities: Media projects that are part of civic engagement (including promoting an environment conducive to freedom of expression and media engagement in development), elections work and peace-building.

Focus areas/countries: 177 countries; countries where democracy and civil society are weak

Strengths: Strong presence on the ground; long experience in democratisation and elections.

Challenges: Diminishing overall budget; no clear articulation of media in UNDP's mandate; limited to working with governments and/or on government-approved projects.

Lessons UNDP has learned: Because a lot of UNDP's support to media is in the context of elections, UNDP has found that support to media should encompass more than just training journalists to report elections better. UNDP projects could also include ensuring that the media know the rules, regulations and codes of conduct; creating dialogue between the EMB (electoral monitoring bodies), the media, journalists' associations and political parties; training editors and journalists in covering elections; tendering competitions for grants to produce voter education spots; supporting CSOs in the methodology of media monitoring; and offering media training for EMBs and politicians.⁶⁸ Another lesson is to watch the context and to put increasing emphasis on new and social media in future.

⁶⁸ UNDP, (2010), p.57

III. CONCLUSIONS: Lessons learned and international good practice

This review has shown that after several decades of international media assistance a common set of practices has emerged which most donors tend to concentrate on, and which, if pursued together and in a coordinated way (i.e. not doing one element without all the others), can constitute a holistic approach to media support. Broadly, this common set of practices in media assistance^{69 70} are:

- I. **Capacity-building:**
 - a. Professionalisation and skills-building of practitioners
 - b. Organisational capacity-building including managerial, technical and financial aspects
 - c. Other capacity support to the broader environment such as training on media issues and media relations for civil society organisations and governments
- II. **Enabling and sponsoring the production of good-quality media content** (ideally in conjunction with capacity-building of local practitioners)
- III. **Attention to the legal and regulatory context of a country or region**, including cyber-security and internet governance
- IV. **Infrastructure, technology and equipment support** (both hard and soft ware), including facilitating access to 'media-dark' areas and/or to minority/disadvantaged groups
- V. **Support to mapping media landscapes and researching audiences** (ideally to promote needs-based content-development and sustainable business models among private media outlets)
- VI. **Support to M&E principles and processes**, including the generating of evidence of what works
- VII. **Promoting media literacy** to encourage a public which is intellectually equipped to understand and critique its own, as well as the international, media, including online and social media

Within the above categories lessons have been learned in most areas and various principles of good practice are being adopted. Taking them one by one, the following can be said to be good practice in each area:

I. **Capacity-building:**

Capacity-building of local journalists has moved away from the short-term isolated workshop model, to a model of longer term 'news labs' and *in-situ* trainings, distance learning, embedded mentoring and support, tied to production of specific content and programmes. The point is to ensure that journalists and content providers are enabled and empowered to put their new skills

⁶⁹ Derived from Cauhapé-Cazaux & Kalathil, (2015),

⁷⁰ SDC set out its own typology in the 2007 Orientation Guide 'Media – A Key Player for Realizing Social Accountability'. This defines six 'different spheres of the media sector' as both 'bases for analysis' and 'entry points', as follows: 1. Individual journalists 2. Media outlet organisations 3. Media institutions (training, research, press councils) 4. Economic factors and media economics 5. Legal environment and legal reality and 6. Societal beliefs and cultural values. These six spheres are useful although perhaps less dynamic than the CIMA typology which categorises media assistance into the activities themselves rather than the people or organisations being acted upon.

into practice and that institutional structures are created or encouraged that build the capacity of the media over time.

Journalist training without attention to the underlying conditions of media outlets (for example, lack of salaries due to fragile media businesses) will mean that impact is inevitably constrained. This is a lesson that the media assistance world has learned and has led to more emphasis by donors on the sustainability of media outlets and organisations.

After realising that sustainability is difficult to achieve without attention to the commercial side of media outlets, donors and media-specialised NGOs now try to do more on capacity-building for organisational development, including managerial, technical and financial aspects. For example, BBC Media Action runs 'value for air-time' training with their partner broadcasters, which are tailored workshops and/or mentoring for senior managers and owners to help them generate more income from advertising and sponsorship. Another example is Hironnelle Communication, an offshoot of Fondation Hironnelle in D. R. Congo, which is an agency that has successfully secured advertising for over 80 small rural radio stations around the country, thereby helping them to survive.

Support to the broader environment must not be forgotten, meaning building the capacity of local civil society organisations to communicate with their constituents, the media and government; also training leaders, the judiciary and civil servants to understand and relate to the media. For example, in D.R. Congo, Internews is bringing together journalists and local magistrates in workshops to help each side understand the law governing the journalists' rights and responsibilities and to prevent journalists from summary arrest by the secret services.

II. Sponsoring the production of good-quality media content

Funders and development agencies have historically had a 'pay and play' approach to media, i.e. simply using the media as a channel to disseminate pre-prepared messages to a wide public. Whilst spots, slogans and campaign messages have their place and can be effective for social and behaviour change, development agencies have (or should have) learned not just to provide ready-made content but to provide capacity-building to local media practitioners at the same time. For example, instead of simply reaching a deal with a local radio station for the broadcasting of x number of spots over x amount of time, development agencies are now working more closely with radio station managers and staff to craft campaigns together, often through specialist media NGOs. This should enable media outlets to produce public-service media content themselves in future, rather than keeping them dependent on sponsors. At the same time it must be remembered that many small, local media houses (e.g. community radios) depend heavily on airtime sponsorship from development agencies, so development agencies who push for free airtime need to stop and think whether it is always strategic and fair to do so, because airtime/sponsorship paid by donors often enables local media outlets to exist and develop.

In terms of good quality content, much has been learned from decades of health communication (think, for instance of HIV/AIDS campaigns) and now we see more content that is imaginative, participatory, entertaining/compelling and technically of a high standard in the governance area, as has been the case in health for some time.

In terms of sustaining good quality content, donors and media development agencies have learned that transitions to local ownership often results in declining quality. Promoting local ownership is ethically the right thing to do, so at the end of a project there is often a trade-off and a

need to accept lower quality content as a price worth paying for local ownership. The hope is, that with time, and with further capacity-building, the quality of content will improve.

III. Attention to the legal and regulatory context of a country or region, including cyber-security and internet governance

If the context is repressive or unsafe for journalists, a holistic approach is required that tries to reform or re-organise the system and promote safeguards for independent journalists and fundamental freedoms for others such as bloggers, citizen journalists and pressure groups. Funding local and international advocacy groups is one approach, for example, in Nigeria the MacArthur Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation are supporting the Premium Times Centre for Investigative Journalism which, inter alia, campaigns against internet censorship and promotes freedom of the web.

Another approach is to provide know-how and legal support to the state media regulator and judicial bodies themselves, for example, in D R Congo, UNESCO and other donors have, in the past, paid for independent legal advisors to work within the state media regulator, the CSAC⁷¹. Elsewhere, essential work is done by networks such as Reporters without Borders, which provide journalists with legal support. Also, local networks that give specific advice on dangers and tips to keep journalists safe are worth supporting at the local level.

A thorough study of the political and legal context in which the media operates, using analytical tools such as **political economy analysis**⁷², is something several donors try to do before embarking on media support. For example, DFID believes:

“political economy analysis can inform our work on state building and peace building... It can also identify how we might work outside the state to build progressive change coalitions across civil society, the private sector and the *media*”⁷³.

Accepting that it often takes *time* for regulatory change to happen is also important – for example donors and advocacy groups started pushing for the Nigerian government to allow community radio in the early 2000’s but it was not until 2015, and after several changes of government, that the first community radio was finally licenced by Nigeria’s regulator. In the context of elections too, one of the lessons that DFID has documented is that “...professionalizing and regulating the media, are reform processes that require patient support over many years to yield real benefits.”⁷⁴

IV. Infrastructure, technology and equipment support (both hard and soft ware), including facilitating access to ‘media-dark’ areas and/or to minority/disadvantaged groups

Infrastructure support is about supporting hardware and software for both media producers and media consumers – for example transmitters, studios, computer software, and wind-up and solar-powered radio receivers. Many of the original donors to state broadcasters were the former colonial powers (e.g. UK, France). More recently Japan and China have been responsible for some of

⁷¹ Conseil Supérieure de l’Audio-visuel et de la Communication

⁷² For a ‘how to’ note on doing political economy analysis see

<https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/events-documents/3797.pdf>

⁷³ O’Brien, Stephen and DFID, (2010)

⁷⁴ DFID, (2010), *Electoral Assistance*, p. 22 (author’s emphasis)

the bigger upgrades to TV studios and state radios, particularly in Africa, while other donors, including SDC have helped with bringing information to the poor and remote through community radios and rural multi-media centres. While the technological revolution has brought costs drastically down over the last 25 years, donors must still guard against the trap of creating infrastructural 'white elephants' such as massive TV studios or large-scale journalism schools without planning for maintenance, staffing, spare-parts and trained personnel to keep such projects running.

Donors rarely get involved with mass distribution of receiving equipment (TV/radio sets, smart-phones) in developing countries, leaving this mainly up to the market but it can be necessary in humanitarian emergencies to consider funding hard-ware to reach remote, poor and marginalised areas – for example donating wind-up and solar-powered radio receivers in refugee camps or 'suitcase radio stations' after a typhoon or earthquake.

Supporting digital change should also be a priority for media donors because there are many people, such as women, youth and the rural poor, especially in Africa, who still have low access to the internet and are in danger of being left behind in the digital race. Donors have developed a set of nine general 'Digital Principles'⁷⁵ which are very relevant to digital development in the media field:

1. Design with the User
2. Understand the Existing Ecosystem
3. Design for Scale
4. Build for Sustainability
5. Be Data Driven
6. Use Open Standards, Open Data, Open Source, and Open Innovation
7. Reuse and Improve
8. Address Privacy & Security
9. Be Collaborative

V. Support to mapping media landscapes and researching audiences

Mapping the media landscape of a country is important for donors and implementing partners when designing, monitoring and evaluating a media programme, particularly to identify entry points at the formative stage of a project. Ideally this should be combined with audience research to understand who is reading, listening, watching, accessing the internet etc. and what, where and when they are consuming media. Without understanding what audiences already know and where they get their information from, it is difficult to promote needs-based content-development.

Most donors will engage consultants to do this which often works well but it is important not to reinvent the wheel, so donors should consult initially with other donors and local media-support

⁷⁵ These are 'nine high-level concepts that should be considered, ideally before funding, designing, or implementing any technology supported development work', developed by a group of donors, coordinated by USAID, including the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, UNICEF, Sida, UNDP, Grameen Foundation etc. It 'represents a concerted effort by donors to capture the most important lessons learned by the development community in the implementation of technology-enabled programs. Having evolved from a previous set of implementer precepts endorsed by over 300 organizations, these principles seek to serve as a set of living guidelines that are meant to inform, but not dictate, the design of technology-enabled development programs'. See <http://digitalprinciples.org/>

agencies since there may be a recent study already done. The OECD guidelines emphasise the importance of engaging local media-specialist know-how:

“Media development organisations, along with local partners, are often best positioned to assess context and needs” and highlight the usefulness of “the UNESCO standard media development indicators (UNESCO, 2008)”⁷⁶ Other good sources include BBC Media Action who have recently uploaded valuable audience data from large samples (2,000 to 4,000 respondents) to an open-access portal⁷⁷ covering 13 developing countries⁷⁸, including data on media consumption and on governance knowledge and practices. Other sources of media landscape data include USAID’s Demographic Health Surveys⁷⁹ which regularly gather data on exposure to mass media and NGOs such as, Internews, Communicating Disaster Affected Communities (CDAC) network, UNICEF and others.

Helping media owners understand the size and tastes of their audience through access to reliable estimates of reach and audience segmentation, is often a valuable step towards attracting advertisers – so that advertisers can buy slots or space that are appropriate for reaching their particular target market. However, large scale independent media consumption research is usually conducted by private sector companies and the data are often very expensive and proprietary, and they have historically focused on urban centres rather than poor and rural areas. This is a problem for small, public service media outlets, particularly community radio, who require localised affordable information. Technology is changing the audience research industry with, for example, mobile phone tools and apps permitting cheaper, more regular and more inclusive surveys. Donors do not always understand the need to make the link between independent commercial media/audience research and media sustainability but one example where this has happened - due mainly to a push by the implementing body, Adam Smith International - is the ENABLE project in Nigeria in which dialogue has been facilitated between media houses and market research companies. This helps to ensure that data collected is useful (e.g. with expanded rural samples) and has supported training of radio stations to mine audience research data as well as providing marketing training so radio stations can use it to improve their negotiations with advertisers.

Another example is a French-led media programme in D R Congo which helped commercial media outlets and advertisers work together to understand audience share and create a level-playing field for advertising pricing, in a drive to increase bone fide advertising as opposed to ‘paid-for content’ by politicians.

VI. Support to M&E principles and processes, including the generating of evidence of what works

DFID has funded substantial research into the impact of media on development outcomes within a £90m Global Grant to BBC Media Action, 15 per cent of which was spent on research to inform and evaluate the programme as well as to generate evidence of how and to what extent media and communication influences governance, health and resilience outcomes. After five years of implementation, results are now being disseminated widely and include governance-related findings from surveys of 23,000 respondents in seven countries. They show that audiences of BBC

⁷⁶ OECD, (2013), *DAC Strategic Principles for Media Assistance Guidelines* – see Annex 1

⁷⁷ BBC Media Action, ‘Data Portal’, <http://dataportal.bbcmmediaaction.org/site/>

⁷⁸ Kenya, Nigeria, Palestinian Territories, Sierra Leone, Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Tanzania, Vietnam

⁷⁹ USAID, ‘DHS Program’, <http://www.dhsprogram.com/>

Media Action programmes have participated to a significantly greater extent in political activities (such as voting, meeting their elected representative or participating in a local initiative or council meeting) than those who do not listen to or watch these programmes, even when taking other influencing factors into account. BBC Media Action has achieved impressive value for money: during the whole period of the grant it has reached over 200 million people with high quality, behaviour-changing content on governance, health and resilience for only £0.27p (0.34 CHF) per person, with a cost of £1.17 (CHF 1.48) per person who strongly agreed that the programmes held government to account .

Other media organisations are also devoting considerable attention and resources to proving impact. Development Media International (DMI), is a UK-based social enterprise organisation that implements social and behaviour change projects mainly focusing on health issues. It recently concluded a £7 million (CHF 8.8m) randomised control trial in Burkina Faso with funding from the Wellcome Foundation and Planet Wheeler which proved not only that radio broadcasts can change health behaviours but they reduce child mortality. The final results showed that 35% more children were taken for treatment for malaria, diarrhoea and pneumonia in intervention areas compared to control areas and that child mortality was reduced by 7.5% as a result.⁸⁰

However, generating this sort of robust quantitative evidence is costly because of the need to reach large samples of people repeatedly, often in remote, hard to reach areas. Often the research capacity at local level is hard to find and commercial market research agencies are expensive. A BBC Media Action 'evidence review' of the media for development sector in 2014 called for

"An 'evidence agenda' to create shared evidential standards to systematically map existing evidence, and establish fora to discuss and share existing evidence... [because]... without such an agenda, as a field, we risk evidence producers, assessors and funders talking at cross purposes. We also risk failing to properly understand and represent the best evidence that does exist in the field. The ultimate risk is that policy-makers and donors, despite recognising the value of media for development, side-line it in favour of other investment approaches with established evidence bases."

However, as long as the 'evidence' is being generated by implementing organisations which have a vested interest in finding positive impacts of their own interventions, the field will continue to suffer be vulnerable to attacks by sceptics.

Whilst some in the media development community have lamented the lack of 'evidence' that media works, others have wondered whether it is best just to accept that there is already sufficient evidence that it does work, and move on. For example, at a recent meeting on media and governance in London⁸¹, several representatives from DFID, the OECD DAC, MacArthur and Omidyar Foundations agreed that 'the evidence problem had been solved... so there's a bit of a change in favour of media among donors and a growing awareness that media really matters.'⁸²

VII. Promoting media literacy to encourage a public which is intellectually equipped to understand and critique its own, as well as the international, media.

⁸⁰ Development Media International (DMI), DMI website: <http://www.developmentmedia.net/>

⁸¹ BBC Media Action: One Day Symposium on Media and Governance, London, 23rd February 2017

⁸² From author's notes from attending the above event, 23rd February 2017.

UNESCO is the leading agency on promoting media literacy which it defines as follows:

“a set of competencies to search, critically evaluate, use and contribute information and media content wisely; knowledge of one’s rights online; understanding how to combat online hate speech and cyberbullying; understanding of the ethical issues surrounding the access and use of information; and engage with media and ICTs to promote equality, free expression, intercultural/interreligious dialogue, peace, etc.”⁸³

There is a UNESCO ‘week’ on media and information literacy (MIL) every year with events and awards organised around the world. But apart from UNESCO, very few other donors identify media literacy as a priority. As CIMA’s recent survey⁸⁴ of media assistance points out, that might be because aspects of media literacy are incorporated into other elements of media support or perhaps into broader democracy and governance programming—part of “media skills for civil society organizations,” for example—and thus not explicitly identified as media literacy. Yet media literacy has been highlighted in practitioner discourse over the past few years as an under-funded, ill-understood, yet desperately needed area of programming, especially in the current climate of ‘fake news’ and the increasing need to keep safe online.

To conclude, the foregoing review shows that the international donor community (alongside partners, consultants and scholars) has done some substantial thinking about media assistance and is continuing to wrangle with some difficult issues. Media assistance is not straightforward but, fundamentally, there is international consensus (at least among OECD countries) that the right to freedom of expression should be upheld and that independent media need to be supported as an effective way for citizens to hold authority to account.

Good practice guidelines on some of the above areas-of-practice can be found in the media assistance literature, a selection of which we have included in our bibliography. The major donors, media assistance agencies, NGOs, and civil society organisations have generated a plethora of technical guidance which ranges from training investigative reporters, to partnering with the media in elections; from managing media in emergencies to reforming public service broadcasting... and many more. *Those we have listed in part 3 of our Annotated Bibliography (Guidelines and ‘how to’ manuals for practitioners) are the ones we (iMedia) judge as the most relevant, practical and recent ones.*

As for overarching principles to govern implementation of practice, at the most basic level, media assistance should be governed by the same fundamental aid effectiveness principles of all ODA, such as: local ownership, good coordination among donors, thorough understanding of the context, and the ‘do no harm’ principle⁸⁵.

⁸³ UNESCO Global Media and Information Literacy (MIL) week <https://en.unesco.org/global-mil-week-2016>

⁸⁴ Summarised in Kalathil, (2017)

⁸⁵ See for example, OECD, (2010)

More specifically, the OECD/DAC GovNet published the Principles for Media Assistance in 2013 which can be broadly summarised as follows (but they merit reading in full (see Annex 1):

- Incorporate media indicators and audits into governance diagnostics and needs analysis.
- Cooperate with media development civil society organizations and determine media objectives and outcomes, but do not impose methodologies.
- Support independent, sustainable, and capable local media in developing countries.
- Support systematic research on the effects of media and information access on domestic accountability.
- Learn about and harness new technologies.

We would commend these principles to SDC, along with specific technical guidance, which can be selected as needed from the online sources we have given in our Annotated Bibliography. They are, we believe, the most recent, inclusive and comprehensive guiding principles which currently exist.

Annex 1. OECD DAC Strategic Principles for Media Assistance

OECD DAC Strategic Principles for Media Assistance⁸⁶

Following earlier work by the GovNet, specifically around the 2010 meeting on media, a series of principles were developed for media support. These were published in the *DAC Guidelines and Reference Series*:

1. Incorporate media assistance into a larger framework of development aid. Access to information is crucial for domestic accountability. Media institutions in particular provide tools and channels for accountability that can complement and enhance other accountability mechanisms, but also add new instruments that may be at least as powerful and efficient as the more commonly supported accountability measures. A weak and/or highly constrained media can undermine domestic accountability. The risk of not considering and supporting the media as part of broader accountability programmes is significant.

2. Incorporate media indicators and audits into governance diagnostics and needs analysis. The state of the media is inseparable from the state of governance in general. For instance, the UNESCO standard media development indicators (UNESCO, 2008) could usefully be incorporated into governance needs assessments to more effectively guide interventions for improving media as an accountability mechanism.

3. Co-operate with media development CSOs and determine media objectives and outcomes, not methodologies. Given a lack of specific expertise on media development within the majority of donor organisations and local media beneficiaries, there is a strong argument for developing media support strategies and specific interventions in partnership with media development CSOs. Some donors are already taking this approach. Media development organisations, along with local partners, are often best positioned to assess context and needs and to develop effective interventions to address these. While there is a clear need to ensure that media strategies complement overarching accountability objectives, there is a strong argument for providing CSO implementers with substantial scope – and the ability to propose creative solutions – as opposed to highly prescriptive requirements.

4. Focus on building public demand for inclusive policy dialogue. The *Accra Agenda for Action* calls for “broadening country-level policy dialogue on development” (OECD, 2005/2008). One concern is a paucity of “evidence from which to systematically assess progress in implementing these commitments”. There is clear potential for media support that enables and fosters policy dialogue to contribute to this goal; research incorporated into such support can assist in building a body of evidence and understanding of effective strategies for stimulating policy dialogue.

⁸⁶ Source: James Deane, (2014) from ‘*Accountability and Democratic Governance: Orientations and Principles for Development*’, *OECD DAC Guidelines and References Series*, OECD (2013)

5. Support independent, sustainable, and capable local media in developing countries. Local media in developing countries often enjoy significant reach and audience interest, but lack the resources, skills and support to better understand the needs of populations and effectively hold government to account. In supporting these organisations to improve their watchdog role, donors can effectively enhance non-media accountability interventions, build people's demand for domestic accountability, and strengthen local media as an accountability institution.

6. Foster ownership as a central component of support. The nature of productive relationships between the media and audiences is one that engenders a sense of ownership. Where people see the media acting on their behalf and critically – enabling them to engage directly with issues and politicians – there exists a clear sense of trust and ownership of media programmes.

7. Promote citizen access to the media and mobile technologies as well as citizens' media literacy. The media can only be an effective accountability mechanism only if citizens are able to use them. This includes access to media products and infrastructure as well as the ability to make sense of information.

8. Encourage links between media institutions and the rest of civil society. Media and civil society organisations together can form a formidable coalition for accountability and good governance. Donors should consider joining support for several accountability mechanisms, including media support, in appropriate situations.

9. Support systematic research on the effects of media and information access on domestic accountability. As outlined in this discussion paper, there is empirical evidence of the media's impact on domestic accountability, but it is not integrated into a larger theoretical framework. Research, including monitoring and evaluation, should be part of any media support project, but should also be supported in its own right to advance our understanding of the role of the media in domestic accountability in different political, economic, and social contexts.

10. Learn about and harness new technologies. Internet and mobile-focused support is not appropriate in all contexts. Needs analyses must properly assess media and communications environments to determine the most appropriate media platforms for supporting accountability. Where interventions do focus on new technologies, research should be incorporated to build a body of policy-relevant evidence to guide subsequent support.

Annex 2: Donor Case Studies

Annex 2a: DFID Donor Case Study

DFID

Department for International Development, United Kingdom

Donor Case-study for SDC CapEx on Media Assistance

Nicola Harford

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Basic facts about DFID

- The Department for International Development (DFID) is headquartered in London. It 'leads the UK's work to end extreme poverty, tackling global challenges including disease, mass migration, insecurity and conflict. It aims to build a safer, healthier, more prosperous world for people in developing countries and the UK'.⁸⁷
- It is a ministerial department of the British government. In 2014 DFID spent £11.4 billion (approx. \$18 billion at prevailing exchange rate) on overseas aid, and provisional figures for 2015 suggest that well over £12 billion (approx. \$15 billion at prevailing exchange rate) was spent on aid representing 0.7% of Gross National Income. DFID priority geographical areas are Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, covering over 30 countries.
- Spend on media assistance: £20 million (US \$24m) per year (an estimate for 2016)
- Percentage of DFID's total budget spent on media and free flow of information: 0.16%
- Website: <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-international-development>

DFID's rationale for media assistance

DFID does not currently have an explicit strategy for media assistance overall, and it is difficult to chart the evolution of its support to the media, and to media and communications for development more broadly, over the past 10 years. Notably there is no focal point within DFID for its work in this area since the small Information and Communication for Development (ICD) unit was disbanded in 2006. This lack of institutional home and strategic role for media is highlighted in a review conducted by Myers (2010)⁸⁸ of a DFID funded media policy and research project: 'The history of communications within DFID is such that no single team or department owns media and governance in DFID. Media and communications are currently seen as cross-cutting issues and there is no section or individual expert on media'.

However, DFID has a strong record of funding media-related interventions and research programmes relating to media and communications. At present DFID views the media as an important actor in the governance and accountability space, alongside other institutions and tools for more effective states and better governance (e.g. parliament, political parties, judiciary and civil society,).⁸⁹ The media's significance for DFID is revealed in the size of the centrally funded Global Grant⁹⁰ awarded to BBC Media Action (formerly BBC World Service Trust) of £90 million over five and a half years (2011-17). Nonetheless, the UK Secretary of State for International Development rejected the business case for a second phase of the Global Grant in January 2017, despite widespread support within DFID and clear evidence of its impact on political participation, as well as on health and resilience outcomes.

Across DFID's portfolio, media development and communications for development feature as standalone projects or, more often, as specific outputs or components of programmes – mostly administered at country level. Broad thematic areas that feature media assistance are: governance and accountability; stability, fragility and peace-building; human development including education,

⁸⁷ DFID website, DFID, <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-international-development>

⁸⁸ Mary Myers, (2010)

⁸⁹ See DFID's White Paper, *Making Governance Work for the Poor* (2006) and Policy Approach to Rule of Law, (2013), DFID: London

⁹⁰ DFID Development Tracker, Support towards meeting the information and communication needs of people living in poverty with a particular emphasis on fragile states,

health, women and girls; and economic development. Resilience and humanitarian programmes also contain media and communication components. Because the work is usually embedded in sector programmes, it is difficult, even for DFID itself, to identify and quantify all of its media assistance.

Justification for support to the media in governance is outlined in a DFID 2008 Briefing Paper⁹¹ written by the (then) DFID Politics and the State team in collaboration with BBC World Service Trust. The role of media is assessed in relation to the Good Governance conceptual framework provided in Figure 1 below. This paper and the policy paper 'Making Governance work for the Poor' view media primarily through an accountability lens in relation to the state's performance. DFID has historically prioritised support to a free, independent and plural media to provide a critical check on state abuse of power or corruption, to facilitate public debate on issues of concern to poor and marginalized people and to supply information to enable citizens to exercise democratic choices.

It is worth noting that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) of the United Kingdom also provides support to media organisations through official development assistance – separate to DFID. In 2015 £50 million was allocated by the FCO to work on human rights and democracy. Within this remit media organisations and individual journalists are often supported, for example to report on elections or raise the profile of human rights issues. In addition, the FCO provides grant funding for the BBC World Service as part of its soft diplomacy efforts, on the basis that, as a provider of accurate, impartial and independent news, the World Service helps to strengthen democratic accountability and governance as well as promote Britain, and its values, around the world. There is increasing coordination and information sharing between DFID and FCO.



Figure 2: DFID's Good Governance conceptual framework, from p.30, 'Making Governance Work for the Poor' (2006)

⁹¹ DFID, (2008), Briefing: Media & Good Governance, (see reference list).

Is media a vector or an end in itself?

Essentially all DFID's funding to media can be characterised as media for development in that it is always provided in the context of supporting development outcomes. This is clearest when it is supported or used to facilitate behaviour change around health, social norms etc. and where media capacity-building is quite instrumentalist, with the objective of producing appropriate content, rather than sustainability of production and reporting. Under governance, conflict and fragility, work with the media is intended to strengthen its role as accountability mechanism, watchdog, purveyor of information, and thus is broader in scope. However the design of such programmes is always predicated on improving capacity in specific areas and for defined objectives.

Recent remarks made by the current head of DFID's Governance, Open Societies and Anti-Corruption Department (GOSAC), Jonathan Hargreaves, underline this approach:

"...where media and communications can solve problems there's lots being done but not so much for media as an end in itself... there's lots of potential for DFID to work on media in extractive industries, revenue raising and financial management".

An exception to this approach is funding given to Article 19 through DFID's Programme Partnership Arrangement scheme (a five-year grant for £3.7 million which concluded in 2016)⁹² for work expanding freedom of expression, freedom of information and right to information policies, laws and frameworks, with a focus on the rights of marginalized communities.

Budget and projects (estimates)

CIMA (2015) reports UK spend on media to be \$17 million in 2012, using data from the OECD/DAC database, based on the Creditor Reporting System (CRS) purpose codes. This figure is almost certainly an underestimate. It is based on funding allocated to the following categories: 'Media and free flow of information' under the Government and civil society sector, and 'Communications policy and administrative management', 'Telecommunications', 'Radio/television/print media' and 'Information and communication technology (ICT)' under the Communications sector.⁹³

It is noteworthy that the Global Grant alone accounted for over £20 million of expenditure between November 2011 and April 2013, and three projects exclusively addressing media⁹⁴ under the Governance and Transparency Fund (a civil society grant programme) received £7 million between 2009 and 2013. Furthermore, between 2007 and 2013 DFID was the biggest contributor to a large media and democratisation project in the Democratic Republic of Congo, providing £14m overall, or roughly £2.3m per year. All of which, if added together would bring the 2012 spend to around £20 million which calls the CIMA estimate into question.

⁹² DFID Development Tracker, Article 19 Programme Partnership Arrangement, (see reference list)

⁹³ Spending was analysed for disbursements equal to or greater than \$100,000 and for each code spend was allocated to one of the following categories: communication for development, media development, public diplomacy and media infrastructure. Under this analysis, the UK spend was on communications for development (around 13%), media development (around 50%) with 'unknown/other' accounting for the rest. No public diplomacy or media infrastructure funding is recorded.

⁹⁴ Implemented by Search for Common Ground (£4 million), Journalists for Human Rights (£1 million) and Ma'an Network (£2 million): BBC Media Action's GTF project was wrapped into the Global Grant in 2012, but was originally awarded £5 million for the period 2009-13.

For 2016, DFID's own development tracker portal⁹⁵ reveals that the primary sector category 'Governance and Civil Society - General' will receive £583 million of which 2.44% is allocated to 'Media and free flow of information' (£14.2 million). Activities under other sub-categories such as 'Elections' and 'Democratic participation and civil society' also disburse funding directly to the media sector (for example via the Global Grant and a number of Stability and Accountability Programmes). In addition DFID funds multisectoral programmes, some of which are known to have a media component (e.g. Strengthening Civil Society in Afghanistan) so we estimate that the total forecast spend on media assistance is likely to be in the region of £20 million or \$24 million (at current exchange rate) in 2016 (as we have shown in the donor graph Fig. 1 in Section II i. above).

DFID's current media projects - examples

International: the Global Grant is a £90 million grant made to BBC Media Action over five and a half years (2011-17) covering 15 countries in Africa, Middle East and Asia. It addresses governance, health and resilience themes through the production of high quality radio and television debate, magazine and drama programmes, many of which are made in collaboration with and aired on local and national broadcasters, whose capacity is strengthened through training, mentoring, provision of equipment and production support. BBC Media Action also conducts outreach activities with NGO and government partners to extend access to marginalised communities and has an extensive research programme that generates policy advice and evidence of media effects on development outcomes. This is probably the most significant single programme of donor funded media assistance currently in existence.

Tanzania: Tanzania Media Foundation. DFID is one of several donors (including SDC) that funded this (now local) grant-making organisation. TMF supports individual journalists and media houses to improve the quality and quantity of public interest and investigative journalism to promote domestic accountability. TMF also works with professional associations and other bodies in Tanzania to lobby for changes to the regulatory environment. DFID has contributed funds to a similar project in Kenya. Funding of £2 million was provided to TMF 2012-15.

Nigeria: ENABLE – Enabling Nigerian Advocacy for a better Business Environment. This is typical of many DFID funded programmes where media are one of the key stakeholders involved in supporting development outcomes. The media play a key role in generating dialogue and promoting advocacy in support of an improved business environment. ENABLE takes a market based approach to addressing the following systemic issues in the media sector: i) Media marketing; ii) Perceptions on the viability of business content; iii) Incentives for in-depth reporting; and iv) Journalism skills. Total funding is £18 million over five and a half years, 2013-19, but the precise amount spent on media assistance is not known.

DFID's internal guidance documents on media assistance

The DFID Practice Paper on Media and Governance (2008), produced by the BBC World Service Trust Policy and Research Programme at DFID's request, has not been updated and is not thought to explicitly guide media work, although it sets out key lessons to consider in designing media assistance in support of governance. Over the past few years DFID appears to have been investing more time in thinking around media and especially its role in relation to threats to democracy and human rights such as reduced freedom of expression and information. This has been prompted by learning from the BBC Media Action Global Grant, as well as growing interest in the media's role in transparency and anti-corruption initiatives. However, the constraints of limited staff time and expertise in this area continue. In 2016 BBC Media Action prepared a Professional Development

⁹⁵ DFID Development Tracker, <https://devtracker.dfid.gov.uk>

Conference briefing for Governance Advisors⁹⁶. A number of other internal practice papers and guidance notes have been generated for or by DFID but precede the 2006 cut-off date for this review⁹⁷.

DFID's learning on media assistance

DFID has made an explicit commitment to funding research into the role of the media and civil society organisations in helping to stabilise and rebuild fragile states.⁹⁸ In practice much of DFID's thinking around media assistance has been contracted out to key actors, particularly BBC Media Action (through large scale research programmes such as African Media Development Initiative, Policy and Research programme, and most recently the Global Grant). Thus DFID has not learned lessons as an institution itself, but has often generously funded lesson-learning for the wider media-assistance sector. There is support for this from the very top of the organisation⁹⁹. Policy analysis and research evidence generated as a result of DFID's funding is directly influencing other donors to take media assistance more seriously and understand it better, for example via the contributions by BBC Media Action to meetings and publications of the OECD DAC Governance Network¹⁰⁰. DFID also commissioned BBC Media Action to develop a paper on the role of media in combating corruption for the Anti-Corruption Summit hosted by the former Prime Minister, David Cameron, in 2016¹⁰¹.

Key lessons learned from evidence generated by the Global Grant (2011-17) around media assistance to governance can be summarized as follows:

- Scale: Media can, almost uniquely, impact at scale
- Discussion: Media initiatives should enable discussions and not simply provide information, using audience-responsive formats including debate, dialogue and drama¹⁰²
- Inclusiveness: Role modelling is important - programmes should show people from all parts of society participating in politics in a way everyone can relate to
- Trust: Media initiatives should create independent, balanced spaces for constructive, non-partisan discussion
- Research: Programming must respond and adapt to changing social, political and media environments including new technologies.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ James Deane, (2016), Media and Governance. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 39.,

⁹⁷ E.g. Adam Burke (1999), "Communications for Development: a practical guide", DFID; Andrew Skuse and Gordon Adam (2001) "Working with the Media in Conflicts and Other Emergencies", DFID Issues paper; DFID (2001), "The Media in Governance: Developing free and effective media to serve the interests of the poor"; DFID (2002), "The significance of ICT for Reducing Poverty"; Andrew Skuse (2001) "Information communication technologies, poverty and empowerment", DFID Social Development Department; Mary Myers (2005) "Monitoring and Evaluating Information and Communication for Development Programmes, DFID ICD Unit.

⁹⁸ DFID, (2008), Research Strategy 2008-2013

⁹⁹ James Deane, Phone interview, 16 December 2016

¹⁰⁰ James Deane, (2015), "Media and communication in governance: Its time for a rethink"

¹⁰¹ James Deane (2016), *The role of independent media in curbing corruption in fragile settings*.

¹⁰² This approach should take heed of what has worked in other sectors, especially HIV/AIDS and health communications, with an emphasis on influencing what people talk about, rather than on what they think. See 'The Art of Conversation' by Gordon Adam and Emrys Schoemaker, [The RUSI Journal](#) Vol. 155, Issue 4, 2010.

¹⁰³ We would add that media assistance in the governance arena should be based on a sound understanding of information ecosystems including underlying norms and power relations.

Lessons on sustainability of governance programming are less clear but some common factors are emerging: BBC Media Action posits that an emphasis on strengthening capacity to deliver impactful, quality demand-driven content is more likely to be effective than a focus on the supply-side (e.g. support to regulatory frameworks and generalised institution building). The DFID-funded project *Empowerment, Voice and Accountability for Better Health and Nutrition* in Pakistan¹⁰⁴ is successfully persuading media gatekeepers that health stories are commercially viable AND socially useful, whilst the ENABLE programme in Nigeria is doing the same for business reporting, in a bid to ensure that the motivations and capacities for sustainable public interest media are put in place.

DFID's Governance Advisors are key to supporting media components of governance programmes and there is some evidence that they are increasingly able to understand and appreciate the potential role of media¹⁰⁵. Evolving political and technological contexts at country and international level are highlighting the role of media in shaping public opinion and governance outcomes. Transforming this into structured and effective media assistance is however constrained by an aid architecture that does not easily support a focus on the role of media, especially in fragile states¹⁰⁶. BBC Media Action makes several recommendations on the basis of analysis of what has worked in conflicts, such as Afghanistan, Kenya and Somalia:

- Freedom of expression does not need to be sacrificed for state stability: censorship and containment is likely to be counter-productive but greater understanding and engagement is required to avoid co-option of the media by factional interests.
- A national conversation needs to be enabled to facilitate the development of a shared identity and build inclusiveness and social cohesion. Market forces alone are unlikely to create the conditions for a platform that engages all sections of society including the poorest and most marginalised. It will require creative strategies and external support to public service broadcasting initiatives.
- An opportunity for media to play a more central role has been created through the inclusion of freedom of speech and access to information in Goal 16¹⁰⁷ of the SDGs, and specifically clause 16.10: *Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements.*
- Media and communication issues must be better integrated into the fragile states agenda, using tools to analyse political complexity and drivers of political and development outcomes. Generally speaking, stronger analysis, research and strategic support for media is warranted in fragile states.

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.thepalladiumgroup.com/research-impact/Fostering-an-ecosystem-for-accountability-in-Pakistan---The-medias-role-in-the-accountability-of-health-Services>

¹⁰⁵ Phone interviews with Tessa MacArthur, GOSAC, DFID and James Deane, BBC Media Action

¹⁰⁶ *Fragile States: the Role of Media and Communication*, Policy Briefing 10, BBC Media Action October 2013. James Deane, p24.

¹⁰⁷ Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

DFID's future strategies on media

Indications are that media will continue to be important for DFID. Tessa MacArthur, from the Governance, Open Societies and Anti-Corruption Department at DFID says "Media is taken very seriously with the size of the global grant and the impetus to renew it¹⁰⁸, with a focus on conflict-affected and fragile states.... With the strong emergence of the transparency agenda it is likely to have more focus in future."

Head of GOSAC, Jonathan Hargreaves, confirmed this during a discussion of the role of media in governance hosted by BBC Media Action in February 2017, pointing to media assistance as being part of the 'global transparency revolution' which DFID is currently trying to promote.

Tessa MacArthur points out, however, that 'media' is unlikely to be treated as a special case: the media sector is one of a number of stakeholders that can be leveraged when strengthening democratic institutions and building coalitions.

DFID is also looking at media's role in social norms change with country programmes and a lot of work is already being done on media and governance in accountability programmes¹⁰⁹. Through different funding streams, such as 'Making All Voices Count'¹¹⁰ DFID is supporting programmes that build citizen engagement for accountability through innovations in technology.

DFID is keen to share learning, especially from the Global Grant, with development actors including the rest of the donor community, and SDC specifically.

Finally, on a slightly negative note, recent adverse reports¹¹¹ in the UK tabloid press around a number of DFID-funded media and communications interventions, which in one case has led to the withdrawal of funding for a project aimed at empowering girls, may constrain DFID from pursuing new opportunities due to the reputational risk associated with aid spending on activities that the public may perceive to be frivolous or non-essential.

¹⁰⁸ Despite widespread support within DFID and clear evidence of its impact on political participation, as well as on health and resilience outcomes, the UK Secretary of State for International Development rejected the business case for a second phase of the Global Grant in January 2017.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Programmes such as: Accountability in Tanzania; Partnership for Engagement, Reform and Learning in Nigeria.

¹¹⁰ *Making All Voice Count website*, <http://www.makingallvoicescount.org/>

¹¹¹ BBC Radio Drama Gave Tips for Illegal Migrants in Somalia, Nick Hallet, Breitbart, (2016) ; Yegna, Ethiopia's 'Spice Girls', lose UK funding, BBC News, (2017)

Annex 2b: Sida Donor Case Study

Sida

Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

Donor Case-study for SDC CapEx on Media Assistance

Mary Myers

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Basic facts about Sida¹¹²

- Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) – HQ Stockholm
- A government agency of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs
- Overall budget estimated (2016): \$3.3 billion USD (roughly half of Sweden's total development aid budget for 2016)
- Spend on media assistance: US \$24m per year (an estimate for 2013)
- Percentage of Sida's total budget spent on media and freedom of info: **0.7%**
- Sida works in 33 countries: current focus is Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa, but South East Asian and Eastern Partnership countries also receive some funding.
- Democracy and human rights is one of three thematic priorities¹¹³ of Swedish development cooperation and the rights perspective is applied across all sectors of Swedish development cooperation. Sida's support to the sector amounted to SEK 5.8 billion in 2014 (\$630m USD). This makes democracy and human rights Sida's largest sector, accounting for approximately 30 % of Sida's total disbursements¹¹⁴.
- Director-general = Charlotte Petri Gornitzka
- Website: www.sida.se

Sida's rationale for media assistance

Since 2009, Sida has had a special grant for democracy and freedom of speech targeting non-democratic countries, and with special focus on organisations and groups working for democracy and freedom of speech¹¹⁵. Sida's "Democracy and Human Rights Portfolio Review" (2014) states, "Freedom of expression is one of the main priorities within the area of democracy and human rights." According to the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden works on journalist training, safety of journalists, support to institutions and independent media organisations, and investigative journalism, both via Sida, and 'other actors' including the Swedish Institute.

The following graph shows the distribution of Sida's funding per sub-sector within Democracy and Human Rights. (Media and free flow of information are shown 6th from the bottom of the graph – this appears to represent about 200m Swedish Krona (SEK) or \$24m USD in 2014):

¹¹² Much of the following material is drawn from Sida's profile on media assistance researched by the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) in Washington D.C. <http://www.cima.ned.org/donor-profiles/sida/>

¹¹³ Sida's 3 priority themes are : democracy and human rights, environment and climate, and gender equality and women's role in development (<http://www.sida.se/English/how-we-work/about-swedish-development-cooperation/>)

¹¹⁴ Sida, (2014)

¹¹⁵ Sida website.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS, MILLION SEK

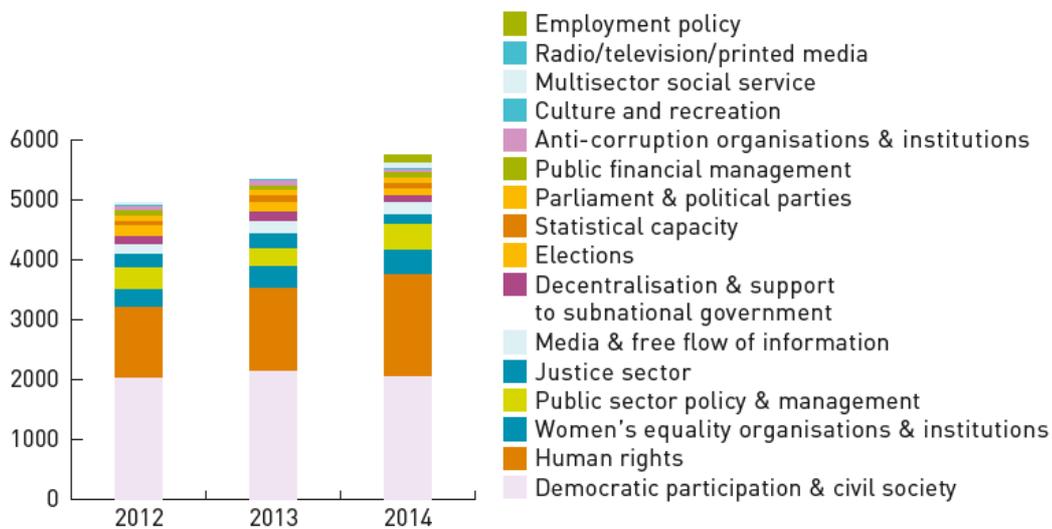


Figure 3: Stacked bar graph showing distribution of Sida's funding for Democracy and Human Rights, 2012-14¹¹⁶

Priority areas for media assistance

Sida's media-support can be roughly divided into three as follows:

- Media serving Democracy and Human Rights

Sida uses a broad terminology within freedom of expression, including free and independent media, artistic freedom as well as internet freedom and both digital and physical safety for human rights defenders. Freedom of expression activities can be found mainly under Sida's media and free flow of information category, but also under anti-corruption, culture and recreation, rule of law, statistical support, and women's rights, as well as the much broader human rights category.¹¹⁷ Sida considers Internet-based media as its most important priority area. This is evidenced by several recent grants to Access Now's Digital Rights Accelerator Project, Hivos' Digital Defenders Partnership, and the Tactical Technology Collective which correlates with the emergence of ICTs and the Internet as an important tool for freedom of expression (FoE). Sida has adopted an integrated view on FoE that covers media issues but also includes cultural rights, digital safety, transparency, access to information, and Internet governance, which Sida says can be "considered part of a broader FoE ecosystem." Sida also gives core support for some organizations (e.g. Article 19, IREX, PEN, WAN-IFRA), especially around freedom of expression¹¹⁸.

- Media and Development

In some cases, Sida supports media outlets directly such as local commercial radio stations. For instance, in Uganda, Sida has funded an International Labour Organisation (ILO) project entitled the Small Enterprise Media project (2007)¹¹⁹. Sida is also a keen supporter of internet infrastructure and ICT components in strategic sectors such as health, education, agriculture etc.. For example, Sida supports a World Bank ICT for the Development Facility Multi-Donor Trust Fund, to the tune of \$2.4m USD. This provides grants, one of which is for enhanced services to women farmers

¹¹⁶ Sida, (2014 b.)

¹¹⁷ CIMA, Donor Profile: Sida (see reference list)

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Sida, (2011) p.6

transitioning to irrigated agriculture in Zambia, using technologies like mobile phones and tablets to obtain technical and price information.

- Media in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas

Among numerous Sida grants are those concerned with development of media in conflict and post-conflict areas. For example, a \$6.2 million grant to the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) for work in Rwanda from 2014-2016. Another is a Sida funded project in Rwanda through Sweden's Fojo Media Institute. Other grants have supported the Syrian exile radio station Rozana, through the Copenhagen-based group, International Media Support, and Studio Tamani in Mali, for national dialogue and reconciliation.

Is media a vector or an end in itself?

Essentially, Sida regards media and communications as primarily ends in themselves: worth funding to uphold the fundamental human right of freedom of expression. The majority of Sida's media projects or grants appear to be in this vein, as evidenced by the substantial number of core-grants given to freedom-of-expression organisations, and direct to media outlets, as well as grants to organisations like UNESCO to develop regional freedom of expression projects worldwide.

Budget and projects (estimates)

CIMA reports that, "In 2013 Sida's support to media and freedom of information constituted 216 million Swedish krona," or approximately \$24m USD¹²⁰. It is known that funding has diminished in recent years due to overall budget cuts by the Swedish Government to overseas aid but there are no clear up-to-date indications on Sida's website about current funding levels for 2016/17.

Sida's current media projects - examples

1. Mali: Sida supports Studio Tamani, a media platform in Bamako that produces and broadcasts independent, professional and balanced news and information, as well as a programme on national dialogue and reconciliation, and continuously trains the network of Malian journalists. The purpose is to increase access to information, and contribute to improved accountability and governance as well as understanding and reconciliation¹²¹. Total committed amount USD \$2.8m (2015-2018), alongside other donors, including SDC.

2. International: Sida gives core support to the Canada-based freedom of expression network, IFEX. The objectives and expected results of this grant are 'Strengthened ability of members to better promote and defend the right to freedom of expression and information' and the 'Strengthened and broadened presence, visibility and influence of IFEX and IFEX members'.¹²² Total committed amount USD \$4.7m (2015-18)

3. Tanzania: Giving Voice to Maternal Survival and Reproductive Health in rural Tanzania is a human rights project using ICT-solutions to support quality assurance of clinic audits, e-learning and obstetric care as well as to raise public awareness of maternal health care services. This is a communication/ICT infrastructure project and the World Lung Foundation (WLF) is the implementing partner. Total committed amount, USD \$1.4m (2012-2015).

4. Uganda: The Sida-funded public awareness campaign Action for Transparency was launched in Uganda in May 2014 to address wide-spread corruption. Mobile app and web features allow citizens

¹²⁰ CIMA, Donor Profile : Sida, (see reference list)

¹²¹ Openaid.se, Studio Tamani (see reference list)

¹²² Openaid.se, IFEX core support 2015-2018 (see reference list)

themselves to check how public schools and health centres manage public funds and if they have received the money they were allocated. The digital applications complement education and communication efforts. In 2014, approximately 4,000 representatives from the media, civil society, communities and government received training in how the technical platform works, how government funds are allocated and how to track suspected corruption. This is a programme managed by the Fojo Media institute and local partners. Budget : \$1.83m¹²³.

Sida's internal guidance documents on Media assistance

Sida's Guidelines for Media Development were published in 2010¹²⁴, and remain largely relevant, although there is increasing emphasis on emerging ICTs and digital safety. It lays out a useful 'working model' for media in support of democracy as follows¹²⁵:

Media environments capable of supporting democracy can be thought of as the corner sections of a triangle.

- the legal and regulatory environment;
- professional capacity (both managerial, technical and journalistic);
- a sound and sustainable base.

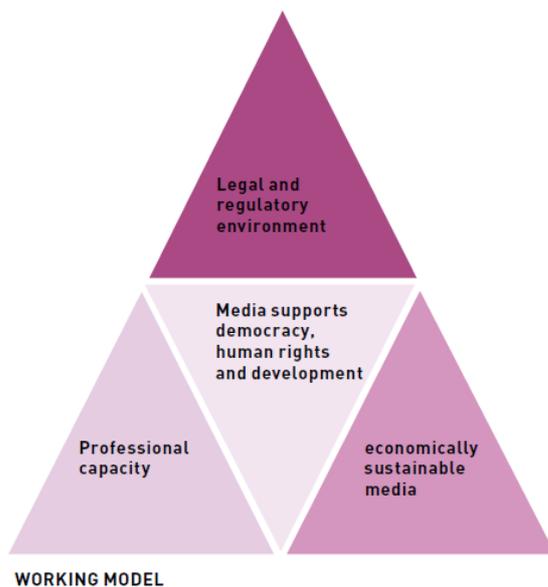


Figure 4: Sida's working model for media in support of democracy

These guidelines recommend 'a holistic approach to media development' whereby media programmes 'should incorporate elements of all three corner sections' (above), 'perhaps in collaboration with other donors'.

Sida's Learning on Media Assistance

According to a report¹²⁶ that Sida commissioned to evaluate its democratisation strategy, freedom of expression activities could be "roughly grouped into: i) Promoting freedom of expression and media freedom; ii) Supporting access to information; and iii) Advancing internet freedom." The

¹²³ Figure obtained from openaidsearch.org: http://www.openaidsearch.org/project/?iati_id=SE-0-SE-6-5403033401-GGG-15153

¹²⁴ Sida, (2010), Sida's Guidelines for Media Development (see reference list)

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 7

¹²⁶ Ljungman et al (2013)

report offered a set of general recommendations, but did not review specific grants. However, one important conclusion was that the Strategy spread itself too thinly across too many projects. Another conclusion was that the strategy was too risk averse. The report also highlighted the difficulties of operating in the freedom of expression area: "Some of the results are impressive, but many of them constitute isolated islands in a sea of increased oppression"¹²⁷.

Sida's future strategies on media

An important challenge Sida sees going forward is addressing how to craft long-term funding commitments that are sustainable and proactive, while also attending to the immediate needs of media organisations, include capacity, journalists safety (especially during conflicts), and in many countries, a shrinking space for civil society¹²⁸.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 68

¹²⁸ CIMA, Donor Profile: Sida (see reference list)

Annex 2c: Knight Foundation Donor Case Study

Knight Foundation

Donor Case-study for SDC CapEx on Media Assistance

Mary Myers

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Basic facts about the Knight Foundation¹²⁹

- The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation originated as a newspaper family foundation in 1950, in Miami, USA
- In total the Knight Foundation is worth USD \$2.4 billion (2014)
- Spend on media assistance: US \$38m per year (2014 figure) but approx. US\$ 4m on international initiatives
- Percentage of Knight's total grant-spending spent on media innovation and journalism: **32%**
- Mission: to help democracy flourish by supporting "transformational ideas" that build "informed and engaged" communities. Funding aligns with four pillars: arts, technology innovation, journalism and community/national initiatives.
- Knight focuses funding mainly on U.S.-based projects but funds some international initiatives
- The Knight Foundation is one of the world's biggest private foundations focused on media and communications¹³⁰
- President and CEO Alberto Ibarguen

Knight's Rationale for Media Assistance

Being founded on a newspaper fortune, the Knight Foundation has a strong "belief in freedom of expression and in the values expressed in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States". Their website states that "quality information is essential for individuals and communities to make their own best choices, and that journalism plays a critical role in that democratic process."¹³¹ According to the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), the Knight Foundation has become a leader in media innovation. Knight's media support encompasses traditional journalism and innovations, in addition to experimentation and early-stage digital projects. Knight funds media development to promote independent news media and to foster accountability and good governance. "We believe a free and healthy flow of information is necessary for lasting progress to be made on any issue," senior adviser Eric Newton commented in response to a survey by CIMA¹³².

Priority areas for media assistance:

According to CIMA, Knight's top priorities for media are business sustainability, internet freedom, investigative journalism, freedom of information and journalism training. Most of the Knight Foundation's grants are made to US based projects (including a big grant of \$25m to the 'Newseum' in Washington D.C.). But Knight does make international grants and is well known for its Knight International Journalism Fellowships (see below). Knight also gives core support to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) which works to promote press freedom worldwide by

¹²⁹ Much of the following material is drawn from donor profiles researched by the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) in Washington D.C. <http://www.cima.ned.org/donor-profiles/>. The Knight Foundation profile was researched by Tara Susman-Pena.

¹³⁰ The Knight Foundation's budget for media assistance is bigger at \$35m per year (2014) than the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's which is approx. \$23m (2016), even though Gates is the world's largest private foundation: the Gates endowment was worth \$44.3 billion in 2014, whereas Knight's endowment was worth only \$2.4 billion in 2014. The Open Society Foundation is probably the biggest funder of media projects among the private foundations. (Source: Center for International Media Assistance, 'Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation'; and Anne Nelson, (2011))

¹³¹ Knight Foundation website, <http://www.knightfoundation.org/>

¹³² CIMA, Donor Profile : Knight Foundation

supporting journalists and news organizations across the world who have been subjected to violation of their professional and human rights.

- International Prizes and Fellowships

Knight supports the International Center for Journalists' (ICFJ) Knight International Journalism Fellowships, worth \$3.4m between 2016 and 2019. This currently supports 14 fellows who work in 15 countries to "expand news delivery and engage citizens in the editorial process" through innovation and experimentation¹³³. Knight funds international projects also through its Knight News Challenge, where multiple winners share a prize that has ranged from \$2 to \$5 million, and is currently \$3 million. Past Challenges have included multiple international winners, but more recent Challenges have focused on the United States. Knight also currently has a small Cuban journalism fellowship scheme worth \$110,000¹³⁴.

- Digital News Projects

The Knight Foundation supports a wide range of digitally-focused media projects. For example, support for digital news training at National Public Radio (NPR), and support to launch the Texas Tribune, an online non-profit news organization. Many projects rely on digital technology to push social transformation. For example, Knight supports Change.org, an online petition platform. Change.org is a social enterprise rather than a non-profit organisation. Others are tools, such as Zeega, a platform for creating multimedia content.

- Academic Centres in the US

Other journalism support includes funding at academic centres. For example, Knight supports the Knight First Amendment Institute at Columbia University (\$60m grant) and the Center for Digital Media Innovation at Hampton University, as well as 25 endowed chairs at journalism departments in universities across the United States.

Budget and projects

Knight focuses funding mainly on U.S.-based projects but funds some international initiatives. Estimated at a total of \$4 million for the 2014 fiscal year, the level of funding for non-U.S.-based journalism and media innovation projects has been unchanged in recent years, and is anticipated to hold steady in coming years. Media projects overall, however have been on an upward trend: grants for media innovation/journalism increased from approximately \$14 million in 2012 to close to \$32 million in 2013, and upwards of \$38 million in 2014¹³⁵. In 2013, media represented approximately 26 percent of all grant spending, which was reported to be just shy of \$120.7 million¹³⁶.

Knight's Current Media Projects – International Examples

1. International: 'NewsU' Online Journalism Teaching Platform. NewsU at the Poynter Institute, USA is an online journalism and media training program that launched in 2005 due to funding from Knight Foundation, now boasts more than 325,000 registered users in 200 countries and territories, 400 courses, 70 training partners and modules in seven languages. The idea is 'to offer journalism training to anyone, anytime, anywhere'. Grant period: 2016 – 2018 - Amount: \$758,000

2. Asia/America: Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA) Executive Leadership Program. The aim of this grant is to promote journalism excellence by supporting a human-centred redesign of

¹³³ ICFJ website, Knight International Journalism Fellowships

¹³⁴ Knight Foundation, Innovation Challenge for Africa

¹³⁵ McGladrey LLP, (2015)

¹³⁶ CIMA, Donor profile : Knight Foundation

the Asian American Journalists Association's Executive Leadership program (San Francisco) aimed to develop minorities as leadership in digital journalism and improve diversity in newsrooms. Grant period: 2015 – 2017 - Amount: \$230,000.

3. Nigeria: Code for Nigeria. As part of the Knight International Journalism Fellowships scheme implemented by the ICFJ, Code for Nigeria was launched which is a civic and data journalism hub that provides open data and technological expertise to Nigerian newsrooms. The initiative builds data-driven journalism tools and embeds technologists into news organizations to help them incorporate new technology into their editorial work. This is part of a Knight grant to ICFJ for \$3.4m for Knight International Journalism Fellowships (2016-2019).

Knight's Internal Guidance Documents on Media Assistance

The Knight Foundation has numerous articles, blogs and other resources on its website affirming its commitment to journalistic excellence. A recent article¹³⁷ by CEO/President Alberto Ibarguen talks about how 'technology has disrupted journalism's traditions and institutions' and how 'fact-based journalism now competes with false information for our attention while our cities and citizens become both more connected by technology and more divided by ideology and income'. A Statement of Strategy (published December 2016) is a short (8 page) re-affirmation of the Knight Foundation's 'core beliefs' in response to the fact that 'disruption rules.' This strategy document lays out a 'vision for our [technology and journalism] grant-making programs', as follows:

KNIGHT FOUNDATION
GRANT-MAKING PROGRAMS

TECHNOLOGY INNOVATION

We are open to change and support the adoption of evolving technology to advance our core beliefs. Knight Foundation identifies, explores and invests in innovative technology approaches and applications with the greatest potential to advance the fields in which we work.

Technology is a part of all our grant-making and social investment programs. This requires collaboration among programs to examine core technology issues that cut across the foundation's work, and to discover and implement program solutions.

Knight Foundation also supports innovative experiments in the use of digital media and technology to inform. We then reinvest in the most promising projects that emerge from early-stage grants.

JOURNALISM

Knight Foundation supports free expression and excellence in journalism for the purpose of promoting informed communities that may better determine their own interests.

We support ideas, leaders and initiatives that seek to meet the needs of an evolving practice of journalism, including the use and adoption of new media technology.

We define journalism as the full, accurate, contextual search for truth, through both reporting and commentary. We seek to enable sustainable news organizations, primarily by supporting the relevance of their journalism to audiences.

We fund for impact in these areas:

¹³⁷ Alberto Ibarguen, (2016)

First Amendment: We champion a broad interpretation of the First Amendment in the digital age. We fund research, training and litigation in support of the people's right of expression, public access to information and journalists' right to practice their craft.

Journalistic Excellence: We support the transformation of news organizations and institutions committed to meeting the demands of the digital age. We support innovative approaches to the use of technology to advance the practice of journalism and inform community.

Figure 5: An excerpt from Knight Foundation's Statement of Strategy, December 2016¹³⁸

Knight's learning and future strategies on media

The Knight Foundation appears increasingly committed to projects on media innovation and journalism, although the bulk of projects are not international but US-based or online. In recent scenario planning for the future, Knight has identified three themes: 'technology, economic disparity and race' and a commitment to be 'flexible' and 'responsive to a dynamic context' in a 'rapidly changing world'¹³⁹. But beyond these statements the future strategic choices in terms of grant-making remain relatively vague.

¹³⁸ Knight Foundation, (2016) p.5

¹³⁹ Alberto Ibarguen, (2016)

Annex 2d: UNESCO Donor Case Study

UNESCO

Donor Case-study for SDC CapEx on Media Assistance

Mary Myers

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Basic facts about UNESCO¹⁴⁰

- Founded in 1945, United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (UNESCO)
- HQ in Paris, France
- UNESCO is known as the "intellectual" agency of the United Nations.
- Total Budget (proposed for 2016/17): \$653 million USD¹⁴¹
- Spend on 'communication and information': US \$22.9m per year (2015 figure).
- Percentage of UNESCO's total budget spent on communication and information yearly: approx. **7%**
- Media assistance fund = International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC)
- 195 member states
- UNESCO implements its activities through the five programme areas: education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, culture, and communication and information.
- Director-General = Irina Bokova
- Website: www.unesco.org

UNESCO's Rationale for Media Assistance

"Protecting freedom of expression [is] an essential condition for democracy, development and human dignity" – from UNESCO website 'Introducing UNESCO'¹⁴².

Priority areas for media assistance

Media and information are funded under UNESCO's 'Major Programme V – Communication and Information'. Post-conflict countries and countries in transition are the priority, with the following objectives and expected results:

¹⁴⁰ Much of the following material is drawn from donor profiles researched by the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) in Washington D.C. The CIMA UNESCO profile was researched by Thomas R. Lansner.

¹⁴¹ UNESCO, (2016 b.)

¹⁴² UNESCO website, Introducing UNESCO www.unesco.org

Major Programme V – Communication and Information ¹⁴³		
37 C/4 Strategic Objective	SO9 Promoting freedom of expression, media development and access to information and knowledge	
Main lines of action	MLA 1: Promoting an enabling environment for freedom of expression, press freedom and journalistic safety, facilitating pluralism and participation in media, and supporting sustainable and independent media institutions.	MLA 2: Enabling Universal access and preservation of information and knowledge
Expected results	<p>ER 1. The environment for freedom of expression, press freedom, journalistic safety and self-regulation strengthened, for both online and offline media platforms, and especially in post-conflict countries and countries in transition, through favourable policies and practices and support to national media institutions;</p> <p>ER 2. Pluralistic media institutions facilitated, including by adoption of gender-sensitive policies and through support for strengthened community media policy and practice, while citizens, and particularly youth, are empowered through enhanced media and information literacy (MIL) Competencies.</p>	<p>ER 3. The Open Solutions for Knowledge Societies programme (open educational resources, open access, free and open source software, open training platform, open data and Open Cloud) and ICT accessibility, including for the disabled, and for all languages, promoted in Member States.</p> <p>ER 4. Universal access to information enhanced and documentary heritage preserved in all its forms through a strengthened Memory of the World Programme, and Member States supported in implementing the World Summit on Information Society (WSIS) outcomes.</p>

Note: MLA 1 is the main media development/ assistance programme. MLA 2 is more about access to ICTs.

¹⁴³ UNESCO, (2016 b.)

Budget and projects

In 2015 UNESCO spent \$22.9m on its Communication and Information programme from both core funding, plus what is known as 'voluntary' or 'extra budgetary funding' for specific projects¹⁴⁴. In 2016, the expenditure on Communication and Information was around the \$16m mark because the voluntary funding from bilateral donors was substantially down on the previous year¹⁴⁵. The programme's proposed budget for the two years 2016 and 2017 is \$32.9m¹⁴⁶ this is divided between the two 'main lines of action':

1. MLA 1 (Main Line of Action) 'Promoting an enabling environment for freedom of expression, press freedom and journalistic safety, facilitating pluralism and participation in media, and supporting sustainable and independent media institutions' (\$14.4m proposed) Under MLA 1, UNESCO's main expenditure is on awareness raising, setting standards and indicators and promoting press freedom around the world through various events, publications, awards, conferences etc. For example, World Press Freedom Day (May 3rd) sees around 80 UNESCO-sponsored conferences around the world every year.

2. MLA 2 (Main Line of Action) 'Enabling universal access and preservation of information and knowledge' (\$18.5m proposed).

The grant-making side of MLA 1 is mainly administered by a sub-section of UNESCO, the IPDC (International Programme for the Development of Communication) - see 'Expected Result 1', above: 'Member States [will] benefit from special initiatives and knowledge-driven media development projects supported by IPDC'. The IPDC only gives grants to developing countries. The target for 2016/17 was to support 140 media development projects across all regions through the IPDC. Last year, in 2015, the IPDC spent just over £1m to support 71 new media development projects worldwide. These are not grand schemes; the maximum grant rarely exceeds \$35,000. Projects are submitted by local or regional media groups and vetted by IPDC on several criteria. IPDC is very transparent in its grant processes: a listing of all projects submitted and approved in 2015 is found on the IPDC website¹⁴⁷. A fuller archive of IPDC projects is also available¹⁴⁸.

The IPDC responds to bottom-up demand from local groups and supports, but does not implement projects. The secretariat screens grant applications for technical and budget matters, and approval is by the Bureau of the Intergovernmental Council. Since its launch in 1980, IPDC has spent over \$100 million on more than 1,500 projects in more than 140 countries. No more than one grant is made in a country each year, although some projects may be regional or global.

The IPDC has a set of priority areas for grant-making:

1. Capacity development (of journalists, technicians etc.)
2. Safety of journalists
3. Media pluralism
4. Media law reform
5. Conducting media assessments and other research
6. Countering hate speech.

¹⁴⁴ UNESCO, (2015 f.)

¹⁴⁵ Phone interview with Guy Berger, UNESCO Director: Division of Freedom of Expression and Media Development; on 5th December 2017

¹⁴⁶ UNESCO (2016 b.) This figure does not include any extra or 'voluntary' contributions from donors, national governments and trusts, so the final figure is likely to be a few million dollars higher.

¹⁴⁷ UNESCO, (2015 d.)

¹⁴⁸ UNESCO: IPDC, IPDC Projects database (see reference list)

UNESCO's Current Media Projects -Examples

1. Global Media and Information Literacy (MIL) week: The fifth annual global celebration of Media and Information Literacy (MIL) Week took place from 31 October to 5 November, 2016¹⁴⁹. Other activities included awards for media literacy which 'recognize information/library, media and technology specialists, educators, artists, activists, researchers, policy makers, NGOs, associations and other groups integrating MIL in an innovative way in their work and related activities.' The total budget for all UNESCO's media literacy work, e.g. awards, events, conferences, publications was US\$30,000 last year with added contributions from partners.

2. Global: 'Assessment of Media Development': a series of national studies, e.g. Tunisia, Myanmar, Curacao, Mongolia are amongst country studies already completed. These are comprehensive assessments of media landscapes in each country. Mostly, the assessments are done through local partners and/or international NGOs, using UNESCO's Media Development Indicators (see below) as a guide. For example the Myanmar study published in 2016 involved the collaboration of UNESCO's Bangkok Office, the international NGO IMS (International Media Support) and the departments of journalism at the National Management College of Myanmar¹⁵⁰. Each study costs approx. US\$40,000-\$50,000 USD¹⁵¹.

3. Sudan: IPDC-funded sub-grant - Building Institutional Capacity Of Omdurman University College For Press And Printing Technology. Institutional capacity of Sudan's first educational institution dedicated to press and printing technology enhanced through capacity building of teachers through two training workshops, improving the curricula and upgrading the equipment and building up digital media resource centre. Year when project approved: 2015. Approved budget: US\$14,325¹⁵².

4. Jamaica: IPDC-funded sub-grant - Programme Development & Sustainability Training For Community Radio In Jamaica. This project aims to increase the national capacity of local community radio stations in Jamaica to produce and sustain participatory communication programmes in at least two priority areas of national development: a) crime and violence within or against vulnerable groups; b) teen sexuality/maternal and child care. Year when project approved: 2015. Approved budget: US\$16,485¹⁵³.

UNESCO's internal guidance documents on media assistance

UNESCO is well-known for its Media Development Indicators, developed by consultant Andrew Puddephatt in 2008, for the IPDC Secretariat. These "provide an aspirational picture of the media ecology to be constructed in order to ensure freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of the media"¹⁵⁴, and despite dating from 2008, still stand as a guide to UNESCO's work and as a standard to be used by the wider media assistance community.

¹⁴⁹ UNESCO, Global MIL Week 2016, (see reference list for URL)

¹⁵⁰ UNESCO, (2016 a.)

¹⁵¹ Phone interview with Guy Berger.

¹⁵² UNESCO, (2015 b.)

¹⁵³ UNESCO, (2015 e.)

¹⁵⁴ UNESCO website (see reference list for URL)

UNESCO's Media Development Indicators (MDIs)¹⁵⁵

The MDIs look at all aspects of the media environment and are structured around the five following categories:

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

The Media Development Indicators framework is currently being applied in the following countries to carry out in-depth assessments of their media environment:

- MDI-based assessments done in the following countries: Bhutan, Croatia, Curaçao, Ecuador, Egypt, Gabon, Jordan, Libya, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Palestine, South Sudan, The Maldives, Timor-Leste and Tunisia
- Assessments are ongoing in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, the Dominican Republic, Iraq, Liberia, Madagascar, Morocco, Rwanda, Swaziland, Togo, Uganda and Uruguay, as well as a regional project in South-East Europe.

UNESCO has published a practical guidebook¹⁵⁶, available in English, French and Arabic, to assist researchers in applying the Media Development Indicators, based on the lessons learnt from the first series of the above assessments. The IPDC Bureau has revised the format for the submission of projects requesting submitters to explain the links between MDIs and the development objectives of their proposals.

Other useful publications/guidance¹⁵⁷ on media assistance include:

- Journalism Safety Indicators (2013) which 'allow for a mapping of key features that can help assess the extent to which journalists are able to carry out their work under safe conditions, and determine whether adequate follow-up is given to crimes committed against them'¹⁵⁸. The first JSI Pilot Assessments were conducted in 2013-2014 in Pakistan, Guatemala and Honduras and in 2015-16 three new JSI Assessments were conducted in Kenya, Nepal and Iraq.

- Gender-Sensitive Indicators for Media (2012)¹⁵⁹ which allow the user to 'gauge gender sensitivity in media operations and content' - the purpose is 'to encourage media organizations to make gender equality issues transparent and comprehensible to the public, as well as to analyze their own internal policies and practices with a view to take necessary actions for change'¹⁶⁰.

- Building Digital Safety for Journalism (2015)¹⁶¹ which 'examines 12 key digital threats to journalism, ranging from hacking of journalistic communications, through to denial-of-service

¹⁵⁵ UNESCO, (2008), Media Development Indicators, (see reference list)

¹⁵⁶ Mendel, Toby, (no date)

¹⁵⁷ A large selection of UNESCO's media/communications information, books, manuals, guides, reports, proceedings, periodicals, audio-visual and multi-media resources can be found and downloaded here: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/>

¹⁵⁸ UNESCO, Journalists Safety Indicators (see reference list for URL)

¹⁵⁹ UNESCO, (2012)

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 17

¹⁶¹ UNESCO, (2015 a.)

attacks on media websites, it assesses preventive, protective and pre-emptive measures to avoid them’.

- Countering Online Hate Speech (2015)¹⁶² which ‘provides a global overview of the dynamics characterizing hate speech online and some of the measures that have been adopted to counteract and mitigate it’.

UNESCO’s learning and future strategies on media

UNESCO as a whole continues to suffer financial shortfalls due mainly to the USA not contributing to UNESCO for ideological/political reasons¹⁶³. Being mainly funded by bilateral donors (i.e. country governments), UNESCO is subject to the vagaries of international politics and the prevailing economic climate. Therefore UNESCO’s current levels of media and ICT/information assistance are unlikely to rise above 2015 levels (i.e. around \$30m per year) in the future. However, as Guy Berger (UNESCO’s Director of Division of Freedom of Expression and Media Development) points out, UNESCO’s influence is not only a question of money, as small strategic grants given to a country-level study can catalyse further support to the media sector by other donors. For instance, in Tunisia a UNESCO media landscape study launched a programme of journalist training which has been subsequently funded by the Belgian government.

UNESCO remains fundamentally committed to supporting and promoting the right to freedom of expression worldwide. Berger says that journalist safety is a particular focus at the moment, given the heightened dangers worldwide relating to terrorism, the migrant crisis, the rise of populism and the continuing impunity displayed by many states¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶² UNESCO, (2015 c.)

¹⁶³ This disagreement harks back to the MacBride Commission of 1980, and the New Information Order espoused by UNESCO, which (inter alia) suggested laws protecting the information sovereignty of individual states in order to strengthen national media and avoid dependence on external sources. This precipitated the withdrawal of the UK and the US from UNESCO, as they feared that the MacBride Report would empower states to restrict the free flow of information. Although both the UK and the USA eventually rejoined, the USA has subsequently suspended its financial support to UNESCO over Israel/Palestine issues.

¹⁶⁴ Phone interview with Guy Berger, *Ibid*.

Annex 2e: UNDP Donor Case Study

UNDP

Donor Case-study for SDC CAPEX on Media Assistance
Mary Myers

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Basic Facts about UNDP

- United Nations Development Programme – HQ New York
- Overall budget approx. US \$ 4.5 billion (2015)¹⁶⁵
- Spend on media: between US \$25m and US\$50m is currently being spent on media and communications work by UNDP per year
- Percentage of UNDP's total budget spent on media and communications yearly: approx. **0.8%**
- UNDP is 'on the ground' in 177 countries
- Produces the Human Development Report every year
- Committed funding for Democratic Participation and Civil Society (2016): US\$ 76.6m (source: Wikipedia) in about 130 countries.
- Administrator (i.e. head) = Helen Clark
- Website: www.undp.org

UNDP's proposed outcomes (current Strategic Plan 2014-17) are:

- (a) Growth and development are inclusive and sustainable, incorporating productive capacities that create employment and livelihoods for the poor and excluded;
- (b) Citizen expectations for voice, development, the rule of law and accountability are met by stronger systems of democratic governance;**
- (c) Countries have strengthened institutions to progressively deliver universal access to basic services;
- (d) Faster progress is achieved in reducing gender inequality and promoting women's empowerment;
- (e) Countries are able to reduce the likelihood of conflict, and lower the risk of natural disasters, including from climate change;
- (f) Early recovery and rapid return to sustainable development pathways are achieved in post-conflict and post-disaster settings;
- (g) Development debates and actions at all levels prioritize poverty, inequality and exclusion, consistent with our engagement principles.

UNDP's Rationale for Media Assistance

Working with and supporting the media is a significant part of what UNDP does in pursuit of its outcome (b) (above - highlighted), even though 'media' are not defined or mentioned as a distinct strategy or area of UNDP's work. Media assistance is done mainly under the Democratic Governance and Peace-building area of work. UNDP currently has 801 Democratic Governance projects¹⁶⁶ many of which have media and/or communications components, although no one has counted how many. Within Democratic Governance and Peace-building it appears that media are supported most often under the civic engagement, elections and peace-building work-streams as well as a few other programmes - though not tracked as such.

Being part of the UN system, UNDP subscribes to the UN definition of Communication for Development (C4D) which includes "strengthening an enabling media and

¹⁶⁵ UNDP's budget has been diminishing slightly year on year since 2010. Total contributions to UNDP in 2015 were \$4.486 billion which represents a fall of 5 per cent from \$4.731 billion in 2014. In 2014, overall contributions to UNDP amounted to \$4.715 billion, decreasing by 3% compared to \$4.84 billion in 2013. Source: UNDP Funding Compendium 2015.

¹⁶⁶ See www.open.undp.org

communications environment”¹⁶⁷. The following extract shows how media-support is conceptualised by UNDP:

Communication for development as a distinct civic engagement strategy¹⁶⁸

“The analysis of UNDP corporate tools highlighted that a large number of civic engagement-related project outputs (about a third) have a strong Communication for Development (C4D) component, sometimes presented as “awareness-raising”, “information-sharing” or “sensitization campaigns”. Occasionally, this work involves some level of interaction with different kinds of media.

Projects with a focus on civic engagement and communication for development tend to combine actions in three areas of focus: promote an environment that is conducive to freedom of expression; promote constructive engagement of media outlets (profit and non-profit) around development issues; and strengthen the capacity of other civil society actors to leverage the media in the pursuit of their objectives.

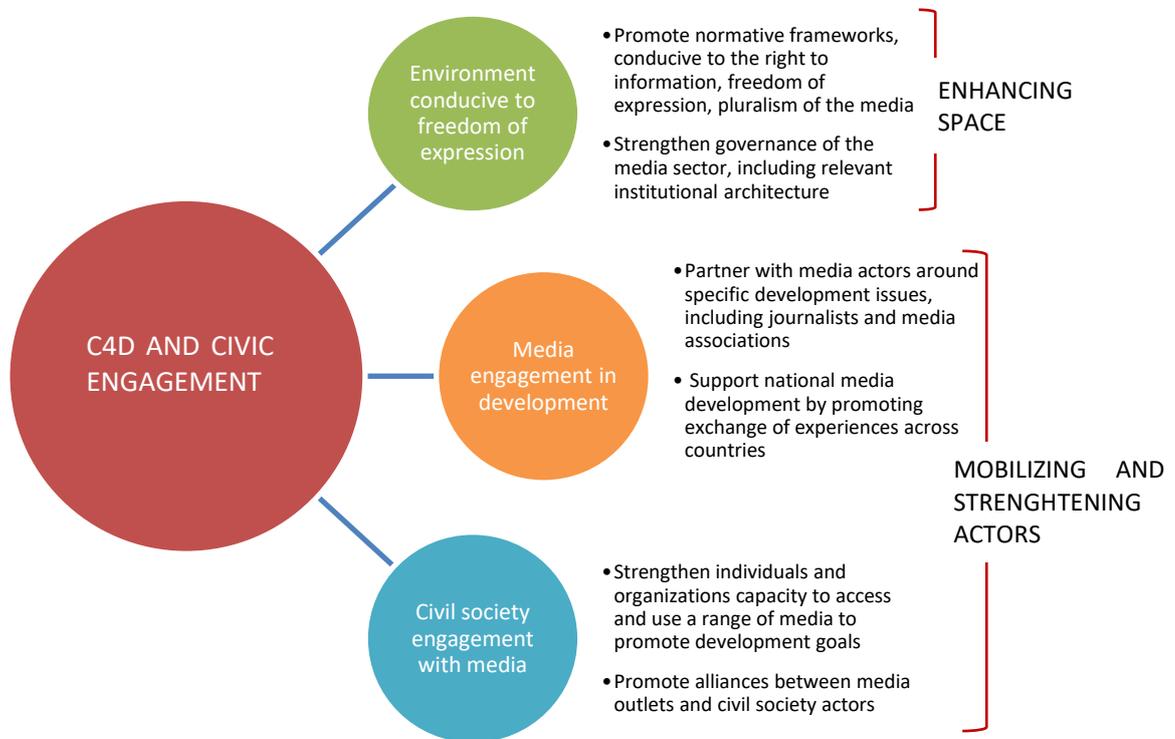


Figure 6: Communication for Development, The Media & Civic Engagement

While, as illustrated in Figure above, work carried out within the communication for development framework can be linked to the two key civic engagement strategies mentioned before (expanding civic space and strengthening the capacity of civil society

¹⁶⁷ Communication for Development within United Nations organizations is defined as follows : four interlinked C4D approaches used by United Nations organizations: (i) behaviour change communication; (ii) communication for social change; (iii) communication for advocacy; and (iv) strengthening an enabling media and communications environment. (UNDP, 2011).

¹⁶⁸ Extract from: Ravaud, Nadine (2016) p. 25

actors), Country Offices often regard communication for development as a distinct strategy and frame their project outputs accordingly.”

UNDP's Priority areas for media assistance:

a. Media support as part of Civic Engagement

UNDP says that it “places a strong emphasis on the role of media in the context of civic engagement. Work in this area focuses, among other things, on promoting an environment that is conducive to freedom of expression, encouraging constructive engagement of media outlets around development issues, and strengthening the capacity of civil society actors to effectively interact with the media in the pursuit of their objectives”¹⁶⁹. UNDP currently has 329 ongoing projects with ‘civic engagement’ content, of which about a third currently have ‘a strong communications for development component’ (these projects are mostly but not necessarily all under Democratic Governance and they may include election projects).¹⁷⁰ In an internal survey about civic engagement, in answer to the question: “To what extent does the Country Office collaborate with the following national civil society organizations?”, 71 UNDP country offices responded: all of them reported engagement with the media, 25 of which report ‘high’ levels of collaboration, 24 of which report ‘medium’ collaboration but 22 report ‘low’ levels of collaboration¹⁷¹.

b. Media support as part of Elections work

UNDP has some electoral programming in approximately 65 countries per year but it is difficult to know how many of these election projects have a media component: ‘Unfortunately, this is not one of the things we track’ says Aleida Ferreyra, Electoral Policy Specialist with UNDP, but, she adds: ‘many of our electoral projects include some kind of media programming. For example, some include activities related to the relationship between electoral management bodies and the media, others focus on public outreach and public information around elections, campaigns, development issues, others in media monitoring, a few [focus] on some journalist training on electoral matters.’¹⁷²

c. Media support as part of Peace-building

UNDP supports media and communication to promote inclusion and tolerance and to contribute to preventing violent extremism. Over the last 10 years UNDP says it has provided support to dialogue and mediation in nearly fifty countries – but exactly how many of such projects have involved media assistance is difficult to tell. One of the ‘principal messages’ from a UNDP Oslo Global Meeting on Preventing Violent Extremism in March 2016, was that ‘The governance community, including donors, needs to strengthen independent, free and protected media as a component of good governance strategies and in support of non-violent, free and inclusive dialogue.’¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ UNDP, (2016 a.)

¹⁷⁰ Ravaud, (2016)

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* p.31

¹⁷² Email to author, 22nd November 2016.

¹⁷³ UNDP, (2016 c.) p.7

Is media a vector or an end in itself?

It appears that UNDP supports media both as a vector for achieving developmental and governance goals like ending corruption or educating electors, and as an end in itself. An example of the latter would be direct support to community radio stations (e.g. see Laos example below) or networks of investigative journalists. Looking across examples of UNDP media support, it appears that the balance between the two strategies is more or less equal.

Budget and projects (estimates)

UNDP's total budget of civic engagement work is estimated at \$149 million USD¹⁷⁴, and a third of these projects have a 'strong media and communications component' (see above), so, calculating roughly, between \$25m and \$50 m USD is currently being spent on media and communications work by UNDP per year.

UNDP's Current Media Projects - Examples

Some current examples of UNDP's aid to the media sector include:

1. **Kenya** : UNDP funds a TV talk show 'Sikika Sasa' ('it's time to be heard') on KTN TV channel which 'gives leaders an opportunity to directly interact with the residents [and] give feedback on... development projects ... at county level'¹⁷⁵. The overall aim is 'educating as many citizens as possible on ... rights and responsibilities and to provide them with tools to make valuable contributions to the governance process'¹⁷⁶. In 2014 expenditure on this TV show was approx. \$500,000 USD¹⁷⁷.

2. **Lebanon**: The UNDP "Peace Building in Lebanon" project works on providing positive media spaces and promoting rational speeches to address controversial issues, by publishing Joint News Supplements with Annahar, As-Safir, the Daily Star and L'Orient-Le Jour newspapers, where writers, journalists, media professionals, researchers and artists from Lebanon and Syria discuss and share their views about the impact of the Syrian crisis on Lebanon and other civil peace issues. Moreover, the project, in partnership with Maharat Foundation, is monitoring the implementation of the "Journalists' Pact for Strengthening Civil Peace in Lebanon" (launched by the project in 2013 in partnership with the Ministry of Information) by the 34 national media outlets which signed the Pact. As a result, monitoring studies are produced. The project ran from 2014 to 2016 – the media component budget was \$1.2m approx.¹⁷⁸

3. **Laos**: UNDP has been supporting community radio for development since 2006. Local news and educational programmes are now being aired through the voices of local community radio volunteers in five provinces from eight community radio stations. These eight stations are broadcasting in eight different ethnic languages and reaching more than 200,000 people across different provinces with over 80 per cent of people in all districts involved in the project having access to the community radio station frequency. The project has also developed the capacity of community media leaders¹⁷⁹. Budget 2015 (1 year) : \$1,864,000, co-financed by UNDP and Oxfam. About this project UNDP says: 'The UNDP

¹⁷⁴ Ravaud, (2016) p. 19

¹⁷⁵ UNDP in Kenya, (2015)

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ UNDP, Our Projects (see reference list for URL)

¹⁷⁸ UNDP in Lebanon (see reference list for URL)

¹⁷⁹ UNDP in Lao PDR (see reference list for URL)

believes strong and effective media is at the heart of equitable development. Through volunteer-run Community Radio, the unique voices of Laos marginalised and poorest communities are beginning to be heard.¹⁸⁰

4. **Kosovo:** UNDP is one of SDC's implementing partners for anti-corruption efforts. The SAEK project (Support to Anti-Corruption Efforts in Kosovo) partners with Internews Kosova and the Balkan Investigative Reporters Network (BIRN), among other civil society partners, in order to build and maintain a web-portal for whistleblowing on corruption and to support investigative journalism leading to prosecution of corrupt officials. The total cost of the whole SAEK programme is \$7.4m over 8 years (2012-2020) – co-financed by SDC and DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency) – but the media element is only a small part of this larger programme.

5. UNDP's Oslo Governance Centre in Norway, focuses on supporting policy development and applied research on 'governance pathways for peaceful transitions out of crisis and conflict'¹⁸¹. Over 10 years ago the Oslo Governance Centre produced several policy and guidance papers for UNDP about media and communications including a 'Practice Note on Access to Information' (2003) and 'A Guide to Measuring the Impact of Right to Information programmes' (2006). In 2015 the OGC organised a workshop on 'Making Development Cooperation More Effective in Fragile Contexts (28 October 2015)' in which there was a focus on 'how the changing nature of accessing information, role of media and people's capacity to communicate influences development cooperation'¹⁸². Emmanuele Sapienza¹⁸³ (Civic Engagement Specialist, UNDP) says "in the past the Oslo Centre had more of a mandate to cover C4D and media. Now it has fewer resources and it is working more on democratic transitions, not so much on media".

UNDP's Learning on Media Assistance

A recent UNDP policy document states: 'In many countries, UNDP has found that training is needed to enable the media to perform their functions effectively and to help ensure professionalism and balance in election reporting. However, UNDP support to media should encompass more than just training journalists to report better. UNDP projects could also include ensuring that the media know the rules, regulations and codes of conduct; creating dialogue between the EMB (electoral monitoring bodies), the media, journalists' associations and political parties; training editors and journalists in covering elections; tendering competitions for grants to produce voter education spots; supporting CSOs in the methodology of media monitoring; and offering media training for EMBs and politicians.'¹⁸⁴

UNDP's internal guidance documents on Media assistance

UNDP has a few current policy documents relating to media but its most relevant guidelines explicitly on media-assistance date back to 2006 when UNDP's Democratic Governance Group produced a practical guidance note entitled '*Communication for*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ UNDP Oslo Governance Centre, *Annual Report 2015*

¹⁸² *Ibid.* p.5

¹⁸³ Interview with author, 22nd November 2016

¹⁸⁴ UNDP, (2010), p.57

*Empowerment: developing media strategies in support of vulnerable groups*¹⁸⁵, authored by James Deane (now head of policy at BBC Media Action). It is not known whether UNDP staff still refer to these guidelines, ten years on, and the document itself has not been updated. However, this document is arguably still valid and contains useful 'practical guidance for programming' such as a checklist of key questions to ask when undertaking 'an information and communication audit'¹⁸⁶ and suggested indicators for evaluating media and communications projects¹⁸⁷, for example.

Since the above guidelines were produced in 2006, UNDP has produced a few more documents relating to communications, most notably 'Media and Elections: A Guide for Electoral Practitioners' (2014) which contains a set of principles on support to media around elections.

UNDP's future strategies on media

It looks likely that UNDP will give greater priority to media-support in future. UNDP's next 4-year Strategic Plan will be renewed next year (2017) and Emmanuele Sapienza, Civic Engagement Specialist, expects that media engagement will feature quite strongly in the new civic engagement corporate strategy. The internal mapping he recently commissioned on civic engagement calls for "a sharper focus on the interface between communication and participation work" and asserts that "...a key priority... would be the promotion of a legislative and regulatory environment that is conducive to the freedom of expression". Other areas of work could include the mobilization of media outlets as key "opinion makers" around specific development issues and capacity development work aimed at strengthening the ability of civil society actors to use traditional and new platforms in the pursuit of their goals.¹⁸⁸

In future UNDP is likely to put increasing emphasis on new and social media. One recent internal report notes that 'much UNDP support to media has tended to be traditional' so recommends 'a lot more thought ...be given to the impact of new and social media on electoral regulation and activity.'¹⁸⁹ The same paper says: 'By using existing studies and by engaging bloggers, youth groups and not just long-established CSOs, UNDP could explore further ways to support efforts, especially by civil society, to use social media effectively to convey information and monitor electoral processes.'¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ UNDP, (2006)

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 24

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 40

¹⁸⁸ Ravaud (2016) p.45

¹⁸⁹ UNDP, (2010)

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p.58

Annex 3. Annotated Bibliography and Reference List¹⁹¹

The literature on media assistance as a form of overseas aid may be divided into five types:

1. 'Think-pieces', evaluation reports, and research on the impact of media assistance – including evidence for and against whether media support 'works'
2. Policy and strategy statements by donors, international NGOs and other international bodies
3. Guidelines and 'how to' manuals for practitioners
4. Academic critiques of the field;
5. Literature reviews and annotated bibliographies

The above typology represents a body of literature which is a sub-section of the media studies literature which is very extensive and is not reviewed here; likewise, the communication-for-development literature is large and not included here either, although there is some overlap, in both literature and practice, between media assistance and communication-for-development.

Although the media assistance literature is relatively small compared to the wider field of media studies, it is still too large for this paper to delve deeply into every publication. We have therefore made a selection prioritising the most up-to-date documents in English, and those which, we believe, illuminate and guide international good practice. Those readers interested to go deeper into any specialist area of the field are referred to the literature reviews and annotated bibliographies listed under point 5 below.

1. 'Think-pieces', evaluation reports, and research on the impact of media assistance – including evidence for and against whether media support 'works'

Abbott, Susan (2016) [*Rethinking Public Service Broadcasting's Place in International Media Development*](#), Center for International Media Assistance: Washington D.C.

- This paper analyses the place of public service broadcasting (PSB) in the information ecology, examining whether it can serve as an important building-block in a diverse media sector.

Abraham-Dowsing, Kavita, Anna Godfrey & Zoe Khor, (2014) [*Reframing the evidence debates: a view from the media for development sector*](#), BBC Media Action: London

- A paper summarising the views of practitioners, evaluators and donors as to what constitutes evidence in the media for development sector, and the state of the evidence base to date.

¹⁹¹ With acknowledgement to Arsenault and Powers (2010) for some entries in this bibliography which they have identified in *Media Map: The Impact of Media Development Worldwide*.

Deane, James, (2015), [*"Media and communication in governance: It's time for a rethink", A governance practitioners notebook: alternative ideas and approaches*](#) pp. 265-80, OECD: Paris

- An essay in which Deane considers why media and communications have been insufficiently integrated into governance strategies by many donors, and suggests how this relationship might be re-thought.

Deane, James, (2016), [*The role of independent media in curbing corruption in fragile settings. BBC Media Action, Policy Briefing 16. September 2016*](#), BBC Media Action: London

- A policy briefing which targets decision-makers in donor and development support organisations, providing them with evidence as to media's role in tackling corruption.

Finkel, Steven E., Anibal Perez Linan & Mitchell A. Seligson, (2008), [*'Deepening Our Understanding of the Effects of US Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building': Final Report*](#), USAID, Vanderbilt University & University of Pittsburgh

- This report examines quantitative data of USAID to foreign countries and the development of a free press and democratization.

Lines, Kathy, (2009), [*Governance and the Media: A survey of policy opinion*](#), BBC Media Action: London

- A report which analyses thinking and practice among 'high level thinkers and policy makers' on media's role in governance outcomes.

Ljungman et al (2013), [*Evaluation of the implementation and the Results of the Swedish Strategies for Special Initiative for Democratisation and Freedom of Expression \(2009-2011 and 2012-2014\)*](#), Sida: Stockholm

- A report evaluating the performance of the portfolio of projects implemented under Sida's 'Strategy for Special Initiatives for Democratisation and Freedom of Expression' It explores whether projects reflect Sida's priorities, measures the success of their implementation and reviews what results they have achieved.

Nelson, Mark & Tara Susman-Pena, (2012), [*Rethinking Media Development: A Report on the Media Map Project*](#), Internews & World Bank Institute: Washington DC

- A paper reviewing the evidence gathered under the two-year *Media Map Project*, in which Nelson and Susman-Pena analyse media development results and challenges to suggest paradigms of success and a new way to approach media development.

Roy, Sanjukta, (2011), [*Overview Report: Measuring Media Development*](#), Internews & World Bank Institute: Washington DC

- A paper showcasing the quantitative data used in the *Media Map Project* and its country case studies, in order to identify and analyse gaps in existing research on the relationships between media and development.

Susman Pena, Tara, (2012), [*Making Media Development More Effective*](#), CIMA: Washington DC

- A report reviewing the effectiveness of development assistance to strengthen media over the 20 years up to 2012, and suggesting how this can be improved –

particularly, how better integration into mainstream development efforts can be achieved.

2. Policy and strategy statements by donors, international NGOs and other international bodies

Cauhapé-Cazaux, Eduardo González & Shanthi Kalathil, (2015), [Official Development Assistance for Media: Figures and Findings A Report by CIMA and the OECD](#), CIMA/NED: Washington D.C.

- A report exploring how donor support for media has been incorporated into development more broadly, using data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and Centre for International Media Assistance (CIMA)

Deane, James, (2014), [Domestic Accountability and Support to Media: From the Why to the How in Effective Cooperation](#) : Paper prepared for OECD DAC GovNet Meeting January 28, 2014

- A paper – which accompanied a one-day session of the Network on Governance – highlighting ways to approach the challenges faced by media support: when it is appropriate, how it can be effective, and what it can achieve.

DFID, (2006), [Making Governance Work for the Poor](#), DFID: London

- A white paper in which support to a free and independent media is set out as a significant component of good governance.

DFID, (2008), [Briefing : Media & Good Governance](#), DFID: London

- A paper outlining justification for DFID's support to the media in governance, which is assessed in relation to DFID's good governance conceptual framework.

Ibargüen, Alberto, (2016), [Thriving in the Gray : How Knight Foundation's Strategy Is Evolving In The Age Of Disruption](#), Knight Foundation: USA

- An article by the President of the Knight Foundation President, affirming the organisation's commitment to journalistic excellence and how this will be applied in the contemporary media context of 'disruption'.

Islam, Roumeen, Simeon Djankov & Caralee McLeish, (2002), [The Right to Tell : The Role Of Mass Media In Economic Development](#), WBI Development Studies, The World Bank : Washington, D.C.

- This edited volume contains contributions from major thinkers in the field including Joseph Stiglitz, Robert McChesney, and Edward Herman about the role of media in promoting economic development.

Shanthi Kalathil, (2017), [A Slowly Shifting Field: Understanding Donor Priorities in Media Development](#) A CIMA Digital Report: Washington D.C.

- This report looks at the trends identified by CIMA in its efforts to profile the major donors in the field of media development assistance, situating the emerging priorities within a brief history of the field.

Knight Foundation, (2016), [The John S. And James L. Knight Foundation Statement Of Strategy 2016](#), Knight Foundation: USA

- A short strategy paper setting out the Knight Foundation's core beliefs and vision for their grant-making programs in 2016.

Sida, (2014), [Democracy and Human Rights 2014: Portfolio Overview](#), Sida: Stockholm,

- A paper reviewing Sida's support to democracy and human rights – their 'largest sector' – in 2014, by looking at their main areas of support, results and a story of change.

UNESCO, (2016), [UNESCO Draft Resolutions 38, UNESCO, C/5 Volume 1 2016/17](#), UNESCO: Paris

- A 'Programme and Budget' which sets out how UNESCO will implement the sustainable development agenda in 2016-2017, and reflects on progress so far. 'Major Programme V – Communication and Information' (p. 30) is particularly relevant.

3. Guidelines and 'how to' manuals for practitioners

General guidelines

Sida, (2010), [Sida's Guidelines for Media Development](#), Sida: Stockholm

- A set of practical guidelines – including recommendations, indicators and evidence – on how interventions can best support freedom of expression and an independent media.

UNDP, (2006), [Communication for Empowerment: Media Strategies for Vulnerable Groups](#), UNDP: New York

- A practical guide for media interventions, including analysis of media trends, opportunities and challenges; indicators for evaluating media projects; and a communications audit checklist.

UNESCO, (2008), [Media Development Indicators: A framework for assessing media development](#), UNESCO: Paris

- A paper which defines UNESCO's indicators of media development within 5 categories. It identifies these categories' component parts, means of verification and potential data sources, to show how these categories can be used to analyse the media development of a country.

The following are a selection of up-to-date handbooks and 'how-to' guides (unless annotated, the titles of the works should be self-explanatory).

I. Capacity-building

IREX, (2014), [Digital Journalism Trainers Manual - Introduction to Digital Media and Media Convergence](#), International Research and Exchanges Board, IREX: Washington D.C.

Whitehead, S., Parkyn, R., (2016), [Media development: An evaluation of five capacity strengthening projects](#). Research Report. DFID: London

- This internal review of BBC Media Action's own capacity-building work with partners in Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Nepal and the Palestinian Territories, has useful recommendation about how to strengthen capacity at four levels of: Audiences, Practitioners, Organisations, Systems.

II. Production of good-quality media content

Esta de Fossard, (2015), [Writing And Producing Radio Dramas](#), 2nd ed., Sage : New Delhi

Esta de Fossard, John Riber (2015), [Writing And Producing For Television And Film](#), 2nd ed., Sage: New Delhi

UNDP Democratic Governance Group, (2014), [Media and Elections: A Guide for Electoral Practitioners](#), UNDP: New York

Wilkins, Karin Gwinn; Tufte, Thomas; Obregón, Rafael (2014) [The Handbook Of Development Communication And Social Change](#), Wiley Blackwell: Chichester

III. Attention to the legal and regulatory context of a country or region

UNESCO, (2008), [Media Development Indicators](#), UNESCO: Paris

- A basic guide to assessing the legal and regulatory context in any given country.

IREX, online, [Media Sustainability Index](#), IREX: Washington D.C.

- A good data source.

IMS, (2014), [Briefing note series: freedom of expression](#), Centre for Law and Democracy, International Media Support: Copenhagen

- This is a series of short briefing notes designed to give readers an understanding of the key international legal standards that apply in the context of freedom of expression.

Toby Mendel and Eve Salomon, (2011), [The Regulatory Environment for Broadcasting: An International Best Practice Survey for Brazilian Stakeholders](#), UNESCO, 2011: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001916/191622e.pdf>

- This report provides an introduction to regulatory systems for broadcasting based on international standards and better practice from countries around the world and is applicable beyond the Brazilian context.

IV. Infrastructure, technology and equipment support (both hard and soft ware), including supporting digital change

International Telecommunications Union (ITU), Geneva web portal : www.itu.int

- An online portal hosting resources and membership networking around the ITU – the United Nations specialized agency for information and communication technologies – ICTs.

Public Media Alliance (PMA), PMA website: <https://publicmediaalliance.org/>, PMA : Norwich, UK

- An online portal hosting research, advocacy and training materials from Public Media Alliance – a global association of public broadcasters (formerly the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association).

Waugaman, Adele, (2016) [*From Principle to Practice: Implementing the Principles for Digital Development*](#), Washington, DC: The Principles for Digital Development Working Group, January 2016.

- The Principles for Digital Development (download PDF in [English](#), [Español](#), [Français](#), or [Português](#)) seek to institutionalize lessons learned in the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in development projects. They were written by and for international development donors and their implementing partners.

V. Support to mapping media landscapes and researching audiences

Mytton, Graham, Peter Diem, & Piet Hein van Dam, (2016), [*Media audience research: a guide for professionals*](#), Sage: New Delhi

Toustrup, Morten, & Poul Erik Nielsen, (2016), [*Changing Media Landscapes in Transitional Countries - Handbook on Mapping Media Landscapes*](#), IMS: Copenhagen

VI. Support to M&E principles and processes, including the generating of evidence of what works.

Roy, Sanjukta & Tara Susman-Peña, (2011), [*Design For Quantifying Donor Impact On The Media Sector*](#), Internews : Washington D.C.

Taylor, Maureen, (2010). [*Methods of Evaluating Media Interventions in Conflict Countries*](#), paper prepared for the workshop 'Evaluating Media's Impact in conflict Countries', Caux, Switzerland, December 2010

VII. Promoting media literacy to encourage a public which is intellectually equipped to understand and critique its own media.

De Abreu, Belinha S. & Melda N. Yildiz, eds., (2016), [*Global media literacy in a digital age: teaching beyond borders*](#). Peter Lang: New York

Wilson, Carolyn., Alton Grizzle, Ramon Tuazon, Kwame Akyempong & Chi-Kim Cheung, (2011), [*Media and Information Literacy: Curriculum for Teachers*](#). UNESCO: Paris

4. Academic critiques of the field

Berger, Guy, (2010), [‘Problematizing ‘media development’ as a bandwagon gets rolling’](#) *International Communication Gazette* (72) (7): 547-565

- This paper questions the normative assumptions behind media development and instead suggests practitioners focus on media mobilization and media density.

Putzel, James & Joost van der Zwan, (2005), [Why Templates for Media Development do not work in Crisis States](#), Crisis States Research Centre, LSE: London,

- This report presents the findings from a joint CSRC, Annenberg School for Communication, and Stanhope Centre workshop on media development in crisis states.

5. Literature reviews and annotated bibliographies

Arsenault, Amelia & Shawn Powers, (2010), [Media Map: The Impact of Media Development Worldwide](#), Internews: Washington DC

- A literature review of media development research, considering the sector's origins, impact measurements and theories. The review includes a lengthy and useful annotated bibliography.

CAMECO, (2016), [Media Development Publications](#), Catholic Media Council (CAMECO), Aachen, Germany

- This is an exhaustive and valuable annotated data base of literature on media development (in English, French and Spanish) updated twice-yearly by CAMECO and can be subscribed to by contacting Christoph Dietz on christoph.dietz@cameco.org

Further

A further category of literature encompasses country or region-specific briefing papers, audits and surveys on media availability and access by audiences. There are many of these, but some examples of documents about specific countries/regions are:

- BBC Media Action briefings about specific countries – such as [The Media of Iraq Ten Years On](#) (2013) and [The media of Afghanistan: The challenges of transition](#) (2012) – both discussed above.
- Media Map Project country case studies – such as [The Democratic Republic of Congo: Case Study on Donor Support to Independent Media, 1990-2010’](#) – discussed above.
- UNESCO series of [National Media Assessment Reports](#) based on UNESCO's Media Development Indicators – discussed in the UNESCO case-study annex.
- Infoasaid's surveys of the media landscape in several countries, largely conducted in 2014, found under [Media Landscape Guides](#).

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<http://www.internews.org/sites/default/files/resources/DonorDecisionmaking.MediaMap.pdf>

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BBC Media Action, One Day Symposium on Media and Governance, London, 23rd February 2017

BBC Media Action, Research and Insight, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/research-and-insight>

BBC News, (2017), Yegna, Ethiopia's 'Spice Girls', lose UK funding,
<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-Yegna>

Becker, Lee B. & Tudor Vlad,(2011) 'Evaluating Media Freedom,' *On media monitoring: the media and their contribution to democracy* edited by Josef Trappel and Werner A. Meier, 3-23. Peter Lang Publishing: New York

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Deane, James, (2016), The role of independent media in curbing corruption in fragile settings. BBC Media Action, Policy Briefing 16. September 2016, BBC Media Action: London

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