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Local Media Support

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Preface

The Local Media Support (LMS) project – of which the present report is the main product – was initially conceived by Norwegian election supervisors. They had observed how local media support projects varied in terms of quality and impact in former Yugoslavia in 1997. Although the situation differed from country to country within the former republic, they witnessed a need for strengthening the local media landscape as part of the international efforts to create stability, democracy and improve living conditions for the people who had suffered through the war. While some of the media support projects seemed professional and had an obvious and positive impact, others suffered from lack of focus, professionalism and co-ordination.

The Norwegian government and some NGOs were at the time involved in media support in former Yugoslavia, although at a limited scale. The observations of the Norwegian election supervisors were therefore gradually transformed into an idea of designing a framework that could guide donors and actors involved in supporting local media. During the process of developing the idea to a project-proposal, the perspective shifted to making a more generic framework – i.e. to develop a framework of relevance to local media support *everywhere*.

Late in 1998, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) generously accepted to fund the LMS-project. The project consists of three phases: The first phase aims at developing a framework for deciding, designing and managing LMS-projects. The second phase will lay the foundations for an institution or institutional capacity that can implement the LMS-concept on a more permanent basis – that is to use the framework in order to help ensure more effective projects. It is envisaged to build a database on LMS-activities internationally, with an aim of providing relevant information of current trends and activities in this area. A training programme for personnel engaged in media-support activities will also be designed. The third phase consists of the actual running of the concept.

Norway as a donor, both through Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and the MFA, has supported local media in developing countries or situations of conflict. Norwegian support has been channelled through the multilateral organisations, notably UNESCO, through foreign NGOs, and through Norwegian NGOs. A description of Norwegian media support activities is provided in Chapter 2.

Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science has had the pleasure of hosting the first phase of the project. The project has been a true collective effort. A Reference Group with members from both the original initiators of the project, the MFA, NORAD, and external media-expertise provided essential support in terms of ideas, constructive criticism and useful contacts. Fafo researchers and external consultants collaborated in the implementation of the project and the writing of the report. Ideas and drafts were presented to and discussed by the Reference Group, and a draft report was discussed on a roundtable with participation from Norwegian and international expertise in June 1999. The researchers have visited key institutions involved in support of local media and interviewed a high number of persons with valuable experience. This data collection was very fruitful, and actually yielded information planned to be produced later, during the second phase of the LMS project (Appendix 2).

Fafo would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude and appreciation for the time and efforts made by all those who have facilitated our work. We would like to thank researcher Lena C. Endresen and Åge Eknes for their excellent work in implementing the project and research director Liv Tørres for her supervision. We are particularly indebted to the members of the Reference Group: Ivar Evensmo, Lars Glans, Helen Dahl Hansen, Ragne Birte Lund, Trygve G. Nordby, Bjørnulf Remme and Professor Helge Rønning. Ivar Evensmo and Lars Glans initiated and developed the project idea and have backed it with their practical and operational experience. Likewise, Professor Helge Rønning has given valuable input to the report, in particular its Chapter 2. Trygve G. Nordby deserves special mentioning for being a crucial support to the project since its beginning, first in developing the project idea and later in capacity of being a member of the Reference Group. He also generously made available his ideas and experience from the field to the end product by drafting a first version of Chapter 4.

Oslo, September 23 1999
Jon Hanssen-Bauer
Managing Director, Fafo

Summary

‘Local Media Support’ (LMS) presents a study of current status with regard to support of local media as part of humanitarian or developmental assistance programmes. Based on this, a proposed framework for the assessment of projects and programmes in this field is developed.

The report is divided into four chapters:

Chapter 1 clarifies key concepts and how the report understands the nature and role of media in society. The report argues that media are integral institutions in the societies in which they operate and, consequently, that they influence political, humanitarian and/or military processes in one way or another. It is further argued that external media support is just one among many strategies the international donor community pursues to alleviate suffering or facilitate desired political change. Thus, rather than being an end in themselves, local media support represents a means towards a more noble end, i.e. that of facilitating humanitarian needs, peace or democratic development.

Chapter 2 outlines and discusses the actors and activities now associated with international LMS. A brief description of how LMS activities have expanded numerically, geographically and functionally throughout the 1990s is provided. The chapter provides illustrative examples of how LMS currently is implemented, and includes a section that underlines the potential dangers posed by providing such assistance without paying adequate attention to possible misuse or adverse effects.

Chapter 3 provides a framework for structuring or categorising LMS activities. Three partially complementary categories are suggested:

- First, LMS projects can be grouped according to how they are implemented, i.e. by whether they are based on the provision of funding to an existing local media institution, the creation of a new local institution, partnerships between external organisations and local media institutions or by an expatriate media organisation.
- The second alternative is to categorise according to whether the projects/programmes are “message-focused” or “development-focused”. The first would imply that the projects primarily aim at providing an “alternative voice” or missing message to the population in question. This might be vital

information about the local situation in a complex emergency, or perspectives that facilitates a desired (peaceful) development. Alternatively, support can be provided to promote developmental objectives, for example, by strengthening local media institutions or interest groups for professionals working with media.

- Alternative three argues that LMS projects should be categorised according to their objectives. If the objective is to provide people at risk with vital information that will improve their ability to make rational decisions about their own situation, this will be labelled ‘Humanitarian reporting’. If the objective is to facilitate peaceful development in a tense/conflict situation by providing information/perspectives that have a restraining effect through media, it will be called ‘Conflict resolution’. Lastly, if the objective is to create or support independent/opposition media, thereby facilitating democratic development, the project should be classified as ‘Institution building’.

The report argues that the third alternative, that is, LMS activities organised according to their objectives, is the best alternative with regard to assessing relevance and effects.

Based on the three objective-based categories proposed in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 develops a detailed framework for the assessment and evaluation of LMS activities. It can be used by donors, applicants, operators and evaluators. Key issues are addressed, including how to define objectives, how to assess criteria for success, projects strategy development and project design, as well as project evaluation. The chapter underlines that the methods and approaches employed in most areas of LMS programmes are similar to those in other sectors of development or humanitarian assistance programmes.

The report is concluded by a brief summary that links the proposals of this report to the remaining phases of the LMS project.

Chapter 1 Introduction: The Role of Local Media in Conflict and Development

Introductory comments

Media can have democratic functions, or they can serve authoritarian purposes. They have contributed to building democracies and to maintaining dictatorships. They can be used to disseminate vital information, and to distort information. Media can be used to incite violence, and to alleviate conflicts. This report will focus on the media's positive functions, i.e. on whether and how local media can be used as tools for survival, peace and democratic development.

International organisations and other donors are often approached by organisations seeking assistance for local media projects during conflicts or during processes of transition. Yet the question of which conditions must be met in order for media to play a constructive role in conflict resolution or for democracy building is unclear and often contested. This report will discuss experiences with supporting local media, and attempt to provide a framework for assessment and management of local media support (LMS) that might be used as a shared frame of reference by all the actors involved.

Media as 'observers', 'participants' or 'tools'?

All the mass media in a society and the conditions under which they operate, are often referred to collectively as the *media landscape*. Media landscapes vary from country to country and there are important distinctions also within each media landscape. For example, the press and electronic media not only have different production routines, but also different distribution systems, messages and audiences and, accordingly, different functions in society. In some societies a large part of the population may have access to and use the Internet to acquire information, while in other societies large parts of the population may not even be able to read. In many countries in Africa poverty and illiteracy make television and newspapers relatively inaccessible, while radio has a much wider reach. Therefore governments – as in

Uganda, Tanzania and Malawi-may be prepared to tolerate a critical independent press while maintaining tight control of radio¹. This report does not examine the different meanings and functions of various specific media, but uses the term “media” in a less discriminate sense. It should be kept in mind that the term “media” encompasses a broad array of different media outlets.

Media landscapes

Media landscapes comprise an entire industry of products, interests and actors. The products include newspapers, magazines, television and radio programmes, videos, journals, material on the Internet, books and films. In other words, they cover the full range of expressions produced by different mass media. The differences between individual types of mass media are significant. They differ not only in terms of production routines, but also in distribution, messages and target groups, all which give them different functions in society.

Media ‘actors’ are equally diverse, embracing owners, editors, producers, distributors, authorities, customers, advertisers, net operators, etc. However, there is a major distinction between producers and distributors.

Media operate within the realm of the civil society, the market, and the state. The characteristics of a society’s media landscape depend on issues such as the legal framework under which the media operate, the economic base of the constituency they serve, and the society’s political or cultural cleavages.

The diversity that exists with regard to media landscapes also impacts how frequently used concepts such as ‘*free and independent*’ media are understood. For example, many of the organisations involved in LMS activities in eastern and central Europe have worked systematically to support alternatives to state-owned media outlets. Further, these organisations are often governed by mandates that preclude them from supporting state-owned media. Thus, the term ‘free and independent’ has often been used as a synonym for privately owned. However, editorial independence is not necessarily a product of whether the owner of the media outlet is the government, a political party or private interests. Obviously, all media have owners, so it is often more relevant to focus on how the relationship between owners and editors is regulated and functions.

The term ‘pluralistic media structure’ is another concept frequently used in different ways, depending on the media landscape in which one operates. Many former communist countries may have economic bases that will make them able to serve a pluralistic media structure that features numerous independently

¹ Article 19 and Index on Censorship. 1995. *Who Rules the Airwaves? Broadcasting in Africa*. London: Article 19 and Index on Censorship.

funded and competing outlets. In poorer countries, however, this would probably be unimaginable. In fact, in such a country the state itself might be too weak even to support its own national outlet(s) in a credible manner. Establishing media pluralism in such countries would therefore imply foreign 'ownership' in terms of the donor community accepting unlimited commitments in terms of time.

It has been suggested that it might be more relevant to talk about supporting or developing 'professional and responsible' media rather than 'free and independent' media. This is explained by the fact that the value of promoting privately-owned media pluralism will depend entirely on the local political context, whereas professional and responsible media is needed everywhere and in all situations. In fact, those organisations and donors that support the development of 'free' media also normally focus on the qualitative aspects. The overall objective of LMS is to support political or humanitarian processes that are considered important, e.g. saving lives, promoting peace, fighting discrimination and supporting democracy. LMS is a tool for social and political change rather than an objective in itself. Supporting the wrong media or misplacing support could therefore have adverse effects on the overall objectives.

Viewing LMS as a tool for social and political change has an impact on the discussion of the role of media or journalism in society. Numerous positions have been elaborated regarding the role of journalists in society – ranging from those (few) who consider a journalist's role to be that of a strict *observer* and *objective reporter* to those who see journalists, and thereby media, as active *participants* in the evolution of events. Most journalists recognise that the ideal of *objectivity* is impossible to achieve and some claim that objectivity is not an ideal at all.² The numerous selection mechanisms and on-going subjective decisions that journalists and editors use in the process of reporting make the term 'objectivity' inadequate.

By reporting, however neutral they try to be, journalists take on a role that makes them distinct from passive observers of an event or situation. By putting some stories on the front page and ignoring others, journalists and media influence the setting of agendas and thereby the evolution of conflicts or political processes. When conflicts loom, the political discourse becomes conflict-oriented, as do local media.

The effect of any form of LMS will be influenced by the conditions under which media operate and the number and composition of media outlets that exist. What makes sense in terms of external assistance in one situation might therefore have adverse effects in the next. An LMS project intervenes in a society's

² Siebert, Hannes. 1998. Debunking the 'Big O'. *Track Two: Constructive Approaches to Community and Political Conflict* 7(4): 3. Rondebosh: Centre for Conflict Resolution and the Media Peace Centre.

media landscape. Ideally, they should therefore be based on an extensive, in-depth understanding of the local idiosyncrasies of the society in question. It can, however, be difficult for donors and implementers to acquire such in-depth knowledge of a local media landscape when considering LMS. This report aims at partially alleviating that particular shortcoming by deducing general requirements and guidelines for LMS.

Media in conflict and development

Media produce news, information and entertainment, all products which influence the opinion-making process. So also in situations of crisis, conflict and development. They are usually regarded as central to building and maintaining democracies, although the functions of the media have been scarcely treated in democracy theory³. Nonetheless, control over media and information is a central tool in the maintenance of or struggle for power.

Several national and international conventions contain statements on the right of every human being to give and receive information freely. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that: “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” Freedom of speech is a fundamental principle of democracy since it is related to the idea that informed participation by individuals will result in decisions that are the best ones possible for the majority.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also contains important articles relevant to media, particularly the media during situations of conflict or crisis. Article 19 states that “any propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law”, followed by Article 20, which states that “any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.” The articles states that the prohibitions apply to advocacy which may incite others to action, but in practice varying interpretations of these words have posed many difficulties.

In practical politics, time and again, we have seen how these rights and obligations have been ignored or confronted by undemocratic regimes or by parties to conflicts. It is no mean feat to stifle voices once political and military leaders begin beating war drums. Similarly, media that advocate political reform or pluralism

³ Rønning, Helge. 1999. What are Democratic Media? Realities and Ideals. Background paper for Local Media Support Strategies Workshop. Oslo (unpublished paper).

under undemocratic regimes often face a complex mixture of political, legal and economic sanctions. These are sometimes also designed to make it impossible for these “voices” to survive or operate unless they are adequately supported, economically and politically, by outside actors.

Literature on media and conflicts can be divided in two main categories. One focuses on the conflicting parties’ need to control information in the struggle for power. The other focuses on how media can be used to prevent and solve conflicts, or to mitigate the effects of conflicts. This debate is, in turn, divided into two lines of reasoning or approaches, one ‘negative’ and one ‘positive’. The ability to prevent the broadcasting of “hate media” is the ‘negative’ approach. Advocates of this line believe, for example, that it might be necessary to eliminate hate media in order to prevent conflict and enable peaceful development. Although this might be a relevant option in connection with larger military interventions, many observers seem sceptical to the value of this approach. This is based on the view that, even in situations of conflict, it is essential to maintain the principle of freedom of expression and information pluralism. The reasoning is that hate speech is best fought by *more* speech rather than by censorship. For example, debilitating hate media by jamming can result in justification for increased press censorship and control by authoritarian leaders. In counter-acting local propaganda, international media have a crucial role to play, as do local media that provide impartial reporting.⁴

This report focuses on the “positive” approach, that is, on how the media can use positive activities or the production/dissemination of information and entertainment to influence a situation. This may be done either by attempting to exert a positive influence on the ongoing conflict, or by attempting to improve victims’ ability to survive or to live a meaningful life under the circumstances which prevail. The latter type of LMS activities focus on influencing and improving the message presented through the media in such situations, and on ensuring that it is presented through the most effective and credible media. It is often argued that in situations of crisis, it is not the lack of information that represent the challenge, but the predominance of rumours, propaganda and poor journalism.

Although the aim of media support activities for conflict victims is generally accepted by those involved, there is an ongoing debate about relevant approaches. Some argue that the best way of proceeding is to provide people in

⁴ See for example. Dworkin, Ronald. 1994. A New Map of Censorship. *Index on Censorship* May/June: 9-14, ARTICLE 19. 1996. *Broadcasting Genocide: Censorship, Propaganda and State-Sponsored Violence in Rwanda 1990-1994*. London: ARTICLE 19. Curtis, Devon E. A. 1999. *Broadcasting Peace: An Analysis of Local Media Peacebuilding Projects in Rwanda and Bosnia*. McGill University. Minear, Larry, Colin Scott and Thomas G. Weiss. 1996. *The News Media, Civil War, and Humanitarian Action*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

conflict situations with the best possible journalistic coverage of the situation, while others argue in favour of using different forms of entertainment and drama to supplement information activities with messages aimed at influencing attitudes and behaviour. Some also argue for so-called 'need-based reporting'. This implies that conflict situations differ and that the exposed people's need for information should be assessed before the right composition of information can be prescribed. It is a matter of 'information for survival' and 'news-that-you-can-use'.

Media projects are also used to influence people's behaviour or perceptions in respect of non-political risks. This might involve activities ranging from AIDS prevention or information about possible epidemics, to nutritional information and the dissemination of knowledge about the various UN or relief organisations that are active in an area. Information of this kind is often provided as a mixture of reporting and entertainment, and it often represents joint efforts on the part of journalists and experts from the different humanitarian branches or organisations involved. This approach is also often used to influence the perceptions of people living in areas that experience massive influxes of displaced persons. By explaining and illustrating the plight of those who arrive, such programming might contribute to the development of a less sceptical or 'hostile' attitude on the part of the original population, who may find their own situation worsened by a sudden influx of refugees.

A complex discussion in the context of media and conflict is that of determining what constitutes 'responsible reporting'. This is an ongoing debate within media, and between media professionals and conflict resolution professionals. It revolves around the fact that journalism has a tendency to emphasise the dramatic elements of any story or situation. Accordingly, reporting war, violence and conflict might be easier than reporting initiatives for conflict transformation and peace. Conflict situations are also extremely sensitive to information that can create panic, and there is a record of media-created tragedies triggered by unconfirmed reports. What kind of criteria, if any, should one establish for self-censorship in such situations? This debate is also linked to whether it is possible to combine conflict resolution techniques and insights with the ethics of journalism. Is asking the media to 'do' something to solve a conflict tantamount to asking journalists to change their ethics and professional codes to fit the objectives of conflict facilitators?

Actors involved in conflict resolution activities often point out the difference in approaches between the activities in which they are involved and those aimed at promoting democratic development by supporting media pluralism. Whereas the first approach normally searches for 'common ground' and is thereby based on what might be labelled a 'consensual' framework, the latter will often be considered

Possible Roles for Media in Conflict

The Centre for War, Peace and the News Media (CWPNM) at New York University has proposed a list of roles media can play in order to manage or prevent conflict based on an examination of conflict resolution theory and practices. The CWPNM list comprises twelve roles:

- Channel of communication between parties
- Education (changing the information environment in which the parties operate)
- Confidence building
- Counteracting misperceptions
- Analysing conflict
- De-objectifying the protagonists for each other
- Identifying the interests underlying the issues
- Emotional outlet
- Encouraging a balance of power
- Framing and defining the conflict
- Face saving and consensus building
- Solution builder

All roles are relevant for conflict prevention and management. They may also be relevant in post-conflict situations when media products tailored for conflict resolution purposes are used to help eliminate some of the biases created or fuelled during conflict (Manoff 1998).

‘adversarial’ by the authorities involved. The fact that external donors help support voices that criticise the authorities or even actively argue for reforms or political change will often be considered unwelcome interference in internal affairs. Thus such activities may often be the result of political change as much as the cause of it, since they tend to be permitted only after a certain degree of political pluralism is established.

Media play important roles in terms of facilitating democratic development when they are permitted to function in accordance with the principles of democratic societies. Media can give citizens information about their rights and about different political alternatives, presenting various aspects of their situation that emphasise different options. Consequently, when the media and experienced journalists inform people about the public debate, they should do so in

a way that enables people to put their situation into local and international perspectives. It has been argued that a basic requirement for a democratic media system should be that it represents: "...all significant interests in society. It should facilitate their participation in the public domain, enable them to contribute to public debate and have an input on the framing of public policy".⁵ Another essential function of the media is its role as watchdog; media can hold officials accountable and inform citizens about how they are being ruled. The watchdog function is important in terms of guarding against the abuse of power.

There are numerous examples of the media playing an important role in political transition processes. In the mid-1980s in South Africa, against a setting with severe media restrictions and a lack of public information, the publication of an interview with ANC President Oliver Tambo spread alternative information about the ANC, impacting the general public's perception of the organisation. Likewise, the publication of a progressive *afrikaaner* newspaper in the late 1980s influenced the perceptions of white *afrikaaners* and impacted their support for apartheid. The work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has impacted heavily on the media's current self-perception and self-criticism, changing the way stories are reported in that country.⁶

Defining Local Media Support (LMS)

LMS activities have proliferated without a corresponding effort aimed at defining what LMS is – and what it is not. This report will use the term to refer to external support of local media activities in crises or development situations to help exposed people deal with their situation, or to facilitate desired (democratic) processes. LMS revolves around activities aimed at empowering people to get a better grip on their own situation through the active, but cautious, use of media.

Ordinarily, these activities would be conducted by or through existing local media or by the creation of such media. This report does not cover support to political opposition movements that broadcast from abroad. Likewise, unless as part of a deliberate strategy to circumvent obstacles to broadcasting locally, broadcasting activities by the major international outlets fall outside the scope of this report,

⁵ Curran, James. 1996. *Mass media and democracy revisited*, in Curran j. and M. Gurevitch (eds.) *Media and Society*, 2nd. Edition. London: Arnold.

⁶ Lewin, Hugh. 1998. The Never-Ending Story: How the TRC changed the nature of story-telling in South Africa. *Track Two: Constructive Approaches to Community and Political Conflict* 7(4): 41-43. Rondebosh: Centre for Conflict Resolution and the Media Peace Centre.

even though in many situations such broadcasters play a key role as providers of information and thereby also have an impact on conflict situations and democratisation processes. Similarly, this report will not address the existing literature within so-called 'development communication' which uses media to mobilise popular participation in social and economic development.

Further, this report will not be restricted to discussing journalistic initiatives or activities; it will deal with media comprehensively. This implies that it will cover support in all areas, ranging from legal assistance, through media management support and media production, to the dissemination of information or 'messages'.

Structure of the report

The report is divided into five chapters. This chapter provides background information and identifies the principles on which the rest of the report is based. Chapter 2 briefly outlines development trends and describes the current international scene with regard to LMS activities. Who are the main actors and organisations involved in LMS activities? What kind of activities are associated with LMS projects? Where do they take place? What are the key lessons learned through LMS so far? Emphasis is attached to identifying the key actors and activities rather than to providing a snapshot image of a field in rapid expansion.

Chapter 3 develops a conceptual framework for LMS activities. A categorisation of LMS activities is suggested based on the three different objectives these projects are normally developed to serve. In relation to this categorisation, there is a discussion about the different approaches or strategies available to donors and operators for implementing LMS projects.

Chapter 4 presents an operational framework for assessing, deciding and managing LMS projects. This framework is based on key principles often used for other types of humanitarian and development-oriented projects. Chapter 5 reports conclusions and suggests how one should proceed with implementing this.

Efforts have been made to keep the report succinct and the different chapters strictly separate. Towards this end, a number of text boxes have been added to provide illustrations and supplementary information. The intention is to qualify, exemplify and/or underline the arguments presented in the main text. The text boxes are of secondary importance for the reader who simply requires a quick introduction to the main substance of the report.

Please see Appendix 2 for a list of some organisations of interest to LMS activities. The list is in no way exhaustive, but provides a good indication of the

pluralism involved in this area. Based on the same rationale, Appendix 1 contains a selection of publications of relevance to LMS.

Chapter 2 Actors and Activities

Introductory comments

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of how local media support (LMS) projects are planned and directed and who the key actors are. To illustrate this, the chapter includes descriptions of ongoing LMS activities accompanied by brief descriptions of how the various activities have evolved.

Although Norway is a relatively minor LMS actor in terms of both the provision of funding and operational involvement, the present report contains a section on Norwegian activities to complement the description of the international scene.

An history of Local Media Support

It might be argued that today's LMS activities have their roots in the Cold War and the bipolar struggle for political and cultural hegemony. As early as the beginning of the 1950s, both sides of the Iron Curtain began to support local media in countries they considered important to the struggle. For example, as part of the efforts to counter Soviet expansionism, US government funding was channelled through foundations, such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom, to projects or activities in western Europe and neutral countries. This included also support for a variety of media outlets whose owners and employees often were unaware of the true purpose of the donations. Similar support was also given to many Third World countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where a number of newspapers, magazines and radio stations received funding, either directly or through US Foundations used as covers. The Soviet Union provided similar, but less known support to the same areas and for similar purposes.¹

The Cold War struggle also found an arena in multilateral institutions such as the UN system. Within UNESCO, ideology and politics related to media support

¹ Saunders, Frances Stonor. 1999. *Who paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*. London: Granta Books.

and media policy clashed in a conflict that lasted from the early 1970s and up until the early 1980s. More specifically, the conflict was triggered by the so-called McBride Report on a 'New World Information Order'.² The conflict revolved around Third World countries' resistance to the dominance of western media, and it found its 'battleground' within UNESCO. The organisation criticised western political and cultural hegemony and supported key initiatives such as the Pan African News Agency, established in the early 1970s to counter western influence. The West reacted strongly to this attempt to 'reverse' the information order, arguing that it implied censorship. The result was a long-lasting ideological schism that ultimately led to massive withdrawal of western support from UNESCO.

Nonetheless, together with UNDP, UNESCO has been the key multilateral institution involved in LMS projects. Parallel to the struggle over the McBride Report, these UN institutions supported local newspapers, radio stations and journalist training in many developing countries. Accordingly, UNESCO and UNDP already had a long history of activity in this area before the current expansion began when the Cold War came to an end in the late 1980s.

Actors

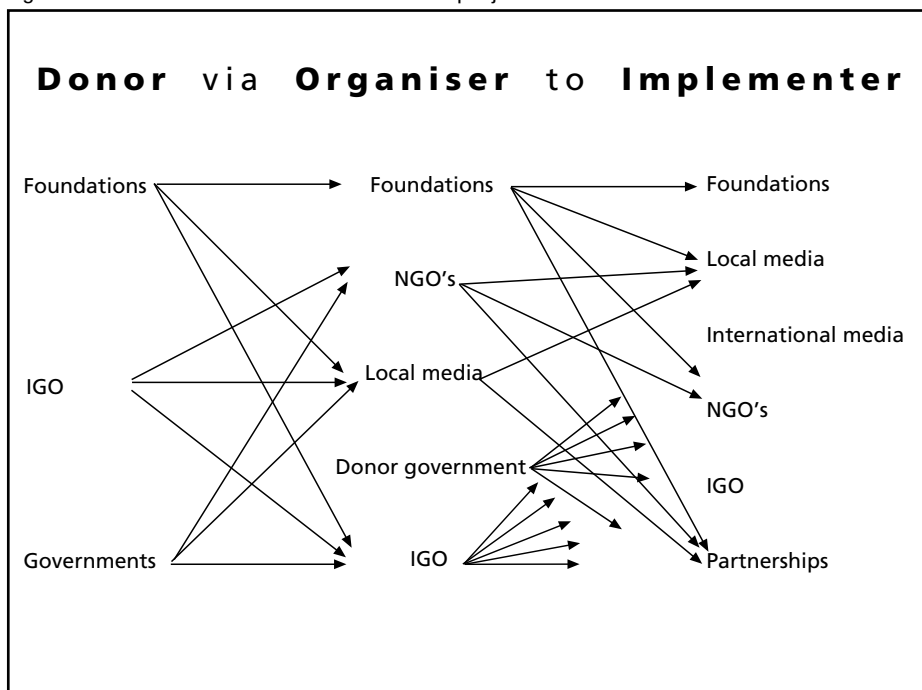
It is impossible to map all the NGOs, foundations and governments which, in a myriad of ways, support LMS initiatives in developing countries or areas hampered by conflict. Rough estimates by experts involved in LMS activities suggest, for example, that in Bosnia alone, some 200 to 300 different actors or organisations are involved in projects which might be categorised as local media support or have a component that might be considered LMS. Less than four weeks after commencement of the 1999 NATO bombing of Kosovo, about 25 media projects had been launched in Albania alone – most of them linked to, in support of, or in co-operation with, already existing local media.

A survey of the involved actors and closer scrutiny of their roles illustrate that there is no clear division of labour between the actors involved in the different types or phases of LMS projects. The actors involved in LMS may be divided into three categories; 1) donors that provide the funding; 2) organisers that develop a project from idea to funded reality and; 3) implementers that execute the project on behalf of the two former categories. This situation paves the way for the evolution of a complex web of actors and alliances. Although generalised, the figure below

² MacBride, Sean (ed.). 1980. *Many Voices, One World*. London: Kegan Paul. The report was presented to UNESCO general conference in Belgrade in 1980.

is based on information gathered from a number of donors and involved media organisations, and illustrates some important features of today's landscape:

Figure 2.1 Actors and resource flows in LMS projects



Donors

There are relatively few categories of donors, particularly when compared with the number of organisers and implementers. Obviously, governments are the most important ones, in terms both of amount of funding and the number of donors involved. One should also bear in mind that many governments actually represent two sources of funding, one dealing with more long-term development-assistance-related LMS programmes and another agency/ministry dealing with funding for more short-term humanitarian/conflict resolution programmes. Among the major countries currently funding LMS projects are the US, UK, Germany, the Netherlands and a number of smaller European states. Although numbers are difficult to elicit since funding for LMS projects often is taken from different budget items, the US, in particular through USAID, appears to be the single largest donor.

Diversification of donors as a funding strategy

Many of the major organisers or implementers of LMS projects make deliberate efforts to ensure a wide range of donors for their activities. As in other areas of humanitarian work, this is regarded as a 'safety-mechanism' against sudden surprises in the economic basis for programme activities. It is also an important way to establish project credibility.

A typical example of such donor-diversity is the funding of the training for Internews, an agency that provides training to countries of the former Soviet Union, the Middle East and Central and Eastern Europe. Some 20 donors, ranging from countries to international organisations, foundations and private companies, are on the donor list, which thereby also serves as a reference list for Internews' training activities. These are:

BBC WST (Know How Fund), British Foreign Office, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Development Alternatives, Inc., The Eurasia Foundation, European Commission (DG1AO), French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Goethe Institute, International Renaissance Foundation, IREX Professional Media Program, John D. And Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Joyce Mertz-Gilmore Foundation, C.M. and Raquel H. Newman Charitable Trust, Office of Transition Initiatives (USAID), Open Society Institute, Rockefeller Financial Services, Swedish International Development Agency, TACIS (European Commission, Technical Assistance to the CIS), The Thomson Foundation, Trust for Mutual Understanding, UNESCO, UNICEF, US Agency for International Development, US Information Agency, US Information Service, Westminster Foundation, and the World Press Freedom Committee.

The role of foundations varies from the major US and German foundations with budgets comparable to the entire assistance budgets of many governments, to smaller scale organisations that provide limited LMS funding on an *ad hoc* basis. The various initiatives taken by George Soros have been of particular importance, as they were instrumental in initiating and developing the LMS initiatives in eastern and central Europe in the early 1990s. Also, Germany's *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung* is a major, global actor that supports LMS activities.

Lastly, several intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) play an important role in the donor community. For example, the EU has played a key role throughout the 1990s by providing funding for a variety of media support projects the world over. Also, UN organisations such as UNESCO and UNHCR have supported LMS activities. It should nonetheless be noted that IGOs represent a special type of donor. Their budgets are products of governmental donations. These funds are subsequently given to implementing organisations, a situation that then makes the IGOs donors. UNESCO's role as donor could therefore, for example, be seen as a product of UNESCO member governments' decisions to channel funding for LMS activities through the multilateral system.

Despite the rapid increase in the attention devoted to LMS, few donor governments have developed explicit policies for this activity. Fragmented documents

covering different aspects of media support have been developed, or are in the process of being developed, in some countries. Denmark has published a policy document in this area.³ 'Support for Free Media in Developing Countries' was published in the mid 1990s. As the title indicates, the document focuses primarily on longer term assistance aimed at promoting democracy and human rights in developing countries.

Similarly, efforts aimed at co-ordinating donor activities in this field have been fragmented or absent. One important exception is the Paris-based organisation GRET (Groupe de recherche et d'échanges technologiques) which has been tasked by some donor governments to act as a clearing house for information-sharing on media projects in Africa. GRET does this through a combination of newsletters, donor conferences and an Internet website that currently is under development.

Organisers

The category 'organisers' denotes actors involved in developing LMS projects from idea to reality.

It should also be noted that most donors occasionally also act as organisers. International agencies such as different UN agencies (UNHCR in particular) often link mass information campaigns to their humanitarian operations. They then define objectives and requirements for the information and liaise with possible implementers if they are not in a position to execute a project themselves.

Academic institutions with expertise in media are often organisers of LMS activities. Some of the more prominent institutions, such as the New York-based CWPNM that was introduced in Chapter 1, organise and support comprehensive operational projects. Others limit themselves to research co-operation, the exchange of students, evaluations and policy development. Some academic institutions implement projects on their own, while others do so as part of partnership arrangements with NGOs and foundations.

Several humanitarian and human rights NGOs with varying expertise in media are also organisers. They often execute LMS projects based on a combination of self-financing and governmental funding, particularly in situations that involve longer term developmental projects.

Recent years have also seen a proliferation of highly specialised NGOs involved in LMS, primarily during crisis-oriented situations. Organisations such as Media Action International, the Hironde Foundation, Common Ground Productions, Internews and the Media Development Loan Fund are examples of emerging expert organisations whose core mandate is to organise (and often

³ 'Støtte til frie medier i udviklingslandene'. DANIDA, Copenhagen 1994.

implement) LMS projects. Special interest organisations such as the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) have also been major actors in this area (see Appendix 2 for a more comprehensive list of organisations of relevance).

Implementers

On the implementation side, we find a split between organisations involved in longer term development projects and those involved in the provision of information to exposed populations in emergency situations. Local media institutions or special interest groups such as trade unions often carry out the projects with longer term perspectives. The role of the organiser in these projects will normally be quite limited. That is, they may provide a certain amount of 'advice' during the implementation process, but their primary function is that of facilitator vis-à-vis the donor.

Projects designed for crisis situations will on the other hand often involve a considerable role for international, or expatriate, actors. In such situations, partnership projects where local media initiatives are linked with international expertise seem to be the desired model for most international organisers and donors. However, partnership projects are not always a readily available option in crisis situations or in situations in which the local media are oppressed. In such situations, externally driven or even externally located projects are often the only viable alternatives. Specialised international NGOs or international broadcasting companies such as BBC, Deutsche Welle and Voice of America might be involved in the implementation of these projects.

It must be emphasised that a detailed survey of organisers and implementers will be more complex than outlined here. There are, for example, a number of governments that have received funding for media projects which they, in turn, have been responsible for implementing. Special interest organisations for journalists, such as the International Federation of Journalists, also play an important part as organisers and implementers.

As with other forms of relief activities, most donors, organisers and expatriate implementers are based in Western Europe and North America. Major project countries have been located in Africa, Asia, the Balkans and the former Soviet Union.

Activities

LMS projects are difficult to define. They range from projects aimed at influencing laws of a society that *also* affect parts of the media landscape via the provision of printing presses, ink and spare parts to radio stations, to the production of music

videos and courses in human rights standards and practices for journalists. Basically, the substance of LMS will vary from situation to situation, based on the nature of the media landscape and the political context. Accordingly, LMS projects will generally call for an assessment of needs (see Chapter 4).

The degree to which external personnel resources and external organisers become involved will also vary considerably. In some projects, international support is limited to economic investments in, or donations to, media with a poor resource base. In many other situations, a contingent of international 'advisors', 'trainers' or 'managers' will accompany the funding. This external component can vary from one person sporadically visiting recipient institutions, to the international organisation actually establishing the medium of concern and managing the project for a certain period or for the entire time span.

With regard to the focus of various activities, they can usually be divided into four groups, depending on the aspect of the media landscape targeted, i.e. legal, ethical, managerial or operational activities. However, this division is merely one way of organising the rather chaotic reality of ongoing activities.

1. Activities with a *legal* focus will often be associated with efforts to influence longer term processes or the legal framework in which a particular media functions. Often, such projects will also influence core areas of democratisation processes in emerging democracies. This implies that they will often be politically controversial as they impact on both the authorities' and the oppositions' struggle for power or control. Typical projects of this kind will be those which aim at:
 - Ensuring a legal framework for the development and functioning of independent media and freedom of speech;
 - Ensuring a fiscal or tax system that does not undermine the economic basis for free media;
 - Facilitating the development and secure operation of trade unions and special interest organisations for journalists;
 - Supporting specific opposition media in situations in which they are threatened with censorship or closure.
2. Projects with an *ethical* focus will usually be directed towards journalists and their activities. The objective will normally be to improve journalists' personal and professional skills to avoid the effects of unintended or manipulated reporting. Typical projects of this kind will be:

- Those that focus on awareness training, i.e. on the difficulties involved in balancing the journalistic imperative of getting a story out quickly, against the effects the story might have on an ongoing conflict or exposed populations. Such projects are often closely linked to training programmes that aim at improving journalistic standards;
 - Those that focus on developing conflict resolution and conflict resolution techniques among journalists;
 - Those that aim at disseminating information about human rights standards and principles among journalists and media personnel.
3. *Managerial* projects related to improving the overall administrative and economic management of local media. The focus of such projects is often linked to helping newly independent media adjust to the realities of an emerging free market economy. This kind of project covers topics varying from different forms of training to the provision of in-staff expatriate expertise that might help existing local media management structures in areas such as:
 - Market assessments;
 - The development of business plans;
 - Training and advice in media management.
 4. Projects with an *operational* or journalistic focus cover the broadest range. These include initiatives ranging from improving the standard of reporting to supporting 'voices' that would not otherwise be heard. Projects of this kind will often involve some form of partnership with media experts in donor

Struggling in the courts and in the market

Croatia is currently one of the countries in which there is a strong demand for LMS projects with a legal focus. Since independence, the authorities have fought dissident voices with a combination of legal steps and political and financial harassment. Much of the harassment has been conducted in a manner that is difficult to detect or to publicly confront, since it has been 'manipulated' into a legal setting.

The popular satirical independent publication *The Feral Tribune* had about seventy outstanding lawsuits filed against it by government ministers in mid-1998. *The Feral Tribune* also experienced major difficulties in gaining what should have been its 'share' of the advertising market, given its popularity and circulation. Advertisers refuse to put ads in the publication for fear of visits from the State Financial Police. As a result, some advertisers pay for ads that they ask *Feral Tribune* not to print.

countries. Another similar form of assistance is the provision of computers, printing presses etc. or funding for media that function in what is considered a constructive manner by donors or external organisers. Typical examples of this type of projects are:

- Job skills training for journalists;
- Support of local media outlets through funding, equipment or technical expertise;
- Support of media outlets through programme production;
- Establishment of new media outlets in situations where they are needed to inform exposed populations.

Operational projects often involve numerous innovative approaches. Some involve partnerships between international agencies such as UNHCR and NGOs. The aim may be to produce and disseminate information and entertainment to exposed people about issues such as AIDS, land mines, and educational programmes for children, activities related to tracing of missing persons, etc. Even radio soap operas aimed, for example, at altering people's perceptions during conflict may be integrated into this type of programming.

LMS projects also tend to 'find' each other in the field. A radio station that is supported by external donors will often also send programming produced by another LMS-based project. A project of a certain size will sometimes involve activities in several of the above-mentioned areas.

Media support activities in Eastern and Central Europe

The beginning of the transformation from communism to pluralistic market economies in eastern and central Europe a decade ago is sometimes labelled 'the Media Revolution', thereby underlining the importance media played in this process. International efforts to promote the development of an independent media sector in these countries by providing funding and different forms of managerial and operational assistance was an important part of these endeavours.

Although a number of actors has been involved in this process, the different initiatives of George Soros are the best known ones. He developed several support

institutions and a variety of approaches to assistance. Soros initiated LMS projects, provided funding for projects, and staffed and managed several of the initiatives. And – not least – through a deliberate co-operative approach that involved extensive financial support for the partners, he involved numerous new organisations (local and international) in LMS activities. Currently, the Soros' Foundation Network has offices in the majority of east and central European countries. Most of these offices support different forms of media initiatives as part of the project portfolio. Many of the projects are in turn supported by the Open Society Institute of Budapest, which runs media support programmes that provide advice for these and other organisations that work on media projects, in addition to managing a major programme portfolio.

Most of Soros' media support is directed towards promoting a free and pluralistic media landscape in the former communist countries, i.e. they are parts of a strategy to promote pluralism, human rights and democratisation. One of the more innovative approaches developed in this respect is the Media Development Loan Fund (MDLF). This organisation was established with a grant from Soros in 1995 and has gradually established itself as an independent platform with several donors. The idea behind MDLF is to provide 'generous' loans rather than donations, to its partners or 'customers' that are local media. The rationale is that loans given on favourable conditions and followed up by a helpful, but business-oriented 'banking', often works better than donations that do not provide the same incentives to ensure a return on the investment, and thereby sustainability.

Consequently, MDLF has developed an elaborate procedure for identifying worthy 'customers' that are given managerial assistance as required to develop 'business plan' for the media that justifies the requested loan - and even further consultancy assistance during the implementation process. According to MDLF, they have very few defaulted loans and a high success rate if measured in terms of sustainability

Co-operating on radio broadcasting to refugees in Albania

Although the Soros Foundation has primarily focused on institution-building activities, it has also become a key institution for many of the operators that focus on more crisis-oriented activities because of its ability to make rapid decisions on applications for funding.

The Kosovo Refugee Radio Project SPEAR-Albania (Support Programs for Emergency Assistance by Radio) was implemented by *Media Action International* in co-operation with the Soros Foundation and the Albanian Media Institute during the 1999 massive influx of Kosovar refugees to Albania. Although not a major operational undertaking in terms of volume, it is an illustration of how one could rapidly establish so-called 'needs-based' programming that focused on 'news that you can use' for the ethnic Albanian victims of war throughout Albania and inside Kosovo. The project was designed and funded in less than one week, and operating in the field immediately.

and impact on the lending institutions' management. MDLF operates in about 15 countries in eastern and central Europe.

A US-based institution with several links to Soros' initiatives is the New York University's Centre for War, Peace and the News Media (CWPNM). This centre, which can be described as a media support NGO with an academic footing, has been involved in LMS projects since the area began to expand. It also funded the National Press Institute (NPI) of Russia, probably the most comprehensive media support initiative ever launched by a private western organisation.

Several US and European governmental donors, including intergovernmental organisations such as the EU, have also provided extensive funding for media programmes based on a similar rationale for promoting media independent of governmental control which will be able to work in a free market. USAID has funded some of the most comprehensive ones such as International Research and Exchange Board's (IREX's) ProMedia (the Professional Media Program). IREX, primarily a student exchange organisation, launched some four years ago a USD 22 million LMS programme that enabled it to establish offices in most east and central European countries. IREX also focuses on promoting independent media, but in contrast to many of the other organisations working with LMS, it also supports state-owned media in some of the programme countries (Albania, Belarus, Ukraine and Hungary). This support has primarily been used to train journalists.

IREX has sought to build international partnerships with donors and other media support organisations. The list of co-operative partners includes UN agencies, donors such as Sida, special interest organisations such as the International Federation of Journalists, and public and commercial media outlets like the BBC and Deutsche Welle, as well as other media NGOs such as Internews.

The National Press Institute (of the Russian Federation) (NPI)

Based in Moscow, since 1992, NPI has organised more than 2200 programmes in 40 cities throughout Russia on a wide range of issues. The institute has a staff of about 40 located at six different centres throughout the Federation, and participation in the institute's programme activities has already exceeded 100 000 people.

At the initiative of CWPNM, the Institute was originally established as the Russian-American Press and Information Centre, but over the past few years it has gradually been transformed from a bilateral media assistance organisation into a permanent Russian institution that works for Russian media.

NPI's programme portfolio includes numerous projects in areas such as capital investment, media management, legal infrastructure development and civil society programmes. It is also heavily involved in facilitating the introduction of new technologies to Russian media, and it has established an extensive international network of co-operating partners.

One of the major NGOs in this area, Internews has roots back to the Cold War era when it attempted to influence the east-west stalemate. Created in the early 1980s, it began to use television as a “medium of mediation” between Soviet and American citizens. Following the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe in 1989, it switched its focus to supporting the development of the hundreds of non-governmental or private television and radio stations that emerged in countries making the transition to democracy.

Over time, Internews has also changed its primary focus from the Soviet Union and later Russia, to the entire region of eastern and central Europe. Lately, it has also launched projects outside this region, for example, in Indonesia. Its programme activities have expanded from facilitating projects aimed at adjusting local media to market economies, to programme production aimed at conflict resolution. Increasingly, Internews produces television programmes that “give a human face to societies in transition, dialogues between traditional enemies, and co-productions across national and ethnic boundaries” as their programme statement announces. The organisation is also in the process of becoming less US-bound as Internews offices have now been established in some thirteen countries.

It would be futile to attempt to survey all organisations and all activities related to LMS in eastern and central Europe. Many of the programmes involved in democratisation influence the local media's situation or even provide direct funding to them without being categorised as a local media support programme. With the outbreak of armed conflict in the Balkans, the number of programmes involved, and the complexity in activities expanded even further. Many of the organisations that had started out with LMS portfolios in order to facilitate democratisation in the former Soviet countries established themselves in this region. Numerous new organisations were also established as the importance of local media for people exposed to conflict became recognised. This even include establishment of locally based NGOs that implemented programmes for international donors.

Of the three former Yugoslav countries, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been the main ‘target’ of the LMS organisations and donors. Numerous projects aimed at providing necessary information to people in conflict areas or in displacement were launched from 1992 onwards, often on initiatives taken by the UN, OSCE or other actors in the multilateral system and implemented by partnerships or through direct funding to media outlets. Radio stations, newspapers and television stations have received support. Similarly, specific programmes produced for television, video, etc., have received funding and been executed either by local capacities, through partnerships or by international conflict resolution NGOs such as the Search for Common Ground.

Experiences with Conflict Resolution Media Projects in Bosnia

The OSCE worked with radio in the Zenica-Doboj Canton of Bosnia using two different approaches. The first was to work through a radio station connected with a political party (Radio Zepce); the other through an independent, multi-ethnic radio (Radio Zos).

Project 1: Radio Zepce, working through party-affiliated radio station

Radio Zepce is controlled by the HDZ political party and the staff is Croat. OSCE discussed with the director activities to decrease tensions and enable the return of Bosniak refugees in mid 1998. Four programs were planned: 1) To let the people of Zepce meet the two mayors of Zepce, the Croat and the Bosniak; 2) To put the Bosniak mayors of the neighbouring municipalities on radio for discussions with the mayors of Zepce; 3) To let Bosniak and Croat associations of refugees and displaced persons meet local authorities to discuss return/repatriation; and 4) A cross Inter Entity Border Line, IEBL, (between Republika Srpska and the Federation) debate between legal advisors, the Ombudsman and refugee associations.

All events took place. They were well advertised in advance, and broadcast on prime time. For the first time, the Zepce Bosniak mayor and the neighbouring Bosniak mayors were able to speak live to the people of Zepce. The debates included many questions from listeners.

Project 2: Radio Zos, working through a newly established independent radio station

In 1996, a journalist from the Bosnian *Oslobodjena* daily newspaper decided to establish a radio station that worked across the IEBL. By the end of 1997, the station had been established. The journalist became director of the station. Journalists were recruited from both sides.

OSCE met with the director of Radio Zos to discuss seven programmes aimed at 1) providing information about political nominees that encourage cross IEBL co-operation and non-nationalistic policy; and 2) putting inter ethnic dialogue and return on the agenda. In autumn 1998, three programmes were broadcast. Two were election related and one focused on cross IEBL return issues. Listeners could call in, but no one did. One main reason for cancelling the other programmes was that the Radio Zos staff did not produce the agreed interviews with displaced persons in the Federation and in Republika Srpska.

When comparing the experiments, some interesting conclusions emerged according to involved OSCE personnel.

1) The target group was reached in Zepce, but probably not in Zos. 2) Opinions were probably moderated in Zepce, but that was more uncertain in Zos. 3) Radio Zepce became more independent and integrated into the canton; Radio Zos remained donor dependent.

This indicates that working through established and politically affiliated media can be more effective than supporting independent radio stations in conflict situations. (Tuastad 1999).

Media projects came even more to the fore during the 1999 crisis in Kosovo. In a matter of a few weeks after commencement of the NATO bombing campaign, dozens of media projects and media organisations were established in the region. Most of the projects were aimed at informing exposed people about their situation, training local journalists or facilitating conflict resolution. Several projects were also direct support of state owned media, particularly in Albania.

In many respects, the crisis of the 1990s in the Balkans led to a situation in which LMS projects in Europe became more diversified and similar to what is the case in other parts of the world. This meant that projects took on a heavy international or expatriate component and were aimed towards influencing people's behaviour in conflict, rather than on the need to build media institutions.

Recognising Local Media Support as humanitarian relief

Although numerous UN agencies and official reports now recognise the importance of local media in crisis situations, it was the war that took place in former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s that established LMS as 'recognised' "humanitarian assistance".

It began in 1992 when the Special Rapporteur on Human Rights repeatedly underlined the importance of access to information for the victims of war. This triggered some minor, and fragmented, support activities on the part of some UN agencies, aimed at supporting independent media such as the newspaper *Oslobodenje*.

The breakthrough came in 1994 when the UN Inter Agency Standing Committee (heads of the relevant UN agencies that work in the humanitarian and development field) included LMS in its consolidated appeal for the former Yugoslavia. The first appeal for some USD 460,000 for a half-year period under the heading of 'Communications' paved the way for LMS to be included in several subsequent appeals in this region and elsewhere.

Media support activities in Africa

In southern Africa, numerous projects aimed at facilitating the peace and reconciliation process in South Africa and Mozambique were launched in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In South Africa, the general trend was for international donors to provide funding for locally based media projects to help facilitate democratisation or conflict resolution. In Mozambique, partnerships have been more prominent. A web of international agencies have been involved, with UNESCO and UNDP at the forefront, and a number of bilateral projects have taken place.

Recently, Angola has been targeted by organisations involved in LMS projects. Search for Common Ground has established a production studio in the country and several European organisations are currently working on plans to establish radio stations, and to create production capacities, including for radio soap operas for exposed or victimised groups.

Although southern Africa was the first area of concern to agencies working with LMS activities, such programmes rapidly gained momentum throughout most parts of sub-Saharan Africa. In East Africa, the British Department for International Development (DFID) has recently supported media projects in Tanzania and in connection with the 1997 elections in Kenya. In Sierra Leone, DFID is funding a large project focused on broadcasting policy, regional radio and training for the government and private press.

The genocide in Rwanda and the role that radio station *Mille Collines* played in it, illustrate the negative role media have played in conflicts in this region. *Mille Collines* played a pivotal part in the Rwandan genocide, becoming an example of what observers now generally label 'hate radio'. Yet because of this tragic experience, this region has become something of a laboratory for developing concepts and approaches for humanitarian assistance and conflict resolution through local media.

A number of UN agencies have funded or initiated programmes aimed at providing information or promoting behavioural changes among exposed groups. Organisations such as Health Unlimited have produced numerous programmes aimed at modifying people's behaviour with regard to the danger of AIDS and/or information about epidemics, nutritional issues etc. UNHCR has sponsored such initiatives as well as other informational activities aimed at enhancing people's ability to make informed decisions about their situation. UNHCR also sponsored BBC broadcasts (in Kenyaland) towards central Africa for several years. These programmes have been among the most important sources of information and news for this population. Other allegedly less successful projects have been conducted by IGOs as partnerships with governmental media. According to the personnel involved, this basically turned into direct economic sponsorship of the government

with no actual effect. Some consider this to be the reason why organisations like UNHCR seem to prefer to use expatriate organisations for such programmes.

Central Africa has also been the scene for the expansion of so-called “humanitarian reporting”. In 1994, as the catastrophe in Rwanda evolved, the Swiss Hirondelle Foundation established a radio station – *Agatashya* – in Bukavu, eastern Zaire. The station became an important, although controversial, source of information and entertainment for large groups of refugees in the camps. The radio station aspired to be professional in all aspects of journalistic activity, and hired a number of local journalists that again worked under the general guidance of an expatriate. The radio was operational up until the uprising against President Mobutu Sese Seko forced it to close in October 1996. The Hirondelle Foundation has also been heavily involved in reporting on the tribunal’s work in Arusha. Its news service there has been a key source of information for many local media in the region that would not otherwise have the capacity to cover the proceedings.

The situation in Burundi has also drawn the attention of many other media support organisations. Search for Common Ground is one of the most influential bodies having run a production studio along the same lines as it does in Liberia (see

“Hate Radio”: Radio *Mille Collines* in Rwanda

Radio-Television *Libre des Mille Collines* (One Thousand Hills Free Radio) began broadcasting in Rwanda in September 1993. The station transmitted a steady stream of hate messages about the country’s Tutsi population to a large audience. It has become the accepted wisdom that this radio propaganda was an important cause of the genocide in 1994. Once the genocide was under way, the radio was used to organise the killing, notably by identifying targets, broadcasting where people were hiding, and so on. Radio Mille Collines was directly, if covertly, linked to the government and enjoyed a near broadcasting monopoly (apart from the state-owned Radio Rwanda and Radio Muhabua, the pirate radio of the Rwanda Patriotic Fron (RPF)). Several commentators have pointed out the crucial difference between hate speech emanating from weak and marginal groups with little power to carry out their threats, and propaganda emanating from official sources. Many observers claim that in scale and apparent impact, hate radio in Rwanda has had no parallel since the Nazi propaganda.

While there is little doubt that Radio Mille Collines was an integral part of the plans of the genocide, critical studies point to more complex processes in the society in which the radio played but one part. Some studies also point to media narcissism, that is, to media’s wish to believe in their own unbounded influence, as a factor in the discussions of the role of Radio Mille Collines. This fascination has diverted attention from adequately analysing the causes of the genocide (ARTICLE 19. 1996).

The debate on hate expressions has long been a troublesome debate for defenders of freedom of expression, and Radio Mille Collines’ role in the genocide has also been studied in this context.

below) for several years. In addition to drama, it produces so-called 'reconciled news' where reporters from both major ethnic groups jointly cover issues of concern. Programmes have then been rebroadcast over state-owned broadcasting groups.

In western Africa, the largest and most comprehensive LMS initiative is *Star Radio*, which the Hironde Foundation established in Monrovia, Liberia in 1997, primarily as a result of USAID funding. The radio station has grown steadily in terms of listeners and it became recognised as a key source of independent information prior to the election. Gradually, it has changed its nature. For quite some time now, it has been a vital source of information in Monrovia about the situation in the country. International agencies and NGOs also use it as a primary information

Video Dialogue and Radio in Africa

Search for Common Ground (SCG) has been active in media-based conflict resolution projects for a number of years through the SCG branch Common Ground Productions. Two projects, one in South Africa and one in Liberia, illustrate some of the diversity of their projects.

In South Africa, the *Simunye Media Dialogue Project* was born out of the conflict between supporters of the Africa National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The conflict erupted in 1990 and raged for four years. By that time, it had led to 2,000 deaths. As part of the media dialogue project, members of both sides produced a video analysing the conflict. The video was later shown to the leadership of both sides of the community and their discussions centred around the extent to which, and how, this type of intervention brings about peaceful change. The video-making process structured the conflict resolution, and started building relationships between the parties; it became a forum for resolving differences.

In Liberia, the *Talking Drum Studio* began by producing programmes on election education and polling procedures. Today, *Talking Drum Studio* aims to reduce political and ethnic violence by stressing themes of peace, reconciliation and democratisation. Radio is used to promote dialogue among polarised groups. Programming includes a 1/2-hour news programme, roundtable forums, and dramatisations that are also performed as street theatre. A radio drama is under production, featuring a Liberian family displaced by the war. According to Common Ground Productions, *Talking Drum Studio* has a 90% listener-ship among Liberians.

outlet. Others, such as Search for Common Ground, use it as an outlet for productions aimed at conflict resolution. Like *Agatashya* in Zaire, the radio station was established on short notice and by expatriate staff. Gradually, the expatriate component has diminished as local staff has been hired, trained and gradually inserted into production and managerial activities. The Hironde Foundation hopes to hand over the project to local forces this year or next.

Media support activities in other regions

Although Africa and Europe have long been the focus of media support projects, similar, very successful projects have also taken place in other regions. In Afghanistan, a country literally sealed off by the *Taliban* movement, BBC has sent popular pro-

Drama in Afghanistan

New Home, New Life is a BBC World Service radio soap opera that has been broadcasting to Afghanistan three times a week since 1993. It combines storytelling with information related to health, hygiene and security. It also addresses key national challenges such as repatriation, child soldiers, peace building, demobilisation and reconciliation.

The soap opera revolves around a village community in Afghanistan. Local staff and advisors from NGOs working in Afghanistan are actively involved in identifying the topics that need to be addressed and dramatised. The programme has been highly successful. It earns a remarkably high listener score, and a recent survey by UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs) suggests that it has a clear and positive impact on issues such as mine awareness. The survey polled 57 287 people from all over Afghanistan and found that listeners are half as likely as non-listeners to be mine victims (CIET International, Nov. 1998, The National Mine Awareness Evaluation. Available from UNDP/UNOCHA, Islamabad, Pakistan).

New Home, New Life is a frequently cited example of how one can use media in relatively closed societies to facilitate peace-building and humanitarian concerns: The programme is broadcast from abroad since it would have been politically impossible to get permission to broadcast locally. It draws on a number of specialists in areas such as conflict-resolution in order to link the stories addressed to constructive resolution options. Operational NGOs provide information about the local challenges in Afghanistan, enabling the drama to be continuously up-to-date with regard to the agenda.

A new drama series aimed at children (particularly girls) in Afghanistan is now about to be launched, based partly on the success of *New Home, New Life*. REACH, (Radio Education for Afghan Children) will be a dramatised educational programme produced jointly by Media Action International and the BBC. The objective is to use the airwaves to compensate somewhat for the adverse effects of the war and the policy of the Taliban regime on children's, particularly girls', education.

grammes based on local information and expertise. Internews has run media training programmes several places in central Asia (Kazakhstan, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan and the Kryghz Republic). Lately, several organisations have focused on the situation in Indonesia. MDLF has given local media in Jakarta managerial support, and a new, technologically innovative national radio project was launched recently. Others, for example Internews, have for some time conducted training for local journalists, etc. Similar training activities have also taken place in the Palestinian territories.

The Information Age in Indonesia

Information technology and the Internet opens new options for cost effective dissemination of news also to poorer communities. The radio news network that has been set up by the Media Development Loan Fund's (MDLF) Center for Advanced Media – Prague ([C@MP](#)) and Indonesia's Institute for the Free Flow of Information (ISAI), an organisation assisting in the development of a free press, is one example.

The new radio news network fills a gap in independent radio news coverage in Indonesia, whose 208 million people are spread over approximately 13,000 islands. Traditionally, radio stations were required to broadcast official news bulletins compiled by the state-run national radio.

The establishment of the radio network depends on compression technology that allows for the spread of high quality audio feeds over the Internet without expensive telephone line charges. The audio feeds originate from a studio in ISAI's headquarters in Jakarta, where a team of reporters and editors prepare 10 two-to-three minute long news items twice a day, plus audio news feeds received from member stations across Indonesia.

Technologically, the broadcasts are recorded digitally by technicians, who then compress the files and send them to participating stations as e-mail attachments. At the same time, short summaries and transcripts of the news items are sent as texts. At the participating stations, staff members first download the summaries of the audio files and decide which stories they want to broadcast. Then they download the audio files. The individual stations can re-edit the audio files to better fit their broadcasting profile.

The local technical staff (of three people) at ISAI is now capable of maintaining the system and training technicians at new radio stations who want to join the network. The [C@MP](#) team and ISAI technicians have compiled a manual in Indonesian explaining the process of collecting and transmitting news items, step-by-step. [C@MP's](#) technical staff is available in Prague for support on an as-needed basis by either telephone or e-mail.

The technological solution allowing these Internet audio feeds is flexible and can be replicated in other countries where there is a need to transfer audio news items from one location to another in near-real time, be it domestically or across borders.

Professional training as Local Media Support

Almost without exception, LMS programmes with an external or expatriate component also include training. Most observers or media professionals that work with LMS also consider this a key factor in ensuring the sustainability of project activities or quality of programming. In fact, training is considered a key issue regardless of where the media landscape is located and what it looks like in terms of economic base, level of democratisation or possible ongoing conflict.

The importance that donors and operators attach to training activities is also reflected in ongoing project activities. Many of the major professional organisations that work in this field have extensive ongoing training programmes. Internews, one of the major actors in this area, has trained some 7000 media professionals in the Middle East, Central and Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet republics since 1993.⁴ Training involves numerous topics, ranging from legal seminars of relevance to media professionals to management training in various forms, skills enhancement for journalists and training in the use of new technology, etc.

In addition, training programmes seem to take a variety of forms. BBC, for example, hires local staff/journalists that produce programming for the station from a variety of targeted regions. According to their employment contracts, these locals will often be brought to London at regular intervals for training as part of their career within the organisation. Others, such as the Hirondelle Foundation, provide training for the staff they employ in the field as part of an assignment for a media project.

Yet other organisations provide designated training courses for media professionals with whom they have no established working relationship. These can vary considerably. The most extensive ones are those where a donor funds groups that will visit a well-established media institution (often in the donor country). There, trainees are provided with designated training for a longer period. This might in turn be combined with a internship at a recognised media institution.

Other courses are organised by organisations that travel to the country/region where the training is needed. These courses may comprise a combination of lectures by local and international experts. They may last for longer periods of time or for just a few days. Some training activities are also subject to relatively detailed evaluations by internal or external evaluators, while others are not subject to any form of systematic assessment.

The extensive variation in focus, length, 'seriousness' or professional backing that seems to exist when it comes to LMS training activities, makes it important

⁴ Internews Report, Winter 1998-99.

to be specific when the topic is discussed. Although it might be relevant to conduct a two-day training course in journalism within the framework of LMS activities, this form of empowerment activities has normally less impact than the extensive, often integrated practical/theoretical training that many organisations conduct as part of their media projects.

Local Media Support and ‘Do No Harm’

Having studied the main operators and advocates within the LMS community, this report recognises the large positive potential of LMS projects. As initially pointed out, media are ‘tools for peace and weapons of war’. However, those who have been involved in LMS thus far have focused more on the potential of this activity than on the need to identify possible difficulties or dangerous areas.

There is reason to believe that LMS projects generally are more politically sensitive than most other forms for humanitarian and development assistance. Media control is a key asset both for actors involved in armed conflicts, and for parties involved in complex and difficult democratisation processes. Accordingly, the latitude accorded to ‘independent’ reporting is often limited and definitely contested. Even though a party to a conflict may not be able to control the media, it may nonetheless be able to destroy it. Security risks to personnel and property, as well as the potential risk to the project or the hardware that might follow it, need to be investigated carefully in advance and continually assessed as such projects evolve.

Apart from the known examples of the local staff of the Hirondele-run radio *Agatashya* who were killed when the revolt erupted in eastern Zaire, there is only a limited track record of killings, injuries or harassment of people that have been working for the international implementers of LMS projects. On the other hand, it is not possible to make even a vague assessment of what security risks/consequences personnel working in LMS projects’ local partner organisations have suffered. Although donors and implementers should be careful when attempting to define what risks people who live in a conflict situation should be permitted to take, there is an obvious need to be aware of and explicit about these issues.

The debate about the need to establish mechanisms to prevent possible misuse of humanitarian assistance is also relevant to LMS projects. Mary B. Anderson’s cautious reminder about knowing your business and the area in which you want to work well enough to at least avoid doing any harm to ongoing constructive local processes is probably as relevant to LMS projects as to other categories

of development assistance.⁵ Much of what is written about journalism and armed conflict illustrates the importance of local knowledge. Amandu Wurie Khan's observations about how media, including international media, manipulated and were manipulated in the conflict in Sierra Leone demonstrate how vulnerable even well informed and competent journalists are.⁶ They may become involved in 'biased' reporting by using pejorative language, being selective in their reporting, actually conveying misinformation, etc. The chances of this happening are even greater in situations in which international implementers or organisers recruit local staff on whom they are forced to rely for the production and broadcasting of news in languages they do not understand. In such situation, the dangers of misuse and biased reporting can only partly be offset by the 'safety precautions' the more professional organisations try to implement, for example, hiring staff from all sides of the conflict and using interpreters. One prime example was furnished by one of the representatives interviewed for this report: "...We supported as many projects as we could afford in the early post-Dayton process in Bosnia, but many of them were gradually terminated as they did not prove sustainable or because they developed a profile we did not want to support. In fact, we let the thousand flowers blossom – and then we gradually selected those we wanted to nurture". The danger of making matters worse with this kind of approach must be considered.

Related to this problem is the effect that providing international resources might have on the existing and often struggling local media. As for other forms of assistance activities, local staff members are often needed and the salaries they earn are often much higher than what media without such support can afford to pay them. Unless this is taken into account, the flow of human resources may be diverted away from already struggling media institutions and towards those that have international sponsors. Although this is a generally recognised problem with relief work, there are special reasons to consider them in relation to a sector as weak as the local media structure often is in times of crisis.

⁵ Mary B. Anderson: *"Do no harm. How aid can support peace - or war"*, London 1999.

⁶ Amadu Wurie Khan "Journalism and Armed Conflict in Africa: The Civil War in Sierra Leone" *Review of African Economy* No.78:585-597, London 1998.

Norway's Local Media Support activities

Until recently, the Norwegian authorities, NGOs and media organisations have only been sporadically involved in LMS in developing countries or situations of conflict. Consequently, such support is an issue that only quite recently appeared on the political agenda for development assistance, and evaluations and assessments of what has been supported thus far are few and far between.

As a donor, Norway also prioritised support to local media through the multilateral system. For example, Norway has been a supporter of UNESCO activities, most recently the UNESCO/UNDP project on the development of media in Mozambique. Through UNESCO, Norway has also supported projects aimed at helping newspapers, magazines and radio stations in numerous countries in Asia and Africa. Norway's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has also given limited funds to LMS projects through foreign NGOs such as ARTICLE 19.

The probably most comprehensive media support project organised and funded by Norway, is the recently concluded support project for journalists in South and Central America. Launched in the late 1980s, it went on for about ten years and involved a total of 19 countries. It began as an enquiry from the International Federation of Journalists to the Norwegian Federation of Journalists about whether they could take on a project aimed at supporting the building of trade unions and competence among journalists in this region.

From a limited start from its headquarters in Caracas, Venezuela, the project expanded throughout the continent, including countries in the Caribbean. A combination of donations from the Norwegian Federation of Journalists and MFA/NORAD funded it. Thanks to a group of dedicated local staff and an expatriate representative of the Norwegian Federation of Journalists who was on site for the first three years, the project gradually expanded. Co-operative projects were established, such as the development and management of a journalism programme at the University of Managua, where the university paid the staff, housing and running costs. The project is now formally closed, but there seem to be some minor residual activities in Central America.

The Norwegian Programme for Indigenous Peoples supports a Maya radio station and a multilingual newspaper in Guatemala, and a radio station in Arica, Chile. Norwegian support has been instrumental in the establishment of these media. The support to the newspaper in Guatemala dates back to 1993, while both radio stations started broadcasting in 1998. The objective is to enable news production and a range of other programmes in indigenous languages and to empower the Indian groups in question.

Norway has also been involved in a few media support projects in Africa. Some projects in southern Africa deserve to be mentioned. In 1993/94, the Norwegian embassy in Mozambique supported the establishment of the so-called media-fax project, an initiative that distributed news through faxes. In 1998, NORAD conducted a fact-finding mission to Zambia aimed at identifying relevant media projects there. The University of Oslo has been collaborating with the University of Zimbabwe since the early 1990s through the so-called NUFU⁷ programme. This has led both to research and training on media and journalism, as well as to student exchanges between the universities.

Following the end of the Cold War, a number of projects aimed at training and supporting media and journalists in the Baltic countries have taken place. In groups of 15, journalists from the three countries have regularly received instruction at the Institute for Journalism in Fredrikstad, then done internships in Norwegian media. The institute has supported media outlets in the same countries by providing computer equipment and training.

In 1996, a conference on independent media structures was held in Oslo. The conference included an editorial meeting of *Alternativna Informativna Mreza* (AIM) an independent news agency network on the Balkans, as well as several workshops on issues such as media in conflict and media's relationship to civil society. It included journalists from various news media in the Balkans and elsewhere, and a number of organisations, including British and Norwegian media NGOs and UNESCO.⁸

As in the Baltics, Norway has supported media outlets in Bosnia, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and Albania since the mid 1990s. The majority of the Norwegian support has been channelled through the Norwegian Helsinki Committee and Norwegian Peoples Aid. Most of the support has been in the form of cash grants or spare parts or equipment. The projects have materialised through networking and contacts in the region.

Norway has also supported a number of radio broadcasts by opposition movements under undemocratic regimes. The Democratic Voice of Burma operated by the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma has received funding from Norway and broadcasts from Norway. Also, Voice of Tibet is produced in Norway as a collaborative project involving, among others, the Norwegian Tibet Committee. For a limited period of time, the Norwegian authorities also support-

⁷ Norwegian Council of Universities' Committee for Development Research and Education.

⁸ Conference Report: Conference on Independent Media Structures in former Yugoslavia. 1996. Oslo: Non-Violence Publications.

Worldview International Foundation

The Worldview International Foundation (WIF), founded by Norwegian journalist Arne Fjørtoft, has been using video and television to disseminate information in developing countries since 1979. Today, WIF organises and implements development projects in 23 countries, mostly as edutainment and infotainment TV and video programmes.

In Asia, WIF started Young Asia Television (YA*TV) three years ago. YA*TV broadcasts television programmes on issues such as environment, child labour, women's issues, culture and debates as well as news, for young people, all wrapped in an entertaining style. From the main television studio in Colombo, Sri Lanka, YA*TV transmits programmes in several Asian languages as well as English to youth from Cambodia to India everyday for 30 to 60 minutes. WIF estimates that YA*TV reaches 150 million youth in ten countries, who, through these programmes, receive relevant information produced in Asia for Asians.

In Bangladesh, WIF disseminated information on the correlation between Vitamin A deficiency and children's blindness through radio broadcasts. Combined with health workers who visited people from door to door with related information and advice, the campaign resulted in the establishment of almost 2 million gardens where people grow vegetables rich in Vitamin A.

WIF is mostly run by local personnel who are trained, especially in the use of modern communications technology, as part of their assignment.

WIF's objective is to disseminate knowledge in order to empower people and enable them to solve their problems, and its activities both embody and extend 'development communication' approaches.

ed the external broadcasts of the Movement for Democracy in Nigeria. As discussed in Chapter 1, these projects are not considered local media support in terms of this report, so they are not treated in detail here.

Worldview International Foundation (WIF), has used television in a number of Asian countries since 1979. Currently, WIF is expanding its activities to Botswana. A 'development communication' initiative from the beginning, the foundation is expanding to broader LMS activities.

Evaluation of Local Media Support

The rapid expansion of media support programmes has not been accompanied by parallel sophistication or interest in measuring impact through evaluations. Many projects, including highly comprehensive ones, remain unevaluated. Professionals in this area also seem to be of the opinion that a great deal of evaluation work has been poorly conducted, partly due to the lack of systematic indicators, methods and routines for extracting the lessons learnt and the best practises.

Given the great variety of objectives, approaches, strategies and categories of media support projects, it is crucial to choose adequate or relevant indicators that provide a realistic measurement or 'capture' of effect. Experience hitherto also tend to suggest an inclination by those involved to employ overly primitive evaluation methods.⁹ In particular, caution must be exercised with regard to using the kind of quantitative measurements donors have a tendency to gravitate towards in many evaluations of humanitarian assistance. For example, a local radio station may be evaluated by quantitative indicators such as the number of hours of programming or listener numbers. Although not without relevance, such indicators do not say much about qualitative indicators such as substance, programme profile and impact. Indicators may therefore be relevant, or irrelevant, depending on what one wants to evaluate. The key to relevant and useful evaluation is to have a clear understanding of the initial objective of the project.

As a result, organisations such as CGP¹⁰ and IREX have initiated processes aimed at improving methodologies for such activities, and implemented procedures for making consistent evaluations of projects. These evaluations are normally conducted by teams of external evaluators. However, and as acknowledged by IREX in the organisation's most recent annual report, this area needs new, innovative approaches¹¹. There is also a clear need for a dialogue between operators, donors and evaluators in order to develop a higher quality, more holistic framework for these activities.

⁹ Media Action International "Strengthening Lifeline Media in Regions of Conflict" A workshop report. Geneva, 1999.

¹⁰ Common Ground Productions (CGP) has devised the CGP Rapid Survey Method, a survey tool for broadcasters in war zones.

¹¹ International Research and Exchanges Board, IREX: "ProMedia – Semiannual Report* June 1998.

Chapter 3 Framework for Local Media Support

Introductory comments

As illustrated in Chapter 2, LMS projects have rapidly expanded numerically, functionally and geographically in the 1990s. They have also received recognition as 'donor worthy' activities by relevant international institutions. In 1994, LMS became included in the Consolidated Appeal for Humanitarian Assistance to Former Yugoslavia, and in 1996, the UN proposed to classify support to local media as a crosscutting issue transcending all categories of peacebuilding¹.

However, despite the expansion and recognition, LMS is still a relatively uncoordinated sector. Those actors that have been working with longer term developmental projects have often been unaware of projects using local media for crisis intervention, and vice versa. Similarly, those who have had a geographical focus have been unfamiliar with activities elsewhere, and those that have specialised in one operational approach have not necessarily familiarised themselves with other strategies, etc. However, this may be about to change. Between 1997 and 1999, several conferences have been held, involving academic institutions, NGOs, donor governments, international organisations and foundations involved in media projects. One key objective for all of them was information sharing. Hopefully, the dawning awareness will lead to improvements in this respect².

The current rather 'anarchistic' or complex range of LMS projects and actors begs for attempts to generalise and categorise. The present situation, in which the implementers and organisers have methodically and substantially increased the level

¹ United Nations. 1996. *An Inventory of Post-Conflict Peace-Building Activities*. New York: UN Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis.

² *Broadcasting to People in Conflict: Radio's Role in Conflict and Conflict Resolution*, chaired by Voice of America and the United States Institute of Peace, October 7, 1997. *The Legitimacy of Intervention for Peace by a Foreign Media in a Country in Conflict*, chaired by the Hirondelle Foundation, Cartigny near Geneva, July 3-4, 1998, *Strengthening Lifeline Media in Regions of Conflict*, chaired by International Centre for Humanitarian Reporting (ICHR), Cape Town, December 6-11, 1998. The GRID co-ordinating activities for donors involved in LMS projects in Africa.

of sophistication across the wide range of operational activities related to LMS projects, should be completed by efforts to see these as a system of complementary approaches. Unless this is done, it will become increasingly difficult to develop a 'holistic' approach to LMS activities in terms, for example, of a donor strategy that encompasses the various types of projects in which they can become involved.

However, it is difficult to identify one authoritative or obvious form of systematisation that lends itself to general use. There are many factors that both separate and bring together the different approaches to LMS. Several of these factors or approaches may also be viewed as complementary.

The following discussion will look at LMS projects from three perspectives: 1) the project's approach to implementation, 2) the project's substantive focus, and 3) the objective, or overall purpose, of the project. The last discussion will conclude with a categorisation that will be used to design a 'tool kit' or assessment procedure for LMS projects in Chapter 4.

Implementation-based approach

LMS projects can be implemented according to different approaches that implies different roles and levels of involvement for the existing local media. The four most common approaches are:

1. Implementation through existing international media outlets. This will normally imply that the implementing organisation will employ local staff for the production of programmes, but that broadcasting will take place outside the country or region targeted.
2. Establishment of new media outlets or production capacities locally by external organisers/implementers that hire local staff. The aim of such projects will normally be to transfer 'ownership' of the project to local forces over time, but the situation at start-up is of a nature that prohibits this.
3. Partnership arrangements where external organisers/implementers link up with already established local media institutions to implement projects and, in so doing, also support and improve local professional skills.
4. Provision of funding and/or other resources (training, equipment, legal advice, etc.) to existing local media in order to help them.

The first two approaches are closely associated with situations of crisis or conflict. This means, for example, that the political and security situation in the field is of a

nature that prohibits attempts to operate locally, or the situation is so acute that it is deemed necessary to prioritise speed rather than local participation at the initial start-up. The local political situation may also be so confusing or complex that it may be impossible expediently to ensure local ownership that will not be contested. This does not imply that the external implementing organisation is without options for assuming a capacity-building role locally, in addition to its primary purpose, but this will not be a prominent characteristic of the projects concerned.

The third approach is associated with situations involving credible local institutions interested in co-operative arrangements and/or situations when the time factor is somewhat less acute. This approach is relevant in conflict situations, as well as pre- and post-conflict interventions.

The fourth approach is more typical for post-conflict situations or situations of ongoing democratisation. The time perspective is therefore more 'relaxed' than in the other categories and any 'control' donors and/or organisers might exercise over the implementation of the programme activities is often more limited.

Experience seems to suggest that in terms of operational activities, approaches 1 and 2 will frequently involve production of radio programming and broadcasting, as this is often the most effective means of disseminating information at times of humanitarian crisis and/or armed conflict. Approach 3 might involve a number of different kinds of support activities and media outlets. The fourth approach might also include different forms of support to the political and legal frameworks in which media operate, in addition to support to the media themselves. Training support is a 'catch all' activity that can be included in all approaches. In a nutshell, the above discussion can be illustrated as follows:

Approaches to implementation of LMS projects

Implementation through:	Typical situation:	Time perspective:
International outlets	Crisis/conflict	Short
Externally controlled and established local outlet	Crisis/conflict	Short
Partnership arrangements	Conflict/post conflict	Medium
Existing local outlet	Post conflict/ democratisation	Long

Focus-based approach

LMS projects can also be divided according to whether they are message-focused or development-focused. These approaches distinguish between projects developed to support or produce a specific message to the recipient community and those developed to support political development processes by helping specific media institutions or the general media landscape³.

Message-focused LMS projects aim at correcting perceived deficiencies in the nature or quality of the output from the media in a specific area. This will usually involve situations of crisis or conflict when such deficiencies have an impact on the ability of exposed groups to take qualified decisions about their own situation. A polarised media landscape or the existence of a confusing media picture characterised by rumours, allegations and the general consequences of poor journalism are typical examples. LMS projects that focus on providing alternative, better voices or 'messages' are normally concerned about gaining a 'rapid' and 'detectable' impact on people's behaviour. They want to provide relevant, timely information about the ongoing crisis in order to empower people to relate constructively to the events unfolding. Projects might be directed towards professional information about health risks to which people are exposed or towards determining which of the institutions that operates locally they might approach for help. Programming might also focus on improving the manner in which the media deal with the ongoing conflict and support programming aimed at reducing animosities and conflict rather than at stigmatising the opposition.

Message-focused LMS projects focus on the production side of media activities as well as on providing new outlets such as radio stations, newspapers, etc. The latter will normally be done in situations in which the local media landscape is not perceived as offering a potentially viable outlet. In terms of gaining credibility, local partners with a solid reputation are generally preferable. In terms of production, message-focused projects can encompass anything from strict reporting to public services announcements, debates, drama and music.

Development-focused LMS projects are more explicitly focused on characteristics of the existing media landscape. They aim at strengthening institutions or institutional pluralism within more generally phrased aims such as promoting democratisation, political diversity or human rights. The typical context for such programmes will be post-conflict situations where donors and local media are concerned about the speed and direction of ongoing political developments. Projects

³ As pointed out in Chapter 1, 'development communication' is outside the scope of this report. Development-focussed in the context of this report primary means development of the media landscape.

might then be aimed at supporting ‘dissident voices’ or facilitating the creation of new ones.

Message-focused and development-focused LMS projects

	Message-focused	Development-focused
Aim (to facilitate)	Quality of media ‘message’	Institutional pluralism
Situation	Crisis/conflict	Post conflict
Perspective	Short	Long

Development-focused projects risk entering the ongoing tug-of-war between authorities and opposition in the societies in which they are implemented. Although it is the society one wants to support, it is often the voices raised in opposition to the government that receive the resources, and the political backing such support represents. This form of LMS might therefore run the risk of being perceived as confrontational vis-à-vis the government and therefore in conflict with the conventional understanding of sovereignty.

Objective-based approach

Lastly, it is helpful to organise LMS projects according to their objectives. In order to limit their number, objectives must be kept at a relatively general level. Consequently, LMS projects might be organised into three categories, based on what they are designed to achieve: Conflict resolution, humanitarian assistance and/or democratic development/institution building. The two former will by and large encompass the same projects as the message-focused approach described above. The latter will be virtually synonymous with the development-focused approach. Together, the three categories of objectives should encompass all relevant LMS projects.

Conflict-resolution LMS projects aim at preventing, reducing or solving conflicts in the societies in which they are implemented. They represent an alternative to the often confrontational media that characterise a conflict situation and therefore aggravate rather than ameliorate. Such projects will often be based on a combination of expertise in media management and conflict resolution techniques. Conflict-resolution LMS projects will often require a substantial amount of resources, as they will emphasise programme production. The ‘portfolio’ of such programming might encompass products varying from news reporting based on a conflict

resolution rationale, documentaries, drama and music. The message will be conveyed by a combination of facts and fiction framed in a manner that fits the overall peace-building rationale. The programmes may be channelled through all possible outlets: television, radio, newspapers/magazines and videos. Conflict resolution projects may also include the establishment and management of new outlets, but more often than not, organisers prefer to broadcast through existing ones.

Characteristics of conflict resolution projects

Impact on	Individual perceptions and societal relations
Approach	Consensual
Techniques	'Framed news' and entertainment
Situations	Crisis/conflict
Perspective	Short/medium

Although conflict-resolution projects will ordinarily be required over some time, it is tempting to perceive them in the context of 'crisis management'. They will often be designed and implemented under time pressures, and they aim at having a rapid and detectable impact on an evolving situation. Typical projects in this category will be those run by Search for Common Ground.

Humanitarian LMS projects are often labelled "humanitarian reporting". These projects focus on exposed populations' need for information during situations of crisis. It is a matter of empowering people to take responsibility for their own situation and make qualified decisions under complex and conflicting circumstances. Timely access to relevant and qualified information is the main guiding principle for such activities. Although some might argue that a 'needs assessment' is required in advance of such projects in order to determine the requirements of the 'people in question', others would argue that highly professional journalism conveyed through the most effective medium is always in demand and therefore constitutes a sufficient platform for launching projects.

Humanitarian reporting revolves around 'news that people can use'. It encompasses more than strict reporting on any conflict situation in which such projects might be implemented. Projects aimed at improving health standards, informing about communicable diseases, mine awareness and procedures for contacting the often confusing web of agencies present in a conflict situation are also typical subjects for humanitarian reporting.

Characteristics of humanitarian reporting projects

Impact on	Insight/knowledge of people in question about their own situation
Approach	Local/individual empowerment
Techniques	Primarily news, some entertainment
Situations	Crisis/conflict
Perspective	Short

As with conflict resolution projects, humanitarian reporting projects usually rely on some form of expatriate assistance. This might vary from the expatriate implementers establishing and managing entire production studios and media outlets to active partnerships based on local institutions as the driving forces. Although not a primary objective, those involved in humanitarian reporting will normally attempt to facilitate ‘sustainability’ by developing projects through means that will strengthen the local media landscape. Typical examples of this category of projects are the Hironde Foundation’s *Star Radio* in Liberia and Media Action’s SPEAR Albania project as described in Chapter 2.

Democracy- or institution building LMS projects focus, as described above, on supporting the development of a certain kind of political system, i.e. democratic, pluralist systems concerned with human and minority rights. Such projects are typical of post-conflict situations and developing countries. Support in this area will often be an additional dimension to other forms of donor involvement in a society.

Characteristics of institution building projects

Impact on	Media structure, strength of free media
Approach	Support opposition / media pluralism
Techniques	Funding/in-kind support of suppressed media or “dissident voices”
Situations	Post-conflict
Perspective	Long

Although institution building projects often have positive effects on the quality of reporting, the primary focus is structural. The Soros Foundation and its activities in central and eastern Europe are typical examples of such LMS activity.

One programme activity that appears in all three LMS categories is training for media professionals. However, more focus will normally be attached to management, commercial aspects and technical skills in connection with projects associated with institution building. The more crisis-oriented projects will focus on journalistic quality and effectiveness.

Examples of projects after LMS category

Humanitarian Reporting	Conflict Resolution	Institution Building
Provision of high quality news to people in conflict	Programming (news and drama) aimed at modifying people's perceptions of a conflict or of the opposite side in a conflict	Judicial reforms to facilitate 'free media'
Programming aimed at reducing health risks for exposed people	Treatment of trauma created by conflict (for example, radio programmes for land mine victims)	Establish independent, transparent systems to oversee the licensing and regulation of independent broadcasting
Programming aimed at informing the people in question about assistance available locally	Reporting of political activities important for conflict-resolution	Support special interest organisations for media-personnel (trade unions)
Skills-enhancing programming (for example, mine awareness programmes)	Forum for discussion between opponents	Support schools and education for media personnel
Information to people in question about the mandates of the international organisations that work locally	Outlet for sorrow/pain	Support media with a weak resource base by donations of technical equipment
Distribute radios to exposed groups (battery or wind-up)	Awards for journalism that contributes to better understanding between the conflicting parties	Ensure a pluralistic media landscape by supporting different media outlets
Educational programmes	Train journalists/editors	Train journalists/editors/managers/politicians
Radio programmes facilitating tracing of missing persons		
Train journalists/editors		

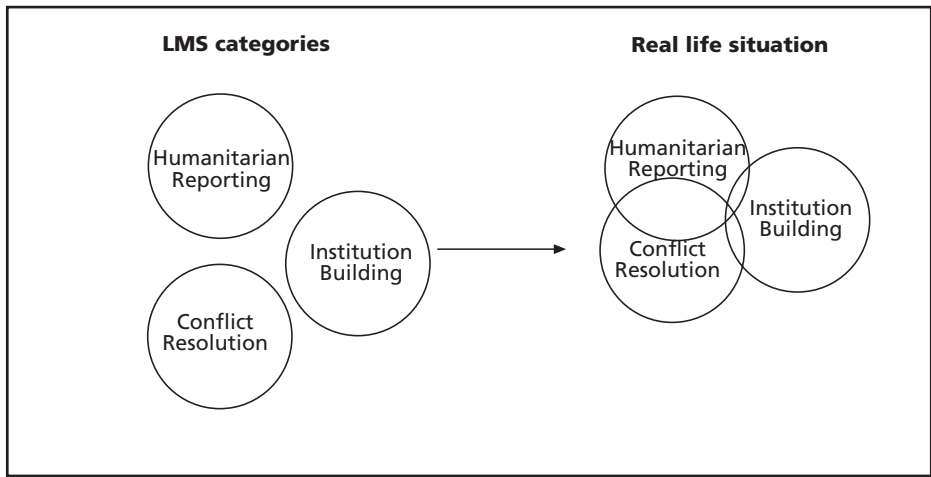
Proposed categorisation for Local Media Support projects

This report will base its remaining operational segment (Chapter 4) on an objective-based categorisation of LMS projects. This means that it will propose that projects be categorised as either *Humanitarian Reporting*, *Conflict Resolution* or *Institution Building*. These three will be called LMS categories.

Like all categorisations, dividing projects into three objective-based LMS categories has its shortcomings. One problem is the fact that most situations in which LMS activities are considered require a comprehensive combination of projects or programmes. That will often also imply that donors and implementing organisations will attempt to achieve as much as possible within as many of the ‘necessary’ areas as possible. This might in effect imply mixing categories of LMS within one and the same project. Hirondele Foundation’s *Star Radio* in Liberia is a prime example. Hirondele’s initial objective might have been humanitarian reporting. However, accurate investigative reporting can also facilitate ongoing local and international efforts aimed at facilitating conflict resolution in Liberia. The fact that *Star Radio* also broadcast products from Search for Common Ground illustrates this. In addition, Hirondele is now in a process of handing over the radio station to local forces, and that must fall under the category of institution building.

In addition, focus and needs related to LMS will, in most crisis situations, evolve over time. Institution building aspects will normally gain prominence as time passes. Alternatively, if a complex emergency is a product of a failed democratisation process, the process may be reversible. In such an event, institution-building

Figure 3.1 Categories of LMS



projects that were part of international democratisation activities might be replaced by the more explicit crisis management categories. Nevertheless, from the analytical and managerial perspective, it is important to distinguish between a project's objective(s) and its possible effect(s). A project aimed at conflict resolution might also have positive – as well as negative – effects on institution-building aspects of the local media landscape, etc. Effects of this kind should be identified insofar as possible prior to start-up.

More comprehensive LMS programmes that might include several projects will often cover several LMS categories. In most circumstances there will be more of an overlap between humanitarian reporting and conflict resolution projects than between institution building and the other two.

In real life, the need for LMS projects varies according to the humanitarian and political environment. The three LMS categories each describe an *objective* and a *method* for local media support, and each of them is a response to a certain *need* engendered by a certain situation.

In situations of acute or imminent conflict, priority must be given to message-focused projects to provide the information people need to make qualified decisions about their situation and in a manner that prevents conflict escalation. Similarly, conflict resolution initiatives aimed at influencing perceptions of opponents, etc. must be given priority. Gradually, and as the acuteness of the crisis diminishes, the focus will again be directed towards institution building approaches.

Effective project management and the success of LMS activities will often require that those involved are well aware of where their own operational activities are located within the framework of LMS categories. Similarly, it is important to be aware of how LMS activities interface with projects of a complementary nature.

Chapter 4 Deciding, Implementing and Evaluating Local Media Support

Introductory Comments

The purpose of this chapter is to design a ‘tool kit’ for assessing, deciding, designing, implementing and evaluating media projects. Media projects may, as outlined in Chapter 3, be divided in three LMS categories, according to their general objectives. The following is a more in-depth discussion of the operationalisation of such projects. Furthermore, we will debate the various factors that need to be addressed in an assessment. And finally, we will describe in more detail the project cycle of media projects for the purpose of identifying the key factors that should be addressed in each phase.

There is no substitute for reliable in-depth local expertise to evaluate the potential success of a project and its success criteria. In the same way, it is hard to replace detailed, well-developed policies for support and donor strategies. Yet most donor organisations are squeezed by time constraints, limited funds and a very broad and varied project portfolio. Furthermore, in most transitional or conflict-ridden settings, the media landscape changes so fast that in-depth local knowledge or long-term well-developed policies would be virtually impossible. Many LMS projects, and applications for media support in the first place, start off by applications “landing” on the table of donor organisations rather than as a response to invitations for applications or in response to long-term well-developed donor policies. Accordingly, this chapter aims at providing a checklist against which LMS projects may be designed or evaluated. The goal is to develop a framework or ‘menu’ that can help donors develop appropriate strategies in response to applications for media support.

As stated above, this report divides local media support into three LMS categories: Humanitarian Reporting, Conflict Resolution and Institution Building.¹ The categories are characterised by different objectives, and they will necessitate various degrees of local involvement and participation, while potentially having

¹ See Chapter 3

different time perspectives and requiring different kinds of resources. The categories may also have different sources of funding, and represent different operational methodologies in implementation and timing.

Due to their various and differing natures and strategies, care should be taken to avoid combining the categories insofar as possible. Attempts to mix them within the framework of one project might be the result of unclear focus or unrealistic optimism. Notwithstanding, there will be many situations that call for projects in all three categories. In such situations, it might be prudent to design project proposals that serve more than one overall purpose (i.e. projects that fit in several LMS categories). In these situations, it is crucial to clearly define which elements of a project belong where, and to explicitly define the main objective. If it proves to be difficult for applicants and donors to define an overall objective (LMS category), the project should probably be split into two or three separate parts.

One should also bear in mind that even if a project fits in one LMS category, and has been assigned explicit project objectives, in many situations it will also influence the other categories. For example, a project designed to provide information to refugees (humanitarian reporting) might also impact on institution building. However, this will be a matter of separating objectives and effects.

The LMS categories are more or less suited for different situations. Institution building may be crucial in a process of consolidating democratic change. Humanitarian reporting can be crucial in complex emergencies or during crises involving hunger or drought. Conflict resolution may best be suited to situations of civil war or inter-communal conflict. While institution building may be important as a long-term goal also during conflicts or humanitarian crises, it may not be at the top of the priority list for international donors with limited resources.

The process

To assist in the development and evaluation of media projects, we should start off by dividing the project cycle from the first initiative to the final evaluation into different phases. We have chosen to distinguish between six phases. These are similar to those that can be used to assess other specialised relief or development projects. Each phase may include different actors and call for their respective analyses, conclusions, and decisions. The phases are:

1. Needs and resource assessment
2. Setting specific objectives
3. Project planning and design
4. Financing
5. Implementation, follow-up and termination
6. Evaluation

It is essential that one LMS category and framework be used throughout the project cycle. Otherwise, it will be impossible to ensure a constructive dialogue between the different actors, and to ensure coherent implementation according to agreed objectives. The classifications and checklists presented here will serve as a common point of reference in this regard.

The detailed framework presented below does not imply that LMS activities are inherently more complex than other forms of humanitarian or development assistance, nor that it takes more time or work to decide and develop such projects. If a situation calls for rapid response, it should be possible to speed through the key elements of process in hours and days, rather than weeks and months. Similarly, if one has already conducted a thorough needs and resource assessment, subsequent projects can rely on or modify this. In situations in which a substantial project portfolio is under development in a specific crisis or situation, it is possible to skip directly to phase 3 in the development of the project and insofar as possible deal with them in a relatively integrated manner in phases 4 to 6. The effort involved on the donor's part will also vary, depending on whether it is a matter of providing a limited amount of support to a media institution that has been supported before, or whether it is a matter of a costly, new project with new and unfamiliar partners.

Phase one: Needs and resource assessment

Formulating objectives and assessing resources and needs seem a bit like a “chicken-egg” relationship. Some would argue that designing LMS projects has to start by setting the overall objectives, and that one should then move on to assessments and feasibility studies. Others would argue that a needs and resource assessment must be conducted first. Choosing between the chicken and the egg depends to some extent on whether the donor has the resources needed to develop a media support policy in the area. If so, the needs and resource assessment should probably be addressed first. On the other hand, if donor support is a *reaction* to applications, re-

quirements for clear operational goals and objectives need to be addressed prior to making a resource and needs assessment. Suffice it to say that no matter how concrete the objectives may seem at the outset, final decisions on media support should be based on thorough needs and resource assessments and on a checklist of factors that may determine their success or failure.

Needs and resource assessments have to build on relevant facts about the local political and social context as well as how the existing media landscape will be influenced by external support. In addition, the assessment must describe in some detail and analyse the specific part of the media landscape being considered for support. In most situations, it is also important to map out available *local resources* of potential relevance to the project, as, in principal, external support should be provided as a supplement to these.

Predictability requires that feasibility studies follow a systematic approach. The following checklists have been developed to provide this. They should, however, not be viewed as a straightjacket, but as a menu from which one can pick and choose relevant inputs based on the specific situation and project proposal. These will often be subject to changes and modifications based on local differences. Figure 4.1 outlines the factors influencing the LMS project and which we will touch upon in the following.

General need for external media support

Initially, the idea of supporting local media is necessarily based on the assumption that needs are not being met internally. What are these unmet needs? To focus an assessment, one has to specifically identify the areas in which external resources may help improve a situation.

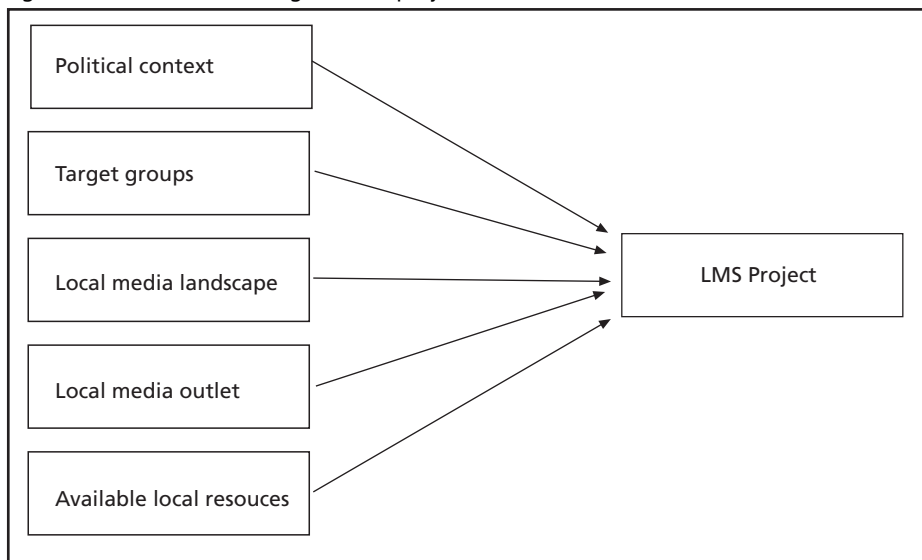
Is there a need for local media to (better) provide or perform:

- Vital and relevant information
- Alternative information
- Dissemination of values and attitudes
- Discussion forums
- Better outreach
- Other

In defining needs, it is also important to specify *whose needs* are in focus and the *overall purpose* served by accommodating these needs. For example, 'It is important to ensure that the majority population in XX receives alternative, constraining

information and values due to the danger of violent escalation posed by the demagogic and militant message of the state-controlled media'. This implies that the needs assessment is linked to objectives within a mandate to which donor organisations can react. Attention should also be paid to who articulates the demand: Are the beneficiaries, the organiser, the donor or others driving the initiative?

Figure 4.1 Factors influencing the LMS project



Political context

In many situations, external support for local media will represent a more politically sensitive intervention than other forms of humanitarian or development assistance. Consequently, an assessment that outlines the political context as well as the key actors and institutions involved is required. These factors are key parameters within which the media operate, meaning they will also influence institutions impacted by potential external support. The factors that should normally be addressed in this assessment are:

- Government structure (central and/or local level)
- Political structure (parties, groups)
- Media's relationship to government

- Nature of conflict (divisions, tensions and capacities for war)
- Political control, censorship of local media
- Role of local media

One prerequisite for starting an LMS project should be an understanding of the role played by local media in the society in question, and there should be a credible argument for how the proposed support might influence on this.

Target groups

In defining project target groups, the following factors should be considered and described:

- Characteristics of target groups (language, location, numbers, gender, etc.)
- Especially vulnerable groups (women, children, displaced, etc.)
- Information barriers (language, distance, etc.)
- Accessibility with regard to different outlets (e.g. do the target groups have radios?)
- Political roles and possible internal conflicts within the groups
- How support through media might influence the group in manners that facilitate the overall objective of the project.

One should be aware that in situations of crisis and conflict all potential target groups will be victims. Most of them are likely to suffer from information deficiencies, misinformation, propaganda and their own selective perception. A precise definition and description of target groups should be a “must” for the granting of support to local media in this context.

Local media landscape

If sufficiently large or strategically designed, LMS projects can influence the entire media landscape. On the other hand, the media landscape may influence a specific project in ways not considered in advance unless properly analysed. It is therefore imperative to gain a picture of how any given media landscape functions and how it is organised prior to any (further) external intervention. The width and depth of the assessment will vary with the project under consideration. However, key factors that should be addressed at this stage include:

- Media law and court practice
- Market situation for media
- Ownership structure (private – public)
- Press organisations
- Institutions for media education and training
- Role of other actors such as NGOs, neighbouring countries, corporate sector, etc.
- Impact and role of international broadcasters

This survey of the media landscape should outline how the media sector works in the area/country being considered for support. Specifically, one should identify the factors that help local media to perform constructively, as well as those that prevent them from doing that. This survey will in turn provide valuable information about potential constraints as well as synergies that might be facing the project under consideration. Alternatively, the survey may help define whether some of these factors represent such vital constraints that they should be targeted in a project.

In some areas, international broadcasters such as BBC might play a key role both as source and opinion-builder for local media, and as an outlet used by the population as a whole. This should also be surveyed at this stage.

Local media outlet

If a specific media is identified as relevant for potential support, this outlet should be assessed with regard to the following factors prior to more specific project development:

- Place and role in the political context
- Place and role in the media landscape
- Ownership structure
- Editorial policy and quality
- Key programs/articles and production capacities
- Coverage (geographically, ethnically, language, listener demographics)
- Relation to target groups

- Relation to market (competition)
- Financial situation
- Staffing (composition, competence, skills, representativeness)

Available local resources

In most situations, it will be possible to identify potential local resources of relevance to LMS projects. Determining what is relevant will normally require a well-developed project framework. Despite this, since the local resources should ordinarily form the basis of any project, a general survey to determine what might be relevant should also be conducted at this stage. Local resources for LMS projects might be:

- Existing local media outlets
- Local journalists
- Expertise (individuals, organisations, institutions)
- Physical facilities
- Technology
- Sources of funding (or in kind contributions)

Donors, as well as organisers and implementers, must make every effort to avoid external support becoming in effect a negative competitive force to local resources and initiatives. It is essential to be aware that many media projects, within all LMS categories, might be seen as adversarial to oppressive governments or to parties in a conflict situation. This also implies that support might be accorded to projects that expose local resources to risks that can be difficult to identify in advance. Nevertheless, this should, as a rule, never make one refrain from working with local partners and utilising local resources.

In searching for local (implementing) partners, the best strategy might differ somewhat between the LMS categories. Generally, it will be necessary to involve expertise on media and the local political situation in order to handle this in a professional manner. If the project is aimed at conflict resolution, it may also be necessary to call on expertise which, in a credible manner, can identify what one might label “connectors and local capacities for peace.”² If the objective is humanitarian reporting, it would be natural to focus the search on resources/institutions with

² Mary B. Anderson: *“Do no harm. How aid can support peace – or war”*, London 1999

credibility within the target group, and if institution-building is the primary objective, the most relevant basis would be institutions which, from a managerial and journalistic perspective, have the potential to establish themselves as credible, sustainable local actors.

Concluding comments

The needs and resource assessment should be concluded by a clear recommendation stating whether LMS support is needed, and identifying the sectors that should be given priority as well as the factors that represent major obstacles to the successful implementation.

Based on the needs and resource assessment, an explicit analysis should be made to answer the following four questions clearly:

1. What kind of media support project would be most helpful, that is, which LMS category should be given priority?
2. What is/are the specific objective(s) of the project?
3. What strategies can be chosen for reaching the objective(s)?
4. Is there any reason to refrain from carrying out the project?

Phase two: Defining specific project objectives

The LMS category of a project defines its overall objectives. Further, the specific objectives of an LMS project should state explicitly what one seeks to achieve by introducing external support. What is the purpose of the support? What are the potential social and political impacts of the project? In setting objectives, there is often a tendency to list general objectives. This makes it difficult to go back and evaluate the impact realistically. Given the complexity of the factors involved in media work, it is better to be *specific* and *modest* in setting specific objectives than global and general.

Specific objectives should be set for what one wants to achieve *during* the process as well as at the “*end state*”, e.g. when the external support comes to an end. If the project has more than one element (LMS category), objectives should be set for each element. This model recommends organising the objectives in a hierarchy of overall objective (LMS category) and specific objectives.

Conflicts may occur between objectives, especially in situations in which one chooses to include more than one LMS category within the same framework. In this situation, a minimum measure is to explicitly present the conflicts between the objectives, in the event one chooses to live with them. Another, and possibly more constructive approach would be to split the project in two separate projects, each with unambiguous objectives.

Timing should also be part of setting objectives: When to start, how long to continue and when to terminate external support. Many situations, especially in crises, call for open-ended involvement. Since “end state” is easier to define than “end time”, undefined timeframes are often the starting point for misunderstandings and conflicts in project work. They also divert attention and pressure away from the important process of handing responsibility over to local actors. If the situation makes it impossible to set firm timeframes, a conditional timeframe should be set to make the premises and intentions clear to everyone.

Development of project strategy

When objectives are set, a strategy that answers: “*How* can the objectives be reached within a set timeframe?” has to be laid out before the project can be designed in detail.

There are usually many different options available to reaching the same goal. Different strategies and options should therefore be investigated. Is/are the objective(s) best achieved by providing financial support, material support, political support, external journalistic competence, management, programming, etc., or a combination of these? The development of the strategy will be closely related to the findings of the needs and resource assessment.

If it proves impossible or too difficult to formulate a strategy, one should go back and revisit the objectives. Perhaps they are too ambitious? Avoid tinkering with initial assessments and analyses. The very reason for starting with a needs and resource assessment is to force the rest of the process to build on realistic assumptions.

Risk assessment

Is there any reason to refrain from carrying out the project? This is the breaking point for a possible pause in the process, or for deciding that the direction and format of the project have to be changed. At this stage, it is crucial to pose the question: Is there a risk that the LMS project will have adverse effects or consequences? Does the project put the involved personnel at risk, or is there a danger that the project

could be tampered with or misused by parties to the conflict, etc. If so, is the risk acceptable in the present situation? It is also important to be aware that positive results in one field could have negative consequences in other fields. For example, humanitarian reporting may help victims of a mass exodus reach relief goods, but the same information could make the displaced population an easy target for hostile groups.

In her book “*Do no harm*,”³ Mary B. Anderson argues that: “International assistance can make conflict worse in two ways: It can fuel inter-group tension and it can weaken inter-group connections. When aid has either of these impacts, it inadvertently exacerbates conflict. Conversely, aid can help war to end by lessening inter-group tensions and strengthening inter-group connections.” This is relevant for all LMS categories.

A good technique in this phase of planning is to draw up best and worst case scenarios. The following questions may be helpful in this undertaking:

- Is there a risk that external media support could have adverse consequences by exacerbating the conflict and, if so, is it right to take that risk?
- Is the project sufficiently co-ordinated with other relief efforts, including other LMS projects?
- Could the project postpone the necessary evolution of local responsibility?
- Could this initiative have adverse effects on other local media (politically? marketwise?)
- Could an alternative use of the same resources give the same or better results?
- Should other local media be supported instead to reduce these risks?

Phase three: Project planning and design

In drawing up the content of an LMS project, it is essential to be faithful to the analyses, objectives and strategies that form the basis for the project. Although project design will inevitably vary from one situation to the next, much of the work will involve specifying analyses already conducted during the needs and resource assessment and in setting objectives.

³ Mary B. Anderson: “*Do no harm. How aid can support peace – or war*”, London 1999

There exist no authoritative recipe for how an LMS project document should be designed and developed. On the other hand, there are several common elements that may be included in project planning and design, many of them similar to what is used in other forms of project development:

1. The project framework must explicitly state the factors and constraints that will guide or influence operational activities.

Relevant factors include:

- LMS category and specific project objectives
- Definition of target group(s) (journalists, public, politicians, etc.)
- Choice of media outlet or media outlet mixture (radio, television, newspaper, Internet, etc.)
- Local media's role in project and use of local resources
- Relationship to local authorities (of project as well as of local partner)
- Co-ordination with related activities, including other LMS projects
- Security considerations
- Financial risk

2. A project policy should clearly define the rights and obligations of all involved, including co-operative procedures.

Relevant factors include:

- Editorial policy, including relations between donor and operator
- Reporting routines
- Explicit descriptions of spheres of responsibility and the division of labour between participants, and between participants and the donor
- Reference group

3. The organisation of the project should be outlined clearly, including the resources that will be put into it.

Relevant factors include:

- Project organisation (field as well as possible HQ level), including co-operative arrangements between organisations and staffing
- Budget
- Material components (hardware)
- Feedback mechanisms
- Routines for documentation
- Responsibility for follow up

4. The plan outlining how the project is intended to progress should define progress milestones up to its end state.

Relevant factors include:

- Progress plan (target dates/timeline)
- Duration of the project
- Phase out, exit and possible handover strategy
- Information activities (about the project)

5. A progress assessments should specify how and when the LMS project should be evaluated.

Relevant factors include:

- Indicators of achievement
- Procedures for initiating an assessment/evaluation

As pointed out above, certain elements of LMS project planning and design will be similar to those of other humanitarian and development projects. It is important

to ensure that all involved are familiar with the final project plan, not least possible local partners in the project. The level of detail in this work should be adjusted in correspondence with the size of the project.

Phase four: Financing

The funding of an LMS project is ordinarily a consequence of how it is designed and directed. Donors will vary depending on the category of the LMS project, so the project emphasis will vary, depending on the different elements included in the project proposal. Based on investigations of current practices in the field, the following picture has emerged:

In *Humanitarian Reporting*, the donor will most likely be an emergency department of a government, an intergovernmental organisation, foundation or international non-governmental organisation. The donor's focus will normally be on the organiser's ability to deploy rapidly and set up large-scale operations if need be. The projects may have considerable hardware components that will help give volume to necessary overhead funding. Matching funding is usually not required from the organiser or implementer, but will strengthen the application and the political anchoring of the project.

Activities defined as emergency projects will have to be adapted to well-established formats and routines from the donor's side. Once the applicant is inside the system, one can expect rapid processing of the project proposal. The funding will have clear short-term time limits. Donors should have standardised routines for progress and financial reporting.

Since *Conflict Resolution* projects usually contain elements of emergency and crisis management as well as an orientation toward processes and sustainability, the donor group is less clearly defined. They may be based on the emergency side or in the development or even human rights branch of a donor government's organisation. The best routines for this LMS category is probably found among private foundations specialising in conflict resolution. The focus from the donor's side will most likely be on the process and representative participation. Matching funding will usually not be required, but funding is often sought from several donors to strengthen (sensitive) political anchoring of a project.

Routines and formats for applications may be non-existent so they may therefore have to be improvised. For the reasons mentioned above, it may take time to process this type of application. In the event this kind of more process-oriented projects are handled as emergency or development projects, one might observe frus-

tration on the part of the applicant as well as the donor, since the nature of the project does not fit into pre-set formats. Donors will often accept more long term, though time-limited funding. There are few standard formats for reporting back to donor.

Institution Building project proposals that are defined as development projects will meet well established, but often detailed and somewhat cumbersome routines from governmental as well as non-governmental donors. The focus will be local participation, exit strategies, the facilitation of democratisation processes and sustainability. There will most likely be a pragmatic attitude toward the hardware component of the project. Overhead costs will most likely be accepted at a realistic level, but most donors will demand matching funding. Sometimes in-kind contributions will be accepted as part of matching funding.

The processing of this project proposal may take a long time, but once the project is approved there are usually routines for the different aspects of reporting. This category of projects will usually be followed up more closely by the donor than the two other categories, as routines already exist. Many donors will often commit themselves to more long-term funding here than in the other two categories.

A good project proposal is in itself be no guarantee for funding. For all three LMS categories, donors will focus on the implementer's accountability and ability to mobilise and build on local resources. Another critical aspect is cost efficiency. Are the objectives envisaged to be reached under the auspices of the project reasonable in terms of estimated financial costs? Humanitarian Reporting and Institution building with large material (hardware) components may become quite expensive. Is it worth it, measured against alternative use of the same resources?

There are several ways to measure the cost effectiveness of media projects. Projects aimed at providing mass communication may be measured by cost per produced programme unit or copy, cost per exposure to target group, cost per actual recipient of message, or cost per achieved response or action. Even if qualitative studies yield the very best evaluations of media support projects, cost effectiveness and "hard" figures are also important measurements of this activity.

Phase five: Implementation, follow up and termination

One reason to look at the "implementation, follow up and termination" of LMS projects as a separate phase is that many projects often have different actors during each phase. For example, the needs and resource assessment may be outsourced to independent researchers, setting objectives and project design may be done by the

organiser; setting the parameters for the financing is the prerogative of the donor; and a different organisation or at least a different level of the organisation may be responsible for implementation. Project termination may be initiated by the donor, organiser or implementer.

Project design and financing are often handed over to the implementer and local partners as a blueprint requiring adaptations to suit the local situation. This process is a balance between the need for consistency with the original intentions and the ability to improvise vis-à-vis local environment. Where too much pragmatism is permitted, the objectives of the project may be tacitly redefined – a phenomena known as “mission creep”. All too often, projects continue as satellites orbiting far from their centre of gravity, long after the initial *raison d'être* has ceased to exist because things changed underway. Granted this may result in positive achievements, but given the political sensitivity often connected to media, it could also do harm. All actors involved in the project need to have a common understanding of its background in order to define the project initially, to correct its course underway and, if necessary, to terminate it.

As a result, the same systematic approach is needed in the implementation phase as in the previous phases. This is not an argument for keeping to the map no matter what the reality on the ground. In adapting groundwork to the map, it is sometimes important to explicitly go back and identify discrepancies between the current situation and earlier analyses, so that the reasons for changes in the project are well documented and agreed upon by all involved.

This is in turn an argument for written documentation from the outset of the project, explicit discussions on the direction of the implementation, and reporting that covers financial as well as political and substantive aspects of the progress. General responsibility for follow up of the project should be shared among all actors involved, but the main responsibility should be assigned to *one* body.

Project termination can be difficult, particularly if neither the end state, the end date nor the criteria for pulling back external support are well defined. And even when there is a strategy for phasing out external inputs and handing the project over to local actors, the transition process is often difficult for psychological as well as political reasons. The open-ended nature of media activities makes it even more difficult to decide when to stop. The best advice is to be faithful to the initial timeline or definition of end state. That way, everyone knows what to expect and local responsibility has to be mobilised from the very beginning if the institution in question is to continue without external support. It is also important to note that some projects have a limited existence by nature. Humanitarian reporting may narrowly be linked to a specific crisis, with no need for continuation once the crisis is over.

Phase six: Evaluation

Project evaluations should always assess the social and political impact of a project against the same analyses, objectives and strategies that formed the basis for the activities. In addition, evaluations may also choose new parameters against which to assess the success or failure of a project. However, only by measuring the outcome against the planned input will it be possible to say something about (and learn from) the way the project has been carried out.

Some key elements to be considered in evaluating LMS projects:

- Distinguish between quantifiable and qualitative results
- Has there been “mission creep” (within and/or between the three LMS categories)?
- What is the social and political impact of the project?
- Distinguish between objective and effect and keep main (direct) effects and spin-off (indirect) effects apart
- Was the target group reached?- include feedback from the target group in the evaluation
- Cost effectiveness
- Sustainability
- Exit and possible handover process
- Is continued media support advisable?

Checklist for focusing LMS projects

LMS projects are highly diversified and different, at the same time as they operate under the same kind of logic as other humanitarian and developmental projects. The description of phase 1-6 above attempts to identify common elements as well as what is unique about each category of LMS projects. The table next page is an attempt to summarise this and to illustrate how the design and implementation focus of LMS projects differs between the three LMS categories.

Table: Focus (generalised) of LMS projects, by phase

Project phase	LMS categories		
	Humanitarian Reporting	Conflict Resolution	Institution Building
Needs and resource assessment	Identifying information gaps for target groups	Identifying how media might enhance local capacities for peace	Identifying missing or weak local media resources/structures
Setting objectives	Message-focused Overcoming information barriers	Message-focused Balanced, non-violent information Avoid capacities for war	Process-focused
	Co-ordination and speed Links to other humanitarian projects	Integration with society and other conflict resolution activities	Focus on local participation and competence building Exit and hand over strategy
Financing	Up front funding Flexible donor	Diversity of funding sources Transparency	Predictability of funding (over years)
Implementation, follow up and termination	Rapid response	Participation and local credibility Diversity in formats and outlets	Development of local ownership, local sustainability
	Feed back mechanisms Frequent adjustments of project as conflict evolves Empowerment of exposed/targeted population	Quality of dialogue and accountability across political conflict lines	Sustainability of media outlet/project
Evaluation			

Chapter 5 Conclusion and Follow-up

Local media support (LMS) has established itself as a valuable tool for humanitarian emergency response, conflict resolution and democracy building in the 1990s. Access to timely and relevant information is becoming widely accepted as a vital part of empowering exposed groups in crisis situations, as well as of facilitating societal developments towards peace, democracy and political pluralism.

Consequently, LMS initiatives are currently expanding at an impressive rate in terms of volume as well as activities. Such programmes have become global enterprises with numerous highly professional NGOs and companies involved as organisers and implementers. These relate to or co-operate with local media partners in a wide variety of ways and they base their operational activities on a number of different approaches.

Despite this, most donors, including Norway, have dealt with LMS projects in a relatively fragmented manner. Support is often given without a strategy that provide guidance with regard to what kind of activities might be most beneficial under what circumstances, selection criteria for implementers, etc. Further, co-ordination and information exchange mechanisms between donors on ongoing projects are but vaguely developed.

This report argues that these shortcomings should be corrected. The report suggests an approach whereby donors relate to LMS projects in terms equal to what is customary within many similar areas of humanitarian assistance or development aid, i.e. in a professional, systematic and transparent manner. Media support is a complex and often politically sensitive activity that requires particular caution and insight by donors in order to succeed. In fact, caution is often more vital in this area due to the negative or destructive role media can play if they are misused or poorly managed.

To facilitate predictable and professional management of media support, it is necessary to develop a holistic framework that integrates the different types of LMS in a structured manner. The present report argues that such projects should be categorised according to their objectives, i.e. as being oriented towards conflict resolution, humanitarian reporting or institution building. Conflict resolution projects focus on media as a tool for managing, reducing or preventing conflict. Humanitarian reporting concentrates on use of media to ensure the dissemination of relevant and

vital information to exposed groups. Institution building revolves around the use of media support to build institutions and capacities in societies in which the lack of alternative voices hinders democratic development and political pluralism.

It is also argued that there is a need to be specific with regard to objectives and categories. So-called 'catch-all' projects in which one attempts to address all possible objectives or demands are most likely the result of a lack of focus. Projects should therefore have one main objective (fit one category). However, and as for other project activities, one must be aware of possible effects along other axes. An institution-building project may, for example, have both positive and adverse effects on an imminent or ongoing conflict. This must be considered in advance, monitored throughout the implementation period, and systematically evaluated in retrospect.

This report suggests such a framework for the assessment, management and evaluation of LMS projects in Chapter 4. The proposal is based on experiences from other forms of specialised humanitarian assistance programmes, but systematically adjusted to the requirements of media support activities. It consists of six phases, each of which is to be assessed on the basis of a number of variables that will have to be selected or combined to fit each situation.

The proposed framework should be used and tested in an operational setting before one considers how to proceed with the implementation of the remaining parts of the project. Such testing would probably improve operational activities and provide guidance about how the framework might be adjusted and improved. Testing should also, if possible, include evaluations of ongoing or concluded projects as well as needs and resource assessments for potential new ones. It should also be tested in different geographical and political/operational settings.

The present report is primarily directed towards the needs of donors. Nonetheless, it might also provide guidance for managers or personnel who work with LMS at the field level. Even if it is too general to be used as a detailed field manual at this stage, the combination of the present report and systematic test results from the field will provide a sound basis for finalising such manuals.

Appendix 1 Literature

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Appendix 2 Organisations of relevance to LMS

Norwegian organisations

Name: Democratic Voice of Burma - Samarbeidsutvalget for Burma
Address: PO.Box 6720 St. Olavs Plass
0130 Oslo
Phone: 22 20 00 21
Fax: 22 36 25 25
E-mail: dybburma@online.no
Internet: <http://www.communique.no/dvb>

Name: Den Norske Helsingforskomite
Address: Urtegata 50
0187 Oslo
Phone: 22 57 00 70
Fax: 22 57 00 88
E-mail: nhc@nhc.no
Internet: <http://www.nhc.no>

Name: Institutt for Journalistikk i Fredrikstad
Address: Nabbetorpveien 32
Po.Box 1185
1631 Gamle Fredrikstad
Phone: 69 32 20 54
Fax: 69 32 42 20
E-mail: firmapost@ij.no, eirik.moe@ij.no
Internet: <http://www.ij.no>

Name: Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon UiO
Address: Blindernveien 11
PO.Box 1093 Blindern, 0317 Oslo
Phone: 22 85 04 00
Fax: 22 85 04 01
E-mail: info@media.uio.no
Internet: <http://www.media.uio.no>

Name: Institutt for menneskerettigheter
Address: Universitetsgata 22-24
0162 Oslo
Phone: 22 84 20 01
Fax: 22 84 20 02
E-mail: admin@nihr.no
Internet: <http://www.nihr.no>

Name: Journalistutdanningen ved Høgskolen i Oslo
Address: Pilestredet 52
0167 Oslo
Phone: 22 45 26 00
Fax: 22 45 26 05
E-mail: jbi@hioslo.no
Internet: <http://www.hioslo.no>

Name: MANGO (SØRVIS Presse og Info)
Address: PO.Box 315
4950 Risør
Phone: 37 15 18 10
Fax: 37 15 19 90
E-mail: per@lunden.no
Internet: <http://www.sorvis.aa.no>

Name: Norsk Folkehjelp
Address: Storgata 33a
0184 Oslo
PO.Box 8844 Youngstorget, 0028 Oslo
Phone: 22 03 77 00
Fax: 22 20 08 70
E-mail: norsk.folkehjelp@npaid.org
Internet: <http://www.folkehjelp.org>

Name: Norsk Forum for Ytringfrihet
Address: Urtegata 50
0187 Oslo
Phone: 22 67 79 64
Fax: 22 57 00 88
E-mail: nffe@online.no
Internet: <http://home.sol.no/~nfy/>

Name: Norsk Journalistlag
Address: Storgata 14
PO.Box 8793 Youngstorget
0028 Oslo
Phone: 22 05 39 50
Fax: 22 17 17 82
E-mail: njpost@nj.no
Internet: <http://www.nj.no>

Name: Radio P4
Address: Karl Johansgate 27
0159 Oslo
Phone: 23 00 00 44
Fax: 23 00 00 45
E-mail: p4@p4.no
Internet: <http://www.p4.no>

Name: Worldview International
Address: Welhavensgate 1
0166 Oslo
Phone: 22 98 90 00
Fax: 22 11 49 88
E-mail: Head office in Colombo, Sri Lanka: wif@panlanka.net
Oslo office: rune@worldview.no
Internet: <http://www.worldviewrights.net>

International organisations

Name: ARTICLE 19, The International Centre Against Censorship
Address: 33 Islington High Street
London N1 9LH, United Kingdom
Phone: + 44 171 278 9292
E-mail: article19@gn.apc.org
Internet: <http://www.gn.apc.org/article19>

Name: BBC World Service
Address: Bush House, Strand
London WC2B 4PH, UK
Phone: + 44 0171 240 3456
Fax: + 44 0171 557 1258
E-mail: worldservice.letters@bbc.co.uk
Internet: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice>

Name: Centre for War, Peace and the News Media, Dept. of Journalism and
Mass Communication, New York University
Address: 418 Lafayette Street, Suite 554
New York, NY 10003
Phone: (212) 998-7960
Fax: (212) 995-4143
E-mail: war.peace.news@nyu.edu
Internet: <http://www.nyu.edu/cwpm/>

Name: Common Ground Productions
Address: 1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 200
Washington DC 20009
Phone: +1 (202) 265-4300
Fax: +1 (202) 232-6718
E-mail: mharmon@sfcg.org
Internet: <http://www.cgponline.org>

Name: DANIDA
Address: Asiatisk Plads 2
DK-1448 Copenhagen, Denmark
Phone: + 45 339 20000
Fax: + 45 325 40533
E-mail: um@um.dk
Internet: <http://www.um.dk>

Name: Department for International Development (DFID)
Address: 94 Victoria Street
London, SW1E 5JL, UK
Phone: + 44 0171 917 7000
Fax: + 44 0171 917 0019
E-mail: enquiry@dfid.gov.uk
Internet: <http://www.dfid.gov.uk>

Name: ECHO – European Community Humanitarian Office
Address: Rue de la Loi 200
B-1049 Brussels, Belgium
Phone: + 32 2 299 11 11
Internet: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/echo/en/index.html>

Name: European Centre for Common Ground
Address: Avenue de Tervuren 94
B 1040 Brussels, Belgium
Phone: + 322 736 7262
Fax: + 322 732 3033
E-mail: search@sfcg.org
Internet: <http://www.sfcg.org>

Name: European Centre for War, Peace, and the News Media
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London NW3 5AR UK
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Fax: + 44 171 435 9292
E-mail: silica@gn.apc.org
Internet: <http://www.nyu.edu/cwpm/>

Name: The European Institute for the Media
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40221 Dusseldorf, Germany
Phone: + 49 211 90104
Fax: + 49 211 90104 56
E-mail: 100442.1703@compuserve.com
Internet: <http://www.eim.org>

Name: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Address: Godesberger Allee 149
53170 Bonn, Germany
Phone: + 0228 883 666
Fax: + 0228 883 396
E-mail: fes@fes.de
Internet: <http://www.fes.de>

Name: Global Vision
 Address: Presidio Building 1012, First Floor, Torney Avenue
 P.O. Box 29904, San Francisco, CA 94129-0904
 Phone: + 415 561-6100
 Fax: + 415 561-6101
 E-mail: peacenet@igc.org
 Internet: <http://www.igc.org>

Name: GRET (Groupe de Recherche et d'Echanges Technologiques)
 Address: 211-213 rue La Fayette
 75010 Paris, France
 Phone: 33-(0)1-40 05 6161
 Fax: 33 (0)1 40 05 61 10
 E-mail: gret@gret.org
 Internet: <http://www.gret.org>

Name: Health Unlimited
 Address: Prince Consort House 27-29
 SE1 7TS London
 Phone: +44 171 582 5999
 Internet: www.healthunlimited.org

Name: Hirondelle Foundation
 Address: 3 Rue Traversière
 CH 1018-Lausanne, Switzerland
 Phone: +41 21 647 28 05
 Fax: +41 21 647 44 69
 E-mail: info@hirondelle.org
 Internet: <http://www.hirondelle.org>

Name: Institute for Journalism in Transition
 Address: Seifertova 47, 130 00
 Praha 3, Czech Republic
 Phone: (420 2) 627-9445
 Fax: (420 2) 627-9444
 E-mail: transitions@ijt.cz
 Internet: www.ijt.cz/transitions

Name: Institute for War and Peace Reporting
 Address: Lancaster House, 33 Islington High Street
 London N1 9LH, UK
 Phone: + 44 0171 713 7130
 Fax: + 44 0171 713 7140
 E-mail: info@iwpr.net
 Internet: <http://www.iwpr.net>

Name: International Federation of Journalists
Address: Rue Royale, 266
1210 Brussels, Belgium
Phone: + 32 2 223 2265
Fax: + 32-2-219 2976
E-mail: ifj@pophost.eunet.be
Internet: <http://www.ifj.org>

Name: Internews
Address: 73 Spring Street, Suite 607
New York, NY 10012 USA
Phone: +1 212 966-4141
Fax: +1 212 966-3193
E-mail: kspencer@internews.org
Internet: <http://www.internews.org>

Name: IREX – International Research and Exchanges Board
Address: 1616 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006, USA
Phone: + 202 628 8188
Fax: + 202 628 8189
E-mail: irex@irex.org
Internet: <http://www.irex.org>

Name: Media Action International
Address: Villa de Grand-Montfleury, Versoix
Ch1290, Geneva, Switzerland
Phone: +41(22) 950 0750
Fax: +41(22) 950 0752
E-mail: info.ichr@ties.itu.int
Internet: <http://www.mediaaction.org>

Name: MDLF - Media Development Loan Fund
Address: Mala Stuparska 5
110 00 Prague, Czech Republic
Phone: + 420 2 231 1213
Fax: + 420 2 231 4039
E-mail: sasa.vucinic@ecn.cz
Internet: <http://www.mdlf.cz>

Name: Press Now Foundation
Address: KI-Gartmanplantsoen 10
1017 RR Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Phone: + 31 20 553 51 67
Fax: + 31 20 553 51 55
E-mail: pressnow@xs4all.nl
Internet: <http://www.dds.nl/pressnow/>

Name: Reporters Sans Frontiers - Secrétariat International
Address: 5 Rue Geoffroy Marie
75009 Paris, France
Phone: + 33 1 44 83 84 84
Fax: + 33 1 45 23 11 51
E-mail: rsf@calva.net
Internet: http://www.calvacom.fr/rsf/RSF_VA/Acc_VA.html

Name: Soros Foundation – Open Society Institute
Address: Oktober 6. ut 12
H-1051 Budapest, Hungary
Phone: +361 327 3100
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E-mail: resource@osi.hu
Internet: <http://www.soros.org>

Name: UNESCO
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75352 PARIS 07 SP, France
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Fax: + 33 1 45 67 16 90
E-mail: k.schmitter@unesco.org
Internet: <http://www.unesco.org>

Name: UNHCR Mass Media Campaigns
Address: C.P. 2500, 1211
Geneva 2, Switzerland
Phone: + 41 22 739 8111
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Name: USAID
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Washington, D.C. 20523-0016
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Fax: + 202 216 3524
E-mail: pinquiries@usaid.gov
Internet: <http://www.info.usaid.gov>

Name: US Institute for Peace
Address: 1200 17th street, NW, Suite 200
Washington DC, 20036-3011
Phone: + 202 457 1700
Fax: + 202 429 6063
E-mail: usip_requests@usip.org
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Internet: <http://www.voa.org>

Abbreviations and acronyms

ANC	African National Council
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CGP	Common Ground Productions
CWPNM	Center for War, Peace and the News Media
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
GRET	Groupe de recherche et d'échanges technologiques
IASC	Interagency Standing Committee
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
IREX	International Research and Exchanges Board
LMS	Local Media Support
MDLF	Media Development Loan Fund
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NJ	Norsk Journalistlag (Norwegian Federation of Journalists)

NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NPI	National Press Institute
MFA	Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
SCG	Search for Common Ground
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNPD	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	US Agency for International Development
WIF	Worldview International Foundation

Local Media Support

Local media support (LMS) has established itself as a valuable tool for humanitarian emergency response, conflict resolution and democracy building. Access to relevant information is becoming widely accepted as a vital part of empowering exposed groups in crisis situations, as well as of facilitating societal developments towards peace, democracy and political pluralism. The authors of this report provide a study of LMS in the 1990s and propose a framework for assessment and management of LMS projects.



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