

Scaling a Changing Curve: Traditional Media Development and the New Media

A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance

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**National Endowment
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The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), a project of the National Endowment for Democracy, aims to strengthen the support, raise the visibility, and improve the effectiveness of media assistance programs by providing information, building networks, conducting research, and highlighting the indispensable role independent media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies around the world. An important aspect of CIMA's work is to research ways to attract additional U.S. private sector interest in and support for international media development.

CIMA convenes working groups, discussions, and panels on a variety of topics in the field of media development and assistance. The center also issues reports and recommendations based on working group discussions and other investigations. These reports aim to provide policymakers, as well as donors and practitioners, with ideas for bolstering the effectiveness of media assistance.

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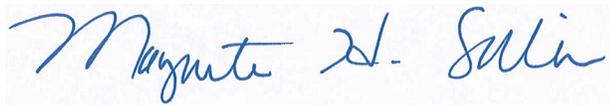
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Preface

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) commissioned this study to examine the implications of new information and communication technologies for the media-assistance field, and how these innovations can be incorporated into traditional media-development models.

CIMA is grateful to Shanthi Kalathil, a democracy and development consultant who co-authored the groundbreaking 2003 book *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule*, for her research and insights on this topic.

We hope that this report will become an important reference for international media-assistance efforts.



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Executive Summary

Across the world, journalists and traditional news media organizations have come to realize that new media—including blogs, social networking sites, cell phone messaging, and other relatively new technology applications—are having a profound impact on their work. A recent survey of U.S. journalists noted that for a majority of respondents, the new media have had a significant impact on the speed, tone, and editorial direction of their reporting.¹

Yet the field of independent media development has been slow to fully realize the potential of new information and communication technology (ICT). Although new technologies have fundamentally altered the traditional media landscape, many media-development donors, practitioners, and scholars have only recently begun to consider ICT seriously and systematically in their traditional models of media development. Many who do utilize ICT tend to do so in the background, rather than making new technologies the major feature of programming.

To complicate matters further, new technologies are not simply being incorporated into the rules of the media game; they are changing them completely. New trends like citizen-based journalism, spontaneous mass organization prompted by new media communication, instantaneous image transmission, and ubiquitous computing have totally reshaped the way people and institutions gather and process information. During the recent presidential primary contests in the United States, for example, viewers were able to submit questions via video networking sites such

as YouTube, and discuss candidates' debate performances on social networking sites such as Facebook. The trend is not limited to developed countries; from the Philippines to Kenya to Korea, new information technologies are transforming the modern news media.

To be sure, incorporating and anticipating new media technologies in traditional independent media-development models may be a more complicated process than it appears. Particularly because use of these technologies can be spontaneous, user-driven, and relatively low-cost, it would appear that making creative use of them would be relatively easy for donors and practitioners working on independent media development. Nevertheless, there are additional factors that must be considered, including questions of access; patterns of use; the “non-organic” quality of top-down, donor-driven programs; technical literacy; and other similar factors.

Through an examination of the use of ICT in independent media development, this paper seeks to shed light on the state of current practice with respect to media development and new technologies. It will also place these developments within the context of a rapidly changing global information industry, one that is evolving faster than traditional media programs have been able to adapt. Finally, it will offer several recommendations on how independent media-development programs can take advantage of, and keep abreast of, these new global trends.

Traditional Media Development: An Overview

To understand the role that new information technologies can play in the field of media development, it is best to start with a current overview of the field. Independent media development has become a fixture in many donors' democracy and governance programs in recent years, with bilateral donors such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), in addition to many philanthropic foundations, placing particular emphasis on media programs. Although independent media programs vary in scope, scale, and emphasis, many gravitate toward several specific technical areas that together form a holistic web of support for an independent media sector.

Supporting journalism and professional skill training

While many programs have moved beyond basic training of journalists, this practice nonetheless remains a key component of independent media-development programs. Often, this involves supporting institutions, such as university journalism departments and specialized institutes, which will continue developing a cadre of media professionals after donor funding ends. Professional skills taught include program production skills, news and feature journalism, editing, specialized areas such as investigative journalism, and other elements of the trade. Training may take place within a seminar context, or it may involve situating semi-permanent advisors within a media organization itself, the better to address problems in a holistic fashion.

Encouraging sustainability and business management skills

Independent media-development programs that focus on private-sector media typically contain an element of capacity building for the business management side of media. This element may focus on very specific issues, such as helping a newspaper to build an advertising department and educating staff on its proper function within the newspaper. It may alternatively focus on building the broad foundations for a business-oriented media sector to function, including working to support ad agencies, audit boards of circulation, audience measurement techniques, and good business practices within individual organizations.

Programs that support non-private-sector media also focus on financial sustainability. For community radio programs, ensuring that the station can find a good mixture of not-for-profit revenue-generating activities and donor/listener support is a crucial element of long-term development. In the case of a public service broadcaster, there are several models that aim to ensure that the broadcaster has a steady revenue stream.

Supporting the development of a legal-enabling environment

Media-development programs often focus on supporting the enabling environment for an independent media sector. This environment is usually a complex intertwining of laws, regulations, judicial and legislative processes, enforcement capabilities, ownership structures, and other institutions that enable the media to perform its function.

Work on the enabling environment can range from advocating for positive changes in media law to building the capacity of a specialized cadre of media lawyers.

Association building

Supporting the development of strong professional organizations often serves multiple functions: providing journalists and other media professionals with local and international networks; strengthening the ability of media professionals to organize and lobby for acceptable working conditions; raising professional standards; and serving as an important self-regulating mechanism for the media industry. This self-regulating mechanism can be extremely important as an alternative

solution to government calls for official licensing of journalists and official sanctions, which often become a pretext for censorship.

Media literacy

Media literacy has long been an unspoken component of many media-development programs. With people in both the developed and developing world increasingly surrounded by information from an array of diverse sources, the ability to critically analyze, gauge veracity, and place information into context becomes paramount. Media-development programs are increasingly placing more overt emphasis on this important component of a holistic approach to media development.

Media Development: Current Uses of ICT

Many media-development professionals say that, while ICT may not be prominently featured in programming, new technologies have long played a part in independent media development—albeit manifested in subtle ways. As technologies have evolved, media-development programs have sought to take advantage of the opportunities they allowed. These uses tend to fall into three major categories: operational and process-related usage, distance learning and training for journalists, and online news platforms. As the following sections show, ICT utilization within media development has been “evolutionary,” whereby programs have utilized new technologies, as they appear, to methodically improve the craft, process, and business of the media.

With access to Internet, satellite, and cell phones still limited in many developing countries, ambitious programs must often be adapted to the realities of the local situation.

Operational and Process-Related Usage

New information and communication technologies have been most prominent in improving processes within the operational functioning of media outlets and the profession of journalism. At the most basic level, for instance, some media-development programs provide updated infrastructure and equipment to ensure that the media outlets being assisted are taking advantage of new advances in equipment. For example, one program supported by USAID in Indonesia in the early 2000s worked with radio journalists, providing them with new MiniDisc players and editing equipment to improve their production values and skills.²

At a broader level, other programs have been helping upgrade key elements of the news production process. For instance, a program run by Internews (a large media-development organization) in Russia focused on creating a specially designed piece of newsroom software to enable smoother production and increased connectivity. The software, called “News Factory,” encapsulated everything from program production, advertising schedules, and editorial controls to a master database that allowed networked stations to share information, scripts, and programming. Started in 1999, News Factory was subsequently spun off into its own organization, and continues to function now as a not-for-profit organization. Internews estimates that it is in use by roughly 350 stations around Russia.³

Many media-development programs undertake some version of process/operational ICT utilization in their work. Frequently, this work is not highlighted as “ICT-related,” even though it incorporates technology. Because of this, it makes an accurate survey of programs utilizing this form of technology intervention difficult. However, discussions with media-development professionals indicate that many if not all programs contain some element in this category.

That said, up until just a few years ago, there were still hindrances and unexpected challenges in realizing the potential for

ICT to upgrade media-sector operational processes. With access to Internet, satellite, and cell phones still limited in many developing countries (where the bulk of media-development programs take place), ambitious programs must often be adapted to the realities of the local situation. In Timor-Leste, for instance, where many donors and implementers have undertaken media-development programs, several journalists interviewed during one USAID assessment in 2006 still relied on handwriting or typing dispatches from the field and then sending them back to headquarters via a local minibus. Some media-development programs sought to utilize ICTs to rectify these logistical roadblocks, but their overall cost and the quality of the country's infrastructure did not permit widespread adoption.⁴ In Central Asia, an Internews program called "Open Asia" initially sought to distribute programs among member stations digitally, but due to infrastructural constraints was forced to use couriers at start-up.⁵

Distance Learning and Training for Journalists

Another way that ICT is typically utilized in traditional media-development programs is through distance-learning platforms and training in new techniques for journalists. The latter is a natural outgrowth of the "computer-assisted reporting" trend that began within journalism as early as the 1950s, in which journalists began to use computers to analyze databases and crunch election results.

Experience has shown that longer, more intensive training courses featuring one-on-

one contact tend to be more effective than one-off, mass-attendance seminars. Yet in places where resources for media are tight, sending journalists away on long training courses can be a human resource cost the media organization cannot bear. With distance learning, journalists can stay in their home countries and organizations while still

Training in new techniques for journalists has seen a surge with the advent of more sophisticated tools for research.

benefiting from professional training. Some models use the Internet to link up journalists and other media-sector professionals with a network of worldwide senior professionals who can check their stories and act as individual mentors and coaches. In Egypt, for example, the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) established a virtual newsroom

in which trainee journalists were able to seek advice from some of the top Arabic reporters around the globe. Prior to filing stories, each trainee journalist was able to interact with his or her mentor (usually in a different part of the world) for editing and general help.⁶ Other programs have also established similar platforms as an integral part of their training programs, either incorporating an individual mentoring approach or facilitating distance-learning courses on discrete topics.

These platforms are often complex endeavors. Some note that it is rarely as simple as setting up a Web site and then hoping people will connect. "We thought we would take off-line knowledge and put it online—but it wasn't that engaging," noted one media-development expert, who pointed out that the program eventually ended up costing around 10 times what was originally envisaged, due to the complexities of the distance-learning process. These complexities can encompass specialized software and implementing of

tailored teaching techniques, “not just a bunch of Web pages.”⁷

Meanwhile, training in new techniques for journalists has seen a surge with the advent of more sophisticated tools for research. In many developing countries, journalists may not have a home computer or a broadband-Internet connection, so there may be a need for basic computer and Internet literacy training. Other new techniques may include using e-mail and other new forms of communication (such as short message service, or SMS, social networking sites, etc.) to stay in touch with sources and readers, verify facts, and maintain professional networks.

For those who are familiar with computers and the Internet, some training also focuses on helping journalists take advantage of the vast store of data now publicly available on the Internet—as well as helping them separate reliable facts from fiction. Investigative reporting can make great use of government data being published on the Internet, so helping journalists understand both where to get the data and how to employ reliable statistical analysis can be an important part of investigative journalism and other anti-corruption programs.

The vast amount of information available on the Internet also necessitates new types of training for journalists to help them understand the pitfalls of relying primarily on Internet-based research—or other forms of information transfer—for source material. The widespread availability of “free” articles

Because online journalism is a new field, there are still only a limited number of trainers who have the requisite knowledge of both journalism and technology.

means the risk of plagiarism increases, as does the necessity for rigorous checking of sources.

Some media-development organizations have focused on institutionalizing training of online journalists. ICFJ is supporting the development of a digital journalism center at Mexico’s University of Guadalajara,

intended to be a training center for online journalism for the Latin American region. One issue that programs such as these highlights is the lack of qualified trainers in online journalism: because it is a new field, there are still only a limited number of trainers who have the requisite knowledge of both journalism and technology.

As the field develops, this is expected to change.⁸

News Production Online and Training of Online Journalists

Across the world, many newspapers and other print organs have established some form of online presence, frequently with features that enable more interactivity with audiences. Some media-development programs have focused on this, particularly when working with individual media outlets. Other programs, rather than helping newspapers establish Web sites and training journalists to use online resources for mainstream-media reporting, focus instead on creating dedicated online portals linked to training programs. These online news sites can be a way to circulate stories more broadly, or to get across types of reporting that typically would not be featured in a

country's mainstream media. In the ICFJ Egypt example cited previously, for instance, the Egyptian journalists in the program published their information on an alternative news Web site created by the program. The Web site's purpose was to inform and be picked up by the mainstream media, which was considerably less free to publish the kinds of investigative stories encouraged by the ICFJ project.⁹

One media-development group, the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), has built its existence as an outgrowth of this model. IWPR originated as an online program to disseminate frontline reporting by Balkan journalists to counter hate speech and misunderstandings, but has since grown into an international media-development organization with a focus on online reporting.¹⁰

Others have also tried a hybrid model. In 2000, Arab journalist Daoud Kuttab launched AmmanNet from Amman, Jordan, marking the Arab world's first Internet-based radio station. Funded by the Open Society Institute and UNESCO, AmmanNet aimed to produce independent news and information, with a variety of news bulletins and regular programming. This Internet-based news radio model has been explored by others around the world, particularly media outlets that operate under oppressive conditions domestically. Kuttab believes that AmmanNet has had a profound experience on the media landscape in Jordan and the rest of the Arab world. "Our experience shows that new media can and does contribute to the break-up of monopolies," he points out, noting that

four years after AmmanNet began on the Internet, the station received an official FM license.¹¹

Creating a specialized media outlet online frequently requires different skills, and media-development organizations have also worked to train online journalists how to design and manage Web content, including interactive features such as reader polls and surveys. Partly because of the "anything goes" nature of the Internet, training courses for online journalists frequently stress the commonalities in ethics with professional mainstream news journalism while pointing out the ways in which online journalism differs. There appears to be plenty of demand in many regions of the world for these types of courses: for instance, ICFJ has recently begun a new training project focusing on providing practical, hands-on lessons related to news Web site development and management, targeting Arab journalists across the Middle East.

So far, many of these examples have pointed to evolutionary development in the field of media development toward platforms that are digital-technology based. What they have not indicated, however, is a more "revolutionary" model that drops the old templates for media development and aggressively harnesses new trends, such as citizen journalism and other forms of user-generated content. The next section explores new and coming trends in more detail, and presents a few hypotheses about their effect on the field of media development.

Media Development: A New Paradigm?

New technologies have helped transform the way many people around the world gather and process information. Examples include:

- **The emergence of citizen journalism:** Ordinary citizens are contributing to local and even international news coverage, with “official” broadcast news footage often relying on pictures and tape sent in by thousands of event eyewitnesses. Citizen-journalists are also filing their own stories, such as on the highly popular Web site OhmyNews in Korea. The advent of citizen journalism and ubiquitous surveillance has brought its own set of privacy concerns. Moreover, as technology helps blur the line between straight news reporting and advocacy, there has been a shift toward more ‘opinion’-centric news media, away from more traditional norms of impartiality and objectivity.
- **Blogging as news media:** Blogs have become much more than just personal observations. News-oriented bloggers can create their own news brand, hiring their own staff, breaking investigative stories, and pushing their own point of view. Social networking sites can also be used as disseminators of information and mobilizing tools.
- **New censorship:** New technologies also enable new censorship and surveillance mechanisms. Online and cell phone news services allow providers and governments to better understand—and track—user patterns, as well as to selectively block certain information or subtly shape information consumption patterns.
- **Convergence:** Convergence between telecommunications, cable, satellite, cell phones, and traditional broadcasting means that the media industry is no longer confined to television, radio, and print publications. As more people consume information through cell phones and other mobile devices, media companies and other information providers are forced to seriously consider the implications of regulatory convergence, which can lead to opportunities as well as conflict over overlapping boundaries.
- **New business models:** Business models for traditional media outlets have changed, with newspapers in particular facing increased pressure on profit margins and competition from online sources. This has forced them to cut back on foreign reporting and longer, more cost-intensive pieces while simultaneously exploring new side ventures in television, book publishing, and other related businesses.¹²
- **Disintermediation, diversification, pluralism:** Earlier predictions about the future of television posited decentralization, diversification, and customization; these trends have all been extremely heightened in the age of Internet and cell phone-based communication. Citizens and groups are able to communicate directly with each other, bypassing the traditional gatekeepers of the “official” media. At the same time, blog aggregators and other ways of filtering online information have begun to reverse the disintermediation process by fulfilling the role of gatekeeper in the online community.

OhmyNews

OhmyNews began in Korea in 2000 as an experiment in “citizen journalism,” in which anyone who registered could become a paid reporter for the Web site. The site quickly gained popularity within Korea, becoming such a phenomenon that it is believed to have been instrumental in helping determine the outcome of the December 2002 Korean presidential elections.

Wired calls OhmyNews a “wild, inconsistent, unpredictable blend of the Drudge Report, Slashdot, and a traditional, but partisan, newspaper.”¹³ Since OhmyNews’s inception, the concept of citizen journalism has moved more firmly into the mainstream, becoming part of the broader conversation about the evolution of journalism.

Nonetheless, the notion that ‘everyone’s a journalist’ has not been widely accepted in the media establishment; moreover, the legal ramifications of such developments, particularly pertaining to the rights of citizen journalists, have yet to be truly tested. OhmyNews in Korea continues to be very popular in Korea. It has launched spin-off citizen-journalism sites such as OhmyNews International, although some of its other spin-offs have not been as successful.

The overarching theme, at least as far as the media-development world is concerned, is the rise of a pluralized, diverse and multi-mediated public sphere, with individuals, groups, corporations, governments, and other entities freely comingling to influence public opinion. The traditional media, long the gatekeepers and shapers of public opinion, are now forced to jostle in this space—substantively and financially—with millions of alternative voices.

The key question, then, is how should the field of media development process all these changes? Should the approach be to simply slot most activities neatly within the existing boundaries of media assistance, as in many of the activities listed in the earlier section? Some media-development donors and implementers are currently grappling with this issue. Not all media-development, ICT-related activities fall within the three categories mentioned above or within the traditional categories of media development; some span two or more, while others push even more ambitiously toward putting ICT at the forefront of programming. A handful of media-development programs are actively trying to go beyond simply “taking the old models and ‘digitizing’ them,” according to one Internews executive.¹⁴ Projects like these have focused on figuring out new ways of getting information to people, such as through podcasts or live streaming. Others have sought to use cell phone SMS to deliver news and information to people. In this area, the field of media development is rapidly converging with the “ICT for development” field, which unlike media development situates itself more in the traditional poverty-reduction realm of development, as opposed to democracy and governance.

This poses some interesting questions. Should media-development programs concern themselves with issues such as promoting access to computers, cell phones, and the Internet? In essence, this is what convergence of these fields is pushing toward: an enabling environment that encompasses telecommunication reform in addition to more traditional media legal issues. Certainly, the decisions taken by cable/telecommunication companies and government regulators can have a profound impact on how people gather and process information. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) focused on press freedom regularly criticize governments for their restrictive Internet policies and champion bloggers who are imprisoned for airing their views. Yet media-development programs have been hesitant to push into an area that is outside their traditional boundaries, perhaps because they believe that exploring this territory lies beyond their core competencies or immediate goals.

While implementers are often eager to experiment with new ICT activities within programs, they can be limited (or encouraged) by the boundaries set by their donors. Private foundations have a little more leeway to encourage creativity and innovation in their programs, whereas bilateral donors often have to answer to public constituencies in terms of how funds are spent. Thus, some of the most innovative donor thinking can be found in the philanthropic world. Organizations such as the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation have placed particular emphasis on the ICT component of media development, embracing the new paradigm of news production. Such projects funded by Knight include a one-stop site for citizen-journalists aimed at helping ordinary citizens and journalists understand how to launch and responsibly operate community news and information sites, as well as seeding micro-local news ventures.¹⁵

Another media-development organization, the Media Development Loan Fund, has established a specialized center in Prague to devise new-media solutions for independent media in developing countries.¹⁶ Although these innovative initiatives do not represent the bulk of media programs, they are indicative of the types of more adventurous projects that media-development organizations and donors could seek to fund in coming years in the developing world.

The new models fostered by digital technologies may have implications for the typical funding models of media-development projects as well. At least for the large bilateral donors working in this area, media-development programs tend to be large, comprehensive, multi-year programs focusing on the long-term development of the entire media sector. Yet some of those who have worked on more innovative models suggest that small grants may be more in tune with the kind of entrepreneurial, “start-up”-type of projects that occur organically in the ICT arena. One solution donors might want to consider is to ensure that large projects include a small-grants facility, precisely for this purpose.

Related to this is the issue of monitoring and evaluation, which can sometimes shape the direction of the project. The more “output-oriented” the monitoring and evaluation requirements are for a project, the less able a project is to encourage innovation and creativity. Bilateral donors in particular tend to require thorough monitoring and evaluation plans, which in itself is not a bad thing. However, if donors do want to think seriously about encouraging more creative use of ICTs in media-development projects, then a wholesale look at reforming the monitoring and evaluation process may be warranted.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The field of media development, while constantly evolving, currently finds itself in a rapidly changing media environment that demands flexible, innovative thinking. This does not necessarily mean throwing out lessons already learned with respect to media development—but rather updating conventional wisdom and making an effort to stay abreast of global media and ICT developments. What follows is a list of forward-looking recommendations for donors, practitioners, and scholars who are considering the role of ICT in media development. Ultimately, however, long-time practitioners and donors must decide for themselves on a project-by-project basis if and how an ICT component may be suitable.

- **Understand convergence and its implications.** The field of media development is inexorably changing, which means that old models—while functional for now—are likely to shift in the future as more and more of the world’s population gains access to new technology. In some cases, this shift may be merely evolutionary, while in others it may take on more of a “revolutionary” feel—blending the field of media development more thoroughly with others such as poverty reduction and economic growth.
 - **Focus on a broader definition of the “enabling environment.”** Instead of focusing solely on issues such as media law and defending journalists, media-development organizations and donors should think about how to utilize a broader framework—while still keeping sight of the original goal. This does not necessarily mean impinging on
- the work of other organizations whose specialty is facilitating telecommunications access. But it might mean more conversations and partnerships with those in the “ICT-for-development” field about regulatory and infrastructural issues.
- **Be ambitious but realistic about expectations.** There are many reasons to be enthusiastic about the potential of ICT in media development. That said, donors and practitioners should make sure they have a grounded understanding of the realities of access (i.e., Internet penetration, cell phone usage, computer/technology literacy, cost structures, and local patterns of usage) before incorporating elements into specific programs. An ambitious, forward-looking program that aims to use cell phones for news dissemination, for instance, will not be effective if people do not trust information coming from non-familiar sources on their phones.
 - **Support organic initiatives rather than creating top-down projects.** Heavy-handed, top-down donor ICT initiatives generally weigh too much to get off the ground. Successful ICT projects tend to harness the creativity and entrepreneurship of grassroots individuals and communities, who use donor funding to augment their own vision. This recommendation is more relevant for large bilateral donors than for foundations, who may more actively seek to identify promising grassroots-driven projects.

- **Think creatively about ways ICT can be folded into existing activities.**

Not every ICT-related project has to break new ground. Some traditional media-development activities may benefit simply from a more thoughtful approach to incorporating ICT. For instance, when implementing journalism training programs, consider systematic elements that get journalists up to speed on how to use the Internet for research, reporting, and interacting with sources and readers through building digital identities, etc. When considering the enabling environment, think about how broadcast regulation relates to cable and telecommunications regulation, and the implications it may have on convergence. When discussing business models and promoting financial sustainability, be sure to understand the global media business-operating environment and how new ICT trends may affect the particular project being advised.

- **Adjust monitoring and evaluation techniques to allow room for innovation.**

The field of media development thrives on a mix of planning for long-term goals and savvy entrepreneurship. With the advent of digital technologies, the ability to foster innovation and be flexible becomes paramount. Unfortunately, the traditional bilateral-donor model of measuring success by widget-like outputs (i.e., “journalists trained” and other such measures) does not encourage flexible thinking and innovation. New technologies—and the models they spawn—may necessitate new modes of thinking about traditional evaluative techniques.

- **Consider media literacy issues.**

As noted earlier, media literacy has long been in the background of many media-development programs, but is slowly gaining more traction as a mainstream component of programming. Increasingly, as new forms of media blur the bright line between “journalist/expert” and “audience,” those on both sides will have to acquire a more sophisticated understanding of the information landscape.

Ultimately, given that new technologies have so fundamentally altered our collective sense of “the media,” it seems reasonable to assume that the definition and categories of media development must shift as well. As noted above, there are certainly ways to incorporate ICT into the traditional categories of media assistance. Yet ICT are truly reshaping the rules of the game for both media and media assistance—meaning that perhaps donors and implementers must begin thinking not only about fitting ICT into their categories of work, but also changing their templates to accommodate the new ICT landscape.

The field of independent media development is fundamentally concerned with increasing voice and accountability—that is, increasing citizens’ awareness of issues, fostering debate and discussion, and holding powerful institutions and entities to account. For the traditional media-development field to achieve these overarching goals, therefore, it must look beyond its usual categories to understand the fresh opportunities and challenges that the new-media landscape presents. And it must give serious attention to the question of precisely how to address new technologies.

Endnotes

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