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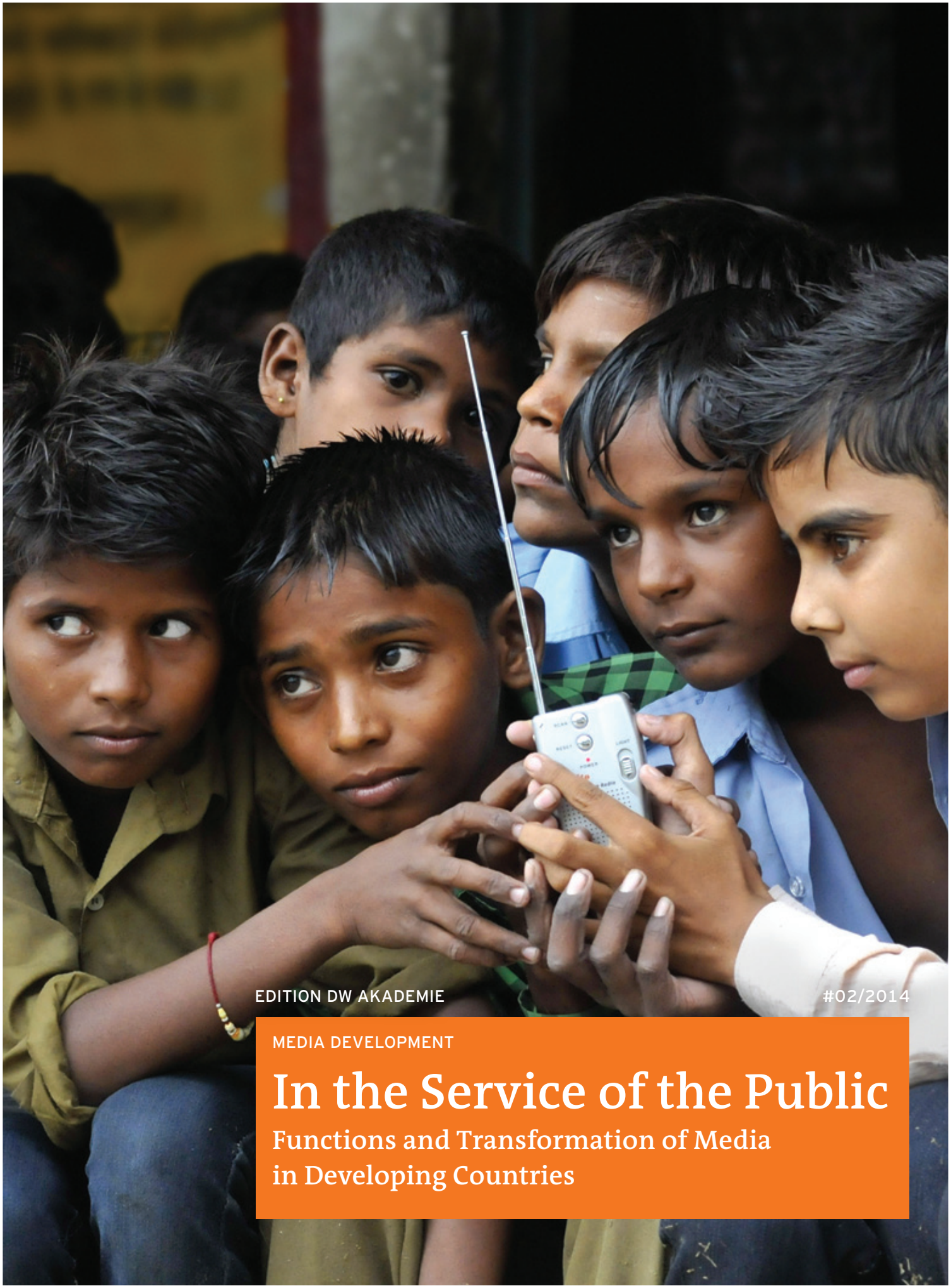

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MEDIA DEVELOPMENT

In the Service of the Public

Functions and Transformation of Media in Developing Countries

Jan Lublinski, Merjam Wakili, Petra Berner (eds.)

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Preface

Preface

A mouthpiece of government turned into a broadcaster working in the interest of the public – this vision has always had a strong appeal to DW Akademie. DW Akademie is Germany's leading organization for international media development and Deutsche Welle's center of excellence for education, knowledge transfer, and media training.

We firmly believe that independent media and responsible journalism are essential to societies. In Germany, the public service broadcasting system is widely accepted as one of the pillars of a system of such quality media. Being part of Deutsche Welle, our country's international broadcaster with a public service remit, the concept of media in the service of the public is very close to DW Akademie.

This is why DW Akademie has actively supported several transformation processes of former state broadcasters in developing countries and emerging economies over the years. Assisting reform, however, has often proved to be very challenging. Progress has felt too slow in some cases, in others, resistance to reform turned out to me more obstinate than expected. Sometimes we asked ourselves if this really is the right path to take, and if there are any alternative approaches like the support of community or private media who in many cases also deliver good services on behalf of the public.

This study constitutes the attempt to draw some initial conclusions from the work conducted by DW Akademie and other media development organizations in the past. It aims at a better understanding of which public service functions former state broadcasters can provide at all and which approaches of media development actors have proved to be successful.

Reforming of state mouthpieces into public service media can indeed be achieved. This is one of the most important findings of this study. DW Akademie researchers here present examples of media outlets that fulfill their public service remit of creating a public sphere and supporting integration to a substantial degree. Even among the success stories, not all the media outlets studied here have adopted a public service ethos to its full extent. Their work, however, improved considerably. In assisting reform, media development actors were thus able to enhance the public's freedom of expression as well as its access to information – two basic human rights we see as important prerequisites for peace and democracy.

On the other hand, this study shows how difficult and complex transformation is. State media are often highly politicized. Successful transformation, therefore, requires support of a lot of different actors: the political elite, civil society, the management of the broadcaster, its staff, and last but certainly not least, the public as a whole. It is vital that media development actors identify windows of opportunity and profit from them in order to propel change forward.

At the same time, this study demonstrates that media development organizations have to think beyond their traditional fields of expertise: capacity development and newsroom consultancy. A much broader approach is needed if substantial and sustainable development is to be achieved.

DW Akademie is currently implementing a new, more complex strategy for successful media development cooperation that takes this into account. Political and legal frameworks have become a strategic area of activity. Other equally important areas comprise qualifications, professionalism, and economic sustainability of the media sector, participation in society, and digital change.

With regard to public broadcasting, political and legal frameworks are especially important in order to ensure editorial independence of former state broadcasters. Furthermore, media development actors have to engage more in organizational development. Therefore, at the end of this study, we dedicate a whole chapter to this question.

This study of selected media outlets from twelve countries does not attempt to provide a final answer to the question of successful public service transformation. It aims at giving an overview of what has been achieved in practical work in this field in the course of the past years. More research is needed to understand which steps of reform are needed for a genuine transformation that is sustainable in the long term.

The media are undergoing crucial developments. Digital change, convergence, and social media have increased pluralism of opinion substantially in many parts of the world. At the same time, the media face new challenges with respect to their economic sustainability. The notion of public service media that offer a model for providing journalistic quality without financial dependence deserves further thought.

Christian Gramsch
Director DW Akademie

Executive Summary

Executive Summary

This study analyses the transformation process of state media towards public service media (PSM). It looks at individual cases of former government mouthpieces being turned into media that operate on behalf of the people in their country. Alternatives are also taken into consideration: private and community media that operate in the service of the public. Overall case studies from twelve developing countries and emerging economies are presented. An assessment is made of the role media development actors have played and in which methodological setting they have placed their interventions. Finally, recommendations for the practice of media development are made. The most important findings are put in a nutshell here, followed by a brief overview of the individual case studies.

Theoretical Approach

Instead of defining public service media (PSM) at the outset, this study takes a broad and explorative approach. It analyses which societal functions are fulfilled by (transformed) state broadcasters – or by other media that operate on behalf of the public. Two overarching general functions of the media are differentiated: First, "*creating a public sphere*" which includes political functions such as comprehensive balanced news, political expression, social orientation, criticism, moderation of debate, agenda setting, local generation of content. And second, "*supporting integration*" which includes social functions such as cultural expression, empowerment, entertainment, education, and innovation.

The concept of a "public service ethos" is introduced according to which public service media are not the only obliged form. Private and community media, too, can be part of a public service media system if they are committed to delivering important services to the public. Further, a model for the study of public service media systems is used in order to analyze organizational structure, management and governance of the different media, as well as the changes they undergo.

According to the findings of this study, the former state broadcasters of Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Moldova and Serbia can be called public service media (PSM) today. These media outlets have undergone successful transformation processes in recent years. Although in different stages at present, they fulfill a number of important functions in the service of the public. This notwithstanding, many reforms are still ongoing and achievements will need to be defended in the future. This result must necessarily be seen in context, namely, that many other efforts to establish a free media that operates in the service of the public have failed in the past two decades.

As a result of the overall assessment of this study, four different types of media can be differentiated with regard to the public service ethos:

1. Media outlets that remain state media. These outlets generally fail to deliver basic journalistic services such as objective and balanced news or criticism of those in power. But in many cases they do support the integration of society by strengthening cultural cohesion and expression. In addition, they offer educational and entertaining content. In many countries these media are the only ones with a network able to reach the whole population. They are often accepted by the population because they stand for national unity, integration and the respect for minorities. (See the case studies of Afghanistan and Namibia.)

2. PSM in initial transformation. These media offer basic informational services and forums for public debate. They let the opposition speak, and they offer some societal criticism and orientation. And they support the integration of society through programming for cultural cohesion and expression, education and entertainment. They integrate citizens in their programming and win the trust and the engagement of their audiences. They have a legal basis including a public service remit and an independent, plural governing body which includes civil society. (See the case studies of Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia.)

3. PSM in advanced transformation. In addition to the above, some media that have undergone a process of transformation also offer their audiences objective and independent news journalism, forums for public debate, social orientation, and criticism. However criticism of the government is still rare, as is agenda setting and in-depth journalism. (See the case studies of Moldova and Serbia.)

4. Alternative Public Service Media (APSM). Besides the former state media, this study also presents cases of exceptional private commercial media and community media. These media differ in origin and purpose, organizational structure and content from PSM. Some of them have developed and expanded their services to fulfill broader public service functions. As it turns out, these cases are comparable in their fulfillment of key functions to "PSM in advanced transformation." On the other hand most of the APSM offer their services only to a selected segment of the country or community. They do not as a rule have a governing board which represents different parts of society. Nonetheless, they have a clear and institutional commitment to professional journalism standards and to servicing a broader public. They may take over roles as neutral and independent actors in society (while still pursuing specific community radio agendas or commercial interests in other parts).

And there are cases where small media have professionalized their work and the structure of their organization in order to deliver better services to the public. (See the case studies from Nigeria, Nepal, Serbia (B92), and Bolivia.)

Some of the problems of intended transformation processes in the past are related to the approaches of media development actors and their donors themselves. In many cases there was a lack of long-term planning and coordination between the international organizations. Only very few dedicated frameworks for needs assessment, planning, monitoring, and evaluations have been put in place. Often media development organizations have limited themselves to capacity building and newsroom consultancy, not addressing structural change in governing bodies, political and legal frameworks, and participation of civil society. This study shows that first of all, an agenda of cooperation and a strategic plan for reform need to be developed for an intervention to be successful. In addition, a maximum of local expertise should be included.

When planning an intervention, media development actors have to carefully analyze the potential of both PSM and Alternative Public Service Media (APSM) to act on behalf of the public in a given country. Depending on the situation of a particular media landscape and the political will for genuine reform of a state broadcaster, APSM can be considered either as an alternative or as a complement to state media transformation. Ideally a media landscape has both types, PSM and APSM, in fruitful competition: the PSM offering a broader set of services, and the APSM being more innovative and adapting better to the needs of specific communities and audiences. Meanwhile, in countries where the reform of state media towards PSM is not realistic, the support of media with the potential to become APSM is important to foster journalism with a public service ethos in order to help the people exert their right to information. If the goal for media development is to strengthen public service ideals, its perspective has to be extended beyond state broadcaster transformation.

More efforts from media development need be directed towards the improvement of legal frameworks for the media in general and PSM in particular. To advance in this area, international actors need to build legal expertise, find strong partners in civil society, and support projects for lobbying and advocacy. Those who work towards a general political climate that is in favour of PSM and community media need to be strengthened. Such opportunities were seized in the cases of Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, Serbia, and Myanmar. Here important contributions were made to lawmaking processes and the establishment of more independent governing bodies of the PSM.

Media development actors have so far engaged in serious organizational development only in a few cases. Fully-fledged processes of organizational change should include the establishment of a strategy group, a steering committee, and a process operation in different phases. This would enable important issues to be dealt with adequately, such as financial sustainability, administrative reform, human resources management, and the establishment of sustainable structures for capacity building. Some organizational transformation processes are described in a dedicated chapter at the end of the study, as a constructive contribution to the discussion on the way forward.

Overall Public Service Media should be given more attention in media development. International partnerships can rise to the challenge by further building their own capacity in the face of complex media landscapes. The places and times, strategies and processes need to be well chosen. Not always, but in some selected cases, broader transformation interventions have turned out to be successful. The additional opportunities for Alternative Public Service Media in a given country need to be carefully weighed as to the potential to support integration and the creation of a public sphere. After all, in a time of fundamental changes of the media in general and a crisis of journalism in particular, the old public service idea still offers a financially sustainable model: Media that act in the service of the public and that are financed by the public. They can integrate different parts of society, deliver reliable and balanced information, and speak truth to those in power.

Case Studies From Twelve Countries in a Nutshell

This study provides a broad assessment of selected media outlets from twelve countries with a special focus on the processes of transformation and public service functions provided by the outlets. Information is assembled on the different media landscapes, media organizations, the functions they deliver, the interventions by media development actors, and the changes the media have undergone in the past years.

Afghanistan: The transformation process of the state broadcaster RTA has failed. Most importantly, lack of perseverance on the media development side and reform fear and confusion on the Afghan side led to a stagnation of the reform.

Kyrgyzstan: In 2012 the media development organization Internews initiated a new attempt to turn the former Kyrgyzstani state broadcaster OTRK into a genuine public service media outlet. A newly established independent supervisory board which includes civil society members and is working towards more audience participation and is an important success story of this transformation. A lot of work, however, still needs to be done to

improve the quality and independence of the programming. The case of OTRK shows that the transformation of a broadcaster in a country with press freedom, a strong civil society, and a dedicated plan by a media development actor is possible, though not easy.

Namibia: In its current structure the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) remains a state broadcaster. It has nevertheless undergone some serious reforms and produces a variety of programming in ten languages. Its reporting is biased and controversial subjects are excluded from talk-shows. Nonetheless, NBC plays a vital role in delivering core public services to the people, in particular to poorer parts of the population.

Mongolia: In nine years of transformation from a state media outlet to a public broadcaster, the Mongolian National Broadcaster (MNB) has undergone a change process with significant achievements. A number of media development actors were and still are active here, among them Swedish SIDA and DW Akademie. MNB today offers a wide range of programs to enhance public debate. Despite the increasing competition from commercial rivals, it is still the broadcaster with the best ratings and the highest credibility among the population. In Mongolia, there are no real alternatives to a well-functioning public service media organization.

Moldova: The former state broadcaster Teleradio-Moldova (TRM) has transformed, largely through institutional reform, to now fulfill important public service functions. The content of informational programs has become much more balanced and independent. With its new programs and talk shows, TRM is creating a public sphere open to debate. DW Akademie and Soros Foundation have both supported this process. The case of TRM shows that media development can assist in assuring the delivery of basic information services to the public.

Myanmar: The transformation process of the state broadcaster MRTV was launched in 2012 by the government. Since then a consortium of international media development organizations has been working jointly to support MRTV in different areas and on various levels. The biggest challenges at the moment are the struggle for a legislative framework and the lack of public trust in this state broadcaster. A first step in the right direction is the new National Races Channel (NRC), a TV channel committed exclusively to ethnic minorities. In Myanmar, the coming years will see media development organizations vindicate their efforts to support transformation towards PSM.

Serbia: Despite their contrasting preconditions, both the privately-owned B92 and the public broadcaster Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) managed to serve as public service media in their respective time and context. RTS is an example of the very successful transformation of a state outlet with the help of a media development organization: BBC Media Action supported the former propaganda broadcaster in its development into a public service broadcaster that creates a public sphere and supports integration in Serbia. Nonetheless, RTS has not yet attained the innovative force of B92 in the 1990s.

Nigeria: Freedom Radio, a privately-owned commercial radio station based in the northern Nigerian city of Kano, is an example of how private media can take over some functions of PSM in an environment in which only state-run and private media exist. It has some of the features of community radio – involving local audiences, giving a voice to local issues and concerns – but it also goes beyond that. Freedom Radio has won the support of a broad segment of the population, a circumstance which allows it to wield an impressive amount of power. So this case shows that privately-owned public service media constitute a valid model with advantages and challenges.

Nepal: In 1997, Radio Sagamartha went on air as the first of today's 250 community radio stations in Nepal. As a vehicle for social mobilization, the station is raising its voice to discuss many hidden issues or taboo topics in society, reflecting the shortcomings of Nepal's fledgling democracy. This case shows how much community media in Asia can achieve on behalf of the public in the absence of public service media, but also what their limitations ultimately are.

Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador: Three community radio stations from Latin America were jointly assessed: Radio Pio XII in Bolivia, Radio Intag in Ecuador and Vokaribe in Colombia. They show that community media can make a very significant contribution to pluralism in the media, to the empowerment of local communities, the construction of multiple identities, the sense of local belonging, and the defense of human rights, especially the right to freedom of expression and of access to information. In spite of the fact that community radio fulfills the important public functions of social integration and the building of a public sphere, it can and should not substitute public service media.

01
Introduction: A Major Challenge for Media Development

Jan Lublinski, Merjam Wakili, Petra Berner

"PSB needs to be looked at in each site where it exists and in the context of the particular media ecology in which it exists. Positions that give it an automatically privileged position with respect to quality, democracy, and citizenship can no longer be sustained. We need to provide very situated microanalyses of our 'public broadcasters' within their particular media and not endlessly regurgitate tired and superseded general arguments about PSB's natural superiority."

Elisabeth Jacka

Introduction: A Major Challenge for Media Development

The transformation of state broadcasters to public service media (PSM) is one of the most ambitious endeavors in the field of media development. It is an enormous task to work with state broadcasters that are controlled by the government and effectively act as its mouthpiece, and to support them on their way to becoming independent media, working on the public's behalf. But in the wake of major changes in political systems it seems feasible to reinforce such fundamental reforms in the media sector.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, an increasing number of efforts have been made to transform state broadcasters in different regions of the world. Dedicated political and legal initiatives have been set up; huge sums have been invested in donor support. The main hope was that fundamental reforms in a large number of media systems could be achieved.

But not all the ambitions and dreams could be realized. The initiatives and programs that were introduced from the early 1990s were idealistic but largely unsuccessful. In some cases the failure is obvious, in others it remains somewhat unclear what has been achieved so far, and how. And there are cases where successes can be identified but they might not match the originally intended objectives. In many cases it has proved difficult to establish what was really done, which strategies worked well, but also what went wrong and why. In other words: activities in the field of transformation of state broadcasters did not always meet modern standards for development. But to be fair it should be noted that, for example, the OECD standards of Aid Effectiveness were not established until 2005 with the Paris Declaration and the subsequent meetings in Accra and Busan.[1] It should also be said that the media development sector has evolved substantially in the past decade and has yet to reach its full potential.[2] This study will attempt to take a new and sober look at what can be achieved through media development work with (former) state broadcasters, what possible alternatives may look like and what lessons should be drawn for the future. We do this in a modest and exploratory fashion, assessing a small number of cases from different regions of the world. We analyze not only the media outlets themselves, but also try to understand the political, economic and cultural environment they are operating in. In other words, we evaluate the "media ecology" of each case, very much along the lines of Elisabeth Jacka from the University of Technology, Sydney, whom we quoted at the beginning of this chapter.[3]

Public Service Broadcasting

"Public service broadcasting (PSB) has an important role to play in providing access to and participation in public life. Especially in developing countries, PSB can be instrumental in promoting access to education and culture, developing knowledge, and fostering interactions among citizens."[4]

"Public service broadcasting should encourage unity in diversity and social progression. It should represent the voices of the people from every part of the country, especially subjects and opinions that are otherwise ignored by the popular media (...) The idea is that the more the number of people who relate and benefit from the concept of public service broadcasting, the more efficient that society will be. It is therefore important for a broadcaster to have diversity in programming so that it caters to a wide audience with wider needs and interests."[5]

"Public Broadcasting is defined as a meeting place where all citizens are welcome and considered equals. It is an information and education too, accessible to all and meant for all, whatever their social and economic status. (...) Because it is not subject to the dictates of profitability, public broadcasting must be daring, innovative, and take risks. And when it succeeds in developing outstanding genres or ideas, it can impose its high standards and set the tone for other broadcasters."[6]

"Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) is broadcasting made, financed and controlled by the public, for the public. It is neither commercial nor state-owned, free from political interference and pressure from commercial forces. Through PSB, citizens are informed, educated and also entertained. When guaranteed with pluralism, programming diversity, editorial independence, appropriate funding, accountability and transparency, public service broadcasting can serve as a cornerstone of democracy."[7]

[1] *OECD DAC, Aid effectiveness, retrieved from: http://www.oecd.orgdac/effectiveness/.*
[2] *Peters 2010.*
[3] *Elisabeth Jacka 2003, 188.*
[4] *UNESCO 2003, 232.*
[5] *Manvi 2012, 22.*
[6] *UNESCO/WRTC 2001.*
[7] *UNESCO 2008, 54.*

Before we introduce our approach further, we sidestep briefly to give a short general introduction to the challenges of public service broadcasting: We first look at where PSB comes from historically and how the idea of transformation of state broadcasters was put into practice in Eastern Europe in the 1990s. Secondly we discuss some of the current challenges of the Internet and mobile communication and, in this context, we reconsider the actors that should be at the heart of all public service activities: the citizens.

Public Service Broadcasting – West European Roots, International Ambitions

PSB is deeply rooted in the history and political discourse in Western Europe, an ambitious and universal concept which integrates great visions such as media freedom, equality among citizens, a public sphere, and innovative force. On a more practical level, PSB also evolved from the need to finance the comparatively expensive radio and television technology and the limited number of broadcasting licenses to be distributed.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is often cited as a model or even "prototype" of a public service broadcaster (PSB).[8] And indeed it is respected worldwide for its editorial independence, its public obligations, its numerous innovations in technology and content and its license fee funding model. But the BBC model was not installed once for all time. From the outset political actors have attempted to control or influence the broadcaster. The idea and realization of independent broadcasting in the public service needed to be developed and defended over time.[9]

The first case of successful post-conflict transformation to PSB can be found in German history. After World War II and the Nazi's landscape of propaganda media, a free media sector was to be created, at least in western Germany. The BBC served as a model for a broadcasting system that was adapted to the needs of the new federal system. Special legal obligations for the new regional broadcasters' independence and pluralism were established. In particular they were obliged to deliver truthful and balanced reporting. And in their regulative bodies different social groups were represented: churches, sports associations, trade unions, employers' associations, cultural organisations, and political parties.

The first chancellor Konrad Adenauer made several attempts to gain more influence over the new broadcasters, but did not succeed. After several years of parliamentary debate the high court in Karlsruhe strengthened in 1961 the PSB system.[10]

In the 1950s all the regional broadcast stations had come together to form a nationwide network, the ARD.[11] In 1962 ZDF,[12] a second PSB for television, was established. So a whole generation of citizens was brought up only knowing and expecting public service content. The first commercial broadcasters in Germany were not introduced until the 1980s.[13]

To this day, PSM are a disputed issue in Germany. Political actors have always attempted to gain more influence over the broadcasting organisations, whilst proponents of commercial media have criticized PSM as privileged media enterprises.[14] But over the decades public service media in Germany have been able to defend their status and independence.[15] And generally the debate over funding and programs has helped to create a certain awareness among citizens that these are in fact their very own media.

Another historic case of transformation from a state broadcaster to a public broadcaster is East Germany. In 1989, before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall, many journalists working in the state-controlled broadcasters pursued political change in general but also sought a shift in the media landscape. They began to introduce self-generated reforms and envisioned a new broadcasting era that would help them articulate the visions and ideas of the citizens in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). But after the peaceful revolution and the reunification of Germany, Western politicians and media managers dominated the transformation process and set a fast pace. In 1991, after German reunification, the East German broadcasting authority was dissolved. New and more effective regional public service broadcasters were established and integrated into the Western system of the ARD. The East Germans had won freedom of expression and a system of PSB, but due to political and economic pressures they had to comply with a broadcasting culture that was introduced from the West.[16]

From PSB to PSM

In the digital age of media convergence the term public service broadcasting (PSB) is broadened to public service media (PSM). It stands for the attempt to include both the broadcasting media as well as interactive Internet media. In this study we mostly use the term PSM. We do this partly to avoid interpreting PSB in the narrow sense of the traditional terminology, i.e., as being only a technical term for one of a number of distribution methods and technologies used by media companies.[17] Nevertheless the term PSB is still used in this study. In some cases when a particular organization is addressed which still broadcasts TV and radio programs only, we speak of the broadcaster and PSB. Also when referring to older literature we use the old term.

So the evolution of PSM was never as natural as it may be perceived in Western Europe today. It was not established in an ideal democratic process, it had to survive major conflicts, and it needed to grow over time as an ongoing process, and be rooted in society on the way.

If this process is on the whole successful, citizens can greatly benefit from PSM because they have more to offer than private stations. In an international study, Curran et al. compared the content of the reporting and the knowledge of the audience in different media systems.[18] The study showed that in countries with PSM, such as Sweden or Finland, television devotes more attention to public affairs and international news and fosters greater knowledge in these areas than in a media landscape with a dominant market model as in the US. "Public service television also gives greater prominence to news, encourages higher levels of news consumption and contributes to a smaller withinnation knowledge gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged."[19]

Difficulties in Defining and Understanding PSM

The range of public service media (PSM) worldwide is varied and complex. There is no standard definition. Nevertheless numerous attempts have been made in the academic world as well as the media policy debate to define the core of PSM or PSB and to describe their characteristics.[20] Generally the different PSB models were developed as an alternative to the models of state-controlled and profit-oriented commercial media.[21] But the terms PSB and PSM are perceived differently in different languages and cultures: 'Public' may be perceived as 'national', 'state' or even 'governmental' in many parts of the world. So often this linguistic difficulty is a first obstacle to an understanding of the concept.[22] And authoritarian regimes tend to only label their state media as public service media.

To define or describe PSM it would be insufficient to simply generate a catalogue of requirements for such a broadcaster and the societies it operates in. Instead one has to allow for a certain variance and openness in approach. In Chapter 2 a theoretical approach towards PSM functions is developed.

So PSM have become a decisive cultural and democratic factor in some European societies, and stand for some universal ideas that should apply worldwide. But are these really of relevance to countries in other regions of the world?

In the global efforts to foster public service media worldwide, UNESCO has taken the lead. It has supported numerous activities including the "Public Broadcasting for All Campaign" by the International Federation of Journalists launched in 2001 and meetings in different world regions where declarations and recommendations in favor of PSB were made.[23] The UN agency[24] also introduced public service broadcasting among its Media Development Indicators.[25] And it has also helped to publish several guides on broadcasting regulations, editorial guidelines and other best practices.[26] The publications all convey a lot of enthusiasm for PSM, and they build conceptual and legal grounds for the realization of this special media form. But they have less to say about the failures in transformation of state broadcasters and the lessons that may be learned from them.

[8] Woldt 2005, 293.

[9] The first case occurred even before the corporation received its first royal charter for its operation as a "public corporation acting as Trustees for the national interest" (BBC 1927). In 1926, during a general strike, the first instance was recorded of major pressure on the BBC from political actors. For nine days British industry was at a standstill. Many of the newspapers had stopped printing. The only channel to reach the public at large was radio. Consequently the Conservative Chancellor Winston Churchill, the Labour Opposition Leader Ramsay MacDonald as well as the Unions' representatives tried to get airtime for their messages to the public. But the young founder of the BBC John Reith withstood and convinced the prime minister of the time, Stanley Baldwin, in a series of exchanges to support the BBC in its independence. Another important milestone was the Suez Crisis in 1956 when the government and the opposition were divided on the question of military intervention. Here the BBC insisted on reporting on this divide, and broadcast it via its World Service to the Middle East region. The government seriously considered "disciplinary sanctions" for the broadcaster. See BBC 2014.

[10] Diller 1999, 148-159.

[11] ARD: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Rundfunkanstalten.

[12] ZDF: Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen.

[13] Wilke 2009; Hoffmann-Riem 1997; Bausch 1980.

[14] See for example ACT 2004.

[15] For example: In 2009 the former editor-in-chief of ZDF, Nikolaus Brender, lost his job although the director of the broadcaster wanted to prolong his contract. Conservative politicians had formed informal majorities in the governing bodies and voted against Brender. In 2014 the highest court in Germany disapproved of this and limited the influence of political actors on the governing bodies. Only one third of the members of the governing bodies are now nominated by political parties. See Hanfeld, 6 April, 2014.

[16] Hoffmann-Riem 1997; Kilborn 1993.

[17] Nissen 2006, 6.

[18] Curran et al. 2009.

[19] Curran et al. 2009, 5.

[20] See Taussig 2006, 62.

[21] UNESCO 2005, 13.

[22] See Rumphorst 1998.

[23] UNESCO 2005.

[24] UNESCO 2008, 54-57.

[25] Public service broadcasting is also an important element in the African Media Barometer developed by the German Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) in 2004, and was later added to the Asian Media Barometer as well (www.fesmedia.org).

[26] For an overview see Smith 2012, 58-59.

Lessons Learned? – Transformations Since the 1990s

In the 1990s a large number of transformation initiatives were started in the former socialist countries in Europe. Hrvatin studies the case of Slovenia and compares it to other countries.[27] She describes how formerly state-owned media in Central and Eastern Europe were transformed to PSB only formally and "practically overnight." Her general conclusion is that public broadcasters in former socialist countries are in a state of crisis. The elements of this crisis "range from haphazard media legislation, political pressures, financial and organizational difficulties, and management crisis to identity crisis and loss of public support."[28] But at the same time she pleads for individual treatment: Each transformed broadcaster has its own history, its own problems and will need its own solution.

Jakubowicz analyzes the very first transformation processes which took place in Central and Eastern European countries during the 1990s.[29] His results shed light on what went wrong in these countries and why. From his long catalogue of reasons, which seems to be valid for other unsuccessful transformation processes, too, there is one major reason that stands out: The PSB models were implemented in completely different cultural and social environments from the organizations they originated with, and were implemented without strong support from the country itself. The problems that Jakubowicz describes can be categorized into two types:[30]

Problems caused by internal reasons:

Traditional and badly designed organizational and management structures, involving many collective bodies divided along party lines, incapable of fast decision-making and mainly concentrating on blocking each other's actions;

Heavy political control, resulting from the politicization of the process of appointing governing authorities, turning former state radio and television into 'parliamentary' rather than public broadcasters, or indeed amounting to its 're-nationalization';

Frequent management and leadership crises and changes of top management, resulting from political interference.

Problems caused by external reasons:

Lack of funds and programming know-how required to compete with commercial broadcasters, sometimes coupled with exaggerated insistence on non-commercialism which additionally weakens those stations;

Self-censorship of journalists and program-makers who can expect little protection from their superiors when they run afoul of politicians or some influential organization;

Lack of social embedment of the idea of public service broadcasting;

Lack of a social constituency willing and able to support public service broadcasters and buttress their autonomy and independence.

Jakubowicz speaks of a process of 'transformation by imitation' not only on the political level but also on the social level and – most importantly for our context – in the media sector.[31] He stresses that it would be wrong to see these enormous difficulties as mere teething problems. The state-owned broadcasters would have needed long-term help from international media aid for the transformation into public broadcasters; in fact, Jakubowicz questions whether such an extraordinary engagement was ever provided by the international actors.

Equally sobering are the evaluation results, undertaken by the United Nations Development Programme,[32] of the efforts to support PSB in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides notable achievements (improved legislative framework, independent regulatory system and co-existence of commercial and public service broadcasting), the organization also identifies numerous challenges involving the external media development agents:

Lack of coordination among the key players.

Lack of the right expertise in media development. "Several local media actors have said that the situation was made worse by the fact that the international consultants were not experts: They had media credentials but lacked the experience involving the transition from a state broadcaster to a public service broadcasting system."[33]

Limited focus on management capacity development. Too much emphasis was placed on training journalists, with insufficient guidance for managers on how to run their media outlets on a sustainable basis.

Donor dependency and (un)sustainability. "Such dependency seems to have been created by a limited appreciation of the need to focus on strengthening financial self-sustainability at the outset of media/broadcasting projects."[34]

Limited consultation with local stakeholders leading to lack of ownership. "Several of the programs supported by the international community have been criticized for not being sufficiently informed by local expertise

> and that this has contributed to a lack of local ownership. However others believe that (...) the reason for the lack of ownership was that public service broadcasting is an entirely alien concept."[35]

Stiles and Weeks draw conclusions along much the same lines in their evaluation of UNESCO's support in Afghanistan, Cambodia, India, Kyrgyzstan, Malawi, Panama, and Sri Lanka between 2002 and 2005: They find that the projects that were funded were too small, too short-term, too isolated, and too many. Opportunities to cooperate with national NGOs were missed. The monitoring and evaluation approaches used were generally very weak, hard data was lacking.[36] In the case of Afghanistan, Wakili stresses that the international community failed to demonstrate staying power in its support of the country's state broadcaster. She points out that a broadcaster that is not successfully transformed to PSB may still be enabled to offer, to some extent, acceptable programming on behalf of the audience.[37]

The international attempts to transform African state broadcasters in recent years were generally unsuccessful. Although public service broadcasting has become a popular ideal, and although there is a broad consensus that transformation of state broadcasters is needed, not much has been achieved. Many national broadcasters on this continent now call themselves "public" broadcasters but they remain de facto state-controlled. The governments generally try to retain their control over the broadcasters while at the same time reducing the funding. "Broadcasting reform efforts are generally sluggish due to a lack of political will and the lethargy of civil society", summarizes Hendrik Bussiek in the overview report[38] of the AfriMAP project funded by the Open Society Foundation which assessed the reform status in eleven sub-Saharan African countries up to 2013.[39]

Overall the problems with transformation efforts can be located in three areas: inside the media organisation itself, in the environment of its media landscape, and also in the support system provided by media development actors. In sum, these problems can lead to major dysfunctions. Thus new approaches and concepts are needed.

Reconsidering Audiences – Media in the Information Society

With the advent of the Internet and mobile communication technologies, media landscapes are undergoing fundamental changes. Information is potentially available everywhere around the globe. The national markets are opened up, and more and more media organizations come into existence, offering their services and trying to win their share of the audience's attention.[40]

At first sight this is the universal idea of PSB taken one step further. Media users now have even more sources of information to choose from. Content can even be offered tailor-made to their needs. And they can participate through new forms of interactivity. On the one hand, the Internet brings the opportunity to stay in touch with national and global news agendas, and on the other hand, the Internet offers room for small groups or communities to exchange on special needs or topics.

But there are also major problems that arise in the new era: Firstly, the "digital divide" will not be bridged easily; access to the Internet is not available to all global citizens. Nor do they all have the media literacy to make full use of the new technologies. Secondly, the internationalization of the media market brings a concentration of ownership, a few players will command the main media markets, and entertainment and commerce may dominate in the future.[41] Thirdly, political regulation on national levels will lose its importance in this area. And fourthly, independent, critical journalism will be difficult to sustain. Investigative journalism in particular is expensive and it takes an independent publisher to withstand the threats of political and economic actors. "While the new Internet sites and blogs provide enormous breadth and width of information (...), they cannot replace one fundamental function of professional journalism that is vital to democracy: scrutiny of those in power."[42]

Jakubowicz sees the chance here for former public broadcasters to become truly public service media by offering two kinds of services: a basic supply on general channels for a large part of the population, and at the same time a whole range of new communication products tailored to specific audiences – alerts and other extra services on mobile devices, moderated forums on websites, archive material for documentation or educational purposes, new forms of interactivity, etc.[43] The concept of participation can come to its full realization here. Citizens move from being mere viewers or listeners to active users: They can comment on, modify, and produce their own content.

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[27] *Hratvin 2002.*
[28] *Ibid., 83-84.*
[29] *Jakubowicz 2005 and 2007.*
[30] *Jakubowicz 2005, 9.*
[31] *Jakubowicz 2007.*
[32] *UNDP 2004.*
[33] *UNDP 2004, 21.*
[34] *Ibid., 22.*
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Stiles & Weeks 2006.*
[37] *Wakili 2013, 257.*
[38] *Bussiek 2013, 2.*
[39] *Benin, Cameroon, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe. South Africa is an exceptional case here. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) has undergone serious processes of transformation since media freedom was established in the country in the 1990s. The Commonwealth Association had supported the process through consultancy at the time (Smith 2011). Today SABC is, as far as the law is concerned, more accountable to the public than to the government. And there is a strong civil society watching over the changes within the SABC. Nevertheless the broadcaster's independence from the ruling party will still need to be fought for in the future. See Lloyd et al. 2010; Duncan 2009.*
[40] *Berger 2009; Deane 2005.*
[41] *Nissen 2006, 9-11, 16.*
[42] *Peters 2010, 270.*
[43] *Jakubowicz 2007.*

But will it be only public service media that will be able to offer these services?

The traditional answer is that PSM is the only democratic form that puts citizens at the center of its activities and seeks to communicate for the common good. "It is becoming increasingly evident that in the blind pursuit of profit, commercial broadcasting has often diverted the media from its public interest focus towards pure entertainment. Yet, nowhere have they made public service broadcasting obsolete, and the dual systems often provide the best media ecology."[44]

However this differentiation between democratic public service on the one side and profit-oriented private media on the other seems to somewhat oversimplify today's situation. The media landscapes worldwide are of a complex and diverse character. It has become much less clear who acts on behalf of the public and who does not. Some broadcasters may officially be called PSM and in reality just be large, self-sufficient bureaucracies that show little interest in their audience. And there are media entrepreneurs that have objectives and professional ethics that include serving the public.

At the same time the original problem which led to the development of PSB still remains, namely, that broad radio and television coverage for a whole country is still difficult to finance. These old channels of mass communication remain of great importance to a large part of the world's population even though the Internet progresses. At the same time, newspapers and magazines are struggling. In the past they were able to provide good quality, broad distribution services because they were comparatively cheap in production and distribution. Now they are increasingly losing their business model. To what extent online services will be able to take over is not clear.

So there still is an urgent need for the development of PSM. But they may take on entirely new forms in the future and their content may be provided by numerous actors. Along these lines, the "de-institutionalizing of PSB" is being discussed in various forms. Broadcasters could be forced, for example, to finance themselves initially by advertising and then, in addition, they could apply for grants to publish public service content.[45]

In Scandinavia, Sondergaard observes "the emergence of new hybrid channels."[46] These combine public service requirements and commercial operations. But these outlets may, he fears, "gradually metamorphose into strictly commercial enterprises." This could be all the more likely because features that were previously perceived to be exclusive parts of the PSM concept – such as public ownership and licence fee financing – no longer apply.

In a book chapter entitled "Smells, sounds, walks like public service content; but then why is it not?"[47], Ferenc Hammer studies three cases of new web-based community media in Hungary and comes to the conclusion that their high quality content could easily meet the programming standards of a PSM outlet.[48] Moreover, he argues, internet and digital streaming technology allows these media outlets to address audiences that are no longer restricted to certain geographical areas, as used to be the case for classic community media. The specific communities interested in the content produced by these outlets can access them anywhere.

Community Media, PSM, and Social Media

Community media is any form of independent, non-profit media that is created and controlled by a community, either a geographic community or a community of identity or interests. Community media stand for the empowerment of civil society and offer alternative content by helping to express concerns, cultures and languages. Their legal status varies: they may be community owned, privately owned or illegal without a license. What matters more is their social function.

"They provide communities with access to information and voice, facilitating community-level debate, information and knowledge sharing and input into public decision making."[49]

They have their origins in Latin American community radio.

"They are characterized by their political objectives of social change, their search for a fair system that takes into account human rights, and makes power accessible to the masses and open to their participation."[50]

The characteristics mentioned above describe what community media should be. The reality in many cases is different. Community media struggle with adverse legal frameworks, non-transparent and corrupt licensing processes, financial problems, and lack of human resources. In some cases, they also pursue mainly private interests or indirectly support political groups. Nevertheless community media are present in all regions of the world. They form an independent media sector, separate from and an alternative to commercial media, state run media or public service media (PSM).

PSM are different from this in many respects. They are expected to follow certain general principles or functions in a society as a whole. In practice they are established as public institutions based on a broadcasting law and governed by a body representing different actors in society. Their production of journalistic content is guided by professional standards and the different needs of broad audiences.

The internet offers new opportunities for distribution of content and participation. In particular **social media**, the interaction of people creating and sharing information on virtual platforms and networks, play a special role here. Numerous communities but also media outlets use social media, along with other digital forms of communication.

Consequently Hammer foresees a convergence between PSM and community media as part of a de-institutionalizing of public service provision. In a new form of PSM ecology he can imagine many providers of public service content. "Why can PSM not utilize a careful tagging enterprise with a well-edited channel of multiplatform access on YouTube using audience/user folksonomies, collaborative tagging, crowdsourcing in identifying PSM content regardless of its origin?"[51]

Notwithstanding these possibilities there is the need, not only to strengthen the communication within limited communities, but to include society as a whole. In many countries there is still a healthy political will to sustain strong national public service institutions. The cases where traditional public service broadcasters were, for economic reasons, divided into different enterprises have shown that the newly created "privately owned public service broadcasters"[52] are much less obliged to deliver a broad service to the public (and less interested in doing so) than the classic PSB. "Splitting up the public corporation and distributing the public service obligation to a row of smaller and more vulnerable entities involves a danger of opening up a gate for illegitimate influence and pressure."[53]

So there are still good reasons for strong PSM that can in the long run defend the independence of their work on behalf of the public as a whole.

As far as media landscapes in developing countries are concerned, there is a particular need for larger national institutions that ensure public access to information and advance social cohesion. James Deane of BBC Media Action analyzes the situation in fragile states and concludes that, here in particular, public service broadcasting can involve citizens from all regions and cultures in national public conversations and thus help to build shared identities.[54]

Another major challenge for developing countries is posed by the new digital technologies. On the one hand, many societies progress at a great pace with respect to mobile communication and the internet where new media outlets emerge. On the other hand, the new technologies are the tools of the elites only.[55] And many broadcasters are not prepared for the upcoming "digital switchovers" in their television services.

For the specific media development context of this study, we need to carefully analyze the status of the (former) state broadcasters and their potential for change – even if they seem completely outdated and dysfunctional at first sight. At the same time we need to look for new avenues to take in the larger media landscapes but also in the strategies and management of the media development interventions.

The question needs to be asked again, what exactly PSM as a concept means today and how this concept can be developed in different cultures, particularly in developing countries which are undergoing processes of transformation.

All this has to be achieved with a broadened perspective on the audience. The media's role here is to help people access information and voice their opinions, and to allow for their participation in public discussions. As new forms of participation become possible through the medium of the internet and mobile communication, citizens should be encouraged to transform from passive recipients to active users and providers of specific content. Yet at the same time the old ideals such as universality of access and the independence of journalism are still relevant and need to be ensured.

So the idea of this study is not to defend old territory, but rather to see which new buildings can be constructed on it and how. And, in doing so, one has to keep in mind that the basic idea behind all this is to deliver a good, fair, and equal media service to the public.

Approach and Aim of the Study

This study's primary aim is to take stock of approaches, experiences and results in media development. After more than two decades of interventions in the transformation of state broadcasters it is still not clear what has been achieved and under which circumstances. It also remains somewhat uncertain which methods worked and why.

Among media development experts there is an ongoing debate as to whether the transformation of state broadcasters should generally be pursued and, if so, whether it is a good idea at all to export the Western model of PSM to other regions and cultures of the world. It is further being discussed whether this transformation approach should be complemented or replaced by alternative strategies. For example, the work with the state broadcasters could be limited to a few assistance projects only. Or a media development organization may choose to work with other partners altogether, such as the community media sector or civil society, and thus support media work on behalf of citizens in a different way.

To prepare the study we conducted a preliminary literature review and initial interviews with development and media experts. Initially we were unable to identify many cases of successful transformation achieved through media development.[56] But we saw that in numerous instances we could identify specific aspects that were of interest to us, such as new legislation initiatives, active civil societies, new programming formats, organizational reform or new approaches in media development.

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[44] *UNESCO 2005, 12.*

[45] *See Bardoel & d'Haenens 2008, 345-348.*

[46] *Sondergaard 1999, 25.*

[47] *Hammer 2013.*

[48] *For example, they produce videos on environmental protection and social injustice; they offer an important programming space for audience participation and involvement on the radio; they experiment with new formats, such as a soundmap of Budapest on the internet.*

[49] *Buckley 2011, 7.*

[50] *Villamayor & Lamas 1998.*

[51] *Hammer 2013, 126.*

[52] *E.g. French TV Channel TV1. See Nissen 2006, 32.*

[53] *Nissen 2006, 32.*

[54] *Deane 2013, 21.*

[55] *Bussiek 2013, 36.*

[56] *See Smith 2011; Muppdi & Manvi 2012; AfriMAP.*

We then quickly realized that our study would have to rely heavily on a large number of structured interviews with people that were involved as well as experts observing the developments in the media sector. So we interviewed employees of the state and public service media in question, journalists as well as managers. We spoke to civil society representatives, media experts, and people involved in media development and consultancy. Based on the theoretical considerations presented in the next chapter, we developed a list of questions for all interviews to assure that the most relevant issues were covered.[57]

In addition, we made an effort to assemble as much documentation as possible and analyzed it. But overall we found it rather difficult to get hold of complete records or evaluations of media development interventions.

As for the selection of the media outlets and countries studied, here we chose a pragmatic approach. After our initial research we decided to invest our resources in studying a selection of prominent or promising cases which experts with various major media development institutions (BBC Media Action, DW Akademie, International Media Support and Internews) had pointed out to us. In an academic context one might have preferred instead to limit oneself to one world region only, or to undertake a very detailed assessment of a single media system. We, as an applied research and development department within DW Akademie, however, believe that we can add more to the discussion by making a deliberate and exploratory choice. We look at a range of cases that seem promising from a practitioner's learning perspective and thus try to base our conclusions on a greater breadth of material. In doing so, we made an effort to take the different cultures and contexts into account by treating every case individually before comparing across different countries and interventions.

As it turns out, our sample contains many cases from different parts of Asia: In Afghanistan, several international organizations were involved with the state broadcaster in the past decade, including BBC Media Action,[58] Canal France International (CFI) and DW Akademie. The public broadcaster in Kyrgyzstan partnered in the last few years with the US-American organization Internews to advance its transformation process. In Mongolia, the Swedish and Danish development organizations (SIDA and DANIDA) were active, among others, before DW Akademie started to work with the broadcaster in 2011. BBC Media Action, International Media Support (IMS) and DW Akademie have been involved in Myanmar since 2012. In the latter case we only intend to provide some initial insights that could be built upon in a follow-up assessment a few years from now.

As for Africa and the Arab World, we could not identify many cases where any remarkable progress in a broadcaster's transformation actually took place. As the situation in South Africa has already been described in the literature,[59] we chose to look at the case of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation. We found some interesting aspects and questions pertinent to our study, for instance, the large number of language services on the radio and considerable reform efforts. It should at least be mentioned here that DW Akademie began cooperation with the Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) in 2013. As this intervention is still in its early stages we did not include it here.

On top of this we chose to add one example of an African private broadcaster with a clear focus on serving the public: Freedom Radio in northern Nigeria. The idea here is to examine whether one can legitimately speak of a private public service broadcaster in this case, and to see what the opportunities and limitations of this model are. We would also like to note that we first attempted a case-study of the state broadcasters in Libya, currently receiving consultancy services from DW Akademie with EU funding. But visa-related problems and the general volatility of the situation in the country meant that we were unable to collect all the necessary information during the period of our field work for the case studies.

In Europe we focused our attention on two South Eastern countries: Moldova and Serbia. DW Akademie and the Soros Foundation were substantially involved in Moldova in recent years, and the BBC World Service Trust (now BBC Media Action) was particularly active in Serbia. With regard to the latter, we extended the study beyond the former state broadcaster RTS and also took a look at the very special case of B92, a station that developed from a pirate radio station in the 1990s to a commercial station, with the help of numerous international donors. We compared the paths these two outlets have taken over the past decades.

As the concept of public service broadcasting does not play a big role in Latin America, we took this occasion to study three very different community radio stations from that continent and examined them from a public broadcasting perspective. We asked what community radio can provide on behalf of the public and what it cannot. Radio Sargamatha, a community radio station in Nepal, was added to the list with the same intention.

The overall ambition here is not to give a representative or complete sample but rather to present a sufficient number of cases of (former) state broadcasters which have made some progress in recent years. We add to this list a few selected cases of private and community media in order to understand and discuss alternative models. Based on all this material, we then attempt to better understand the challenges and opportunities for media development.

We made the deliberate choice not to ask the project managers of the interventions to write these chapters themselves. Instead we asked media development experts who were, in most cases, hired as freelancers for this project. All of them had the occasion to travel to the broadcasters for visits in person. This way we ensured fresh and independent perspectives on the different media outlets and the environments they operate in.

In order to generate some level of standardization and comparability between the chapters, we developed a set of subchapters that the authors were asked to write. This structure is based on the theoretical considerations we propose in the following chapter. In the chapters on private and community radio, this structure is only slightly modified.

At the end of each chapter we summarize the information given in a set of tables which also represent our theory on the different public service functions. In the text as well as in the tables, we ask the authors of the chapters to deliver an appraisal of the different public service functions the media outlet in question may fulfill. So instead of actually measuring these functions – which would be a major research effort even for only one broadcaster – we ask our authors to tell us what they know, based on their interviews, their document analysis, and observations. It goes without saying that all these judgments are preliminary and that the issues in question are subject to change. But they do give us valuable and complementary information on the media in question and the change processes.

During the research phase of this project we quickly realized that in many interventions there is still room for improvement with regards to the methodological approach in the design of the transformation process. We therefore asked an expert and consultant in organizational development to add a chapter on organizational transformation processes. This chapter is deliberately placed at the end of the book, as a constructive contribution to the discussion on the way forward.

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[57] *See Appendix.*

[58] *Formerly called BBC World Service Trust.*

[59] *Lloyd et al. 2010; see also Duncan 2009.*

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02
Definitions and Concepts

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Definitions and Concepts

Media Functions and Transformations in Service of the Public

In this chapter we lay the theoretical foundation for this study, and a first overview shall be given here. Our ambition with this chapter is to combine normative functional expectations towards media systems with insights into transformation processes, media development strategies, and organizational theory.

In order to analyze different forms of public service media (PSM), we assemble different functions of PSM under two general functions: creating a public sphere and supporting integration. These functions offer us guidance for the empirical assessment in our case studies in different media.

Our overall perspective on public service is then broadened with the "public service ethos"-concept, according to which public service media are not the only obliged form. Private and community media, too, can meet certain normative expectations and deliver important services to the public.

We then approach the context of media development and countries in transition and discuss the transformation of media in the context of development. A new guidance structure for improved and broader approaches in media development has recently been suggested by DW Akademie. We apply this strategic model to the description of different public service systems as well as interventions that support transformation. Based on this argument we formulate our research questions.

PSM – Principles, Core Values and Mission

Although there is no standard definition of PSM, there are main principles of PSM that are cited by most authors. The four principles established in 2000 by the World Radio and Television Council (WRTVC), an international non-governmental organization supported by UNESCO:

1. Universality
2. Diversity
3. Independence
4. Distinctiveness

Based on these principles, in 2012 the European Broadcasting Union defined a binding Charta for its 74 international member organizations in order to face the challenges of the digital age and PSM's social responsibilities.[1] The six values in this Charta are:

1. Universality
2. Independence
3. Excellence
4. Diversity
5. Accountability
6. Innovation

These *core values* form the foundation for the editorial guidelines of individual PSM and serve as a guide for further assessment processes and evaluation of content in the specific national context. Most PSM have a threefold mission (or mandate): to inform, to educate and to entertain.[2]

[1] *EBU 2012.*

[2] *UNESCO/WRTC 2001, 13.*

Different Approaches towards PSM

PSM can be viewed from different perspectives. One may choose to look at the content these particular media outlets produce (or should produce), one may choose to look at the media organization itself and its management, or one may choose to look at the audience and its needs. In the following these approaches are summarized.

Content-oriented approach

Blumler distinguishes public television from private television through the programs provided by the media organizations in question.[3] In his normative approach he defines PSM through four communication tasks:

1. Communication for citizenship
2. Programming for children
3. Cultural patronage
4. Expression of national and regional cultural identity

With these tasks Blumler associates four underlying value commitments:

1. Programming quality and excellence,
2. Programming range and diversity,
3. Innovation, the ability to surprise and provide freshness, and with respect to the recipients:
4. The development of own taste, own experience, and own capacity of viewers.

Organizational and management approach

Kiefer focuses on "area-specific objectives" of PSM such as the organization's purpose as well as the public remit as a steering mechanism to achieve goals.[4] The diversity of services should be assured through diversity of organizational entities. The Euromedia Research Group,[5] too, combines normative demands on content with organizational and regulatory requirements:

1. PSM are responsible for the public (or political representatives of the public). This responsibility differs from a market-driven action orientation.

2. PSM are financed by a non-profit organizational form. This form does not exclude financing through commercials, though profit-making is not the aim.

3. PSM content is regulated. This includes regulations like a general focus on plurality of opinions, independence, and attention to minorities as well as prohibiting some kinds of content such as violence and pornography.

4. PSM provide a service in the sense of universal coverage and provision of services in rural areas.

5. The state can regulate the market competition by regulating the market entry of private broadcasters.

Audience-oriented approach

Nissen puts the individual citizen at the center.[6] According to his approach it is the task of PSM to offer value to the public through certain content to which it is obliged: the content produced should support citizenship and strengthen identities. It should be available for all and innovative in its services. On top of this it should enable viewers to actively use and judge the quality of programs. In addition it has a strong cohesive role for society.

"Widespread and regular use of PSM is more important than the provision of the content and services themselves. This is the reason behind the argument in favour of a high 'reach' (this being a metric for the extent to which a channel is seen or heard by its potential audience over a given period of time)." [7]

General Functions – Creating a Public Sphere and Supporting Integration

Mass media serve a number of quite different functions in today's societies. For example, they entertain people, they may serve those in power and spread their propaganda, they advertise products on behalf of companies. Some media advance campaigns on behalf of NGOs, others help to create market transparency on behalf of customers. Yet others inform citizens as to what is on the public agenda, some criticize those in power and give people the opportunity to participate in public discussions. These functions can be identified, according to Burkhart, on three different levels: on the social level (e.g., entertainment, orientation), the political level (e.g., critique and participation) and the economic level (e.g., advertising, market information).[8]

For the public service perspective of this study we choose a normative approach focusing on two key tasks that are important or even crucial for a society.[9] We define as overarching "general functions" of the media:

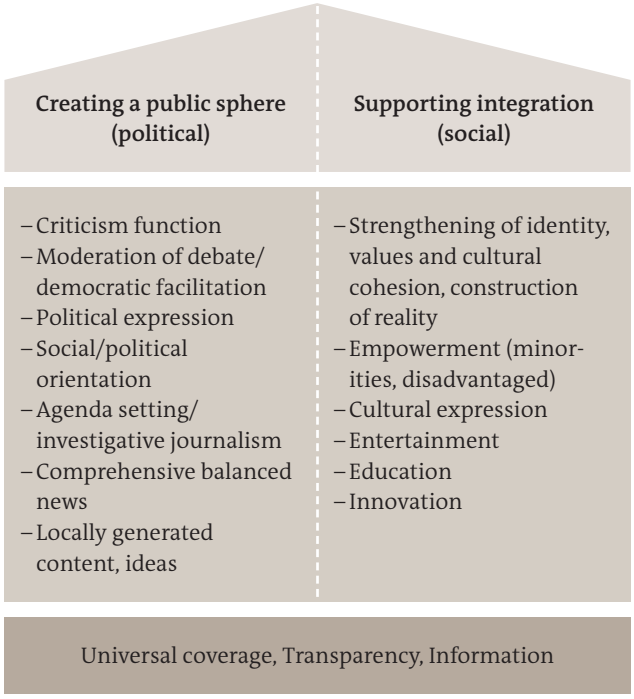
Creating a public sphere as a function on the political level, and **supporting integration** as a function on the social level.

Creating a public sphere is one of the main functions media need to fulfill in pluralistic societies that are based on democratic principles. A public sphere is supposed to be the breeding ground for political expression, for criticism and democratic facilitation. It provides social and political orientation as well as space for investigative journalism and comprehensive balanced news. An important factor is here that programs should be locally generated, so that the public sphere is in fact a sphere for the people. And besides the classic media, the new media open up additional spaces within the public sphere and enable new forms of participation.

The second general function, **supporting integration**, is equally fundamental. A society needs to be held together by various cultural elements in order to build and sustain common identity, values, and knowledge. Only based on this common ground can local, regional, and national communities live together. And here, again, new digital media hold the potential to support these processes in new ways.

Although these two general functions, "supporting integration" and "creating a public sphere," are overlapping we treat them in distinction.[10] Each general function can be broken down into several other specific functions (see figure in next column). Taking this approach we find that there are three specific functions, which are fundamental to both general functions: universal coverage, transparency, and information. We therefore place them at the bottom in figure 1.

Functions of public service media subdivided by two general functions: creating a public sphere and supporting integration



Supporting integration, the second general function, is of particular importance to PSM. According to Woldt,[11] the integration of society through the media may differ from country to country and yet he suggests that there may be some basic elements or principles that are universal.[12] He stresses that PSM have – despite all differences in the details – an outstanding "social function." Along these lines Wakili speaks of a specific "integrative function" of PSM in the case of nations which are faced with the challenge of integrating different ethnic and/or religious groups.[13]

[8] *Burkhart 2002.*

[9] *Donges & Meier 2001.*

[10] *Vlasic shows that there is a close link between the public sphere and integration. In his approach he provides a typology of five traditional models of integration through mass media:*
1) supply of common topics,
2) enabling of representation,
3) creation (or constitution) of a (political) public sphere,
4) transmission of common norms and values,
5) construction of reality.
See Vlasic 2004.

[11] *Woldt 2005, 301.*

[12] *However it is still a subject of debate to what extent the media can play a role in integrating societies. Ronneberger (1985) assumes that integration is an essential part of a modern society, but also argued that this cannot be assessed empirically (See also Kübler 1994 and Jarren 2000).*

[13] *Wakili 2013.*

Nissen emphasizes the cultural role PSM can play. He states that "[w]ritten constitutions play an important role for the exercise of democracy, but democracy is also built upon customs, national identity and culture."[14] Concerning the role of the media he notes that, inasmuch as electronic media share some of the responsibility for the transformation process, public service can serve as a remedy. "PSM can sustain and develop national cultures and cultural diversity."[15] He speaks of PSM as a cultural, social, and political glue which has complex characteristics. Ideally, this "societal glue" nourishes civic aspects, such as citizenship, empowerment of minorities and the disadvantaged, cultural expression, common values, construction of reality, and strengthening of identity. It provides entertainment and education and it promotes innovation.

Figure 1 will serve us as a guiding, theoretical approach for this study. All the political and social functions displayed here have their basis in fundamental human rights such as freedom of expression and access to information. Any intervention in media development and transformation supporting PSM should be oriented along these two lines: creating a public sphere and supporting integration.

Public Service Ethos – A Broadened Approach

So far in this chapter we have limited our focus in the media landscapes to classic PSB or PSM. But if one primarily looks at the content delivered by the media it is in many cases difficult to tell the difference between public and private media. We have already discussed the "de-institutionalizing of PSB" in Chapter 1.3 above. Along these lines new PSM approaches were developed in the literature which take a fresh look at the public service remit and allow for a broadening of the public service idea.

In order to integrate private media into a public service system, Barnett and Docherty introduce a "total philosophy of the public service ethos."[16] After analyzing the interrelations between different actors in the media system and society as a whole, the authors come to the conclusion that PSM is not the only obliged form. **The public remit can also include the private sector as long as the "public service ethos" is the overall philosophy.** Barnett and Docherty point towards a broad and dynamic societal process that includes many actors. This philosophy can be defined as a mutual agreement of all the actors in society. The obligations of the actors in a media system might differ, but all are based on the public service idea. All actors could, in an ideal case, be committed to the idea that the media serve the public.

Ideally in such a media environment PSM would take the lead in setting standards and the general tone of the media. They would promote innovation and help to advance the quality of journalism, education and entertainment.

But it may also be the other way around in societies that have no strong public service tradition. Innovative private media or community media may aim at delivering a service to the public. They may engage in healthy competition with state or public service media – and put these under pressure to be more active and innovative.

This approach can bear fruit in the context of transition countries with a media landscape that shows a range of diverse private media outlets and state-owned media. If a public service ethos can be built in a society, different paths for media development are possible. One may strengthen PSM which then set standards for the whole media sector. Or one may as an alternative strengthen private and community media and thus deliver certain public service functions to the people – thereby advancing the media sector overall.

In applying the public ethos concept in this study, we take an open approach toward public service functions. Instead of setting up a checklist of functions, legal rules or programming content as criteria for a "true" PSM we only attempt to make an assessment as to which functions are fulfilled – and which are not. Also we do not expect to find these functions fulfilled by transformed state broadcasters only. There may also be other media, which operate clearly in the interest of the public.

Public Service Ethos

"We must establish from the outset our own emphasis on the public service system of broadcasting rather than the public broadcaster. Public service broadcasting must be defined in terms of a commitment to a set of principles rather than in terms of the ownership or financing of broadcasting bodies; it is therefore not a philosophy which can be confined to national broadcasters or state corporations, but through various legislative and regulatory frameworks must also imbue privately owned stations and channels. This integration of the private sector is vital to a total philosophy of the public service ethos."[17]

Transitions and Transformations – Developing Media for the Public

In this study we focus on media landscapes in developing countries and emerging economies which are very different from those in Western Europe where PSM was first developed. The societies in the countries in question are undergoing transformations on political, social, and economic levels. As far as their media sectors are concerned, there is usually a co-existence of private media and (former) state-owned media. The idea of public service is mostly one that was brought up and advanced by Western politicians and media development organizations. As discussed in chapter 1, the attempts to establish PSM have in many cases not been successful.

To understand why and when this is the case, as a first step, we need to better analyze the individual media landscapes and the changes they undergo. According to Raboy there are three principal types of broadcasting systems in the world:[18]

> **Public service core systems**, in which PSBs have historically occupied the center of the system (Western Europe, Canada, Australia, Japan). These countries have "mixed ownership systems" today.
>
> **Private enterprise core systems**, where the whole broadcasting system is built around commercial broadcasting practices, as in the US.
>
> **State core systems**, where media which are owned and controlled by the state are dominant.

For this study we focus on the latter. Raboy here differentiates between

> **residual** state core system (a monolithic state-owned broadcaster still plays the key role);
>
> **emergent** state core system (a system in which private and community radios play an increasingly important role), and
>
> **transitional** state core system (where pluralistic models are established on the old foundations of the state media).

Media development can take different paths, according to the situation, to advance a transformation process in the sense of the public service ethos. Depending on the particular situation of a media system and the capacities and interests of the different actors involved, one may, for example, choose to change legislation and reform the state broadcaster towards more independence. Or one may strengthen private and community media in their service to the public. Or one may choose to strengthen selected areas such as the capacity of regional reporting or program formats that allow for public participation.

In this context the question arises as to what transformation, especially in the media sector, actually means. Unfortunately there is a substantial backlog in the field of communication science as far as the link between media and transformation is concerned. So far there is no serious theoretical draft that can encompass the complexity of the issue. Hafez and Thomaß bemoan that there is as yet no answer to the question what role the media play in the political and societal transformation process towards democracy.[19] Ritter recommends pragmatic approaches and pleads for a focus on empirical country case studies instead of waiting for an overall theory.[20]

In the practice of media development, however, there is a common understanding of what is meant by the terms transition and transformation:

"Transition in the context of media functions in two ways: media practitioners are working in political situations that have been defined as 'transitional' by the international community, and they are tasked with transforming the media sphere from one that supported the old, authoritarian regime to one that upholds the new principles of democracy."[21]

Taking a closer look at what the key players in media development think about transforming state broadcasters into PSM, it is evident that there is no clear-cut course. On the one hand there are those who plead in favour of PSM and on the other hand there are the critics who think it is a waste of time and money to transform giant state broadcasters and would rather promote smaller private media. Hadamik, for example, observed in the Eastern and Central European context that establishing a public service broadcaster in developing countries is more an issue for the European media development actors than for the US-led media development actors, since they all tend to act based on their experience with their own media systems.[22]

Within this melange of different paradigms in media development we can observe that there seems to be a broad consensus on at least two points: State-owned media serving as a mouthpiece for those in power is not compatible with a democracy. And secondly, a society in transformation needs media that have an obligation to the public.

But beyond this there is in the practice of media assistance a need for the careful development of strategies of media-related interventions – based on assessments of the state of transition in a particular country and its media system. Also a culture of evaluation and learning is needed in order to assure that positive change is advanced. This study is an attempt to contribute to this: It should lead to a better understanding of transformation processes and help the efforts of media development.

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[14] *Nissen 2006, 22.*
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Barnett & Docherty 1991.*
[17] *Barnett & Docherty 1991, 24.*
[18] *Raboy 1995.*
[19] *Hafez 2002; Thomaß 2001.*
[20] *Ritter 2008.*
[21] *Hartenberg 2005, 6f.*
[22] *Hadamik 2003.*

Media Development

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) sees media development as: *"efforts by organizations, people, and sometimes governments to develop the capacity and quality of the media sector within a specific country or region."* [23]

Banda stresses in addition that media development is much more than economic and infrastructural growth. It should rather be seen as *"the totality of all support mechanisms for the growth of media institutions into vibrant agents of social and political change in democratic and undemocratic polities."* [24]

On top of this it should be added that media development does not only focus on the media institutions alone but equally on the people using the media. Therefore media development should broaden the freedom of citizens to use and build media according to their interests and needs. In a nutshell, media development is rooted in efforts towards democratization and empowerment.

PSM in UNESCO's Media Development Indicators

According to UNESCO's Media Development Indicators report[25], PSM are expected to

- be non-partisan, non-profit with a public interest remit;
- have a national mandate and offer national coverage, complemented by regional services, particularly in autonomous states or regions with different languages. Their transmission systems and programs should reach all regions, cultures and language groups;
- deliver their services free of charge or at a cost that is available to the whole population;
- deliver comprehensive, balanced news, especially at election times;
- offer a forum for public debate;
- guarantee a minimum of locally generated content;
- deliver creative, diverse, and original programming;
- be protected from political or economic interference;
- have specific guarantees on editorial independence and appropriate and secure funding arrangements to protect them from arbitrary interference;
- be financed through public funds and sometimes additional charges on users, while sometimes also attracting additional commercial funding;
- play a key role in the modernisation of a country's technological environment and put in place proper tools to fight the digital divide caused by geographical location, age, education and wealth;
- be publicly accountable through a governing body, and have public involvements in appointments to the governing body;
- have a proven commitment to consultation and engagement with the public and civil society organisations (CSOs), including a complaints system.

[23] *CIMA 2014.*
[24] *Banda 2009.*
[25] *UNESCO 2008*
[26] *DW Akademie 2014, 29.*

Media Development – A Strategic Model

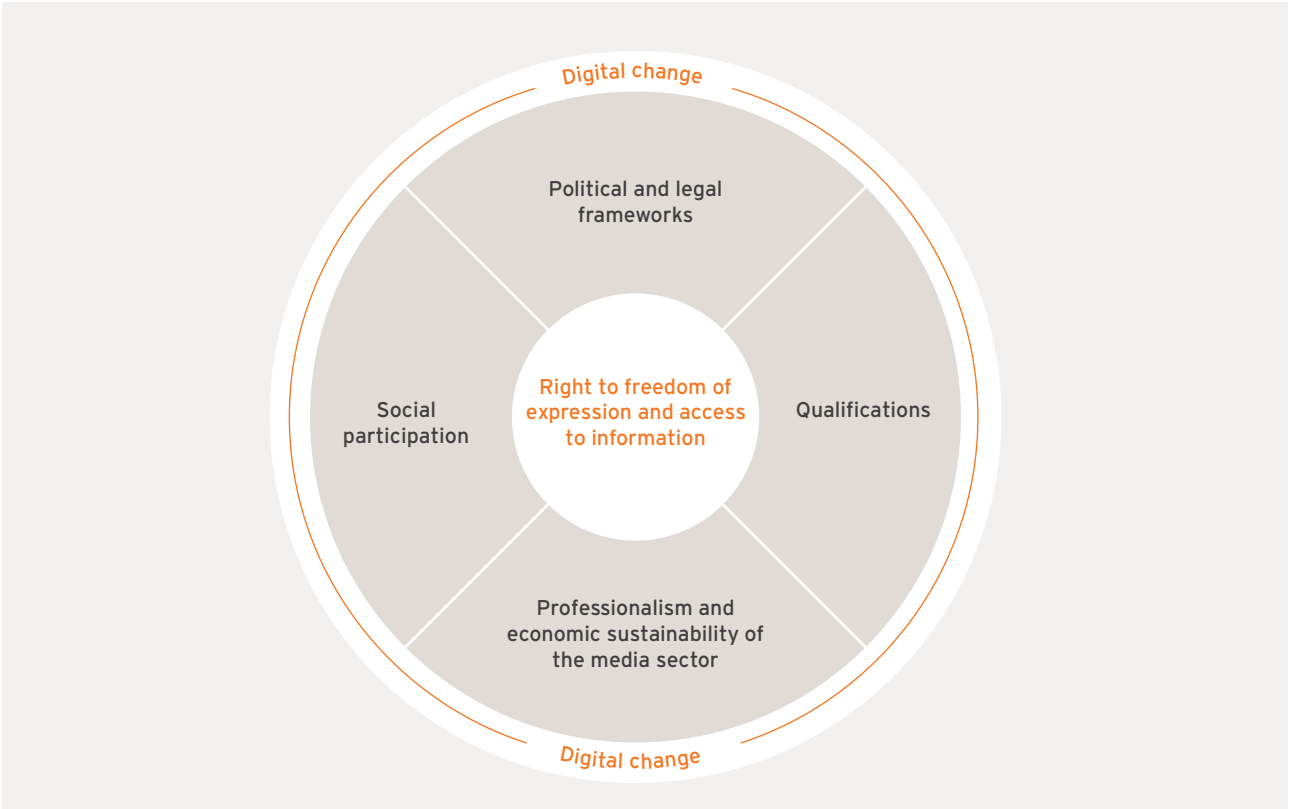
In order to specify development policy and country strategies DW Akademie, in consultation with the German Ministry for Development BMZ, has developed a strategic model for media development (See Figure below).[26] Its purpose is to take a broad, holistic perspective on a specific media system and to develop a new approach to media development. The model serves as a guiding structure to set up media development programs. Managers of DW Akademie use this model to plan and implement projects aimed at strengthening sustainable structures in the media sector. In the following we explain its basic elements. Then, in a second step, we apply it to the question of PSM functions.

The strategic model is founded on a human rights approach towards media development. The principal aim here is not to strengthen the media sector for its own sake but to foster a basic human right described in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR): the right to freedom of opinion and expression and access to information and ideas. People in developing countries are to be supported to recognize their choices, express publicly and in dialogue with their governments their hopes and needs and demands, and successfully enforce these rights. At the same time, government stakeholders should be encouraged to fulfil their role as guarantors of these rights, i.e., to respect, protect and advance the elements of Article 19.

The guiding principles of this approach and thus of DW Akademie's strategies are participation and empowerment, non-discrimination and equal opportunities, transparency, and accountability. These elements are fundamental to modern development policy in general and subject to broad discussion in this context. But they can also be linked to the public service ethos. Elements like communication for citizenship, programming for range and diversity as well as the different aspects of regulation and steering can be linked to the development principles stated above. This shows why PSM – but also private and community media servicing the public – should be an issue of concern in development: they at least hold the potential to advance elementary human rights in developing countries through media development.

As Article 19 is fundamental to DW Akademie's activities, it forms the centrepiece in the strategic model (Figure 2). Around it four areas of strategic action are placed: political and legal framework, qualifications, professionalism and economic sustainability of the media sector and social participation (See Table The Strategic Model).

Four Key Areas of the Strategic Model



Political and legal framework:	Professionalism and economic sustainability of the media sector
– Advising state and government institutions, support for existing structures, promotion of laws including application and implementation, legislation and law enforcement practice (incl. press laws, censorship, and libel), broadcast regulation, internet regulation, cartel law, open government) with reference to article 19 and its guarantee in the national context; – Strengthening of the self-regulation of the media and of press freedoms, particularly by means of press and media councils; – Support for the activities of non-governmental players who undertake the protection, security, and legal assistance of media professionals and activists, supervise the political arena and act as watchdogs (e.g., access to government information, encouragement of transparency and accountability, etc.); – Support for non-governmental players who actualize the aforementioned human right (reference to article 19 and its guarantee in the national context); establishment of a legal framework for education and training in the media sector, accreditation requirements, recognition and protection, compliance and observance.	– Promotion of networks and strengthening of institutions and platforms, both structurally and in terms of content, of and for the professional community (incl. trade unions, interest groups, professional associations, also on a regional scale); – Promotion of dialogue on a local scale and further practical development of specialist offers and solutions in the media sector (incl. trustworthy media, significance and potential of independent journalism, prevention of bribery and corruption, sustainable financial models and strategies, professional and ethical standards); – Consultancy provision for professional media organizations and institutions: editorial and quality management/control for independent, sustainably financed journalism providing locally relevant, comprehensible, human resources, high-quality reporting (incl. public participation, ombudsman/arbitration);
Qualifications	**Social participation**
– Institutionalization of study and training programs; – Development of curricula, including specialist areas (economic/budget reporting, parliamentary reporting); – Dual training/sandwich courses, practice-oriented teaching, accreditation requirements, etc.; – Stabilization of sustainable and effective training of media professionals in education and training structures, with focus on the civil right to free information and expression (practical vocational training, technical media training, internships, traineeships, further training opportunities and formats).	– Empowerment of individuals and groups using media, also in cooperation with NGOs (community media, civic media and other target group-relevant information and communication services); – Improvement of media literacy, human rights education and guidance on the right to freedom of opinion and access to information and ideas; – Digital und mobile security (data protection, encryption, secure communication devices and methods, etc.); – Strengthening of NGOs, initiatives und coalitions which want to use media in creative, effective and secure ways for their information and expression interests, reinforcing accessibility of social discourse for underprivileged individuals and groups. – Consultancy provision also for semi-professional media providers (e.g., bloggers who create an oppositional voice under dictatorial regimes, or promote political pluralism).

Around these areas a ring is placed: "digital change" (Figure 2.). This stands for the fact that in all four strategic areas new developments related to digital technologies need to be taken into account. For example: Regulation of the media sector certainly concerns the internet and mobile phones. And media outlets, universities as well as other actors from civil society need to deal with the challenges and opportunities, which the new technologies offer. All these different areas need to be considered when developing strategies and planning projects. Activities in each of them can help foster access to information and freedom of expression. Often true progress can only be achieved through the interplay and synergies between these areas.

This model can now be applied to projects around PSM and their transformation. The bottom area in the model "Professionalism and economic sustainability of the media sector" is where the functional elements related to content and organization can be placed. Many projects try to improve the organizational structure and economic model of the broadcaster as well as the content it provides.

But also the other areas need to be considered. The political and legal framework for public service media is of course of particular importance and needs special attention. Equally relevant, the question of capacity building of media experts within the public broadcasting system but also in journalism schools and universities should not be neglected. And another key area is the role civil society plays in participating in the different programs as interviewees, protagonists and participants in discussion – but also as actors in observing, steering, and advancing public media as such.

These elements all contribute to a **Public Service Media System** and they should be part of establishing a public service ethos. Thus we can integrate many elements needed by PSM to fulfill the principles discussed above into this strategic model. All the elements mentioned above are assembled in table 2. In our case studies they will be assessed for each of the selected media.

Public Service Media System

Key Areas in the Strategic Model	**Media Development towards a Public Service Media System**
Political and legal framework	– Media laws – The application of these laws in daily practice – Bodies controlling the media – Ethics codices, newsroom guidelines set up by the media
Qualifications	– Journalism education, offered to the staff of the media – General structures for capacity building
Professionalism and economic sustainability of the media sector	– Sources of revenue of the broadcaster – Payment of staff – Organization of the broadcaster, newsroom structure (including regional offices) – Technological situation of the media, coverage (including service in rural areas) – Human resources management
Social participation	– Civil society organizations engaged in a public service ethos, and PSM – Participation, voice, empowerment (minorities, disadvantaged)
Change in the digital age	– Innovation (technical as well as content-related)

Research Questions

To sum up we now use main elements and results of the argumentation above to prepare for the empirical part of this study.

As the theoretical understanding of media transformation processes in general is limited, we choose an explorative approach and conduct single case studies. The situation and structure of selected public media systems will be analyzed according to the DW strategic model.

We have assembled a number of functions of PSM under two general functions: creating a public sphere and supporting integration. With this study we cannot attempt to actually measure these functions objectively in the different countries. Nevertheless informed judgments about these functions can be made, based on our in-depth interviews with different stakeholders.

By applying the public ethos concept, we take an open approach towards public service functions. We do not look for a list of criteria that describe a "true" PSM. Instead we only attempt to make an assessment as to which different functions are fulfilled by (transformed) state broadcasters - or other media that operate on behalf of the public.

Media development work, in particular with former state broadcasters, has turned out to be more complex and challenging than first expected in the 1990s. We now need to assess the status, experience and learning of stakeholders in the transformation process.

In the following, case studies from different countries will be presented in individual chapters. Based on them, an overall assessment will be made to answer the following research questions:

RQ 1: Which public service functions can be provided today by (former) state broadcasters?

RQ 2: What change in former state broadcasters could be achieved through media development in the past and what were the challenges and limitations?

RQ 3: Which public service functions can be provided by community and private media?

RQ 4: What change in private and community media could be achieved through media development in the past and what were the challenges and limitations of this work?

RQ 5: Which approaches and methods in media development were taken in our case studies?

RQ 6: What recommendations can be made for future media development projects supporting public service functions?

Appendix

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03
Afghanistan: Reform Fear, Limited International Support, Failed Transformation

Merjam Wakili

Afghanistan: Reform Fear, Limited International Support, Failed Transformation

In Afghanistan, the transformation process of the state broadcaster RTA has failed. The station was reopened after the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001. After mainly technical assistance in the first years, an international consortium of BBC World Trust Service, DW Akademie and Canal France International started to implement a reform strategy financed by the EU from 2004 to 2007. However, the media development organizations were successful neither in changing the regulatory framework nor in engaging the top and middle management in the reform.

A lack of coordination and a lack of money for supplementary capacity building measures with RTA's editorial and technical staff have led to a situation where, for example, high-end technology in new broadcasting studios could not be used by the employees of the broadcaster due to a lack of technical expertise. As a result, RTA has great difficulties in creating a public sphere today, even if it does offer certain forums for public information and discussions. The broadcaster still mainly functions as a mouthpiece of the government.

On the level of integration, RTA still offers the most potential for Afghanistan, although this is far from being fully realized. With most Afghan media focused on the capital Kabul, RTA is seen as a symbol for national unity since it respects minorities as the only broadcaster that offers a platform for the smallest minority groups; these are generally ignored by the private media because they do not form a profitable high-income group of consumers. So despite all difficulties and deficiencies, RTA does offer a service to the public. It can be concluded that the transformation process of the state broadcaster did not succeed for a variety of reasons: Most importantly, a lack of follow-through on the media development side coupled with reform fear, confusion, and lack of information on the Afghan side led to a stagnation of the reform. A renewed attempt would need fresh approaches on several levels and a well-coordinated long-term engagement from all actors.

Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA)[1] is the state broadcaster of Afghanistan. There have been attempts from international media development organizations to transform RTA into a public service broadcaster which hitherto were not successful. The following analysis tries to assess these transformation attempts. This has to be put in an overall context; therefore Afghanistan's main characteristics, its media landscape and the status of RTA shall be briefly outlined. Then we discuss to what extent RTA is fulfilling two general functions of public service media: creating a public sphere and supporting integration. As a last step the achievements and challenges as well as the transformation approach itself are analyzed and recommendations for action are derived.

Afghanistan – A Brief Overview

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is a landlocked country located in Central Asia. It has a population of around 31 million inhabiting an area of approximately 652,000 square kilometers. It is bordered by Pakistan in the south and the east, Iran in the west, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan in the north, and China in the far northeast. Three decades of war made Afghanistan one of the world's most dangerous and poorest countries with a young population: Approximately 12 million Afghan citizens are under the age of 15. Only 43 percent of the male and 12 percent of the female population is able to read and write.[2] Almost 78 percent of the population lives in rural areas. Afghanistan is characterized by a large urban-rural discrepancy and a focus on the capital Kabul where over three million people live.

It is a multi-ethnic, multilingual country with more than 30 ethnic groups and a variety of languages and dialects. Pashto and Dari are the official languages of Afghanistan. Bilingualism is quite common. The four largest ethnic groups are Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazara, and Uzbeks.[3] The first and at the same time last census of population in Afghanistan was held in 1979 and was not finished due to the invasion of the Soviet troops.[4] Therefore there is no valid data on the exact ethnic structure of the country. This was and still is one of the reasons for conflict and discussion amongst the different groups in terms of distribution of power. Afghanistan is still – after Taliban rule in 2001 and the efforts of the international community to democratize the country – facing major problems of insecurity due to weakness of the state authorities, badly functioning state institutions, and poor infrastructure.

The Afghans have experienced many shifts of power and never had a strong central government serving the whole country and reaching the people in the remote areas. This is one of the factors that has led to strong tribal and clan affiliation. A nation-building process, which is crucial for a successful state-building process and thus a democratization of the country has yet not taken place. Despite this sobering conclusion there is at least one success story that Afghanistan can offer: The development of the media landscape and freedom of speech have experienced exceptional success.

[1] *http://www.rta.org.af/*
[2] *CIA 2014.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *In 2008 the Japanese government tried to finance and to launch a census, which never took place due to the fragile security situation.*

Media Landscape

The development of Afghanistan's media landscape as one of the rays of hope needs to be assessed in a more detailed manner. A close look at the history of the Afghan media shows that this country never had a tradition of free, impartial, and widespread media. The first newspaper was established 140 years ago by the former king Amir Sher Ali Khan and its only function was to praise the king's policy and inform the king's court about decisions and agreements. Afghanistan was far from having a mass media able to inform a great part of the population, which was and still is illiterate and lives in remote areas. The focus was much on the capital Kabul and on those in power ever since.

When in 1928 the first radio station, Radio Kabul, was established by the former King Amanullah Khan, only the citizens of Kabul were able to receive the radio program. At that time the king recognized the power of the new medium to inform his people all over the country. By the 1940s, people in many more parts of the country could listen to the state broadcaster.

With the help of the Soviets in 1976 the new medium television was introduced to Afghanistan's media landscape. Like Radio Kabul, television was initially a privilege that only Kabul's citizens could benefit from. Later many more large cities across Afghanistan were able to receive the television broadcaster.

Afghanistan's media landscape has experienced various relevant transformation steps since the end of 2001. Under Taliban rule from 1996 to 2001 television was prohibited, many antennas and transmitters were destroyed and the only radio station allowed was Radio Shariat run by the Taliban. In November 2001 RTA's broadcasting restarted with the help of the international community in the capital Kabul. The UNESCO helped to reconstruct the destroyed premises and rebuilding the infrastructure of RTA and the state-owned news agency, Bakhtar News. Since then the media landscape has experienced incredible growth: from one non-governmental radio station in 2002 (Sulh) to over 75 terrestrial television channels, 175 FM radio stations and 800 regular publications (in September 2010).[5]

Print media in Afghanistan cannot be defined as mass media since the large majority of the population does not have access to daily newspapers or weekly magazines and the vast majority is not able to read. Internet as well still plays a marginal role for the majority of the rural population.[6]

Despite the liberties and possibilities for media actors to launch media outlets and to produce content, pressure, self-censorship, insecurity, and monetary problems are also part of journalists' daily lives.[7] Afghanistan has a broad mixture of different media and the urban population has the choice between lots of different sources of information which the rural population does not have. Therefore RTA plays an important role since it is the only Afghan source for a large part of the population.

Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA)

Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA) consists of television (RTA) and radio (Radio Afghanistan) at the national level. RTA is the only Afghan channel that operates as a network of local teams, with branches in almost every province. It produces content in the most common languages Pashto and Dari and the minority languages Uzbek, Tajik, Balochi, and Pashai. According to the law RTA is obliged to the public which means that it has to represent all parts of the country and all the different groups in Afghan society. As a multi-ethnic country where many different languages are spoken, the respective proportion of programming in the different languages is a sensitive issue. Dari and Pashto are the official languages spoken by the majority in Afghanistan. The ways of mixing languages are varied and debatable, for example, combining the two languages with two hosts in one program or using separate programs from the same outlet or using different outlets. Some TV channels have positioned themselves to address specific audiences based on a single language.

Radio Afghanistan returned in November 2001 when the Taliban left Kabul and the Northern Alliance forces took control of the station. The nationwide broadcasting began in early June 2002 with USAID's technical and financial support. A satellite terminal was installed at Radio Afghanistan, linking Radio Afghanistan's signal to shortwave transmitters that broadcast the station's programs throughout Afghanistan for a few hours each day.[8] The television program began a few weeks later, offering three hours of programming a day. The local branches are required to broadcast Kabul RTA from 7-9 p.m., and also to produce local content adapted to the local environment (in terms of language, for instance).[9]

RTA is the broadcaster with the largest infrastructure, with 22 radio transmitters all over the country covering the larger cities in the provinces as well as the rural areas. It has ten TV transmitters with the provincial coverage areas: Faizabad, Ghazni, Herat, Jalalabad, Kabul, Mazar, Pul-e-Khumri, Qunduz, Taloqan, and Sheberghan.[10] There is a discrepancy between the situation in the capital studio and the provincial studios. In many provinces the studios are declining and run by a few employees who are not qualified.

It is difficult to get valid information about the outlet's strategy and goals since there are no strategy papers or guidelines available. According to the Altai study conducted in 2010, RTA's intended goals are strengthening national unity, promoting a sense of civic responsibility, encouraging the youth and furthering sports.[11] Zarin Anzor, RTA's General Director describes RTA as an important "national institution which reflects the people's needs and their views better than the private media do."[12]

RTA does rather well in the audience survey from 2010 (ranking third), although the quality of what is produced by RTA leaves a lot to be desired and lies behind the best private channels.[13] As a result the audience share never exceeds 10 per-

cent, and even falls to 5 percent during the private channel's news flashes at 6pm (Tolo TV), at which time Ashna TV, a Voice of America production, is broadcast on RTA.[14]

However, the audience describes a need for more professional programs reflecting Afghan tradition and produced by the national broadcaster, and accuses the private channels of ignoring the national interest driven by greed for profit.[15] "It appears that any significant improvement on the part of RTA would be highly welcomed by the audience."[16]

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

The international community has been actively engaged in assisting the Afghan media sector since 2002. Key donors involved since the early days include USAID with its Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), the European Commission (EC), the United Kingdom Department for International Development (UK DFID) and, to a lesser extent, some European embassies and national aid agencies and smaller institutes (Goethe-Institut, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung and others). In the very first years after the Taliban regime, the key players in media assistance were focussed on building media that provide a free exchange of information. Most of the financial support in the media sector was committed to infrastructure rebuilding, journalistic training, advisory services, and content building. But transforming RTA was also on the agenda of different international players and RTA's senior management. In June 2002 BBC World Service Trust took up the assignment of building two new studios for RTA. The goal was to build robust, modern, digital radio studios in a location with limited infrastructure and a staff who had not worked with computers before.[17] RTA radio and television transmitters were given significant support from 2006 to 2010 by a range of donors, including India, USA, and France.[18] The Japanese government donated 17 million US Dollars in digital equipment to RTA. From 2003 to 2004 the DW Akademie conducted a project that aimed to establish a professional news desk within RTA. It was financed by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One of the aims was sharing international news with the Afghan people and informing them in the two main languages Dari und Pashto. After having established the news desk and the withdrawal of the DW Akademie project manager and trainers, RTA was not able to continue the successful work of the news desk and pay the staff salaries that would have retained the best employees.[19]

Besides the required infrastructural changes and the beacon project international news desk, RTA's transformation needed a strategy for which a consortium of three stakeholders was appointed and financed by the EU: BBC (World Service Trust), DW Akademie, and Canal France International (CFI) had entailed joint efforts from 2004 to 2007 to reform the broadcaster.[20] The consortium had planned four phases for the transformation of RTA.

First phase: Assessment of the status at RTA. The DW Akademie took the lead for this initial assessment of the status of the broadcaster. Since there were no data and statistics available on what the 1,600 to 2,000 employees at RTA were doing in detail, a survey amongst the employees was necessary.[21] Another goal of the assessment was finding out how much land and buildings and technical equipment RTA owns to develop new financial resources by renting out or selling. The reason behind this review was finding a financing model which made it independent from the government.

Second phase: Changing the regulatory framework. The consortium lobbied for some amendments to underpin RTA as a PSB.

Third phase: Preparing the top and middle management. Consulting with management level staff and promoting the idea of transforming RTA into a PSB was seen as an important step. At the same time DW offered capacity building workshops at RTA – mainly aiming to professionalize the news desk staff in Kabul and some of the broadcaster's regional stations. Since RTA itself did not and does not have a training department it was not able to offer training to its staff. This was offered in the context of the reform process by the international consortium.

Fourth phase: Reconstructing the organization. Preparing a concept for the broadcaster and an organizational chart that reflects the reality. Reconstructing the organization meant in the case of RTA firing 90% of the staff that were on the payroll but were never productive for the broadcaster. Changing the personnel structure of RTA was and still is the most difficult aspect of the transformation efforts.

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[5] *Altai Consulting 2010, 22.*
[6] *Altai Consulting 2010, 173.*
[7] *Wakili 2007, Altai Consulting 2010.*
[8] *British DX Club 2014.*
[9] *Altai Consulting 2010, 54.*
[10] *Abdul Sobhan Ghafoori, Technical Director, RTA.*
[11] *Altai Consulting 2010, 54.*
[12] *Zarin Anzor, General Director, RTA.*
[13] *Altai Consulting 2010, 54.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Wakili 2012, 259.*
[16] *Altai Consulting 2010, 54.*
[17] *British DX Club 2014.*
[18] *Specific cases in infrastructural support can be found in the provinces. In Mazar-e-Sharif, for instance, the UN Development Programme (UNDP) has recently (April 2010) supported the Department of Women's Affairs (DOWA) with equipment (camera, records, computers, DVD players) to strengthen its capacities with respect to its weekly television program broadcast through RTA (Women and Society). See Altai Consulting 2010, 33.*
[19] *Michael Tecklenburg, Project Manager in Afghanistan from 2003-2004, DW Akademie.*
[20] *The BBC World Service has long been involved in Afghanistan, broadcasting on short wave in Persian for 60 years and in Pashtu for 20 years. Backed by the United Nations and funded by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), the BBC World Service Trust, a charity arm of the BBC World Service began the project to rebuild the media in Afghanistan after the ousting of the Taliban. See Wiener Dokumentationsarchiv.*
[21] *Von Nahmen 2006.*

There are several factors that can be named which led to a stagnation of RTA's transformation process in the second and third phase. The legal changes that were prerequisites for RTA's successful transformation into a public broadcaster had not been achieved. The Ministry of Information and Culture and the government were not able to fulfill what was expected by the EU – a media law which guarantees RTA's full and unambiguous independence, so that the money transactions for the transformation process were set out. A lack of coordination and a lack of money for supplementary capacity building measures for RTA's editorial and technical staff have led to a situation where, for example, high-end technology in new broadcasting studios could not be used by the employees of the broadcaster due to a lack of technical expertise. This reduced the impact that these measures had on the improvements in the program's quality. Much of the desired progress was therefore not achieved.[22]

Status of the Media Organization

Legal Framework, Governance and Ethics

The Afghan media law regulates the private media sector as well as the state media.[23] Between 2002 and 2009 it has been amended five times. Despite the suggestion of government advisers who have underlined the need for a more balanced Afghan media law which is not a copy of Western legal codes, but rather reflects the mixed system of Islam, tradition, and secularism, the media law is composed of fragments of Western media laws and concepts. Nevertheless, a number of outlet managers and journalists were involved in the review process, so that it is seen as a "successful case of bottom-up advocacy efforts."[24] The Afghan media law consists of ten chapters and 50 articles.[25] It is considered the most liberal media law in Central Asia, despite some restrictive clauses. Some of the fundamental principles of the law are: inviolable freedom of expression and the right to print or publish any topic without prior submission to a state authority (Art. 34); abidance by international conventions such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Art. 7); no promotion of values that are contrary to the beliefs and provisions of Islam (Art. 3). Even though the law regulates much, there are plenty of questions unresolved and therefore open for interpretation, compromising the freedom of the media. There are eight "prohibited items" (Art. 45), which set the boundaries of what can be produced, printed, published, and broadcast. Restrictions to the freedom of expression apply in particular for media contents that (1) are contrary to the principles of Islam, that (2) are offensive to any other religion, that (3) are defamatory or insulting to anybody and offensive, that (4) cause damage to personality and credibility, that (5) are in breach of the legal provisions of the Afghan Constitution, its Criminal Law, the Penal Code, that (6) promote religions other than Islam, that (7) disclose pictures of victims of violence which violate human dignity or that (8) harm psychological security.

The key bodies mentioned in the Media Law are the High Media Council (HMC), the Mass Media Commission (MMC), and the National Radio Television Afghanistan Commission (NRTAC). HMC's role is media policy planning. It has a three year mandate. Its members are representatives from the Ministry of Commerce, the Ulema Council (a religious advisory body comprised of the country's leading clerics), the Afghan Parliament, the Ministry of Information and Culture, the Supreme Court, two journalists, and two civil society representatives. The inclusion of more journalists (increasing the amount from two to six) in the HMC is a current priority of the journalistic community.

The Mass Media Commission's role is monitoring mass media activities. Its seven members are appointed by the HMC and have a two- or three-year mandate (depending on members). The NRTAC is supposed to regulate RTA's structure and its transformation process (Art. 41, Par. 4). Its seven members are also appointed by the HMC and have a three-year mandate.

RTA's status has yet to be fully agreed on and is a matter of politics. It has to established out whether RTA should stay under the tight control of the government, become a truly independent public broadcaster, or be privatized. Many actors involved in these discussions recommended that RTA should be more independent and impartial, less focused on purely governmental matters and more on public service.[26]

Capacity Building and Human Resources

Concerning capacity building and human resources, RTA has always had deficiencies. The cadre factory for almost all RTA employees is the faculty of journalism at the University of Kabul. The degree course (Master of Journalism) is mostly geared towards academic and theoretical work. There is no practical journalism training center which is based on state of the art international standards of journalism training. The graduates from Kabul University therefore are dependent on vocational trainings and placements in the media in order to get practical, hands-on experience. Concerning the technical staff, too, there is a huge lack of qualification possibilities.[27] However, a new generation of journalists is emerging in Afghanistan, raised notably not with RTA, but trained and employed by the flourishing private media scene. The reasons are that these private media are able to pay their staff higher salaries than the state broadcaster RTA and they profit from journalism workshops conducted by international media development agencies.

As for the recruiting processes and the promotion of staff for RTA, one can observe that they are far from being fair and transparent.[28] They are not based on skills assessments but mostly on nepotism and random appointments without justification. In fact, the human resource management was one of the crucial issues that the international consortium raised. Still there is neither a capacity building plan nor a human resources development strategy for RTA.

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

RTA has various financial sources: advertising (which is a small amount), paid programming at the national and local levels, taxes levied on other channels' antennas, and rental income from surplus facilities and staff, i.e., buildings, equipment and production crew. All revenues are handed over to the Ministry of Finance and then to the Ministry of Information and Culture before a small part of the amount is paid out to the broadcaster. RTA relies on that monthly subsidy of 408,000 US Dollars from the Ministry of Information and Culture. Provincial branches typically spend between 7,000 and 10,000 US Dollars a month and employ a staff of around 30 per local studio (with estimates of the total RTA staff in the whole of Afghanistan lying at around 1,600 to 2,000).[29]

Most of the money that RTA gets is spent on payroll. Director Zarin Anzor moans that even the smallest investment, for example, in new equipment or studio supplies, has to be declared to the Ministry of Information so that the broadcaster seems rather incapable of acting.[30] This situation makes it difficult for RTA to decide independently on the programming level as well as the staff level.

RTA has no clear newsroom structure or organizational chart which reflects the real situation within the broadcaster. As the only broadcaster RTA has special desks for minority languages like Pashai or Uzbek. Most of the content is translated Dari or Pashto content and read by an ethnic representative. There is little journalistic content produced for those minorities, so it stagnates on a folkloric level. There is no newsroom structure that produces content for all languages and local outlets. Another problem RTA is faced with is a lack of clearly identifiable flagship programs with an appealing title and a lack of a program schedule the audience can rely on. RTA still displays a "confusing grid where the main contents are not obvious to the viewers."[31] There are efforts to bring order into the confusion and in fact there is a schedule on paper for the capital channel of RTA, still there is no guarantee that the scheme is followed.

Perception, Participation and Public Engagement

RTA has a long tradition as the first broadcaster and the only Afghan broadcaster covering the more remote areas of the country. It is well known as the state broadcaster. Analyzing RTA means making a distinction between the radio program and the television program. In general RTA is the only station with a broad coverage of rural areas. According to the Altai survey its radio program is generally the most listened to.[32] Radio Azadi and the BBC are listened to and trusted for their professionalism and their networks of journalists, as well as their access to international news. RTA is listened to and trusted for a different factor: it is generally praised for being the radio of all Afghans, with national news and a sense of national unity, despite a certain government bias. RTA's local stations are also appreciated for their responsiveness and reliability in relation to local news. RTA television is among the four most watched channels in Afghanistan with 8 percent claiming to watch it and an audience share of 7 percent.[33] In the Altai survey of 2010, trust was measured comparatively for radio stations across the country by asking the audience to report the three stations they trusted most. The most trusted stations were those on international networks. Azadi and the BBC received the highest ratings (44 percent and 41 percent, respectively). The RTA network also generated a high level of trust. When considered alone, the Kabul-based national broadcaster was among the most trusted radio stations for 18 percent of Afghans, when aggregated with local RTA radio stations (Kandahar, Jalalabad, etc.), the network ranked third, with 39 percent of trust expressed at the national level.[34]

As mentioned before, people are aware of a certain government bias and people do criticize that the president and other officials use RTA as their mouthpiece. Still there is a need to watch and listen to the program to be informed about what the government is proclaiming, doing or deciding.[35] As for entertainment, the audience tends to watch the private media which offer international series and films or other attractive programs. RTA's programs are perceived as rather boring, old-fashioned and not reliable concerning the program schedule.[36] The prime time news can take from 15 minutes up to one hour, depending on what the president or another official have to say and how much footage is available.

RTA's role is seen as quite diverse: As a national broadcaster it should contribute to modernization. It has a clear educational mandate which it does not live up to and it should promote the feeling of national unity and social cohesion. In this regard, it is important to distinguish between the terms "public" and "national." In Afghanistan these terms are being used synonymously. In other contexts it might be important to differentiate.

[22] *Eberhard Sucker, Regional Coordinator and Project Manager in Afghanistan during the transformation process, DW Akademie.*
[23] *There are also some supplementary laws, such as Telecommunications Law, Copyright Law, Labor Law, Criminal Law and Commercial Law. These laws also organize aspects of the media sector.*
[24] *Altai Consulting 2010, 25.*
[25] *Law on Mass Media.*
[26] *Altai Consulting 2010, Wakili 2012.*
[27] *Abdul Sobhan Ghafoori, technical director at RTA.*
[28] *Wakili 2007, 190.*
[29] *Altai Consulting 2010, 54.*
[30] *Zarin Anzor, Director General, RTA.*
[31] *Altai Consulting 2010, 85.*
[32] *Audience share: RTA 18 percent, BBC 7 percent. See Altai Consulting 2010, 119.*
[33] *Altai Consulting 2010, 113.*
[34] *Altai Consulting 2010, 147.*
[35] *Shirazuddin Siddiqi, consultant at BBC World Service Trust during RTA's transformation process.*
[36] *Wakili 2012, 243.*

Public Service: General Functions

In the following section we will take a closer look at the two general functions of public service broadcasting we introduced for this study: creating a public sphere and supporting integration. We will evaluate to what extent RTA may or may not fulfill these functions. All the information about the political transformation process in Afghanistan and the peculiarities of the media landscape given above have to be kept in mind while assessing the fulfilment of the functions.

Creating a Public Sphere

Creating a public sphere through mass media in Afghanistan is very challenging. It has to be taken into account that a large majority of Afghans live in rural areas and secluded mountain regions so from the mere infrastructural aspect it is a challenge to reach the masses via media.

A public sphere in the sense of a democratic forum is not necessarily what can be observed in Afghanistan. This has primarily two reasons. Firstly, one cannot speak of one public sphere. One could rather speak of many public spheres due to the different and still very dominant communication channels such as tribal assemblies, Friday sermons in the mosques, bazaars, and market places or family gatherings. Secondly, the content that is spread via media is not comprehensible for a large part of the recipients.[37] This is mainly due to the fact that most of the journalists use a language that is not the common everyday language of the people but merely a written language.[38] This environment makes it difficult for RTA to fulfill the function of "creating a public sphere."

Although RTA has the best prerequisites with its quite dense regional coverage to create a public sphere, it does not, or only to a very limited extent, offer politically balanced and independent reporting. This is not only due to the fact that RTA still defines itself to a certain extent as a mouthpiece of those in power, but also due to the lack of professionalism in the staff.

The general quality of the journalism in RTA's programs is on a very low level compared to most private channels.[39] Women's activist Soraya Parlika criticizes: "The state-owned broadcaster is censored. It will also be in the hands of those in power and the questions 'Which minister talked to whom?' 'What did the president say?' are more favored than real important and unbiased information. They don't have balanced reporting."[40]

Investigative journalism is a completely new phenomenon for Afghanistan, which has no mass media tradition. Even fundamental journalistic standards like doing basic research or taking a closer look at a certain issue and questioning procedures, political, or social decisions and asking more than one or two sources on the same issue, cannot be observed in most RTA programs.

It has to be said that independent journalistic research is not necessarily what people expect in the first place from RTA. Meanwhile, the broadcaster does offer forums for public information and discussions. General Director Zarin Anzoor speaks of "building a bridge" between the people and those in power.[41] Again one has to differentiate between RTA television and RTA radio. While television does not offer a platform for different and opposing opinions, RTA radio gives space to different opinions and thereby to some extent fulfills a public service mandate, providing balanced and unbiased news.

The technical director of RTA puts the central political function RTA has to fulfill this way: "Firstly, RTA should draw the attention on the different views of the people. Secondly, RTA should draw the attention on the memory of the 30 years of war in this country. Thirdly, RTA should draw attention to the unbelievably bad economic situation of the people. Fourthly, RTA should be listening to what the people are telling. And for that we fortunately have a very intensive and close relationship to our listeners and viewers. A lot of people from all over the country call us and tell us their issues."[42]

The wishes and ideals do not always match the real situation in RTA's programs. And it has to be said that this has its main cause in the lack of quality and professionalism in the structures and work processes, an obstacle as major as the lack of independence.

Supporting Integration

Integration is certainly the general function for which RTA still holds the biggest potential for Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, however, this function today is far from being fully realized. RTA TV is still very much focused on the capital Kabul, but the radio stations in the provinces provide locally-generated programs which are – in some areas – the only source of information. The General Director of RTA Zarin Anzor describes the broadcaster as "mirror for all Afghans" adding that RTA **should be** a mirror, despite all the difficulties and deficiencies. He adds that RTA still does not adequately represent the whole population of the country and is very much focussed on the capital Kabul.[43] Anzor states: "The variety of cultures in the different regions has to be shown and it has to be shown what progress is achieved. Only when we have covered all the provinces and not only the capital, can we contribute to the people to get closer to each other through our reporting. We can diminish the distance between the people and our reporting."[44]

One of the key findings of the Altai study in 2010 was that the highest expectations voiced by the public across the country were: media should promote a sense of national unity, rather than trying to further divide people of different political, ethnic or religious groups.[45] Indeed this goal is difficult to attain in a country that is multi-ethnic and has to struggle with religious and tribal tensions (in part reflected in the diversity of the media actors currently in the country). Difficult as it may be, though, it does not seem impossible to the media actors.

It is only in a limited sense that RTA is fulfilling this function better than the private media: especially regarding the minorities and finding the right balance between the two official languages Pashto and Dari, RTA is the only broadcaster

that offers at least a platform for the smallest minority groups who are totally ignored by the private media because they do not form a profitable high-income group of consumers. So despite all difficulties and deficiencies RTA does offer a service here to the public.

Looking at Afghanistan's media landscape, the different media offer a variety of content. But a closer look at functions like cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values, and cultural cohesion shows that RTA seems to stay ahead of the game. It is seen as a national institution despite the limited quality of some of the programs. As the first broadcaster, RTA has the largest and oldest archive of old films and music videos of Afghan musicians. In its program these old clips are shown and people from the older generations love to watch them. Although the entertainment programs are somewhat old-fashioned, some of the programs are successful, for example, quiz shows or comedy shows that reflect the cultural peculiarities.

Education is one of the issues that RTA has been dealing with since its early days. It was the first broadcaster to have a children's program which is also quite popular. But more has to be done to satisfy the younger audience. Serving the function education means offering more than a weekly or bi-weekly children's program or offering literacy programs for adults, like some private TV stations do. It is more an educational paradigm that shapes all kinds of programs.

Achievements and Challenges

RTA's final status is still not determined. There are still different opinions on what RTA should or could ultimately become. There are those who argue in favor of a national broadcaster which is fully independent from the Ministry of Information yet remains under the control of the government; others insist on a public broadcaster governed by an independent commission, more similar to the Western European models of broadcasting. The Minister of Information und Culture Raheen is supportive of the public service idea but still there are obstacles in the way, inlcuding a lack of funds and an the absence of an overall transformation strategy that is accepted by all stakeholders. All the goals that were defined in 2002, such as greater editorial independence and a less complicated and more independent financial situation, are still goals that the current RTA management wants to achieve. The HMC has yet-to define the roles, responsibilities and technical means of the future RTA. There are no achievements yet that can be named.

The challenges that RTA is faced with remain those from 2004. RTA's problems on the way towards public service broadcasting remain:

- Preparing the top and middle management or rather, first of all, creating a competent management.
- Reconstructing the organization to prove its editorial as well as structural independence.
- Involving the technical departments into the current change management process in order to make it a success.
- An organizational chart which automatically leads to more structure and clearly defined responsibilities has to be created.
- Creating a financial and human resources plan.

Transformation Approaches

This case study shows that the transformation of RTA must start completely anew. There are still basic questions left unanswered: What should RTA ultimately become? A national broadcaster which is fully independent from the Ministry of Information and Culture yet remains under the control of the government (a model that the government seems more supportive of)? Or a public broadcaster governed by an independent commission, more similar to a European model of broadcasting, as, for example, in the case of the BBC (a model more supported by the international community)? The initial euphoria about transforming RTA was followed by disillusionment. Finding the reasons for that is complex, but two main causes can be observed: the political unwillingness and difficulties on the Afghan side and the discontinuation of the international financial support as a result of those difficulties. It is still unclear how high the level of willingness to transform RTA on the international side was. It cannot be assessed whether it was euphoric or rather hesitant. What can be analyzed are the methods the international consortium applied. At first glance it seems logical and reasonable to start with an overall assessment of the broadcaster. But in the meantime the top and middle management should have been convinced of the transformation idea. There were not enough capacities to do so. What was planned as the fourth step, namely reconstructing the organization, should have been one of the initial steps. The money that would have been necessary for that was not available. Firing or retiring large parts of the staff needs structural and financial preparation.

Instead of focussing on an overall transformation of the state broadcaster, the stakeholders DW Akademie and BBC Media Action are running individual projects. Since RTA's director signaled willingness on the level of individual proj-

[37] *Wakili 2012, 90.*
[38] *This is also one of the findings of the Altai Consulting study from 2010.*
[39] *Baktash Siawash, journalist and member of the Afghan parliament.*
[40] *Soraya Parlika, women's activist.*
[41] *Zarin Anzor, Director General, RTA.*
[42] *Abdul Sobhan Ghafoori, Technical Director, RTA.*
[43] *Zarin Anzor, Director General, RTA.*
[44] *Zarin Anzor, Director General, RTA.*
[45] *Altai Consulting 2010, 174.*

ects, DW Akademie and BBC Media Action were motivated to conduct training sessions and establish a new format for a political talk show in the run-up to the presidential elections in March 2014 ("Open Jirga"). "Open Jirga is, at least at the moment, a single project and is the only one with RTA - but I am hoping it would work as a catalyst to demonstrate RTA's potential to Afghan politicians."[46] Media Action project manager Siddiqi states that nothing significant has happened to support the transformation of RTA: "A couple of things that have happened, have not had any significant impact (even if they had the potential to do so)." Nevertheless, he has not fully abandoned the idea of transforming RTA into a PSB, even though it would be a lot more difficult now than it was five years ago.

The DW Akademie's focus in Afghanistan was and is on programs for children and young people. According to assessments of the regional coordinator Afghanistan at DW Akademie, the projects in 2013 with RTA were quite successful on the editorial level, despite all the difficulties on the structural level.[47] Besides the journalistic trainings the measures included consultations for RTA's middle-management, in order to drum up support and emphasize the relevance of new and attractive programs for a younger audience. Changes on the management level are seen as the greatest challenge. Yet DW Akademie's measures on the editorial level are backed up by consulting measures for RTA's management, in order to help improve internal processes. Some stakeholders prefer the idea of establishing a completely new public service broadcaster, others still hold on to the idea that RTA can be transformed into a public service broadcaster if certain measures are taken:

- Improvements of the legal framework: Amending the media law in order to give RTA more editorial and financial independence.
- Advocating for the possibilities of raising money for RTA and finding financial sources.
- Reducing the RTA staff (to retire the old cadre). A serious restructuring process of the organization would entail the firing of 90% of the staff who are currently on the payroll but were never were productive for the broadcaster. Changing the personnel structure of RTA was and still is the most difficult aspect in the transformation efforts.
- Improving professional skills of old and new RTA staff in production, administration, and technical departments.
- Improving professional skills of the corporation's middle management team, in particular, in leadership and organizational skills. Most of the people in those positions are not qualified for the jobs and have no interest in changing the status quo. They should be motivated to follow the idea.
- Implementing structures that provide for long-term planning within the corporation.
- Help in organizational development for RTA's basis in Kabul and the outlets in the provinces.
- Establishing a training department.
- Assessment of the programs in order to develop and introduce new formats meeting the public service idea with respect to the major languages and the minority languages.

In the Altai study RTA is seen as one of the main ways to pursue the goal of supporting integration: "To this end, it would be necessary to build on RTA's relative success and significantly enhance its audience share through a line-up of more attractive programs, designed with the goal of promoting a sense of national unity."[48] The Altai authors suggest programs focussing on positive achievements, showing the results of the nation-building effort, testimonials of conflict resolution and well-administered justice, examples of successful (and not corrupt) business ventures and clever promotion of Afghan history, culture, and identity can contribute to fostering a sense of national unity. Civil society actors like Seddiqullah Tauhidi, the advocacy manager of the media watch branch of the journalists' union NAI, underline the necessity of a strong and reliable public broadcaster that fosters a national consciousness and thus supports integration.

For Afghanistan it can be concluded that the transformation process of the state broadcaster did not succeed for different reasons: Most importantly short-sightedness on the media development side and a reform fear and confusion on the Afghan side led to reform stagnation. A new attempt to reform the broadcaster would need new approaches on many levels as well as a well-coordinated long-term engagement from many actors.

[46] *Shirazuddin Siddiqi, Project Manager, BBC Media Action for Afghanistan, written answers, May 29, 2014.*

[47] *Priya Esselborn, Regional Coordinator South Asia, DW Akademie.*

[48] *Altai Consulting 2010, 175.*

Status of Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA)

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Channels, distribution	**TV:** RTA Kabul and in all 32 provinces. They provide basic television at a provincial level. They broadcast material produced in the provinces. No clear scheme, 24/7 on paper, with some repetition in the programming. **Radio:** Radio Afghanistan basis in Kabul with a number of provincial sub-stations which operate radio services. News come from Kabul-based news desk. The stations are usually closely affiliated with the Provincial Governors' Offices.	–
Legal framework	The Afghan Media law regulates the private media sector as well as the state media. The key bodies are: the High Media Council (HMC), the Mass Media Commission and the National Radio Television Afghanistan Commission (NRTAC).	RTA's status has yet to be fully agreed on and is subject to political debate.
Public service remit	According to the Media Law, RTA belongs to the Afghan nation and performs as an independent directorate. Article 15 says: "National Radio Television Afghanistan is obligated to adjust its programs in the light of the principles and the provisions of the holy religion of Islam, national and spiritual values of the Afghan nation and in its programs shall consider dissemination of information, promotion of religious education, science, culture, economy, moral and psychological wellbeing." Article 16 says: "National Radio Television, in compliance with full impartiality in the interest of promoting national unity and strengthening religious and national values of the country, must organize its programs in such a way to reflect the culture, language and religious beliefs of all the ethnic groups residing in the country."	–
Regulatory system/ governing body	The NRTAC is commissioned to regulate RTA's structure and its transformation process (Art. 41, Par. 4). Its seven members are appointed by the HMC and have a three-year mandate.	–
Engagement of civil society	The HMC is allowed to appoint members that are civil society actors.	–
Financing	All revenues are handed over to the Ministry of Finance and then to the Ministry of Information and Culture before a small part of the amount is paid out to the broadcaster. RTA relies on a monthly subsidy of 408,000 US Dollars from the Ministry of Information and Culture.	–

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Use of mobile and internet communication/modern technology/challenges of digitalization	Not an issue (yet).	–
Regional structures and reporting	There is no chart listing the regional structure and giving information on how the provincial desks work.	–
Capacity building	RTA has no training department. Most of the staff is recruited from the faculty of journalism at Kabul University which has an old-fashioned, theoretical curriculum and does not include vocational trainings for aspiring journalists.	–
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	There are no documents in which the ethics codices or newsroom guidelines are written down.	–
Public perception and support for the media organization	RTA is perceived as the national broadcaster and people rely especially on the radio program because it covers locally-generated information. Although most of the viewers of RTA know that the program shows government bias, they still watch it to at least know what the government is doing and saying. As for the integrative role and the national unity, RTA is seen as a symbol for that because it respects minorities and stands for national unity.	–

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	Partially	RTA is the only broadcaster that covers all provinces and thus gives information to a broader public. Programs delivered by RTA Kabul are strongly focused on the capital so that not all provinces feel represented - especially in the prime-time news.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, soundbites etc.	No	RTA is highly government biased.
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	Partially	Since there are vox pops of average people that are not censored, criticism can be heard in those voices. Journalists asking politicians critical questions in the RTA program are rare.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	Partially	There is no profound research on social issues. Most of the programs are based on interviews with individuals and vox pops. RTA covers merely success stories rather than showing problems in society.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	No	–
Social/political orientation	Partially	Since the media landscape offers a broad range of broadcasters RTA is one pillar of information for its audience. Thus it gives orientation towards the goal of national unity.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	No	Investigative journalism is a completely new phenomenon for Afghanistan and has no tradition in the mass media. Doing undercover research, having a closer look at a certain issue and questioning procedures, political or social decisions and asking more than one or two sources on the same issue – all these things cannot be observed in the programs of RTA. And in fact these elements are not necessarily what people would expect in the first place from RTA.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Participation, voice, empowerment	Partially	RTA is very much focused on the capital Kabul, but the radio stations in the provinces provide locally-generated programs which are – in some areas – the only source of information.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values and cultural cohesion	Yes	As the first broadcaster RTA has the largest and oldest archive of old films and music videos of Afghan musicians. In its program these old clips are shown and people from the older generations love to watch them. RTA is seen as a national institution despite the limited quality.
Entertainment	Yes	Although the entertainment programs are somewhat old-fashioned, some of the shows are successful, for example, quiz shows or comedy shows.
Education	Partially	RTA was the first broadcaster to have a children's program which is also quite popular.
Innovation	No	–

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
Consortium of BBC, DW and CFI (started in 2004)	Transformation of RTA into a PSB	**First phase:** *Assessment of the status at RTA.* Figuring out all that belongs to RTA from buildings to technical equipment to cars, etc. **Second phase:** *Changing the regulatory framework.* The consortium has been lobbied for some amendments to underline RTA as a PSB. **Third phase:** *Preparing the top and middle management.* **Fourth phase:** *Reconstructing the organization.* Preparing a concept for the broadcaster and an organizational chart that reflects the reality.	**First phase:** There were no documents about the assets, the donations given by the international donors, the staff, the payrolls. Everything had to be assessed. This phase could not be accomplished. **Second phase:** As a PSB RTA has to be financially and organizationally more independent from the government. There was no success in achieving this independence. **Third phase:** Most of the people in those positions were not qualified for the jobs and had no interest in changing the status quo. **Fourth phase:** Reconstructing the organization means in the case of RTA firing 90% of the staff that were on the payroll but were never productive for the broadcaster. Changing the personnel structure of RTA was and still is the most difficult aspect of the transformation efforts.

N.B. All the information given in the tables above is based on the interviews, observations and document analysis made by the author of this chapter. The tables provide very rough summaries of what is elaborated in the texts. Many of the issues mentioned here are, of course, subject to change.

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04
Kyrgyzstan: Advancements in a Media-Friendly Environment

Jackie Wilson Bakare

Kyrgyzstan: Advancements in a Media-Friendly Environment

Kyrgyzstan is the only country in Central Asia whose main state broadcaster (OTRK) has had its status changed to that of public service media – finalized, after one or two earlier failed attempts, in 2010. In early 2012, the American media development organization Internews initiated a new attempt to advance the transformation process. The strategy focused first on management and on television, and different organizational and financial assessments were made.

There was also some lobbying work done in the political sphere and moves towards more citizen participation were made: Now audience research is being conducted, audience feedback is collected and town-hall meetings between citizens and staff of OTRK are organized. In addition to this, civil society groups were encouraged in their engagement for the PSM on the Supervisory Board. OTRK is one of the very few Kyrgyz media outlets that provides an international news segment, relying on material from the BBC here. It also broadcasts parliamentary debate live. Yet much work still needs to be done to improve the quality of the content. Aside from the questionable balance within OTRK's news and political programming, the other main problem dogging news production is the lack of regional content. So far the journalists at OTRK do not make full use of the potential the press freedom in their country holds. The case of OTRK shows that the transformation of a broadcaster in a country with press freedoms, an economically weak media landscape, a strong civil society, and media development actors with a dedicated strategy is possible, but not simple.

In the media landscape of the Central Asian region, the Kyrgyz Republic represents a "relative bright spot" according to Freedom House's latest report on media freedom.[1] The 2014 report said despite its rating as "not free," there were "positive developments" to report in the Kyrgyz media. It is, amongst other things, the only country in the region whose main state broadcaster (OTRK) has had its status changed to that of public service media. In order to understand the particular situation of the public service media in Kyrgyzstan, a brief overview of the country's most important characteristics, its media landscape, and the status of its current public service media will be given.

Kyrgyzstan – A Brief Overview

Kyrgyzstan is a country still struggling to come to terms with a past characterised by ethnic strife. The second-poorest country in Central Asia, one third of the population of just over five-and-a-half million lives below the poverty line.[2] Economic growth and productivity is slow, a large part of the workforce is employed abroad (mainly in neighbouring countries).

Since gaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, its path towards democracy has been halting, but largely determined. Power struggles and turf wars were regular and sometimes fierce in a culture heavily marked by clan delineations and loyalties. The first presidents of the young Republic were widely respected but hardly brought up in democratic traditions. The first president was Askar Akayev, a respected physicist, and he maintained his position for the first decade and a half of the country's independence. Initially, NGOs, civil society groups, and the media were given relative freedom. But by the late 90s, Akayev was tinkering with the fledgling constitution and substantially increasing the power of the presidency. He won re-election in 1995 and again in 2000 – for an unconstitutional third term –, and international observers noted serious irregularities in both the presidential and the parliamentary elections of that year.[3] By 2002, people in the marginalized and economically disadvantaged southern regions were becoming frustrated and this led to public protests. Akayev's 'island of democracy' was becoming increasingly compromised, as the president took steps to silence the independent media and suppress opposition. Parliamentary elections in February 2005 were seen as deeply flawed and the country was thrown into a state of political turmoil. Thousands of protesters took to the streets, demanding Akayev's resignation, and when the demonstrators marched on the presidential headquarters in Bishkek in March, Akayev departed, fleeing eventually to Moscow. This period became known as the Tulip Revolution. People in Kyrgyzstan refer to it as the First Revolution.

In July of 2005, interim President and opposition leader Kurmanbek Bakiyev gained a decisive victory in the presidential ballot. He was practically unopposed but the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) nevertheless rated the election as "tangible progress" compared to previous polls.[4] However, opposition from the streets continued and people accused Bakiyev of failing to see through promised constitutional reforms. A referendum in October 2007 was widely seen as an attempt on Bakiyev's part to constitutionally increase the power of the presidency and when he won the presidential election of July 2009 with over 80% of the vote, OSCE observers condemned the poll as "failing to meet key OSCE commitments for democratic elections."[5]

President Bakiyev continued his campaign of political suppression. Opposition figures had to fear harassment or attacks, not just on themselves but their families as well. Several fled the country. The media experienced major political pressure, and a series of vicious attacks on journalists and the assassination of regime opponents silenced any open criticism.[6]

[1] *Freedom House, May 1, 2014. Article quotes Freedom House's 2014 report's project director, Karin Karlekar.*
[2] *USAID 2014.*
[3] *Freedom House 2013a.*
[4] *OSCE/ODIHR 2005.*
[5] *OSCE/ODIHR 2009.*
[6] *Bertelsmann Foundation 2014.*

Increasing levels of corruption under this president finally brought tension in the Republic to the breaking point. In April 2010, there were confrontations with security forces on the streets of Bishkek and a total of 86 people were reported killed, with dozens more injured. Bakiyev fled Bishkek and the formation of an interim government was announced, headed by another prominent opposition leader, Roza Otunbayeva. The interim government struggled to maintain order. Later in the same year, ethnic rioting broke out in the southern half of the Republic, during which at least 470 people died.

In 2010, the people of Kyrgyzstan were called to the ballot boxes twice: In June 2010, a constitutional referendum confirmed Otunbayeva as President of an Interim Government and also approved a new constitution, shifting power from presidency to parliament. Then in October a parliamentary poll took place. Both polls were judged reasonably fair and above-board by the OSCE. The organization concluded that "the competing parties had equal access to mass media and registration process."[7] Some irregularities involving voter lists and campaign financing were noted.

It is widely recognized that it was this latter, more decisive shift towards parliamentary democracy in the wake of the Second Revolution that allowed the Kyrgyz Republic (as it is officially called) to become a model of transformation for the region. Of 50 registered political parties – most of which were only registered shortly before the polls – 29 were able to compete in the 2010 parliamentary election. Five won seats in parliament and formed a coalition government – which has been the prevailing form of government since then, though with changes in the alliances. There have been three different coalitions since the adoption of the new constitution, the latest collapsed on March 18th, 2014, only to come together again in the same constellation. It is now presided over by (former Deputy) Prime Minister Joomart Otorbaev, who was officially named the Kyrgyz Republic's 26th prime minister, and the fourth since the parliamentary election of 2010, on April 3rd, 2014.[8]

Parties in Kyrgyzstan stand and fall with their ability to finance campaigns and promote their key leaders. They are personality-oriented and rely on clan-like loyalties, rather than on their policies. Corruption is endemic in the Kyrgyz political landscape – indeed at all levels of society. The country ranks 150th out of 177 on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index 2013.[9] However, Transparency International notes in its report for 2013 that measures are being taken to strengthen the independence of the judiciary and other institutions, and that the present climate as a whole is reform-friendly.

Kyrgyzstan politics are verbose and competitive, and cannot be separated from the ethnic situation in the country which remains largely unresolved, especially in the south, in Osh and Jalal-Abad. Regional politicians tend to find themselves frequently at odds with central government: "President [Almazbek] Atambayev... has shown inclination to assert more power ... and to promote officials to key posts based on loyalty rather than merit."[10] Ethnic strife and unease are more prevalent in the south because of border tensions and the different demography: Whilst about 14% of the population in the country as a whole is Uzbek, that concentration increases considerably in most southern regions.

Media Landscape

"The considerable social polarization is reflected in the media and the climate for journalists, who are often harassed by pressure groups," notes Reporters Without Borders.[11] However, the Bertelsmann Foundation believes that "Kyrgyzstan's mass media outlets are more diverse and free of government control in Bishkek compared to provinces, especially in the south."[12] Conditions for Kyrgyz-language media are seen as vastly improved since 2010, but other ethnicities are if anything worse off with regards to representation in the media.

Uzbek-language outlets have disappeared almost entirely, and of the three or four main broadcasters, only one, Yntymak (a word which means 'harmony' in both Uzbek and Kyrgyz) Public Regional TV and Radio Company, broadcasts in Kyrgyz, Russian and Uzbek. The station was co-founded by Internews and the Kyrgyz government as a public broadcaster in September 2012, in Osh, to promote and help improve inter-ethnic relations. It is now the only station broadcasting in Uzbek as well as Russian and Kyrgyz, and has become very popular.[13] However, despite the importance of its mission, the station receives no funding from the state, relying primarily on foreign aid and grants.[14]

Altogether there are 26 radio stations,[15] many of which are privately owned – and have little real editorial independence. Of the 31 TV networks, three of which are local cable networks, ratings show the top three to be OTRK, ElTR (both state-owned) and the privately-owned 7th Channel.[16] Obschestvennaya Tele-Radio Kompaniya – OTRK – is the main public service media (PSM). The second biggest national broadcaster is Public Television ElTR (this is its title and not an acronym, with a lowercase l, not a capital I), an Osh-based Kyrgyz-language public TV station. It was established in 2005 by presidential decree. Another important player is Radio Azattyk, the Kyrgyz service of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL). Established in 1953, the radio station calls itself "the leading source of independent news and information for elites and ordinary citizens alike."[17] It is widely regarded as one of the more professional and objective outlets.

There are four main news agencies, one (Kabar) is state-owned and the other three are in private ownership. They have well-developed, professional websites, with at least English and Russian versions available, and at least one of them – AKIpress, the largest and most well-established online-based news agency – has a Twitter and Facebook presence. There are several blogging websites available for those with internet access (which, in Kyrgyzstan, is now around 80% of the

country[18]); one of these, Kloop Media, also runs a journalism school. Kloop's news website is available in Kyrgyz, Russian and English. This is a well-developed and reasonably well-funded platform, a private initiative, which we will look at in more detail later.

Only two of Kyrgyzstan's TV stations have a nationwide reach, but owing to the mountainous nature of large parts of the country, more remote areas are often cut off even from these providers. The same applies to radio, of which again, only a handful have national reach. Newspapers, especially regional outlets, are more numerous, but national newspapers will often reach more rural areas in remoter parts of the country with a two-week delay:

"Any shortage of information in southern Kyrgyzstan and other remote areas of the country is not unique to a specific ethnic group, but is rather a sign of poor general access to television, radio, and print media."[19]

Russian television is more widely available[20] – and also often more popular, particularly with urban populations, probably partly because of the greater variety of entertainment programs on offer, although OTRK holds the floor for news programs. In urban centers (Bishkek and Osh), cable television networks offer access to a variety of foreign channel options, whilst in rural areas people tend to resort to satellite if they can afford it. Access to foreign media "is not restricted by anything other than the financial means of the customer."[21]

Obschestvennaya Tele-Radio Kompaniya (OTRK)

The Kyrgyz public service media sector, although in its infancy, is slightly more varied than in many other countries at this stage of development, where one state broadcaster has been or is being transformed. In Kyrgyzstan, dominant in the sector is the main, formerly state, broadcaster OTRK. Yntymak, (full title Public Regional TV and Radio Company) is purely radio and was established in the south as an integration initiative. There is also the public television company ElTR – which we include here on the periphery as an important factor in any analysis of the Kyrgyz PSM sector. Established in 2005 by President Bakiyev as a public broadcasting company with the aim of contributing to the harmony of society, the station is governed by its own bylaw and fully owned by the state. It is a small outfit (about 260 employees) which started out in Osh in the south but has now also established offices and studios in Bishkek (premises are partially leased from a university) and intends to broaden its audience base to include the entire Republic. There is at present just the one channel but plans are being made to establish a second one, also in the south.

The main focus here, however, has to be the dominant national broadcaster: OTRK (sometimes known under varying acronyms such as KPRT - Kyrgyz Public Radio and TV – KPBC, or PRTC, whereby OTRK is the most recognisable and will be used here throughout) has 3 TV channels, two of which are newly-established specialist channels – a music and a kids' channel, the only children's channel in the country. A culture channel is in the planning phase. All of these channels broadcast in Kyrgyz and in Russian – the spread of the two languages across the channels appears to be fairly random. The BBC provides news segments in English for re-broadcast on the main channel. At OTRK, there are five radio channels, and these broadcast in Kyrgyz, Russian and English. Birinchi Radio (First Radio), described on the company website as All Talk Radio or "radio 'everything,'" broadcasts two hours of English news a day. There is also a tiny segment with the optimistic name of Friendship Radio (Radio Dostuk). This, at the moment purely an online presence, puts together programs in most of the minority languages present in the Kyrgyz Republic, although surprisingly not in the language of the largest minority, the Uzbeks.[22] We will come back to this in a later part of the chapter.

Both ElTR and OTRK, and Yntymak are subject to the regulation of the Supervisory Board, which was set up during the reforms of 2010 specifically to watch over the transformation to PSM. Members are selected by a parliamentary Committee for Education, Science, Culture and Sport. The Board consists of 15 members, five from government, five from parliament and five from the civil society. Its authority as laid down in the constitution is considerable, but is in actual fact tempered by the influence still wielded by the state.[23] Many media experts and observers hold it to be "neither balanced nor independent."[24]

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[7] *Bertelsmann Foundation 2012.*
[8] *Trilling, March 31, 2014.*
[9] *TI 2013.*
[10] *Bertelsmann Foundation 2014.*
[11] *Reporters Without Borders 2014a.*
[12] *Bertelsmann Foundation 2014.*
[13] *"Over the past year, the opportunities for Kyrgyz citizens to obtain news and information in the Uzbek language have improved markedly, with an Uzbek-language version of the Kyrgyz-language Aalam broadcast on OTRK's Yntymak channel, along with news releases and programs in Uzbek." See IREX 2014, 260.*
[14] *IREX 2013, 268.*
[15] *IREX 2014, 250.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty 2013.*
[18] *Bektour Iskender, Kloop Media Foundation (founding member) – NB this figure reflects access capability throughout the country, largely boosted by mobile phone networks. Actual digital literacy figures are much lower.*
[19] *Freedom House 2013c.*
[20] *Freedom House 2014.*
[21] *IREX 2013, 266.*
[22] *http://dostuk.ktrk.kg/ky*
[23] *Employee International Relations Dept., OTRK – does not wish to be named.*
[24] *IREX 2014, 253.*

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

There are a considerable number of international organizations active in the Kyrgyz Republic today, across all sections of civil society. The main actors in the media sector are the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe),[25] the US Agency for International Development (USAID),[26] the SOROS Foundation,[27] and the American media development organization, Internews.[28] The Copenhagen-based media development NGO International Media Support (IMS)[29] also works in the country, mainly with the Public Association of Journalists (PAJ) and Kloop Media.

In the public service media sector, the following recent developments and activities stand out: With the financial support of USAID, the US-American media development organization Internews has been actively involved in the transformation process of OTRK from state broadcaster to public service media since March 2012 – and in the development of independent media in the country for much longer than that. Their program has a strong focus on management strategies and on television. Several organizational and financial assessments were made. Internews also engaged in lobbying work in the political sphere and civil society groups were supported in their engagement for PSM on the independent Supervisory Board.

Moves were made towards more regular citizen participation, with town-hall meetings organized between citizens and OTRK staff. Following a tender given out by Internews, an international research organization called InterMedia was charged in late 2013 with a study of the television and radio audiences of OTRK.[30] Beginning in mid-December 2013, focus groups were set up across the country to take a closer look at OTRK audiences. The study is aimed at identifying programming weaknesses – and strengths – as well as determining future target audiences. The Joint Media Committee, an umbrella organization which was formed in the latter half of 2012 by joining three separate Kyrgyz media associations,[31] is accompanying this study in a consultancy role.[32]

In January 2014, Internews also announced a tender for a Management Support Component on strategic planning, report writing, and communication. To be based on a functional analysis already carried out, this project is in response to "a need to support the OTRK management in compiling annual reports, strategies and presentations."[33] It was requested by the management at OTRK, which would indicate that change agents have successfully insisted on the need for wide-ranging improvement of media management skills. This is frequently singled out as the one of the biggest weak spots, the Achilles heel (along with insufficient legal frameworks) in the transformation of the Kyrgyz media sector.[34] A tender has also been issued (by Internews and the Soros Foundation) for a review of the laws and regulations governing OTRK, with a view to clarifying funding mechanisms for the broadcaster and adjusting existing laws to better recognise its public status. Draft laws and regulations have already been drawn up which need refining and discussing with ministries and other stakeholders before being put into the hands of the lawmakers.[35]

Among initiatives already completed, the SOROS Foundation and the OSCE have been instrumental in organizing study tours for MPs and broadcasters to Georgia, Lithuania and other countries in the wider region where the transformation to public service media is further advanced. These have been taking place since 2011 and have resulted in recommendations and guidelines being established for further development. An OTRK 'top management' delegation including the Director General, Kubatbek Otorbaev, was shortly due (at the time of writing) to visit Estonia to exchange expertise and compare notes on the transformation process.[36]

OTRK itself is becoming more pro-active in this respect and the International Relations and Protocol Department (which sometimes calls itself External Relations) has taken steps to strengthen relations with foreign broadcasters and broadcasting associations, including Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) in South Korea, Japanese public broadcaster NHK, and the Turkish Radio and TV Corporation TRT. OTRK is a member of the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU), a cooperation and assistance platform for the region based in Kuala Lumpur.[37] At present, by far the larger part of international donor cooperation is provided by Internews and SOROS – without whose considerable financial commitment, according to one interviewee, many of the Internews projects could not get off the ground.[38] The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) also provides some support in the form of consultancy and equipment.[39]

All international change agents seem to work very well with Kyrgyzstani organizations – collaboration on both an abstract and a more concrete logistical level seems well-developed. Most collaboration is on a consultancy level or in the form of funding or a combination of both. There is some training – of journalists as well as administrators – undertaken by both foreign and national organizations,[40] but it is widely recognised that more needs to be done here.

ElTR works with partners such as USAID and SOROS as well. The outlet has received financial and technical assistance from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and it has received direct funding for programming from India and from China, and peer-to-peer training from the Turkish broadcaster TRT (for which ElTR staff travelled to Turkey).[41]

Status of the Media Organization

Legal Framework, Governance and Ethics

Ostensibly, the media sector in Kyrgyzstan is governed by some of the most liberal media legislation in the region. Access to public information, and freedoms of speech and of the press are guaranteed in the Kyrgyz constitution and, to a degree, in law. But practical experience with the law has shown that it lags behind the constitution to a certain degree. It was quickly recognized that whilst the media had been reformed,

there had been no parallel reform in other sectors such as the judiciary or law enforcement.[42]

The libel law in particular is currently under debate. Although libel was decriminalized in 2011, it is still a crime to insult public officials. This law is frequently used against journalists and bloggers. Over the course of the past months, there have been three unsuccessful attempts to push through amendments "that would have severely restricted freedom of speech in Kyrgyzstan."[43] One of these, a bill on false accusations in the media, was withdrawn, only to be replaced by a version which, as its backers stress, is aimed not only at journalists, but at anyone spreading 'false information' in the media. On April 16th, 2014, the Kyrgyz parliament approved amendments to the criminal code which threaten hefty fines and up to three years' imprisonment for "spreading false information relating to a crime or offence."[44] Reporters Without Borders calls it a "pointless backward step" and says it "makes nonsense of the decriminalization of defamation in 2011. By once again turning a media-related offence into a crime, the authorities are sending a deterrent message to all journalists, promoting self-censorship and hindering investigative reporting."[45]

Several interviewees – interviewed in Bishkek in the course of a four-day research trip in February 2014 – mention a working group currently formulating new media legislation, which includes representatives of the media community and parliament. They have a huge task before them since the new laws also have to encompass digitalization, set to take place in 2015. The pace of legal reform needs to be stepped up, says one interviewee, two or three years of intense research (including projects by international NGOs) have paved the way for it, but progress is halting.[46] This is partly due to the fact that political interests frequently get in the way of agreement, partly also due to a mistrust of the fragile status quo and a fear that legislative initiatives could be used to muzzle free speech and block further progress.

As part of the transition to digital broadcasting, licenses for analogue broadcasting are no longer being issued. The new channel Yntymak was the last to receive a license and frequency allocation for analogue transmission.[47] By and large, however, developments have fallen behind initial timetabling. By late 2011, for example, the assigning of frequencies for digital broadcasting was meant to have been open to competition. One online media outlet however reported that the responsible ministry, the Ministry of Transport and Communication, "allocated four multiplexes without competition to the state-owned firm, Kyrgyztelecom."[48]

Meerim Asanaly, OTRK Head of International Relations and Protocol, confirms that legislation governing the public service media status of OTRK also needs to be redrafted, and again, after a lengthy period of research, reform processes are being introduced. The broadcaster's public status needs to be cemented, as it is widely seen as public service media primarily in name, with very little by way of legislation to underpin this.[49] Financial legislation is one important area of reform, as the Finance Ministry still controls most budget issues, including staffing – a circumstance which must necessarily impact the outlet's independence. Also, "the procedure for ElTR and OTRK to defend their budgets in the Jogorku Kenesh [parliament] every year adversely affects their editorial independence."[50]

As has been mentioned, OTRK is subject to a Supervisory Board, the 15 members of which are selected by a parliamentary committee. Members serve a two-year term and elections take place annually. They approve programming and the budget and monitor the work of the Director General – human resource management is outside their remit, although it's agreed that this isn't always the case in practice. The Board is seen by some as the transformation success story, with shortcomings, one of which is the fact that any of their decisions can be overridden by parliament.[51] For others, this lack of political clout means that they represent a sort of sham.[52] It is pointed out that the kinship and clan squabbles, divided loyalties, political games, and resentments that beset daily politics are hardly magically absent here, and severely handicap the Board's work.[53]

Meetings are open to the public and members of civil society organizations, and this provision is regularly made use of. Despite the reservations of some observers, the Board is an important factor in the broadcaster's independence, since at

[25] *OSCE 2014.*
[26] *USAID 2014.*
[27] *http://soros.kg/en/*
[28] *http://eng.internews.kg/category/otrk/*
[29] *http://www.i-m-s.dk/*
[30] *http://eng.internews.kg/category/otrk/*
[31] *Associations of private media, state-owned media and advertising agencies.*
[32] *Marina Kydyralieva, Joint Media Committee (founding member), advisor to Director General ElTR.*
[33] *http://eng.internews.kg/category/otrk/*
[34] *Yelena Baranouski, Joint Media Committee (founding member), Bishkek.*
[35] *Internews 2014a.*
[36] *Meerim Asanaly, Head of International Relations and Protocol Departent, OTRK.*
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Corina Cepoi, Project Director, Internews Bishkek.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *DW Akademie and OSCE Academy (summer school – see Tables); OTRK's own newly-established training department; Kloop Media.*
[41] *Sultan Zhumagulov, Director General ElTR.*
[42] *Rickleton, September 29, 2011.*
[43] *IREX 2014, 251.*
[44] *Reporters Without Borders 2014b.*
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Marina Kydyralieva, Joint Media Committee (founding member), advisor to Director General ElTR.*
[47] *IREX 2013, 262.*
[48] *Ibid., 263.*
[49] *Meerim Asanaly, Head of International Relations and Protocol Department, OTRK.*
[50] *IREX 2014, 253.*
[51] *External Analyst, Policy Officer OSCE – wishes to remain unnamed.*
[52] *Employee, International Relations Department, OTRK – wishes to remain unnamed.*
[53] *Yelena Baranouski, Joint Media Committee (founding member), Bishkek.*

the very least it provides an interface with the audiences – audience feedback is often dealt with at these meetings. So, for example, after complaints were made about OTRK's New Year programs, at the first Board meeting of the new year the presence of the program manager responsible for the special programming was requested. The viewer complaints were made known and the manager was asked to submit suggestions for changes in future programming.[54]

On another occasion, the Board's attempts to intervene were not so successful. OTRK Director General, Kubatbek Otorbaev, has to submit a full report to the Supervisory Board every April. In a development widely described as 'unprecedented,' the Board refused to accept his 2013 report and expressed a vote of no confidence in the Director General – a move which should normally have meant his dismissal.[55] The Board's vote, however, was vetoed by President Atambayev and DG Otorbaev kept his position – with the proviso that the Board would be scrutinizing his actions more closely in the forthcoming year. The Director General's position is presumably not an enviable one, and most agree that he is not a political puppet, but on the contrary, stands up for the station's independence.[56] Certainly for one interviewee, the President's intervention clearly demonstrated the Board's lack of teeth.[57]

Capacity Building and Human Resources

There is a clear need for improved training of journalists in Kyrgyzstan. Professional standards and journalistic ethics in the country are underdeveloped or practically non-existent, particularly in the print media. There is little serious research done, facts are frequently not distinguished from speculation or rumours, political, ethnic, and clan loyalties are quite openly displayed, and prejudice is allowed. Plagiarism is common, particularly of internet sources: "It seems that this phenomenon has become the scourge of modern journalism in Kyrgyzstan."[58]

Journalistic ethics are directly impacted when the chase for ratings and readerships leads to a preference for sensationalist content. Stories are chosen for their ability to attract an audience, with little regard for veracity. Analytical or investigative journalism is rare, mostly to be found in online outlets and, since most journalists here learn primarily from their peers, these are skills that few possess. However, the feeling is that audiences are becoming more discerning and focus groups, including the ones set up under the auspices of the Internews-run project mentioned earlier, are determining that audiences like their news to be balanced and transparent, are concerned about quality, and also concerned about the qualification of journalists.[59] Audiences are growing up.

Censorship is generally not open but is latent in practically all outlets, and editorial policies are frequently passed on more or less by word-of-mouth, so that journalists are given clearly to understand what they can and cannot say, what topics they can and cannot cover, but there is little in writing.[60] Therefore, as all analyses agree, self-censorship is widespread, since it is a sort of safety mechanism which protects the journalist from undue pressure or interference. The degree of self-censorship depends on the region – it is much more noticeable in the south where ethnic and political loyalties are much closer to the surface and more likely to cause trouble – and on the ownership of the media outlet.[61]

There is too much of a hiatus between management and staffers, which also leads to an unhealthy degree of self-censorship. The relationship between the top floors and the newsroom/studio floor is governed sometimes by mistrust, always by a lack of certainties as to how much support there is for the journalist, and by simple lack of communication.[62] The situation is not healthy for the self-confidence of the profession as a whole, and there is dire need of more rigorous professionalization of the sector. But training for the sector is patchy and uncoordinated and the government has been content for much too long to leave it to foreign donors and NGOs. Journalism courses at university level leave much to be desired and a real practical element is glaringly absent. Most journalism faculties and departments are deplorably underequipped, with practically no technologically up-to-date facilities.[63] The curricula are basic and the staff insufficiently qualified.

As a result, most media outlets seem to prefer to train their journalists from scratch. But again, the outlets themselves don't invest in specific training programs, young journalists are left to 'learn by doing.' Technical facilities and equipment here, too, are in short supply and often outdated. Nearly all young journalists possess a smartphone or an iPhone and most have netbooks, laptops or tablets, but access to the internet, even though readily available, continues to be expensive and not covered by any form of expenses arrangement. Newsrooms and editorial offices are underequipped, as are press conference facilities and again, there is no free internet access. "Managers and owners demand maximum work with minimum technical investment."[64]

OTRK are taking steps on their own behalf to overcome this major shortcoming in the Kyrgyz media sector. The station is setting up a training center of its own and has already recruited an expert – Adelya Laisheva, who was previously with Internews – to take it through its development phase.[65] At present they are using their own resources and trying to recruit trainers locally, but with little success. The next step is to register the center as a public foundation so that they can attract external funding and training. The center has already run a couple of English courses with the help of a student from Bishkek University and can report that the feedback was hugely positive and the demand great.[66]

Journalism training is poor in Kyrgyzstan but there is a precedent for an outlet successfully professionalizing its own staff. As previously mentioned, the Kloop Media Foundation, an internet news and blogging platform, runs the Kloop Online Journalism School which teaches young people how to access and identify independent news on the internet, how to write for online platforms, the basics of good reporting,

etc. The courses have to be paid for but Kloop will help to fund them for aspiring professionals from poorer economic backgrounds. This isn't purely charity, as the majority of the young people taking the courses also work for Kloop, unpaid. All their articles are written by young journalists aged 15-25, and feedback indicates that this works. Everything is done under careful supervision and the Foundation is a well-respected platform.

Because of the aforementioned hiatus between management and staff, many of the younger workers at OTRK don't stay for long. One interviewee informed us in late March 2014 (not long after the research was conducted for this report) that he was looking for another job since his February salary had not been paid and further budget cuts were imminent. Pay in the sector in general is poor, however "researchers found that OTRK salaries fall beneath average monthly wages in Bishkek, which in 2012 was KGS 10,566 ($204), and are uncompetitive in the labor market."[67]

On the other hand OTRK has, thanks to the reforms process, been able to keep some good staff and also to attract a number of new, well qualified professionals from other media outlets.

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

The question of finance and financial management is, many feel, the question of the hour in Kyrgyzstan. It is the framework without which any progress so far achieved may stand or fall, since it not only touches on the outlets' independence but also on their sustainability.[68] Journalists in Kyrgyzstan earn below par. Research carried out by the Bishkek-based Public Association of Journalists, with the support of IMS, in October 2013 showed the average salary of a Kyrgyz journalist to be about 7,500 soms (approx. 155 US dollars). Radio journalists receive some of the highest salaries in the sector but still struggle to keep up with the average monthly salary in the country as a whole, which in 2013 was thought to be about 13,500 soms.[69] One of the more damaging consequences of this is the migration of good journalists abroad, or into the private and PR sector, where they can expect far better pay. The "brain drain" is an increasing threat to the professionalization of the sector.[70]
Legal reforms since the events of 2010 have ensured many basic media freedoms are protected in the constitution, as mentioned earlier. Like these, financial reforms are there, on paper, but full legislation lags behind. Most media outlets are still economically entirely dependent on their owners or, in the case of state-owned or partially state-owned organizations, upon the state.

So, notwithstanding the relative press and media freedom guaranteed in the constitution as of 2010, state bodies feel fully justified in interfering with editorial policy. This interference may be relatively limited and seldom amount to downright censorship, but it still gives rise to a certain amount of self-censorship on the part of the media itself. And so "the state-owned media and their directors never express dissatisfaction with these dictates and do not even consider what their businesses would be like as an independent media outlet."[71]

As the main public service media, OTRK has three distinct streams of income: primarily, of course, it is state-financed, via a budget which is still under the control of the Ministry of Finance – probably the primary reason why many observers, and some among its employees, regard its claims to independence with skepticism. It also makes budget management problematic, as OTRK's finance managers have no flexibility; they cannot vary reporting fees, for example, or address the issues of staff salaries.[72] One interviewee felt that too much of it goes towards programming and not enough is put into underfunded areas such as staff training and development or equipment maintenance. The channelling of state-budgeted funds is circuitous and slow, in part because every transaction also has to go through a review by the Supervisory Board.[73] According to the latest figures, the larger part of the national media budget is split between OTRK and ElTR. OTRK receives just over US$8 million per year, with another US$10 million in spending planned for the transition to digital broadcasting, on top of around US$2 million already spent out of the 2013 transition budget.[74]

[54] *External Analyst, Policy Officer OSCE.*
[55] *Meerim Asanaly, Head of International Relations and Protocol Department, OTRK.*
[56] *Employee, International Relations Department, OTRK.*
[57] *Yelena Baranouski, Joint Media Committee (founding member), Bishkek.*
[58] *IREX 2013, 264.*
[59] *Marina Kydyralieva, Joint Media Committee (founding member), advisor to Director General ElTR.*
[60] *Employee, International Relations Department, OTRK.*
[61] *IREX 2013, 264.*
[62] *Yelena Baranouski, Joint Media Committee (founding member), Bishkek.*
[63] *IREX 2013, 271.*
[64] *IREX 2014, 258.*
[65] *Employee, International Relations Department, OTRK; information provided via email, March 4, 2014.*
[66] *Meerim Asanaly, Head of International Relations and Protocol Department, OTRK.*
[67] *"Today, the average salary of an OTRK employee is KGS 7,908 ($153) for creative and production personnel." See IREX 2014, 257f.*
[68] *Yelena Baranouski, Joint Media Committee (founding member), Bishkek*
[69] *International Media Support, November 27, 2013.*
[70] *External Analyst, Policy Officer, OSCE.*
[71] *IREX 2013, 268.*
[72] *Corina Cepoi, Project Director, Internews Bishkek.*
[73] *External Analyst, Policy Officer, OSCE.*
[74] *$8,165,000 – or nearly KGS 400 million; see IREX 2014, 263.*

However, thanks to the input of experts (provided by Internews and others), via financial assessment and consultancies, OTRK is in a better position to negotiate its case with the ministries and work towards more autonomy in the budget planning.

Gaps are occasionally filled with the help of international donors. The broadcaster has recently managed to attract a grant of US$ 800,000 from the Japanese government, to be used to upgrade their technical facilities in the move towards digitalization. In general, aside from the state budget, the other main revenue source is advertising. The outlet's International Relations and Protocol Department is very active in exploring alternative revenue sources and, apart from looking for partners and grants, it established a PR section three months ago which is working, for example, to boost their public profile and raise their value as an advertising partner. Some rebranding work is being done since the head of the department felt that their most popular logos, such as that for the Kids' Channel, were being widely misused.[75]

The advertising industry in general in Kyrgyzstan is underdeveloped, and so whilst it is also a source of income, it's neither sizeable nor dependable. It is poorly regulated, the only restrictions under the Advertising Act being that "advertising volumes should not exceed 20% of airtime and 20% of newspaper space."[76] These regulations are neither monitored, nor are violations sanctioned. OTRK's main TV channel has advertising blocks of 5 or 6 minutes, once every two hours for the larger part of the day, then rising to half-hourly or hourly intervals during evening peak viewing times. With a total of 17.5 hours of airtime daily, their advertising volume on the primary channel stays within prescribed limits. It is perhaps worth noting that the Joint Media Committee has had enormous success in both establishing the worth of the country's advertising market and helping it to realise its potential and expand rapidly.[77]

News programming is at the heart of OTRK's value with audiences: Focus groups set up by the Joint Media Committee, with the help of USAID and Internews, established that by and large, audiences like the news and agree that the quality of news programming with regard to reporting and political balance is improving.[78] There are concerns about the extent of regional coverage, and about the quality of reporting. According to one interviewee, there are major inconsistencies in the quality of the programs, and still too many instances of items being repeated a day later, items being insufficiently researched, with only one source, and so on. But this, she felt, was down to poor management, the head of news programming being an excellent journalist but an insufficiently experienced manager. Management, she insisted, is an area that still requires particular attention, in the newsroom as elsewhere.[79]

Perception, Participation and Public Engagement

Civil society in general in Kyrgyzstan is very supportive of the media and guards basic rights such as freedom of expression jealously. There are numerous media watchdog organizations and journalists' associations, there is a media ombudsman, and various forms of legal help for journalists, although a decrease in the availability of aid and the number of donors in recent years means many NGOs are struggling to find funding. Also, online information about the activities of media NGOs seems to show, according to observers, that "almost all of their activities take place in the regions."[80] Online-based organizations in particular become very vocal if media freedoms look threatened by state interference – which happens often.[81] The lack of organization, however, sometimes makes civil society groups vulnerable to political influence. The liveliness of public debate – on all societal issues, not just pertaining to media – is greatly supported by the robustness and ready availability of online platforms.

Audiences tend to welcome opportunities to vocalize their wishes and expectations, rare as these are, and there is no lack of feedback: Quite early on, town-hall meetings between citizens and the staff of OTRK were organized with the mediation of Internews. OTRK has an audience feedback section, fed partly through a public reception area on the ground floor of the building itself, where members of the public can deliver complaints and other feedback in person, partly by a telephone system, and partly via online platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. The online feedback in particular has been hugely improved, with input from an expert: Bektour Iskender of Kloop Media was sent in (an intervention initiated by Internews) to train OTRK editors in the effective use of their Facebook and Twitter accounts and other online facilities, which were already in place but languishing unused through lack of both expertise and interest. And the feedback doesn't simply get 'filed,' it is acted upon: in an oft-cited example, during the Sochi Winter Olympics, the broadcaster's two commentators (one for Russian and one for Kyrgyz) were very quickly replaced when complaints about their delivery (too slow, not professional enough) began to pile up, in particular on the Facebook page. New commentators were put in place, the audience response was positive, and the whole episode was highlighted in local newspapers as an example of good broadcasting practice.[82]

Audience and market research is still very underdeveloped in Kyrgyzstan, although the Joint Media Committee is making huge progress in this area with the help of USAID. What ratings information there is shows that public radio Yntymak is very popular in the south of the country and widely listened to. Osh-based ElTR is also the main TV channel in the south, where it is primarily based, and is the second TV broadcaster on the overall ratings list.[83] According to its own testimony, this is not so much due to quality as to technical issues, mainly transmission problems. Its response to feedback is limited, in the DG's words, because it is "currently more focused on content."[84]

Public Service: General Functions

The understanding of public service functions may very well help to establish a clearer indication of how and in which fields this transformation can best progress. Therefore, the study will take a look at the general functions of public service media, in particular how well OTRK (and the other public media outlets) are actually delivering these public goods.

Creating a Public Sphere

The assessment of OTRK's program quality, particularly of news, is widely varied. General program content, certainly on the main TV channel, is rated highly by certain segments of the population (with the exception that a regular gripe is the lack of Kyrgyz soaps). The general opinion seems to be that the younger generation tends to turn to the Russian channels for better-made entertainment programs and talk shows, and since cable access is widespread and cheap, "most consumers have access to Russian-language channels."[85] News is more harshly judged, even by those segments of the population who cite OTRK as their primary source of information (ratings show the OTRK news programs to be the most popular).[86] It is felt to be unbalanced, too one-sided, and not current enough. There are people within OTRK who will insist that the broadcaster's news programs are entirely unbiased with no government control whatsoever, but few really believe this. One source within OTRK who wished to remain unnamed blamed the lack of progress or improvement on aging, unprogressive management, and partially blamed partners and donors for not making a greater effort to influence policy and management structures.[87] But it must also be said that so far, journalists at OTRK do not make full use of the potential that press freedom in their country holds.

On the plus side, Kloop Media make a bulletin style news program which is broadcast by OTRK and say that so far it has been broadcast uncensored, despite occasional critical content.[88] OTRK is one of the very few outlets which provide an international news segment, relying on material from the BBC here. They also have a slot from parliament, where parliamentary debate is broadcast live – the timing of this program seems to be irregular but on average about once a week.[89]

Then there is *Inconvenient Questions*, a Radio Azattyk (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty) political talk show rebroadcast by OTRK (on TV). Radio Azattyk's website says this program reaches one in four Kyrgyz viewers every week and is "considered among the best programs on Kyrgyz national television."[90] Observation tends to confirm this. The program has been running since 2008. However, in March 2010, Azattyk was briefly taken off air and prevented from rebroadcasting via other stations – observers thought probably because of *Inconvenient Questions*, although financial reasons were given (closet censorship). After the events of April 2010, all restrictions were lifted. Old editions of the program – dating back to 2010 and 2011 – can be found on YouTube, where Azattyk has an account.

Aside from the questionable balance within OTRK's news and political programming, the other main problem dogging news production is the lack of regional content. There are seven regional studios/offices (the widest regional distribution of any Kyrgyz broadcaster)[91] and a limited network of both own correspondents and stringers, but it doesn't seem that they get much to do, mainly leaping into action if government politicians visit the region. According to the head of the International Relations department, aside from the regional bureaus there is also a 'mobile studio,' in a bus, which does a tour of all the regions twice a year and produces talk shows with local politicians – the resulting production is a popular program known as Oi-ordo (Brainstorm Battle).[92] The mobile studio is also used within Bishkek to cover live events such as concerts, operas, and similar happenings. And yet audience feedback still indicates that there is simply not enough coverage of regional affairs

The other PSM, ElTR, provides some things that OTRK does not provide. It has a strong heritage and culture focus and is more highly regarded in the south. It rates public education highly and maintains reasonably good audience relationships. But ElTR is still quite provincial and it is underfinanced, its management structures are underdeveloped, and development of program content is slow moving.

The Director General of ElTR, Sultan Zhumagulov, speaks with some pride of the fact that his was a presidential appointment, not a Supervisory Board decree and that therefore he is merely "acting" Director General and has yet to be approved in office by the Board – but that he has been given full power by the President to take any action necessary for transformation. He speaks of the President's conviction that all media, local or otherwise, should work according to international standards

[75] *Meerim Asanaly, Head of International Relations and Protocol Department, OTRK.*
[76] *IREX 2013.*
[77] *IREX 2014, 262.*
[78] *Marina Kydyralieva, Joint Media Committee (founding member), advisor to Director General ElTR.*
[79] *Corina Cepoi, Project Director, Internews Bishkek*
[80] *IREX 2014, 264.*
[81] *Bektour Iskender, Kloop Media Foundation (founding member).*
[82] *Meerim Asanaly, Head of International Relations and Protocol Department, OTRK – this example was cited by several interviewees.*
[83] *IREX 2014, 250.*
[84] *Sultan Zhumagulov, Director General ElTR.*
[85] *IREX 2014, 259.*
[86] *Marina Kydyralieva, Joint Media Committee (founding member), advisor to Director General ElTR.*
[87] *Employee, International Relations Department, OTRK.*
[88] *Bektour Iskender, Kloop Media Foundation (founding member).*
[89] *Employee, International Relations Dept., OTRK.*
[90] *Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty 2013.*
[91] *Employee International Relations Department, OTRK; information provided via email on March 21, 2014.*
[92] *Meerim Asanaly, Head of International Relations and Protocol Department, OTRK.*

and that the present situation of the Kyrgyz media sector is unacceptable. The clash here, it is evident, is not so much one of objectives as of leverage and loyalties.[93]

There is little doubt that Mr. Zhumagulov is a man well qualified for the post. He is a journalist with many years' experience, served as a press advisor to President Kurmanbek Bakiyev, and managed Radio Azattyk for three years. He recently spent several months on secondment with the BBC in London. His was nonetheless most likely a political appointment and symptomatic of the contradiction at the heart of Kyrgyz media media politics between the freedom of press and expression as laid out in the constitution and to a certain degree by law, and the extent to which this freedom of expression is disregarded by daily politics.

None of the public media outlets show any evidence of investigative reporting or programming, nor of independent initiative that might be regarded as agenda-setting. This is an area that is, by general admission, sorely underdeveloped in the media sector of the Kyrgyz Republic. This is in part due to the unwillingness of journalists to expose themselves to the repercussions that invariably follow. Online media outlets such as Kloop or 24.kg provide users with "lively alternative news sources," but online penetration within the Kyrgyz population is only around 22%. And: "Around half of users reached the internet through the state-controlled ISP Kyrgyztelecom, creating the potential for government influence over the medium."[94]

Supporting Integration

Since the ethnic strife of June 2010, Uzbek outlets have disappeared almost entirely from the Kyrgyz media sector. Uzbeks make up around 14% of the population as a whole, but this proportion climbs to around 40% in the southern regions, where ethnic tension remains close to the surface. Other ethnicities (as well as Kyrgyz, of course) are Russian, Ukrainian, Dungan and Uyghur (each around 1%).[95] None of these minorities has much access to news and information, certainly not in their own languages. But the Broadcasting Act imposes no restriction on retransmission, so Russian, Chinese, Kazakh and some English programs are rebroadcast. Foreign channels are made available and in the south, Tajik and Uzbek broadcasters can be picked up within Kyrgyzstan.[96] Audiences receive programs in Bishkek and Osh via cable networks, in more rural areas satellite reception is preferred for the better signal. Internet access is as yet poor but continues to expand rapidly, and although there are occasional attempts to control or even block access to certain websites, access is for the most part completely unrestricted.

OTRK is available nationwide and has three TV channels (a main channel, a music channel and a kids' channel) with some 80 programs (a fourth channel, cultural, is in the planning stages). There are five radio channels. The main broadcasting languages are Russian and Kyrgyz with a sprinkling of English. On the main TV channel, there is an irregular and far too short news bulletin, there are films, documentaries and talk shows. Like many broadcasters, OTRK puts its money primarily on entertainment. The introduction of the children's programming, in particular, is innovative for Kyrgyzstan and widely welcomed as "an important step."[97] *Balastan*, according to the broadcaster's (English-language) PR, "provides parents and kids with educational entertainment, from singing and dancing to birthday wishes and bedtime stories."[98]

A tentative attempt to reach out to ethnic minorities can be seen in OTRK's offshoot, Radio Dostuk (Friendship), started up in October 2013. A tiny outfit run by seven part-time staff members out of a small office with three or four computers, Radio Friendship is still just an online presence. They put together half an hour per week of programming for each of the minority languages Dungan, Uyghur, Ukrainian and even Polish, as well as Kyrgyz and Russian.[99] Uzbek is at present not one of the languages on the program. In addition to these they hope to add a further four languages – this had not yet happened at the time of writing. To make the programs, a representative is selected from each of the relevant communities in Bishkek and this person – usually someone with absolutely no journalistic training or experience – is then offered minimal training at OTRK. Each representative will hold the post for a year. There is little editorial control, since hardly anyone else can speak the languages concerned. The lack of Uzbek-language programming here, as elsewhere, is a glaring omission since Uzbeks make up around 14% of the population as a whole, in the south around 40%. According to a source at OTRK, the Uzbek representatives wanted too much money. A statement from the Uzbek side could not be obtained for this study.

There are certainly hopes of expansion, the staff would like to branch out with an FM station, possibly even, eventually, into TV. However the equipment is noticeably is noticeably outdated and the staff complain that there is not enough money even for their own salaries. OTRK is to date their only source of finance and this is obviously not a budget priority. They say they are attempting to attract funds from foreign partners.

OTRK is currently piloting the use of mobile applications and social media for its programming.

Achievements and Challenges

The "poor economic health of the market"[100] is one of the main problems dogging the development of PSM in Kyrgyzstan. Real budget transparency is rare (OTRK is probably the main exception as the Supervisory Board demands it and a full published audit is part of editorial policy).[101] Therefore potential investors are reluctant to cooperate because the perception is still that most outlets are state-run or private mouthpieces. Media management has to become even more of a focus. Revenue and budget-planning need to improve so that outlets become more independent and self-sustaining.[102] Journalists need to be better paid so that they don't go elsewhere – either into other sectors or abroad – as soon as they become decently

qualified (and this tendency is only likely to increase as training opportunities, whether through international change agents or homegrown, improve).

Media management includes the need to develop better communication habits between management and staff – this is a particular problem within an organization the size of OTRK. The Internews-supported project for a 'Management Support Component' for OTRK (still at the planning phase at the time of writing) reflects the need for support for strategy planning, report compilation, and communication skills.[103] This would also improve communication between the broadcaster and the Supervisory Board, whose existence is one of the successes of the transformation in Kyrgyzstan. Relations with OTRK management are often strained, mainly due to political undercurrents, and an improved awareness of communication skills could help here.

Overall, it has nonetheless been possible to maintain a working relationship between OTRK and the Supervisory Board. Thanks to this exchange and the different assessments made, a certain transparency regarding finances and management could be established which would ease the discussion and help to advance things.

Training is also a major area for improvement, especially of the journalists themselves. But some partners are quick to point out that any interventions have to be based on proper research and coordination. Research needs to be properly done in order to establish benchmarks for action and this can be sensitive if the broadcaster doesn't cooperate.[104] OTRK so far has proved fully cooperative and opened up all their processes, from managerial level downwards, so that progress is improving. It is important to coordinate with other donors and find the right approach to each problem – sometimes consultancy works and sometimes it doesn't. And in a country like Kyrgyzstan where two or more languages are widely spoken, the language issue is important, and experts and consultants should, if possible, know the language and the region. Often overlooked is the time issue: journalists seldom have a lot of spare time, so management needs to be supportive and recognizant of this fact and take their schedules and duties into account when organizing professional development activities. On the positive side, journalists in Kyrgyzstan are eager for training and welcome any opportunity to improve their professional abilities and qualifications.

There is as yet no such thing as specialized journalism in Kyrgyzstan. Parliamentary journalism is in its infancy and there are no recognised 'specialists' for it, just as there are no journalists specialising in business or sports. As already mentioned, there is almost no investigative journalism. "Sometimes in the media, most of all on the Kloop platform, freelancers carry out small investigations. Among professional journalists, there is no local, international, entertainment, or economic journalism."[105]

Cooperation on a regional level seems alive and well with regards to the transformation process. As mentioned, several initiatives have seen Kyrgyz media players travel to countries in the wider region to compare notes on the transition to PSM. Digitalization represents a huge hurdle for the media sector in Kyrgyzstan. The transition is planned for June 2015 and is estimated to cost KGS 550 million (Kyrgyz som – around US$11.3 million).[106] But with just a few months before the deadline, "state and private television companies are saying they do not have enough money to make the switch."[107] Also, personnel will have to be trained in the use of new equipment, and new quality content will have to be produced. The opportunities here for political posturing and game playing are endless, and just another potential stumbling block for the fragile status quo in the country.

Transformation Approaches

Forthcoming parliamentary elections in the autumn of 2015 are being discussed as a possible source of further upheaval in the not-too-distant future, so that it becomes evident that OTRK – and the other major players in the public media landscape here – can either become a victim, again, of media manipulation, or a substantial force to be reckoned with in the shaping of Kyrgyzstan's future. This report makes some recommendations as to what could be done to support the transformation process and ensure the latter:

– Consultation and cooperation with the working group (Joint Media Committee, Ministry of Culture) which is preparing for **digitalization in 2015**. This covers necessary legal reform and includes internal legal reform of OTRK (which is governed by its own legislative framework). An important aspect would be that of the potential monopoly handed to state-owned Kyrgyztelecom in management of the multiplexes.

93 *Sultan Zhumagulov, Director General ELTR.*
94 *Freedom House 2014.*
95 *IREX 2013, 260.*
96 *Ibid., 266.*
97 *IREX 2014, 260.*
98 *PBC 2013.*
99 *Uzbek is at present not one of the languages on the programme, apparently because the Uzbek representative wanted too much money - Employee International Relations Department, OTRK.*
100 *IREX 2013, 268.*
101 *Ibid.*
102 *Yelena Baranouski, Joint Media Committee (founding member), Bishkek.*
103 *Internews 2014b.*
104 *Corina Cepoi, Project Director, Internews Bishkek.*
105 *IREX 2014, 258.*
106 *Karimov, December 19, 2013.*
107 *Ibid.*

– Consultation on **reform of the outdated Media Act** of 1992, a process which has been ongoing for several years now and which many stakeholders are anxious to see completed. This would help further secure the transformation to public service media and include revision of the legislation governing libel and defamation, in particular with regard to recent attempts to re-criminalize libel.

– Support for **capacity building** and on-the-job training of journalists and staff in production, newsrooms and editorial staff; particularly in areas such as presentation and investigative reporting: stakeholders urge that it should be done in close cooperation with outlet management and ensure that conditions on the ground (time, availability of staff taking part, logistical provisions) are taken into consideration. Reporting from conflict situations and safety-training for journalists should also be considered. OTRK's own initiative to set up a training center should be supported.

– Support also needs to be provided to **senior and middle management** – some provision is already in place (Internews – OTRK Management Support Component). This would help improve communication and cooperation between management strata and with editorial and administrative staff, as well as with governing bodies such as the Supervisory Board.

– Support also in the area of **revenue and budget planning** is vital if the broadcaster is to become self-sustaining, a pre-condition for independence. This would help improve retention of good staff as salaries could improve accordingly.

– Provision of **technical** know-how and/or equipment where needed, to enable OTRK to fulfil its role as public service media.

– Enabling of **study trips** within the wider region to compare and exchange experience – some have already taken place under the auspices of other change agents (Internews, SOROS).

– Support for underdeveloped **civil society sector**, journalists' associations, etc.

Status of Obschestvennaya Tele-Radio Kompaniya (OTRK)

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Channels, distribution	**TV:** 3 channels, main channel, broadcasting 16.5–18 hrs daily; children's channel, broadcasting 11.5 hours daily; music channel. All channels broadcast in Kyrgyz and Russian, main channel broadcasts some news content in English (provided by the BBC). **Radio:** 5 stations, broadcast in Kyrgyz and Russian, Birinch radio (First radio) also broadcasts 2 hours / day news content in English, own production. Radio Dostuk (Friendship Radio) is online only and provides half an hour per week of each of five or six languages, including minority languages Dungan and Uyghur. Languages such as Ukrainian or Polish are included on an informal basis and may be irregular since there is usually insufficient funding for salaries. These programs are made by non-professionals.	The TV children's and music channels are recent additions (Oct. 2013), a fourth channel for cultural content was still in the planning phase at the time of writing. Radio Dostuk is trying to attract more languages into its program, hoping to eventually bring the total to 10.
Legal framework	The constitution of 2010, adopted after the Second Revolution, guarantees and protects the right to freedom of expression, speech, press and information. The Media Act of 1992 is generally agreed to be relatively liberal but outdated and a working group is currently formulating a new media act. Access to information is well-legislated (most recently by the Access to Information Held by Departments of State and Local Government Bodies Act – 2006)	The formulation of a new Media Act is proving difficult, thanks to conflicting interests of parliamentarians within the working group, and the fact that it also has to take impending digitalization (June 2015) into account. The media community is also heatedly discussing changes to the libel laws. Libel was decriminalized in 2011 and is now a civil matter, attempts to change that are seen as a potential attack on free speech.
Public service remit	The April 2010 Decree of the Provisional Government of the Kyrgyz Republic "On Creating a Public Broadcasting Service in the Kyrgyz Republic" assigned public broadcaster status to the existing National Television and Radio Broadcasting Corporation, renaming it the Public Broadcasting Corporation of the Kyrgyz Republic. The Decree established a Supervisory Board and reinstated the April 2007 version (initially formulated by the Law on National TV and Radio) which included members of civil society.	There would seem to be no specific spelling out of a remit for PSM in the Kyrgyz Republic as yet – which may be due to the fact that legitimacy of decrees issued by the interim government of 2010 was in doubt and a fully reformed media law has yet to be formulated.

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Regulatory system/ governing body	The Supervisory Board is made up of 15 members: 5 from government, 5 from parliament and 5 from civil society. Members are elected for a period of two years, elections take place annually. Theoretically, the Board wields quite a lot of power, in practice this is constantly tempered by political pressure. All decisions also go before parliament, budgeting decisions go to Finance Ministry.	The Supervisory Board is widely seen as one of the success stories of transformation in Kyrgyzstan and as such, attempts to politically undermine it rarely get far.
Engagement of civil society	The inclusion of civil society in the Supervisory Board was a precept only reinstated in the third attempt to establish PSM in 2010. Civil society in general guards social freedoms jealously, there are numerous media and press associations, although no unions.	–
Financing	OTRK is financed primarily by the state: the budget goes to the Supervisory Board, then to parliament for approval, so all financial matters are decided on by politicians. The Finance Ministry holds the purse strings. There is also some revenue from advertising (not much – the Kyrgyz advertising industry is small), and funding from international donors and development partners.	OTRK recently attracted a Japanese grant worth US$ 800,000 for technical upgrading.
Use of mobile and internet communication/modern technology/challenges of digitalization	Digitalization is planned for June 2015, estimated cost, 550 million Kyrgyz som (just over US$ 11 million). Likely to be problematic as there are already complaints that not enough money is being made available for the necessary upgrading of infrastructure and skills. OTRK has a website presence, with live streaming, and also runs a Facebook page and a Twitter account. Radio Dostuk (Friendship Radio) is only online, programs are made available in MP3 format.	The use of social media has recently been improved: a local expert (runs one of the biggest and most successful news websites in the country) showed staff at OTRK how to use the social network sites and since then, they are a popular interface between station and audience.
Regional structures and reporting	There are 7 regional studios, one in each oblast (region), with correspondents, and a mobile studio goes out to the regions twice a year and organizes talk shows with locals and local dignitaries/politicians. Nonetheless, audience feedback indicates that coverage of regional events/affairs is anything but satisfactory. Generally, the regional facilities are only used when members of government or VIPs visit.	–

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Capacity building	Capacity building up until now was largely left in the hands of international development partners and donors. It is a sorely neglected area across the Kyrgyz media industry.	OTRK have begun the development of a journalism center. They have hired an expert (formerly with Internews) but have neither the funds nor qualified staff. Looking for recognition as a public foundation so that they can attract donor funding.
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	OTRK statutes apparently cover ethics (no more precise information was available): The general feeling is that even a very detailed ethics codex or highly specific editorial guidelines would tend to be disregarded – the change is one of mindset within the profession as a whole.	–
Public perception and support for the media organization	Recent focus groups (organized with the support of Internews) have crystallized much of what the audiences want to see changed at OTRK. Response has been rapid (according to Joint Media Committee), a lot of programming has been changed, and ratings are rising. Main competition comes from Russian-language channels which tend to be more popular amongst younger segments of population.	Project involving focus groups is ongoing.

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	Partially	Level of program-making in general is relatively poor, therefore the news too is not of the best quality. Studios, etc., on TV present quite a polished appearance, but neither presenters nor news editors are well-trained. News items are repeated without checking sources, hearsay often replaces sound research. Very little coverage of regional developments; rural audiences and ethnic minorities are largely ignored. Daily rebroadcast of 10 mins. of BBC (world) news in English, at 10 p.m.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound bites, etc.	Partially	There is a slot from parliament, some parliamentary debates are broadcast live; once a week, OTRK rebroadcasts *Inconvenient Questions*, a highly popular political talkshow from Radio Azattyk (Kyrgyz service of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty)
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	No	The balanced and objective representation of the entire political spectrum is laid down in the constitution, the country's media legislation is by far the most liberal in the region – but bad journalistic habits are still too ingrained, and self-censorship is often automatic. Bad political habits are also proving difficult to eradicate. Still incidents of journalists being threatened, although no fatalities since 2011.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	Partially	Self-censorship means that journalists will stay away from topics that might be uncomfortable for daily politics to deal with. Radio Azattyk's *Inconvenient Questions* may be the only program that doesn't shy away from tackling touchy subjects: renaming Russian-named villages in Kyrgyz, discussing contentious Islamic leadership policies, etc.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	Partially	Coverage of parliament; Radio Azattyk's *Inconvenient Questions* – debate is a form still very much in its infancy in radio and TV.
Social/political orientation	Partially	OTRK's relationships with audiences have been improving thanks to recent focus group research: audience feedback is being taken on board, it is likely that this will result in more programs on social/political issues being provided.
Agenda-setting/ investigative journalism	No	Investigative journalism is completely underdeveloped in Kyrgyzstan, although this shortcoming has been widely recognized and is likely to be addressed with increasing diligence. Agenda-setting at present is most likely to come from foreign news sources, although the Kyrgyz online news agencies are fairly on-the-ball.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Participation, voice, empowerment	Partially	Social minorities and the disempowered (handicapped, LGBT groups, women) are completely underserved; ethnic minorities, particularly the Uzbek, continue to be sidelined; rural populations are occasionally heard, and get to air their issues when the mobile studio comes around, or if a VIP turns up on their doorstep.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values and cultural cohesion	Partially	There is increasing effort to include cultural and historic content – OTRK lags behind the other public broadcaster, ElTR, here. The inauguration of the new TV culture channel should hopefully change all this.
Entertainment	Yes	The majority of OTRK's programming is entertainment, whether sports, nature shows or films and the occasional soap. Education
Education	Yes	The new children's channel *Balastan* prides itself on offering a balanced mix of entertainment and educational programming, 11.5 hours daily.
Innovation	Partially	*Balastan* is the first and only specialist children's channel in Kyrgyz television – the initiative is to be supported, quality could be improved. OTRK gets audience feedback via internet, has improved its use of social media and is currently working towards the use of mobile applications.

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
Internews	Involved in the development of independent media in the country since the late 90s, the NGO became actively involved in transformation of OTRK to PSM in March 2012.	Focus mainly on management strategies and TV, organizational and financial assessments, town-hall meetings between audience and OTRK staff, consultancy of civil society, lobbying.	OTRK has in general been open and eager to cooperate. Civil society is represented on the Supervisory Board. In spite of some difficulties the board and the management of OTRK still cooperate. OTRK is in a better position now to negotiate finances with the ministries. Thanks to the reform OTRK has been able to attract new well-qualified staff from other news outlets.
	Beginning in mid-December 2013, focus groups were set up across the country to take a closer look at OTRK audiences.	The study is aimed at identifying programming weaknesses and strengths – as well as determining future target audiences. The Joint Media Committee is accompanying the study in a consultancy role.	OTRK has already begun a reform of some programming as a result of the feedback
	Internews has also announced tender for a Management Support Component for OTRK on strategic planning, report writing and communication.	To be based on a functional analysis already carried out, this project is in response to "a need to support the OTRK management in compiling annual reports, strategies and presentations" and was specifically re-quested by OTRK management	Still in the planning stage.
	Set up Public Regional TV and Radio Company Yntymak in colla-boration with Kyrgyz government	Funding and consultancy	It is now the only station broadcasting in Uzbek as well as Russian and Kyrgyz, and has become very popular.

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
US Agency for International Development – USAID	USAID, along with SOROS and the UNDP, offers technical assistance to ElTR USAID is one of Internews' main partners in offering support to OTRK and other PSM.	No further information on work in the media sector immediately available.	–
Organization for Security and Cooperation In Europe – OSCE	Technical support – as part of OSCE efforts to support the development of pluralistic and professional media	In April 2014, the OSCE donated computer equipment to Yntymak Radio and TV	No information available
SOROS Foundation	–	Since 2011, the Soros Foundation and the OSCE have been organizing study tours for MPs and broadcasters to Georgia, Lithuania, and other countries in the wider region where the transformation to public service media is further advanced.	These have resulted in recommendations and guidelines being established for further development.
DW Akademie	The Central Asian School of Contemporary Journalism is a ten-week annual summer course implemented jointly by the OSCE Academy and the DW Akademie. A new project begun in 2014 offers regional reporters working for OTRK capacity-strengthening measures.	Trainers are brought in from the entire region, first undergoing a train-the-trainer workshop with the DWA. Students also come from the wider region.	There are plans to transform the summer school into a more permanent training venue, possibly located within a specific media outlet such as OTRK. Bishkek seems the ideal location since the general media climate in Kyrgyzstan is the most liberal in the region.
Turkish Radio and TV Corporation TRT	Capacity building cooperation with ElTR	Peer-to-peer training, for which ElTR staff were invited to visit TRT studios in Turkey	No information available

N.B. All the information given in the tables above is based on the interviews, observations and document analysis made by the author of this chapter. The tables provide very rough summaries of what is being elaborated in the texts. Table 4, in particular, can only hope to give an impression of the many and varied activities undertaken by change-agents in the country. Many of the issues mentioned here are, of course, subject to change.

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05
Namibia: Multilingual Content and the Need for Organizational Change

Richard A. Fuchs

Namibia: Multilingual Content and the Need for Organizational Change

Founded in 1991, Namibia's state broadcaster NBC has been undergoing a long-term change process since 2008, with Swedish Radio as the most important partner. While the initial phase focussed on the improvement of editorial guidelines, since 2012, phase 2 has concentrated on change management towards multimedia production. In 2011, the Board of Directors adopted a strategy aimed at developing NBC into "the leading multi-media public broadcaster of choice in Africa." However, the ongoing reform process has failed to include civil society, with notable impact on the broadcaster's future integration in society.

In the Namibian media landscape, NBC remains the only provider capable of producing a broad variety of programming in ten languages within one corporation. Thus, with regard to the public service function of supporting integration, NBC is very likely to remain the biggest platform for cultural expression and the strengthening of local identities for the foreseeable future. However, its TV channels do not create a public sphere at the moment, since they mainly follow the agenda set by the government. They are biased in their reporting, and controversial topics are excluded from talk shows. But in the less prominent radio programs in minority languages, critical voices can also be heard. Overall, this state broadcaster plays a vital role in delivering public service goods in particular to poorer parts of the population.

The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC)[1] is the state broadcaster of Namibia. In order to understand to what extent NBC has transformed itself into a public service media outlet (PSM), the following undertakes an analysis of its public service functions. The analysis will begin with a brief overview of the country's main characteristics, its media landscape, and the status of NBC as public service provider.

Namibia – A Brief Overview

Namibia is a country of sharp contrasts and disparities. This statement holds true for its geography, its society as well as its economy. With a population of only 2.2 million living in an area of around 820,000 square kilometres, the Republic of Namibia in Southern Africa is amongst the least populated countries in the world. A nation, moreover, whose citizens are very unevenly distributed. Whilst the capital region Windhoek with around 350,000 citizens is relatively densely populated, most other parts of the country constitute desert-like rural regions.[2] Secondly, Namibia is a country of disparity with respect to the multiethnic and multilingual background of its society. Various ethnic groups with their specific indigenous languages live in the country. For half of the population, the mother tongue is Oshivambo, followed by other languages such as Damara/Nama and Bushman/San (12.7%), Afrikaans (11.4%), RuKwangali (9.7%), Otjiherero (7.9%), SiLozi (5%), German (1.1%) and Setswana (0.3%). For the purpose of uniting this multilingual environment, the founding fathers of Namibia opted in 1990 to introduce English as the sole official language for the nation – although hardly anybody uses English (2%) today as their mother tongue.[3] And thirdly, the country can be characterized by one of the sharpest levels of disparity between rich and poor worldwide. Whilst Namibia is widely acknowledged as one of the most stable and most prosperous countries in Africa, the level of inequality within its economy is staggering. On paper, the median yearly income of a single Namibian was said to lie at around 8,200 US Dollars in 2013, which would make Namibia an upper-middle income country.[4] Looking at the distribution of family income, however, Namibia is amongst the Top 10 countries worldwide with the highest degree of inequality. Figures of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) suggest that well over 50 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, notably on two US-Dollars per day.[5]

Thus, Namibian politics remains preoccupied with the constant quest for unity and balance. It wasn't until 21st March 1990, that a century marked by German colonial rule and by decades of South African occupation and annexation ended with Namibia's independence. What had been a guerrilla group fighting for independence against the South African apartheid regime, subsequently became Namibia's dominant political force. The South-West Africa People's Organization, or SWAPO, has won all elections since the country's independence. Although the most recent elections in November 2009 saw 14 different political parties running for seats in the National Assembly, analysts have stressed that the ideological differences between the various political parties in Namibia remain rather small. "SWAPO is the template for all other parties," one interviewee argued.[6] Some have even stressed that the political climate is streamlined – with negative effects for the freedom of speech:

"There is a lack of (self-)critical awareness and extremely limited willingness to accept divergent opinions, particularly if they are expressed in public. Non-conformist thinking is interpreted as disloyalty, if not equated with treason. This marginalisation or elimination of dissent drastically limits the new system's capacity for reform and innovation."[7]

1 *http://www.nbc.na/*
2 *CIA 2014.*
3 *Namibian Biodiversity Database.*
4 *CIA 2014.*
5 *UNDP Human Development Report 2005, as quoted in CIA 2014.*
6 *Nangula Shejavali, Researcher at the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR).*
7 *Melber 2010.*

Media Landscape

At first glance, this rather challenging environment for the freedom of speech and freedom of the press does not seem to influence the media landscape of the country. Namibia is a nation with a small population, but with a surprisingly manifold and thriving media scene. One of Namibia's major achievements with regard to the freedom of speech and information is the introduction of a three-tier system of broadcasting: Public media, commercial media and community media are recognized within the 2009 Communication Act and each section plays a vital role within a freely operating media environment.[8] State-owned media as well as commercial and community media outlets operate successfully side by side. Five daily national newspapers are on offer, as well as a dozen weekly, bi-weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines. Namibia is home to more than 20 commercial and seven community radio stations and hosts at present three television channels from the state broadcaster, one commercial and one religious TV channel. In Namibia, as in other African markets, the use of mobile phones is booming. Analysts estimate that virtually the entire population are mobile cellular subscribers, even though only few have an activated mobile-broadband tariff which allows them to download videos and heavy data loads. The internet broadband penetration rate in Namibia remains very low to date. Official data suggests that approximately 13 percent of the population accessed the internet in 2012 via broadband.[9] Studies suggest that household internet access has been hampered by monopolistic company structures and difficulties in making the expensive infrastructures construction a real business case.

Radio is still seen as having the widest reach of all media, whereas TV, print, and online have significantly lower market penetration rates.[10] In regard to access to information, NBC is and will likely remain the biggest supplier of country-wide coverage and program delivery in radio and television. Particularly in rural Namibia in the border regions to Angola, Zambia, Botswana, and South Africa, the NBC transmission network will be the only way for the local population to access information, as there is no economic incentive for commercial media outlets to roll out expensive networks in a nation with a population density of three people per square mile. In essence, Namibia is a prime example of a nation where the public service function of universal access to information should be accomplished by a public service provider. Even with the existing network, one interviewee argued as follows: "The rural areas are neglected."[11]

Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC)

"Inspiring a growing nation"– this is the corporate claim of NBC, which is by far the most dominant player within the Namibian media landscape. The corporation was established in 1991 by act of parliament[12] and has been operating since then from two sites in the capital Windhoek. Before independence, NBC was used as a propaganda channel for the South African occupation forces, and was known as the South West African Broadcasting Corporation (SWABC). For more than 20 years now, NBC has broadcast on one TV channel via analogue terrestrial signals, exclusively in the official language English. With the introduction of the digital broadcasting standard DTT in early 2014, NBC expanded its TV transmission to three TV channels, according to the Director General, two channels with public service character (NBC1 and NBC2) and one with a commercial touch (NBC3).[13] NBC1 is supposed to concentrate on full-range family programming, ranging in content from a morning news show ("Good Morning Namibia") to entertainment soaps to lifestyle magazines ("Tutaleni"). NBC2 is to be the news and current affairs channel, rebroadcasting content from Russia Today, CCTV Africa, Al Jazeera, and Deutsche Welle, as well as carrying debates from the National Assembly. NBC3, however, is to focus exclusively on sports programming and movies, soaps, and shows, mostly third-party content. NBC radio already traditionally offers ten different language services, reflecting the language diversity of the country more adequately. The English service, NBC National radio, broadcasts on a 24-hour basis. The other radio services, namely Afrikaans Service, Damara/Nama Service, German Service, Otjiherero Service, Tirelo Ya Setswana, ah! Radio, Lozi Service, Oshiwambo Service and Rukavango Service, suspend broadcasts during the night.[14] Data from NBC suggests that 98 percent of Namibians receive coverage from NBC radio and 66 percent have access to NBC TV on the analogue terrestrial standard.[15] This includes the services to rural areas which are mostly ignored by commercial broadcasters that focus on the financially interesting urban elites in Windhoek and the few other bigger cities in Namibia. Six out of ten radio language services are currently available via internet live stream. NBC TV, however, offers to date only selected video news clips on its website.

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

Although Namibia is home to a vibrant media scene, the number of actively-engaged national change agents in a media-relevant context is rather limited. On the systemic level, Namibian and international actors have established close cooperation that has the potential to shape the future structure of the media landscape. The civil society awareness-raising campaign "ACTION Namibia" advocates the implementation of an access to information law in Namibia.[16] Notably, the country chapter of the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)[17] and the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR)[18] launched an advocacy campaign in cooperation with the UNESCO Office Windhoek. The coalition organizes public awareness-raising events to explain why better access to information from governmental and state-controlled public authorities is key to fighting corruption and allows for better control through civil society. A kick-off conference in August 2012 brought together stakeholders from media, lawmakers and human rights organizations. And the coalition organized a workshop for legal drafters (November 2013)

for the relevant Namibian ministry committee that was tasked with drawing up what shall become the text of a future Access to Information Law.

Meanwhile, say numerous interviewees, the change process within the state broadcaster NBC has been driven largely without the participation of Namibian civil society and the public at large.[19] Instead, the corporation is busy working on what the NBC Board of Directors is calling the "Strategic Triangle 2011," a corporate mission statement that targets one major objective: By 2015 the NBC shall, according to the Board's vision, have developed into "the leading multi-media public broadcaster of choice in Africa."[20] Based on this major objective at the top of the triangle, the corporate strategy formulates growth goals, critical success factors as well as strategic initiatives to be accomplished within the same time frame. The corporate mission also formulates a set of values according to which the corporation wants to operate, namely professionalism, honesty, integrity, customer focus, teamwork, courtesy, and employee empowerment.

Two international media development organizations have been involved – to a varying degree – in NBC's recent path of transformation since 2008. Both organizations are briefly introduced below, and their methods summarized:

Swedish Radio

The media development organizations Swedish Radio (SR)[21] collaborated with the NBC from 2008 to 2013 on a change management scheme. With financial backing from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) worth 7,580,000 SEK and a contribution from NBC of 72,000 SEK (together around one million euro at the current exchange rate), the exchange was called a "partner driven cooperation project." It was divided into two phases: Phase 1 (2008 to 2012) focussed on radio news with the goal of strengthening NBC's role as provider of balanced and independent news. In Phase 2 (2012 to 2013), NBC and Swedish Radio agreed to focus on the introduction of digital media production within the NBC's radio and TV structures.

With regard to Phase 1, neither Swedish Radio nor NBC publicly specified the methods used or the results that were achieved so no further information was available for this study. For Phase 2, some information was available: In line with NBC's corporate multimedia strategy, TV and radio departments were restructured into new multimedia units that create joint content for radio, TV, internet, and social media.[22] In 2013, the departments "Sports" and "Education for young people" were chosen as pilot departments for corporate restructuring towards full multimedia production. SR trainers and NBC staff formed production groups. These teams also introduced audience research for the first time at NBC. With recurrent SR mentoring every two months, the two pilot groups went through joint planning and subsequent production processes of multimedia content. The final result of this collaboration was an NBC series of programs broadcast via television, radio, and the internet in autumn 2013. The topic was "Entrepreneurship." The challenge was, as one interviewee said, "to change people's minds in the way they work." To this end, exchange visits were also an important part of the project. NBC staff visited the SR headquarters in Stockholm to learn more about production methods in Sweden. The participants had conducted interviews in Namibian schools beforehand that were then used as production material for radio plays by their SR colleagues. Extending the corporate restructuring to other departments, such as news and current affairs, remains a major task for 2014 and beyond.[23]

DW Akademie

DW Akademie has also been – to a lesser degree – involved in NBC's recent transformation process. Up until 2013, the cooperation between DW Akademie and NBC was based on ad-hoc arrangements focusing on pressing needs in the sector of journalism training and professionalization of staff. For example, NBC staff were invited on a regular basis to participate in advanced TV workshops for an international co-production series named "African Stories." These workshops aimed to deliver theory and practice of full production cycles resulting in high quality TV reports. From conceptualization to post-production, the participants from all over Southern Africa had two weeks to produce the reports. The last of these workshops took place in Windhoek in autumn 2013. DW also has a member of staff permanently based in Windhoek: as DW's local representative, she has intensified the cooperation with NBC through weekly consultations and recurrent strategy meetings. This local representative was also on hand for the final implementation phase of the launch of a new children's educational TV show that was aired for the first time in winter 2013 to 2014. Particularly during the phasing out of support from Swedish Radio in 2013, DW Akademie staff ensured the first months of actual multimedia production within the corporation through mentoring and production consultancy.

8 *FES 2011, 42.*
9 *ITU 2014.*
10 *MediaMetrics 2010.*
11 *Elizabeth Kalambo M'ule, Executive Director, Editors' Forum of Namibia (EFN).*
12 *Namibian Broadcasting Act; Act 9 of 1991.*
13 *Albertus Aochamub, Director General of Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
14 *NBC 2014.*
15 *Albertus Aochamub, Director General of Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
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17 *http://www.misanamibia.org.na/*
18 *http://www.ippr.org.na/*
19 *Mareike Le Pelley; Director of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Windhoek Office.*
20 *NBC 2014.*
21 *Or more specifically SR MDO (Swedish Radio Media Development Organization).*
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23 *Ragna Wallmark, Media Consultant of Swedish Radio.*

NBC's Strategic Triangle 2011

Source: NBC

Status of the Organization

Legal Framework, Governance and Ethics

NBC operates on the basis of the Namibian constitution which guarantees freedom of speech, but its governance structure lacks concrete evidence of its independence. When the country celebrates its 25th anniversary in 2015, it will rightly celebrate its level of political freedom and a degree of freedom of speech that is unprecedented in most parts of Africa. Nevertheless, some constitutional provisions remain that potentially pose a threat to the freedom of expression of freely operating media, in particular a lack of legal protection for investigative journalists and whistleblowers. Moreover, the constitution contains 'limitation clauses' that come into play when the protection of national security, public order or such vague concepts as decency or morality are endangered.[24] Furthermore, there is no law guaranteeing access to information held by public authorities. And the fact that defamation is a criminal offence under common law in Namibia has resulted in various civil suits against investigative journalists; the substantial fines imposed discourage journalists from fulfilling their watchdog function. As one interviewee said: "We have never had a strong, investigative journalism in the country."[25]

For the governance of NBC in particular, one law is of specific importance. The 1991 Namibian Broadcasting Act (NBC Act) constitutes the basis on which the state broadcaster operates to this day. Several analysts and even the Director-General of NBC himself argue that the NBC Act is hopelessly outdated and is urgently in need of legislative renewal. According to the Act, the main objective of the broadcaster is to "inform and entertain the public of Namibia, to contribute to the education and unity of the nation, to provide and disseminate information relevant to the socio-economic development of Namibia and to promote the use and understanding of the English language."[26] As several non-NBC interviewees pointed out, the broadcasting legislation does not include a guarantee of editorial independence, nor does it provide for a governance structure that could be called 'open, transparent, and free.' NBC is a parastatal organization: it is supervised and controlled by a group of senior executives who make up the Board of Directors. All Board members, including the NBC's Director General as the chief executive officer, are appointed directly and exclusively by the Minister of Information and Communication Technology (MICT)[27] for a five year term.[28]

Albertus Aochamub has been Director General since August 2010, a longevity which is a novelty in NBC's recent past, as the corporation has muddled through a constant leadership crisis for at least a decade. 15 different director generals have headed the corporation in the 24 years since independence, with the highest degree of instability from 2000 to 2010.

As a result, many day-to-day issues were not dealt with. For instance, until recently NBC lacked a department for the collection of licence fee revenues, which resulted in less than 50 percent of possible income being realized in this field.[29] And the corporation still lacks a publicly available editorial policy, setting out standards for reporting and documenting its editorial independence. NBC has endorsed a journalistic codex under the supervision of the Editors' Forum of Namibia (EFN): It and another 16 Namibian media outlets have signed up to a Code of Ethics that calls on the signatories to observe the basic principles of quality journalism, especially accuracy, fairness, independence, protection of sources, consideration for the right to privacy, and others. A complaints procedure was established, handled by a Media Ombudsman,[30] for cases of misconduct. "Especially among the journalists, there is a striving for more accuracy and objectivity in their stories because they don't want people to make complaints."[31] In an ongoing process, the Communications Regulatory Authority of Namibia (CRAN) asked the signatories to the self-regulation mechanism to extend the Code of Ethics to become a "Broadcasting Code" that goes into more detail within the field of digital media. Whilst this would have been a welcome opportunity for the NBC to reflect on its own editorial policies in general, the corporation remained passive in this process, which constitutes a missed opportunity.

Capacity Building and Human Resources

In particular in the field of human resource management, NBC has seen extraordinary deficiencies in the past decade, with improvements in professional management from 2012 onwards. This statement is endorsed by practically all stakeholders interviewed for this study – up to the NBC's own Director General.[32] For years, training and training capacities in local ownership had been virtually non-existent at NBC and, as one interviewee said: "When they had to rationalize, the first department that they closed was the training department."[33] Not surprisingly, program editors with key responsibilities for the successful day-to-day running of the corporation complain that they were never offered basic research training nor any advanced courses – with notable effects on the quality of broadcasts. If there was any training in the past at NBC, says the corporation's Head of Training, then it was often done in a "vacuum" without practical use for day-to-day operations. From 2012 onwards, a more stable governance structure under the current director general allowed for a restart of training activities. Instead of a well-established training scheme, however, the corporation has so far relied mostly on "gap

[24] *See Namibian Constitution,§ 21 (2).*
[25] *Natasha H. Tibinyane, National Director, MISA Namibia.*
[26] *Namibian Broadcasting Act, 1991 (Act 9 of 1991), § 3.*
[27] *http://www.mict.gov.na/*
[28] *NBC 2014.*
[29] *Albertus Aochamub, Director General, Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
[30] *http://www.mediaombudsmannamibia.org/index.html*
[31] *Clement Daniels, Media Ombudsman of Namibia.*
[32] *Albertus Aochamub, Director General of Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
[33] *Emily M. Brown, Head of Department Media and Technology, Polytechnic of Namibia.*

training."[34] In essence this means that the corporation has in the past asked external media training organizations to offer in-house training ad hoc when a particular gap of skills and competences was discovered.

Moreover, recruiting processes and the internal promotion of staff within NBC are not based on a fair and transparent performance and skills assessment, but rather on arbitrary appointments without justification and without further notice. In effect, this random and non-transparent approach to human resources management has also left its mark on the latest reform efforts of the corporation when implementing its multimedia strategy. The ongoing process of department restructuring has been hampered by false staff placements for key positions. In the build-up of the so-called "multimedia content hub," a kind of central news desk within the corporation, staff recruitment was done by directive. As one interviewee said: "All these people that are under the division were not recruited, but those are people that have been shifted from another department, and that is the big challenge."[35] The current approach to human resources management at NBC has led to a deterioration of corporate spirit. As one NBC employee noted: "There is no trust in this corporation, nobody trusts anybody, people even withhold information from each other." The fact that there is no NBC intranet sharing information within the corporation is in this respect telling.

In 2013, NBC's training department laid the foundations for a complete overhaul of the recruitment and training process. A policy for a "performance assessment system" has been drafted and forwarded to the NBC Board. With such focus on a career development policy, the roughly 450 employees with fixed contracts and approximately 100 freelancers should get new career opportunities within the corporation, says the head of training.[36] Career opportunities for employees based on merit rather than on fortune, that seems to be one of the most pressing needs for NBC, as the rather shocking remark of one NBC reporter highlights: "I am here at NBC for five years and I think this is bad for my CV".

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

The financial situation of the NBC has improved from near bankruptcy in the fiscal year 2007–2008 to a more balanced management of the state broadcaster's accounts in recent years.[37] In principle, the state broadcaster is funded mainly by an annual state subsidy, whilst partly using other sources of income such as the sale of airtime and programmes, the issuing of yearly television licenses and the rental of transmitters. For the financial year 2012–2013, the Namibian finance minister had to provide funding of N$ 154.3 million for NBC, with the corporation's own revenue reaching N$ 67.9 million. This left NBC's overall deficit at N$ 2.3 million in that year compared to a deficit of N$ 48.5 million in 2011/12. The NBC management is indeed hoping to break even within the foreseeable future. A small victory, local analysts have argued, as the corporation remains highly indebted with little room for manoeuvre to invest in future projects.[38] As local media have reported, the state subsidy for NBC is expected to remain high at a level of just over N$ 1 billion for the upcoming three years.[39] Government funding rises therefore to a very substantial share of 55 percent, whereas income generated from advertising and sponsorships accounted lately for 21 percent.[40] Or as one interviewee noted, in view of the strictly state-controlled governance mode at NBC: "The majority of funds comes directly from government, so that destroys the whole model of public service broadcasting."[41]

Alongside the corporate mission illustrated in the "Strategic Triangle 2011," the corporation aims to regain financial sustainability. By 2015, the objective is to "triple its own revenue" through a coherent commercialization strategy.[42] According to the Director General, this can be achieved through an effort to collect licence fee revenues more vigorously, to rent out NBC transmission infrastructure at higher prices and to increase advertising revenue via the roll-out of digital broadcasting services DTT. "'Our complete orientation from simply being preoccupied with public broadcasting will have to bring in stronger elements of the commercial focus. Because it is out of that we have to match every dollar the public invests in us, we should be able to match. The commercial model of NBC will therefore change radically."[43] A key tactic, the director general argues, is to allow for better positioning of the Namibian business community within NBC programming.[44] Whilst the newly-established NBC1 (family channel) and NBC2 (news and current affairs) shall remain dedicated to the public service mandate, NBC3 is setting out to become the commercial NBC channel that aims for sponsored edutainment and sports. "Whilst we know that our core mandate is public service, within that you have to think is it possible that 10 percent of what we put out can be content that other people that have a commercial interest might want to buy or sponsor."[45]

Despite the fact that the 'commercial mindset' has gained ground in the NBC's corporate strategy, this has not yet translated to staff salaries, as on-site research revealed. To date, the rules and regulations for staff payment remain opaque and non-transparent. And for staff that are highly engaged and deliver high-quality output compared to others, the system provides no incentives, be they financial or otherwise. According to one interviewee, the only real advantage of working in a state-owned media company rather than a commercial one remains to date the benefits with respect to social welfare.[46]

The technological capacity of NBC is at present undergoing its biggest ever overhaul since the set-up of its initial transmission network in the 1990s and earlier. According to company figures, NBC maintains 56 transmission sites, hosting over 260 analogue terrestrial transmitters for radio and television. In comparison, NBC's only commercial rival on the national television market OneAfrica TV has rented out 28 analogue terrestrial transmitters either at NBC's transmission sites or hosted on towers owned by telecommunication companies.[47] However, the NBC transmission network in particular has

been strongly criticized for being outdated, or, as one member of the expert panel with the Africa Media Barometer argued: "The majority of these transmitters do not work to full capacity owing to a lack of maintenance and the NBC has only four technicians servicing the country's transmitter network."[48]

Although the old transmission network is to remain in place beyond 2015,[49] NBC has begun its switchover to a digital terrestrial transmission network (DTT), with significant progress made from 2013 onwards. For years, mismanagement has meant that the roll-out of a functioning DTT-network has been on hold at NBC. In early 2014, however, digital broadcasting and the expansion of NBC finally got underway. The DTT network provides space for up to 16 digital TV channels, of which three are to be used for NBC purposes (as mentioned earlier). The rest of the available transmission space will be rented out to third parties in order to generate revenue for the state broadcaster – with NBC management particularly hoping for increased advertising through greater coverage. NBC is in full ownership of the newly established DTT-infrastructure thanks to the financial backing of the state. This may occasionally lead to competition problems for commercial and community broadcasters.

The state-owned Communication Regulation Authority of Namibia (CRAN) has identified this potential 'conflict of interest' regarding the newly established DTT infrastructure, in particular because the state broadcaster does not fall within its regulatory scope. So far, it is the exclusive right of the Minister of Information and Communication Technology to decide on the rates NBC should apply to rent out its infrastructure to third parties – rates which other outlets have no choice but to pay in order to go digital. CRAN, which bases its regulation authority for all other telecommunication and broadcasting services on the 2009 Communication Act, so far lacks a mandate for any kind of intervention. "If they [NBC] are not regulated by CRAN, we can't bring in effective competition with the commercial broadcasters and we can't force NBC to share some of their infrastructure," CRAN-CEO Stanley Shanapinda argues.[50] While the national regulation authority has geared up its policies to include NBC within its purview - thereby hoping to avoid a situation where the state broadcaster dictates rents to its commercial competitors - the Namibian minister in charge will have to consent to such a regulatory intervention. NBC's current management does not see any need for such a restructuring of the regulatory framework, referring to its mandate in the NBC Act.

At the time of writing, NBC TV had one newsroom operating. An organizational change process is to help transform the news and current affairs department into a multimedia production department, based on the experience that the corporation has gained in the "Education" and "Sports" departments. In this respect, the restructuring of the NBC newsroom (News & Current Affairs) lies at the heart of the corporation's change management process. Major components of this transformation are planned for 2014. However, at the time of writing, no specific information on the actual proceedings was available. Besides the newsroom, the corporation has the following departments and sections at its TV production site: Human Capital & Organizational Development, TV Programs, Engineering & IT, Finance & Administration, Marketing & Corporate Communications, Commercial Services, Project Planning and two TV studios. The NBC Radio building contains offices and studios of six NBC Radio Language Services, namely Afrikaans Service, Damara/Nama Service, German Service, National Radio, Otjiherero Service and Tirelo Ya Setswana. Four NBC Radio Language Services are situated in the regions, namely ah! Radio in Tsumkwe, Lozi Service in Katima Mulilo, Oshiwambo Service in Oshakati and Rukavango Service in Rundu. NBC also has three Contribution Centres with a limited number of staff and little equipment, namely in Otjiwarongo, Walvis Bay and Keetmanshoop. In essence, however, the author's own research has shown that there is no regionalization strategy in place which would guarantee content production throughout the nation from which the whole corporation (TV, radio and online) would benefit.

Perception, Participation, and Public Engagement

For the general public, the internal functioning of NBC and its ongoing transformation process has remained opaque in recent years. This holds particularly true for the adoption of NBC's new corporate mission, the "Strategic Triangle 2011" mentioned earlier. There has neither been a public consultation process which would have given third parties – such as civil society and non-governmental organizations – the opportunity to participate in the run-up to the organization's strategic reorientation. Nor has there been an information campaign, raising awareness amongst the public for the ongoing transformation process, once launched by NBC's Board of Directors. One Namibian interviewee argued that one can also

34 *Ted Scott, Head of Training at Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
35 *Maria Indongo-Nepaya, Head of Media Content Hub, Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
36 *Ted Scott, Head of Training at Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
37 *Allgemeine Zeitung, July 13, 2011.*
38 *Allgemeine Zeitung, April 4, 2011.*
39 *The Namibian, February 28, 2014.*
40 *Open Society Foundations, 2013, p. 43.*
41 *Robin Tyson, Lecturer at Department of Information and Communication Studies, University of Namibia (UNAM).*
42 *NBC 2014.*
43 *Albertus Aochamub, Director-General of Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
44 *Rita, July 11, 2013.*
45 *Albertus Aochamub, Director-General of Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
46 *Natasha H. Tibinyane, National Director, MISA Namibia.*
47 *Open Society Foundations 2011, 52.*
48 *AMB 2011, 48.*
49 *The analogue terrestrial network remains the mode of transmission for FM radio signals beyond 2015.*
50 *Stanley Shanapinda, Chief Executive Officer, Communication Regulation Authority of Namibia (CRAN).*

detect a kind of lethargy in Namibian civil society vis-á-vis its state broadcaster: "I feel sometimes we became too complacent as Namibians, we are not pushing hard enough from the civil society."[51]

In the eyes of many analysts, NBC to date remains a "state broadcaster," if not a "ruling party broadcaster."[52] The representation of Namibian civil society within the NBC steering committee remains fragmented – it certainly does not reflect the complexity of Namibian society. The five current Board Members come from the corporate business community, the national telecommunications company, the Namibia Literary Trust and the Christian community, which by and large is not a representative cross-section of the Namibian public.[53] Financial turmoil, obscure decision-making processes, a lack of credible distance to government interests, and some serious problems with journalistic quality have further damaged the acceptance of the state broadcaster as the "voice of the people of Namibia."[54]

Public Service: General Functions

We will use the following pages to evaluate the different public service functions NBC may or may not fulfill. In doing so, one has to keep in mind the peculiarities of Namibia, namely the sharp contrast between the capital region and rural areas, the variety of ethnicities, and the particularly high percentage of Namibians living below the poverty line. Seen from this perspective, the public service functions of the NBC can be assessed as follows:

Creating a Public Sphere

One of the key functions of public service media is to provide a platform for political debate, occasionally setting the agenda and confronting officials with critical questions from the public, thereby fostering accountability. To a large extent, say most impartial observers, the NBC in its current form does not provide space for such a 'forum of national debate.' Thus, the broadcaster is often criticized for its reactive news programming. Or as one interviewee argued: "I tend to believe that the NBC follows the government agenda, I don't see them setting the agenda."[55] Even though NBC TV does have political talk shows such as "Talk of The Nation," "One on One" or "The Week That Was," many local interviewees have argued that controversial debate remains excluded from the broadcast reality. In consequence, what is discussed in the public domain is most likely an agenda as set by government officials or by a ministry spokesperson. International analysts[56] and local media stakeholders have similarly suggested that in particular the current predominance of state-owned media in Namibia makes any criticism of those in power problematic, or as one interviewee noted: "Self-censorship is a big, big problem because the majority of journalists are working in government institutions."[57] Looking at both sides of the story is a guarantee of balanced reporting: This basic principle of public service media becomes something of a balancing act in the Namibian context – in particular with regard to national television. Or as one interviewee put it: "The stories are not stories at all, but they are press releases from the government."[58] In short, many Namibians doubt that NBC currently acts as a reliable vehicle for unbiased information and diverse perspectives. Often, single source reports are broadcast, critics argue, featuring the point of view of the current government exhaustively but with little or no airtime given to opposing views that might be of equal interest to the public. In the words of a leading NGO member: "They simply say nothing about what we are saying, they simply don't broadcast that. But once a minister says something against us, immediately that's a headline."[59]

International observers have also referred to the current NBC commercialization strategy as potentially dangerous for its editorial independence – this time from the business angle. In other words, the state-controlled broadcaster might, on its current path, find itself trying to overcome financing shortages from the national budget by taking on business interests that will inevitably interfere with its public service mandate.

With regard to biased reporting, NBC is confronted with what observers are calling a crisis of confidence and trustworthiness. In reality, this translates into a scenario where ordinary citizens in urban areas (with alternative media at hand) already read between the lines when consuming news and current affairs products from the state broadcaster. Alternatively, such 'informed parts of society' sideline the state broadcaster completely, consuming media with a reputation for independent journalism, such as the national daily The Namibian, or, amongst younger Namibians, the blogs "Free your Mind" or "Spoken Word." The MediaMetrics study (2010) suggests NBC nevertheless remains the most popular TV channel in Namibia with – on average – 1.1 million possible viewers at a given time. The same data from opinion polls show that OneAfrica TV was estimated to have around 400,000 viewers on average.[60] In particular with societal multipliers, the small commercial rival OneAfricaTV has a much better standing and reputation than NBC.[61]

However, as far as NBC radio and its different language services are concerned, some observers state that NBC does in fact offer small spheres of public space and political discourse and thereby fulfills a public service mandate, providing balanced and unbiased news: "If you listen to NBC Afrikaans radio, they are actually quite critical and they also allow critical voices to speak, maybe the politicians feel it's not relevant. The NBC Herero radio station is also where lots of debates take place."[62]

Much has been invested in recent years at NBC in improving the quality of its programming, not only from an editorial point of view, but also in terms of its production and technical implementation. In cooperation with the NBC's training department, media trainers from SR as well as DW Akademie have conducted workshops aiming for high-quality output – and also introducing debate on editorial guidelines. Neverthe-

less, when it comes to implementing quality standards within the departments and within production, much remains to be done. To date, much of NBC's programming, particularly in the field of news and current affairs, does not meet the corporations own already existing quality standards. In interviews with NBC staff the author was told that overburdened staff and mismanagement, especially at middle management level, have led recurrently to tremendous setbacks in the quality of programming.

One management problem in particular is seen to be at the heart of the difficulties encountered when trying to enforce quality standards: "There is no collective planning."[63] Also the fact that most journalists do not write news stories in their mother tongue, but rather in the national language English leads repeatedly to a drop in output quality. As one interviewee said: "There is a lack of basic writing skills."[64]

Supporting Integration

NBC is very likely to remain the biggest platform for cultural expression and the strengthening of local identities in Namibia for the foreseeable future. Although such a statement needs further qualification, there is no doubt that in particular the ten different language channels on NBC radio constitute a major achievement in the bid to give local minorities a voice. This holds true in particular because most commercial radio stations broadcast in former colonial languages, with little or no access to local content in local languages.

Penetration rates of over 90 percent of the population for NBC radio and 60 to 70 percent for NBC TV via analogue terrestrial broadcasting leave room for improvement, but they nonetheless constitute a pivotal asset when it comes to delivering information to ethnic minorities which, in Namibia, often live in the remotest regions. The seven community radio stations currently operating in Namibia may serve their communities as alternative access-to-information hubs. But to date, none of them has proven either financially or technically sustainable, which hampers their capacity to act as "mini-" public service providers within their local communities.

On this front, however, there are challenges that endanger NBC's role as potential public service provider of local content throughout the country. Firstly, the ten different language services of NBC radio are not available nationwide; most of the language services can only be accessed in a predetermined coverage spectrum – according to an interviewee, due to a lack of NBC funding or a lack of interest in giving each of the language programmes country-wide coverage.[65] Or as analysts from the Open Society Foundations study have put it: "Not all radio stations are equally accessible throughout the country, but rather target a concentration of language groups within different areas."[66] Secondly, the various NBC language services have not played a significant role in NBC's transformation process towards multimedia broadcasting. All efforts of the current corporate strategy are geared – according to information available to the author – towards implementing media convergence primarily with the National service in English. This misses out on the potential that can come from multimedia and multilingual content production – in particular for the specific Namibian context. And thirdly, the fact that NBC's television broadcasting remains – by and large – exclusively English, hampers the representation and identification minority language speakers will have with the contents of the state broadcaster.[67] When asked, NBC's director general refers to the NBC Act as the reason why English remains the only broadcast language for its television service.

The current roll-out of digital television in Namibia will further cement NBC's role as key point of access to information for the general public, as all other media will depend on the transmission network of the state broadcaster. This gives the issue of competition regulation through the national regulator a particular urgency. NBC's current strategy of digitalization of its TV broadcasting as well as its multimedia strategy do have certain advantages. But both processes also potentially deprive the poorest parts of society of their rights to universal access to information. There are two main reasons for this: Firstly, to be able to access digital television, consumers have to buy either DTT-decoders or new TV sets with integrated DTT adapters. Both options require investments in hardware which may cause financial difficulties for many of the 300,000 households in Namibia. For the current NBC director general, these concerns seem unjustified: "At the kind of price that the decoder will be sold, it's something that anybody would afford."[68] Neither the relevant ministry, nor the broadcaster itself, however, have so far delivered a credible policy to counterbalance possible side-effects for those Namibians that

[51] *Nangula Shejavali, Researcher at the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR).*
[52] *Robin Tyson, Lecturer at Department of Information and Communication Studies, University of Namibia (UNAM).*
[53] *Allgemeine Zeitung, May 7, 2010.*
[54] *Robin Tyson, Lecturer at Department of Information and Communication Studies University of Namibia (UNAM).*
[55] *Tangeni Amupadhi, Editor of The Namibian.*
[56] *Open Society Foundations 2011, 4.*
[57] *Tangeni Amupadhi, Editor of The Namibian.*
[58] *Robin Tyson, Lecturer at Department of Information and Communication Studies, University of Namibia (UNAM).*
[59] *Phil Ya Nangoloh, Executive Director at NamRights.*
[60] *MediaMetrics 2010, 36.*
[61] *Emily M. Brown, Head of Department Media and Technology, Polytechnic of Namibia.*
[62] *Clement Daniels, Media Ombudsman of Namibia.*
[63] *Ted Scott, Head of Training at Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*
[64] *Tangeni Amupadhi, Editor of The Namibian.*
[65] *Phil Ya Nangoloh, Executive Director at NamRights.*
[66] *Open Society Foundations 2011, 79.*
[67] *Locally produced content on television makes up 38 per cent of the overall programming in Namibia – almost all of it is broadcast in English.*
[68] *Albertus Aochamub, Director General of Namibian Broad casting Corporation (NBC).*

live on two US Dollars a day or less – and nevertheless should be offered universal access. Secondly, the state broadcaster is gearing up to become Africa's leading multimedia provider, based on the notion that virtually every Namibian has access to a mobile phone, which makes multimedia content distribution an attractive option. However, virtually every Namibian also knows that mobile broadband tariffs that allow for multimedia consumption are extremely expensive in Namibia, compared to other African nations. For this reason, even the CEO of the national regulation authority says: "Data pricing is the next challenge."[69] In order to achieve universal access for all Namibians, now and in future, the NBC strategy will have to tackle these challenges.

Yet, there are also fields in which the NBC brief is fully in line with the classic definition of a public service remit. Looking at the Namibian media landscape, the variety of its different media provides a broad mix of content in the fields of information, entertainment, education, and sports. NBC remains, however, the only provider capable of producing such a broad variety of programming within one corporation. And particularly in certain fields of programming, NBC remains to date the most prominent if not the only provider of public service functions; educational programming, for example, is overlooked by most commercial radio stations and is hopelessly underfunded in community media. In the Namibian context in particular, this is a public service function of great importance, not least because 56 percent of Namibians are estimated to be younger than 24 – which makes them potential beneficiaries of such programs.[70] NBC has gradually expanded its portfolio of educational programming over recent years. The author's research, however, indicates that a more decentralized approach that would give educational programming greater relevance to local communities would represent a logical next step in this respect.

In the field of entertainment, NBC is the major supplier of third-party content from abroad, which is part of its public service mandate as stated in the NBC Act. The current process of digitalization will greatly extend NBC's entertainment portfolio, as there is to be one channel (NBC3) exclusively dedicated to entertainment and sports. To what extent such an expansion of the entertainment field is in line with the broadcaster's public service mandate, remains open for debate.

Even though NBC is following a path towards substantial transformation, the corporation does not have a reputation as a trailblazer, either with consumers or with media experts. Thus, as several interviewees have stressed, NBC's potential for technical as well as editorial innovation remains to be developed through structured processes.

Achievements and Challenges

Summarizing the public service functions of the state broadcaster in Namibia as analysed above, it is difficult to develop a clear-cut picture of the state of affairs within NBC. Deriving from a multitude of interviews, the author has established the following picture of achievements and challenges at NBC:
There are particular strengths that stand out, notably its analogue and digital network which is Namibia's best possible option to achieve universal access for all. There is NBC's pivotal role as provider of multilingual media content in radio that enables the cultural expression of language minorities, an unrivalled strength and an important public service function. And there is NBC's function as the main and only genuine supplier of educational programming in a media landscape that has otherwise nothing of the kind to offer a mostly young audience.

But there have also been weaknesses and organizational flaws that constitute major challenges on NBC's transformation path. First and foremost, there is an uncertainty about and, in parts, neglect of the "public service ethos" and how this should be translated into reality at Namibia's state broadcaster. Secondly, the current corporate strategy (Strategic Triangle) may cause difficulties for the most vulnerable media consumers in the country, notably those people living below the poverty line. And thirdly, the ongoing transformation process of the state broadcaster has failed to include civil society in its reform processes, with notable impact on the broadcaster's future integration within society.

NBC's record of achievements, with particular reference to the past three years, reads as follows:

- The corporation has gained stability in management and made progress towards financial sustainability, both important prerequisites for future change processes.[71]

- NBC has intrinsically endorsed a major organizational change management project (multimedia strategy), aiming to upgrade programme quality and reorganize inefficient structures.[72]

- NBC has launched a major modernization project of its transmission network successfully – from the author's current perspective – and with potential upgrading of existing infrastructure as well.

- NBC has initiated a complete overhaul of its human resources management which in the past has been one of the main reasons for failed change processes.[73]

NBC's recurrent problems on the way towards public service broadcasting remain:

- NBC's low credibility and perceived lack of trustworthiness amongst major parts of the population – which, as most independent interviewees noted, pose a threat to any public service function that the corporation would like to fulfil.
- NBC's existing governance structure constitutes a major hindrance to further progress and would need reform in order to improve the organization's editorial as well as structural independence.[74]
- NBC's administrative and technical departments will have to be more closely involved in the current change management process in order to make it a success.[75]

Transformation Approaches

The case study shows that much remains to be done in order to enable NBC to tap its full potential as public service media. National as well as international stakeholders in NBC's transformation process have stressed that the following measures could be supportive:

- Establishing platforms for political debate about the role and the mandate of the national public broadcaster and its public service functions.[76]
- Enhancing advocacy work with Namibian Members of Parliament involved in the consultation process on redrafting the outdated NBC Act.
- Advocating the implementation of a multi-annual financial framework for the state broadcaster, reducing the dependency on advertising revenue.[77]
- Support measures targeting overall improvements of the legal framework, in particular in the fields of access to information, whistleblower protection and the redrafting of the equally outdated 2009 Communication Act.[78]
- Improving professional skills of NBC staff in production, administration and technical departments, ranging from basic skills training to awareness-raising interventions to specialist training.[79]
- Improving professional skills of the corporation's middle management team, in particular with regard to leadership and organizational skills.[80]
- Supporting the NBC's training department in implementing a systematic career development system for NBC that allows for competence-based recruitment and career planning.[81]
- Implementing structures that provide for long-term newsroom planning which allows the various NBC departments to coordinate production needs with the use of limited production facilities.[82]
- Supporting the ongoing restructuring process of the NBC towards multimedia content production through mentoring and 'training on the job.'[83]
- Advocacy work with the national media regulation authority CRAN aimed at securing fair access for commercial and community media to the newly established digital transmission infrastructure owned by NBC.[84]
- Raising awareness for the impact that technology-driven change management may have for the most vulnerable in the population and developing measures to counterbalance.[85]

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69 *Stanley Shanapinda, Chief Executive Officer, Communication Regulation Authority of Namibia (CRAN).*

70 *CIA 2014.*

71 *A trend that is particularly stressed by interviewees from within NBC.*

72 *External consultants such as Swedish Radio have confirmed that organizational irregularities at NBC are gradually being addressed and changed for the better.*

73 *In particular the current Head of Training at NBC, Ted Scott, has emphasised this improvement.*

74 *This position is similarly put forward by local stakeholders from civil society as well as by international media experts that have published studies for the Open Society Foundations in 2011 and 2013.*

75 *"The producers can't rely on the technical department. Its not a good structure and that has to do with management." Quote from: Ragna Wallmark, Media Consultant for Swedish Radio.*

76 *See in particular Open Society Foundations 2013.*

77 *See in particular Open Society Foundations 2013.*

78 *Natasha H. Tibinyane, National Director, MISA Namibia.*

79 *Ted Scott, Head of Training at Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) and Swedish Radio consultants.*

80 *Ragna Wallmark, Media Consultant of Swedish Radio.*

81 *Ragna Wallmark, Media Consultant of Swedish Radio.*

82 *Ragna Wallmark, Media Consultant of Swedish Radio.*

83 *Ted Scott, Head of Training at Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) and Swedish Radio consultants.*

84 *Stanley Shanapinda, Chief Executive Officer, Communication Regulation Authority of Namibia (CRAN).*

85 *Phil Ya Nangoloh, Executive Director at NamRights.*

According to the interviewed stakeholders, the following methods and approaches may be helpful:

Methods that accompany ongoing production processes through supervision, consultation and mentoring are welcome, as they guarantee continuity, accessibility of consultants, and feedback and constant check of results.[86]

- Long-term placements of senior consultants rather than short term skills workshops (six months and more or on a regular basis)
- Continuous group-building processes
- Mentoring throughout production cycles – from concept to broadcast

Establishing a content-sharing platform amongst public service media in Southern Africa.[87]

- Developing pilot shows with one public broadcaster
- Staff exchange (Twinning) and content exchange with supervision and mediation by international consultants

Exchange of experiences:

- Bringing NBC staff together with civil society groups
- Arranging study trips abroad for administrative and technical staff
- Giving journalists the possibility to participate in regional exchange programmes or co-productions (under the supervision of international consultants)

In its current format, the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation does not qualify as a fully-fledged public service media outlet. But the corporation plays a vital role in delivering public service goods in particular to poorer parts of the population. For any media development initiative that is initiated in Namibia, it would therefore be vital to engage in a dialogue with NBC as to how certain public service functions could be strengthened through targeted interventions.

[86] *Ted Scott, Head of Training at Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) and Swedish Radio consultants.*

[87] *Albertus Aochamub, Director General of Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*

Status of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC)

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Channels, distribution	**TV:** Three nationwide channels: NBC1 (family channel/public service); NBC2 (news and current affairs/public service) and NBC3 (entertainment and sports/commercial focus); all channels broadcast in English and are 24/7 on air, while most content is bought from third parties, local content currently at 35 % **Radio:** NBC provides 10 radio channels in ten different languages; The English service, NBC National radio, broadcasts on a 24 hour basis. The other radio services, namely Afrikaans Service, Damara/Nama Service, German Service, Otjiherero Service, Tirelo Ya Setswana, ah! Radio, Lozi Service, Oshiwambo Service and Rukavango Service shut down during the night; Some broadcast from regional studios, and thereby have limited coverage to specific regions.	In 2014, NBC expanded its TV portfolio from 1 to 3 channels, thanks to a move to digital terrestrial broadcasting (DTT)
Legal framework	NBC operates on the basis of the Namibia Broadcasting Act (Act 9 of 1991); Problems: The law is generally seen as outdated, as it reflects the pre-internet age. Moreover, the governance structure lacks independence both on a financing and a decision-making level. The Namibian Constitution promotes in principle the rights of a free and independent press.	According to the NBC Director General (CEO), a consultation process on a new NBC law has already started; a move towards including it on the political agenda is a prerogative of the Namibian Information Minister (MICT)
Public service remit	The NBC law does not refer explicitly to a public service remit, but it stipulates that NBC is a parastatal organization (same status as Air Namibia and other state-owned companies) that has the following objectives: to "inform and entertain the public of Namibia, to contribute to the education and unity of the nation, to provide and disseminate information relevant to the socio-economic development of Namibia and to promote the use and understanding of the English language."	–
Regulatory system/ governing body	The highest governing body of NBC is the Board of Directors (Board), a group of senior executives that supervise and control the corporation. All Board Members, including NBC's Director General as the chief executive officer, are appointed directly and exclusively by the Minister of Information and Communication Technology (MICT) for a five year term. Problem: There is no civil society involvement and no transparency, and there is a strong alignment with the ruling party SWAPO	Progress towards a reform of this state-controlled selection procedure is likely to remain difficult as there is a lack of problem awareness in the political domain and, notably, diverging strategic interests of the ruling party (SWAPO)

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Engagement of civil society	As stated above, the NBC's Board of Directors is elected without civil society involvement; Problem: The NBC governance structure encourages public disinterest vis à vis its state broadcaster.	–
Financing	In principle, NBC is funded mainly by an annual state subsidy (55%), partially also using other sources of income, such as the sale of air time and programs (21%), the issuing of yearly television licenses and the rental of transmitters. Problems: Firstly, NBC is heavily dependent on direct state subsidies, which have to be negotiated annually. Second, mismanagement has led to a drop in license fee revenue of more than 50 percent in recent years.	Until recently, NBC had no department for license fee collection; restructuring since 2011 has reduced obvious cases of management failure; the NBC Board has endorsed a new strategy, the "Strategic Triangle 2011." The objective is to "triple its own revenue" by 2015, through a coherent commercialization strategy.
Use mobile and internet communication/modern technology/challenges of digitalization	NBC is in the process of digitalizing its TV broadcasting; as of 2014, DTT-broadcasting has extended the NBC channel family to NBC1, NBC2 and NBC3; for years, NBC lagged behind in this process due to lack of leadership and public funding. The NBC's analogue broadcasting network is the largest network in the country, but a lack of maintenance means parts of it are in bad condition; NBC has an online presence and some NBC radio stations are available via live streaming; however, the standard of NBC's online presence remains rudimentary.	–
Regional structures and reporting	Four NBC Radio Language Services are situated in the regions, namely ah! Radio in Tsumkwe, Lozi Service in Katima Mulilo, Oshiwambo Service in Oshakati and Rukavango Service in Rundu. The regional stations are also provided with staff from NBC Engineering & IT and NBC News & Current Affairs. NBC furthermore has three Contribution Centres, namely in Otjiwarongo, Walvis Bay and Keetmanshoop. The Contribution Centres are smaller in size than the regional stations and have fewer employees. Problems: Firstly, NBC TV lacks regionalization which is why local communities often complain that they do not feel represented; secondly, most regional stories are dependent on the occasional visits of high-profile politicians.	–
Capacity building	From 2000 to 2010, the NBC was in a constant management crisis; effectively, this led to a total halt of all activities at the NBC's training department; NBC staff had various training opportunities through cooperation with external media training organizations (e.g., Swedish Radio or DW Akademie).	–

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	The corporation lacks a publicly available editorial policy, setting standards for reporting and documenting its editorial independence. Instead, NBC signed up to a Code of Ethics under the supervision of the Editors' Forum of Namibia (EFN). A complaints procedure was established for cases of misconduct, to be handled by a Media Ombudsman. The Communications Regulatory Authority of Namibia (CRAN) has asked the signatories to the self-regulation mechanism to extend the Code of Ethics to become a "Broadcasting Code" that goes into more detail within the field of digital media. To date, no progress has been reported.	–
Public perception and support for the media organization	Overall, NBC has low credibility amongst large parts of the population; it is perceived as "one-sided and biased" towards the government's agenda; NBC TV is nevertheless hugely popular, which is also due to a lack of effective national competition; for example, the NBC TV morning show "Good Morning Namibia" is amongst the most popular shows in the country. Low ratings in trustworthiness have led to a situation where NBC is generally ignored, in particular by elites, whilst young audiences turn to TV rival OneAfricaTV or commercial or international radio stations.	–

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	Partially	NBC is by far the most dominant media player in Namibia, with the greatest resources and broadest coverage. But, the availability of resources does not translate into high-quality news and current affairs reporting. Problems: Firstly, lack of training has led to problems with staff; secondly, the public perceives the news agenda of the NBC often as biased and one-sided, as news is often connected to prominence (government involvement), rather than actual news value; thirdly, minority language speakers from Namibia's rural areas often do not feel represented by the news selection.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound bites, etc.	No	There is a clear tendency in NBC's news and current affairs broadcasting to favor government voices; opposition parties are only represented before elections, but in quantity and quality of reporting rather limited; after election campaigns, the main focus of the media is on ruling party (SWAPO) representatives
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	Partially	As local and international analysts have argued, the Namibian political landscape currently lacks a culture of political criticism and debate, which is in part due to the omnipresence of the dominating political party SWAPO, which has run the government since independence. Direct criticism of the government is therefore seldom heard on NBC, and if so, in niche channels such as the minority language channels on NBC radio.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	Partially	Problems in society are captured very superficially, often lacking in-depth research that the day-to-day organization of the current NBC set-up does not allow time for; thus, corruption scandals or the highlighting of social problems is most often left to newspapers such as the daily *The Namibian* or some weekly newspapers that have staff with an investigative mandate.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	No	Even though NBC TV does have political talk shows such as "Talk of the Nation," "One on One" or "The Week That Was," many analysts argue that controversial debates remain excluded from broadcast reality.
Social/political orientation	Partially to No	NBC offers the broadest range of programming of all Namibian media. However, programs that help citizens to develop an understanding of social and political problems and the various solutions that are at hand are scarce in NBC programming.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	No	NBC in general follows the government's agenda quite stringently. Agenda-setting in the public sphere is most often to be ascribed to journalists of daily or weekly newspapers, if at all. Truly investigative research is rare in Namibia. It is often believed to be too expensive with little commercial value.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Participation, voice, empowerment	Partially	NBC mostly produces in the capital Windhoek, which reduces the input that local communities in remote areas might have in programming; in various regions, the NBC has a very small network of regional studios with few staff; too few provide truly decentralized news from all regions in Namibia for the specific constituency and give them channels of participation.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values, and cultural cohesion	Yes to partially	NBC TV, due to its "English-only" policy, doesn't set the best example of providing a sphere for cultural expression in minority languages; NBC radio, however, provides such a space. NBC is often criticized for being too focused on the capital, as all its major production capacities are there. NBC offers a range of 35 percent of local production, which is in itself a strong statement on strengthening national and cultural identity; however, this cultural cohesion is not directed at showing diversity, but rather at stressing the commonalities of cultural expression; this is why, for instance, a lot of local cultural heritage will not make it into the programming of NBC TV.
Entertainment	Yes	NBC provides entertainment programs: however, analysts often criticize that entertainment is mainly content bought from outside, so there is a lack of cultural cohesion and representation.
Education	Yes	NBC provides various specific educational programs. In fact, NBC is the biggest provider for this kind of programming in all of Namibia. However, the outlet is often criticized for the quality of education programming.
Innovation	Partially	NBC's potential for technical as well as editorial innovation remains to be developed through structured processes, as stressed by various interviewees.

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
Swedish Radio (2008–2013)	Project with 2 Phases; Phase 1 from 2008 to 2012 focussed on editorial guidelines; Phase 2 from 2012 to 2013 focussed on change management towards multi media production	Phase 1: no information on applied methods available; Phase 2: mentoring and group-building workshops that were implemented in two-month intervals, from conceptualization to implementation of one multimedia project	Main result of Phase 1: no information available; Main result of Phase 2: two departments, "Education" and Sports," were regrouped into multi-media divisions (as pilots for other departments) and in winter 2013, one series of multimedia programmes was broadcast (Topic: Entrepreneurship)
DW Akademie (2012 – ongoing)	– Various short-term work shops, such as "African Stories," capacity building measures for NBC staff and staff from other regional broadcasters – Production mentoring for the launch of a TV children's show from autumn 2013 onwards	– Mentoring of production processes through permanent staff based in Windhoek – Capacity building workshops through visiting DW media trainers – Liaison meetings with DW media consultants	– Launch of children's programming in winter 2013 – Internal restructuring of Education department with regular meetings, scheduled task lists and transparent functional roles within a teamwork process

N.B. All the information given in the tables above is based on the interviews, observations and document analysis made by the author of this chapter. The tables provide very rough summaries of what is being elaborated in the texts. Many of the issues mentioned here are, of course, subject to change.

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06
Mongolia: Achievements Through Public Service Capacity Building

Laura Schneider

Mongolia: Achievements Through Public Service Capacity Building

In nine years of transformation, Mongolian National Broadcaster (MNB) has undergone a change process with significant achievements. The decisive factor for this support was the continuous and long-term collaboration – in particular with Radio Sweden, funded by the Swedish development agency SIDA – which was systematically planned and attuned to everyday challenges. DW Akademie has been active here since 2011. All stakeholders point out the great importance of the collaboration with international development experts and organizations which fuel and accelerate MNB's transformation process. Today, despite persisting problems, numerous MNB journalists have reached a basic level of professionalism. What remains to be done in particular is to build capacity at the management level. MNB fulfils important public service broadcasting functions: It provides the Mongolian society with diverse programming of national coverage which gives a voice to different parts of society. Despite increasing competition from commercial rivals, it is still the broadcaster with the best ratings and highest credibility among the population. For the empowerment of the most vulnerable in society, MNB plays an important role. The improvements achieved during MNB's transformation process so far prove that the efforts made by the different actors were and will be worth it. In Mongolia, there are no real alternatives to well-functioning public service media.

In order to understand the particular situation of the public service broadcaster Mongolian National Broadcaster (MNB), a brief overview of Mongolia's most important characteristics, its media landscape and the status of the media organization should be given.

Mongolia – A Brief Overview

Mongolia is a country of superlatives: With its population of around 2.8 million[1] people living on a surface area of nearly 1.6 million[2] square kilometers, Mongolia is not only among the largest countries of the world, but also the least densely populated one. Another Mongolian superlative is its extreme climate, with very hot summers and extremely cold winters. The capital Ulan Bator (or: Ulaanbaatar) is the coldest national capital in the world with January temperatures as low as -40°C and an average annual temperature of -2.4°C.[3] Almost half of all Mongolians live in the capital which has a population of more than 1.2 million people.[4] The rest of the country is divided into 21 provinces, the so-called *aimags*. The Mongolian population is fairly homogenous: With 85%, the Khalkh or Mongolian are the largest ethnicity, followed by the Kazakh (7%). The remaining (8%) are divided into small groups with the major linguistic minorities being Kazakhs and Tuva-speaking Tsaatans.[5] Other groups speak varying dialects of Mongolian. Further, there are small clusters of Chinese and Russian residents.[6]

As in many other countries, in Mongolia the breakdown of the Soviet Union initiated a democratic revolution in the 1990s. This led to a multi-party system,[7] a new constitution that was adopted in 1992 as well as transition to a market economy. Today, Mongolia has a number of political parties, the most powerful of which are the Mongolian People's Party (MPP) and the Democratic Party (DP). The MPP[8] formed the government of the country from 1921 to 1996 – in a one-party system until 1990 – and from 2000 to 2004. During the interviews conducted for this study[9] several interviewees asserted that Mongolia is still in the process of democratization and that the political education of the population is still weak. The citizens neither have sufficient understanding of democracy nor awareness of their rights.[10] As reasons for this, both the nomadic roots and traditions of the Mongolian society and the communist era are mentioned. According to the World Bank, a quarter of Mongolia's population are still nomadic herders.[11] In the last two decades, an increasingly affluent Mongolian middle class has emerged. However, wealth is distributed unequally and especially the disparities between the urban and the rural population are staggering.

Media Landscape

The disparities between the urban centers – especially the capital – and the rural provinces are inherent in the Mongolian media system as well. While the newly-gained freedom in the 1990s led to a media boom in the capital, not much has changed in the countryside. According to the latest report (2013) by the Mongolian NGO Press Institute,[12] there are 555 media outlets operating on a regular basis in Mongolia.[13] In 2012, there were 135 newspapers, 99 magazines, 84 radio stations (77 are FM stations), 166 television channels and 68 infor-

1 *NSO 2014.*
2 *UN Data 2014.*
3 *White, January 9, 2013.*
4 *UBstat 2012.*
5 *Ziyasheva 2007, 4.*
6 *MRG 2005.*
7 *Today, Mongolia's political system can be described as a parliamentary republic.*
8 *The MPP was known as the People's Revolutionary Party between 1921 and 2010.*
9 *For the purpose of this study, nine interviews with different people were conducted in Ulan Bator in January 2014. Among the interviewees were representatives from Mongolian National Broadcaster (journalists, administration and management level), representatives from different NGOs, researchers, a blogger as well as a former and a current member of the National Council. The interviews lasted between one and two hours.*
10 *Zanaa Jurmed, Director of the Centre for Citizens' Alliance.*
11 *World Bank 2013.*
12 *The Press Institute is the only independent NGO that monitors the Mongolian media landscape regularly.*
13 *Press Institute 2013, 2.*

mation websites[14] in Mongolia. Of the 135 newspapers, 16 are published daily, 31 weekly and 24 monthly.[15] Currently, there are 16 TV stations with national coverage and only three nationwide radio stations.[16]

Since the end of the communist era, the Mongolian media market has been growing significantly and even in the last few years the number of media outlets has constantly increased.[17] For example, in 2012, seven newspapers closed down, but 16 new ones were launched. Also the sales of newspapers have increased, though they are still relatively low. The biggest growth has occurred in television – a fact that will be discussed later in this chapter as it plays an important role regarding the transformation of MNB as well. In the last six years, the number of TV stations has increased from 50 in 2006 to 166 in 2012.[18] Seventeen new stations were launched between 2011 and 2012 alone. Also, the number of local media outlets has been increasing and as of 2012, 179 rural media outlets were operating, an increase of 26% from the previous year.[19] Around 4,900 Mongolians work in the media business (2,270 for television, 2,095 for print media and 538 for radio); 2,341 of them are journalists.[20]

In 2013, television remained the most important source of information (33%), followed by the internet (22%), whose importance has grown rapidly in recent years.[21] In particular in the countryside, local community radio stations play a certain role in providing access to information for minorities and the rural population.

Mongolian National Broadcaster (MNB)

Mongolian National Public Television started broadcasting in 1967, while Mongolian National Public Radio had already existed since 1934.[22] Under the Law on Public Radio and Television, which was adopted in 2005, these state-run television and radio stations were formally transformed into a public service broadcaster on January 1, 2006.[23] MNB not only consists of the radio and television branches, but also of the MM News Agency, which was established in 1967. Today, MNB is the only public broadcaster in Mongolia, the rest of the Mongolian media landscape is mainly privately organized.[24] Currently, MNB employs a total of 745 staff members, with 58 people working for the MM News Agency, 185 for MNB radio and 273 for MNB television.[25] While MNB is regulated through the Law on Public Radio and Television, the private broadcasters are controlled by the Communications Regulatory Commission of Mongolia (CRC), which was established by the Communications Act of 2001.[26]

MNB television consists of two nationwide channels: the main channel, which broadcasts between 17 and 18 hours per day and MNB2, the second public channel. The latter was founded in 2011 and targets minorities. MNB2 broadcasts cultural and educational programs, movies and news, among others, in Kazakh, Tuva and Buryad for 17 hours daily.[27] According to the Press Institute, MNB's programming is divided into 50% information, 27% movies and documentaries, 10% entertainment shows, 6% arts and music, 2% sports and 4% other genres.[28] The program schedule provided by MNB for this study, however, reveals that 49% of its programs are repetitions and 1% "programs produced by request, with payment."[29] This is important, as these programs are frequently criticized and thus will be discussed later in this study.

MNB radio consists of four channels, which together produce 50 hours of programming per day: The nationwide main channel (17 hours daily), the nationwide second channel, which targets minorities (16 hours daily), the third channel P3 FM, which broadcasts in the capital and online only (16 hours daily) and Voice of Mongolia, the country's only international broadcasting station for Mongolians living abroad and foreigners, broadcasting in Mongolian, English, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese (around 8 hours daily).[30]

Having been the only broadcaster and a mouthpiece and propaganda instrument of the government for many decades, MNB's main news channel is still the television channel with the highest daily reach. Further, its daily program "Tsagiin khurd" remains the news program with the highest ratings (33%).[31] However, the competition from private channels is high and MNB has lost its leading position especially among younger viewers.

According to Article 17 of the Law on Public Radio and Television, MNB is financed through a mandatory license fee, advertising and sponsoring, direct support from the state budget, income from property rental, and donations. Articles 20 and 21 of the same law determine that the highest governing body of MNB is the National Council, which consists of 15 members and appoints MNB's General Director. Both the problems emerging from the current funding structure of MNB and the work as well as the appointment process of the National Council will be discussed later in the study – they are the two main issues that currently hinder MNB's transformation.

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

Generally, civil society, i.e., NGOs, play an important role in the highly politicized and corruption-prone Mongolian society, though unfortunately the majority of them are not a strong force for change: "Many organizations like the different journalistic organizations as well as a number of NGOs are closely associated with the political rulers."[32] Within the field of media, there are two national NGOs that stand out for their long-term commitment to supporting the development of free and independent media: the Press Institute of Mongolia and Globe International. These NGOs as well as different media outlets have been supported by a variety of donors. Thus, the two national NGOs could get involved in the transformation process of MNB. For that reason, they will be briefly introduced. Apart from these two national NGOs, several international organizations have supported the development of the Mongolian media as well as the transformation process of MNB. Notably, only those organizations that impacted most on MNB's transformation will be briefly mentioned subsequently.

Press Institute of Mongolia

Established in 1995 under the Free Press project and financed by a grant from the Danish Agency for International Development (DANIDA), the Press Institute (PI) is a non-governmental non-profit organization. It supports the development of an independent and pluralistic media sector in Mongolia by improving the qualifications and skills of Mongolian media workers, analyzing the development of Mongolian media, and explaining to the public the role and importance of free media.[33] PI has implemented more than 50 research projects and organized around 700 training and information events for media professionals.[34] The NGO plays an important role in journalism training in Mongolia: It offers short- and long-term training including a 6-month Journalism Diploma course, and a 4-year Bachelor program developed jointly with the Danish School of Journalism, as well as a digital photo-journalism course developed with funds from UNESCO. PI is the only journalism school that has a practical focus. Apart from its academic and its practical training programs, the methods applied by the Press Institute are: roundtable discussions, events on key issues in the media, constant monitoring of the overall media landscape, and research studies on specific topics. Since 2006, PI has extensively supported MNB's transformation by, for example, organizing the National Civil Society Forum 2006 for the nomination of NC members, as well as in-house training for MNB radio and TV newsroom journalists and numerous studies.

Globe International

The second organization, Globe International (GI),[35] was founded in 1999 as a non-profit NGO. It focuses on freedom of expression, freedom of information and media independence and has developed a special expertise in legal aspects, i.e., the legal framework for journalists.[36] GI has been funded primarily by international donors, UNESCO and the Soros Foundation being the leading contributors.[37] In cooperation with the NGO Article 19, GI has conducted research on the Mongolian media legislation. In 2010, in association with the organization IFEX, GI established an online self-reporting system where journalists can report violations and harassments. The NGO reports all information to national and international networks such as IFEX, IFJ, Freedom House, Reporters Without Borders, Internews, Article 19, and GFMD as well as to embassies and NGOs. Moreover, GI conducts training workshops for lawyers in the field of media law.

SIDA – Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SIDA played a very important role right from the beginning of MNB's transformation process. From 2006 on, together with Radio Sweden, the organization focussed on MNB radio aiming at the following four focal points: (1) increasing management capacity within MNB radio, (2) increasing news and current affairs capacity at MNB radio, (3) developing a third radio channel focussing on the youth, and (4) initiating a public service approach on the coverage of elections.[38] During the five years of collaboration, around 50 different training activities were carried out, among them top-level seminars and workshops, classroom lecturing and workshops for journalists and technicians as well as on-the-job training directly in the otherwise on-going production. Further, the collaboration included setting up practical routines and/or technical installations, practical hands-on consultation concerning for instance election coverage, current affairs programming or a new salary system. Moreover, a number of study trips to Sweden were organized for gathering and sharing experiences of practical journalistic, technical, and managerial issues.[39] A total of about 700 participants from different levels at MNB radio were involved in SIDA's activities.

Today, MNB radio is said to have a higher quality and to be more professional than MNB television. Several interviewees pointed out that SIDA's work led to significant improvements regarding the quality of MNB radio and the professionalism of its journalists – both in terms of practical skills and knowledge and with regard to the understanding of the role and function of public service media.[40] Furthermore, they stressed that it was very helpful and efficient that SIDA did not only organize workshops but actually accompanied journalists during their

14 *Ibid.*
15 *The others are published bi-weekly, bi-monthly or only a few times per year.*
16 *Ibid., 40ff.*
17 *Press Institute 2013, 3.*
18 *Ibid., 40.*
19 *Ibid., 5. The average weekly broadcasting hours for local TV is 80 hours, and 104 hours for radio.*
20 *Press Institute 2013, 64.*
21 *Ibid., 68.*
22 *MNB 2014.*
23 *Ziyasheva 2007, 13.*
24 *According to the Press Institute (2013), out of the 166 TV channels 152 are privately owned, 8 are owned by state organizations and 6 by NGOs/public. Regarding radio, 54 stations are privately owned, 19 are owned by NGOs/public, 2 by state organizations, two by "others" and 7 are community stations. Further, 65% of all newspapers are privately owned, 26% by NGO/public, 6% by state organizations and 3% by "others" (ibid.).*
25 *MNB 2014. The whole organizational chart provided by MNB can be consulted in the Appendix.*
26 *CRC 2014.*
27 *Ibid., MNB2 was established with the support of UNESCO.*
28 *Press Institute 2013, 45.*
29 *MNB 2014. The translated program schedules provided by MNB of both MNB's main channel and MNB2 can be consulted in the Appendix.*
30 *Ibid.*
31 *Press Institute 2013, 71.*
32 *Ziyasheva 2007, 40.*
33 *Press Institute 2014.*
34 *Ibid.*
35 *Naranjargal Hashhuu, Director of Globe International.*
36 *GI 2007.*
37 *Ziyasheva 2007, 42.*
38 *Tuvshintugs & Helgesson 2010, 3.*
39 *A table comprising all main activities carried out by SIDA is attached in the Appendix.*
40 *Batzorig Tuvshintugs, Munkhmandakh Myagmar and Oyuntungalag Tsend, in interviews.*

every day work, e.g., experts went to pre-election events with MNB journalists and then worked on the piece with them and gave them direct feedback, allowing for "training on the job."[41] Moreover, P3 FM, which was established with SIDA's help, is a popular radio station in Ulan Bator today. However, SIDA terminated its work in Mongolia in 2010.

DW Akademie

DW Akademie has supported the transformation process of MNB since 2011. The cooperation focused on organizational development, i.e., the consolidation of a strategic plan as well as the improvement of the internal organization and communication. Therefore, the collaboration mainly concentrated on MNB's Strategy and Finance Department. Activities carried out were a planning workshop, a workshop on the development of a strategic plan, a workshop addressing the topic of communication and coordination, a television training workshop on election reporting, an HR assessment which evaluated MNB's transition and challenges, and a workshop with the Board of Directors which identified priority issues for the Board and how to tackle them (all measures were implemented in 2011 and 2012). In 2013, DW Akademie conducted a workshop on the strategic plan – both the prioritization and consolidation of the first Strategic Plan (2009–2013) and the development of the new Strategic Plan (2014–2017) – and a roundtable discussion with old and new members of the National Council. Further, another human resource workshop was carried out, addressing the topics of job advertisements, the salary system, human resource development, and a training center.[42]

From 2014 on, two major projects will be carried out over the course of three years: First, DW Akademie supports Mongolian journalists in the foundation of an organ of media self-regulation, namely a media council. The cooperation partner is the Friedrich Ebert Foundation – and the national control group consists of the Press Institute, Globe International, and the Mongolian Journalists' Union. In order to successfully establish a media council, the focus will also lie on an improvement of the legal framework and the training of media lawyers. Second, DW Akademie aims to strengthen investigative reporting in Mongolia. Building on the already existing structures at the Press Institute of Mongolia, a sustainable concept for investigative reporting will be established. This includes the development of a module for education and training in investigative reporting, which is sustainable both with regard to its contents as well as its financing. The goal is that the program meet international standards and that it can be further integrated in the existing curriculum of the Press Institute. Moreover, DW Akademie will conduct an analysis of the chances and risks of the transformation process of MNB, in cooperation with MNB. This baseline study will contain DW Akademie's consultancy since 2011 as well as recommendations for the ongoing process. On this basis, decisions about further advisory services through DW Akademie will be taken.

Overall, although there are various actors who work for free and independent media in Mongolia, there is no genuine coordination of activities nor a holistic approach.[43] As stated, MNB has benefited from various activities by different organizations focusing on distinct topics. While with the support of SIDA mainly the journalistic skills and understanding as well as the programming was improved, UNESCO enhanced the broadcaster's diversity and DW Akademie supported the strategic and organizational development, among others.

Status of the Media Organization

Legal Framework, Governance and Ethics

MNB's structure and broadcasting are legally based on the Law on Public Radio and Television adopted in 2005. Apart from that, all Mongolian media outlets act in the context of the Constitution of Mongolia from 1992 and the 1998 Media Freedom Law – both guarantee freedom of expression. The Law on Public Radio and Television was developed in close consultation with Globe International and international organizations including Article 19. The law is widely praised as an essential step and a proper legal basis for MNB's functioning as public service media. However, in particular two issues are frequently criticized and lead to severe problems regarding the broadcaster's independence: the provisions concerning MNB's funding and the process of appointing MNB's governing body, the National Council.

The problems regarding the financing of MNB basically result from three legal provisions: First, the law imposes extraordinarily stringent restrictions on advertising by MNB determining that "advertisements shall not exceed two percent of the daily broadcasting time" (Art. 13.3). Further, the law prohibits all kinds of commercial advertisements (Art. 13.1). This makes it hard for MNB to raise sufficient funds, according to the broadcaster's management. Second, the actual pricing of the license fee is determined by the government ("Government shall set up the size of the service fee of the Public Radio and Television on the basis of a proposal of the National Council", Art. 18.2), which means that it is not as insulated from political interference as it could be.[44] Moreover, at 1100 Tugrik, which is around 50 Euro cents per month, the license fee is relatively low. And thirdly, the law states that the fee "shall be imposed to each radio and television set of the household" (Art. 18.1), which means that smart phone or computer owners do not pay so far.

These facts leave MNB dependent on other sources of funding, especially direct government grants. Although the law stipulated that the state will provide sufficient funding to enable MNB to meet its programming mandate (Art. 7.1), there are no precise regulations and in reality MNB has to negotiate this grant from the government on an annual basis. The interviewees criticized that these imprecise legal conditions regarding the funding make it impossible for MNB to act independently, especially because the amount of the state subsidies currently depend on personal decisions and the "mood" of the government.[45]

The process of appointing MNB's governing body, the National Council, as set out in the 2005 law, is unique. In Article 21, the law provides for the appointment of 15 members – four by the president, seven by the parliament and four by the government. In principle, it was intended that the chosen candidates be selected from a shortlist of nominees that got consent from representatives of the civil society, i.e., NGOs. Although this is potentially a good approach, the fact that civil society is largely undefined within this legal framework has led to serious problems concerning the independence of MNB's governing body.[46] Further, even though the law states that it is prohibited to nominate politicians and other officials as well as individuals working at the management level of a political party, among others (Art. 21.3), the research for this study has shown that political influence in the National Council is high.

All interviewees, regardless of their affiliation, mentioned the political closeness of the National Council and the lack of transparency of its nomination process as one of the main problems hindering the transformation of MNB. For the first nomination process in 2006, a national forum was organized by the Press Institute,[47] which guaranteed a transparent procedure. Afterwards, 60% of the candidates that had been nominated by NGOs during the forum were appointed.[48] Hence, these first NC members were experts in their fields and in addition benefited from various training activities. Today, in contrast, it is said that almost all NC members, or at least 80% of them, are directly connected to the government or political parties and have previously worked in PR departments of political parties or were spokespersons of politicians.[49]

Moreover, there is no transparent nomination process and it remains "completely unclear how the members and the chair of the NC are elected and by whom."[50] Whilst activists from NGOs do not know what they have to do in order to be nominated, it is much easier for people that know a politician.[51] The affiliation of the current members, i.e., which NGO they represent, is dubious and in some cases the stated organizations do not even exist.[52] This raises concerns that politicians use arbitrary methods in order to get their own people into the NC, which in turn leads to NC members that are not professional and lack proper knowledge about the function and role of MNB as a public service broadcaster. As a result of this opaque nomination procedure, some NC members do not feel committed. That is why the attendance rate of the council's meetings is poor, which blocks decision-making processes within MNB's governing body and thus impedes actions and progress. The fact that shortly after the elections in 2012 many senior executives of MNB changed is a clear sign that the political affiliation rather than professional skills count.

According to the interviewees, MNB does not have proper newsroom guidelines or an ethics code. The only existing documents regarding rules are the following: the Law on Public Radio and Television, MNB's general statutes, the press codex of Mongolia as well as a document about election coverage.[53] The press codex, for instance, contains only very few paragraphs dealing with general things like the issue that journalists should act according to the law and that they should not be corrupt. The lack of guidelines leads to daily conflicts because young journalists often do not know what the rules are. This is directly connected to the next category, the qualification of MNB's personnel.

Capacity Building and Human Resources

Journalism education and training is of particular importance in the case of Mongolia, as the country is going through a process of democratization on the one hand, whilst on the other hand patterns and attitudes from the old Soviet system seem to prevail. This is true also for MNB. Numerous people have worked for the former state broadcaster for all their life and are used to the old structures and the old working habits.[54] Since they were educated and trained in the communist era, they are not familiar with the specific mandate of public service broadcasting. This is true not only for the older staff members, but also for younger journalists – as most journalism schools are still influenced by the Soviet system and its thinking. According to the interviewees, a lack of understanding of the general functions, and the role of public service media constitute – at all employment levels of the corporation – one of the biggest problems regarding its transformation process. Yet, this lack of knowledge and awareness does not only apply to MNB staff, but also to most parts of Mongolian society.

In addition, due to the problems mentioned above (e.g., arbitrary employment policies), numerous MNB staff were never trained in the field that they now work in, which as a result leads to a lack of professionalism and reduced journalistic quality. As a consequence, there is neither much intrinsic motivation for change, nor is there the awareness and the self-perception that change would be necessary.[55]

41 *Oyuntungalag Tsend, former MNB radio journalist.*
42 *Reports and draft programs provided by DW Akademie.*
43 *Ziyasheva 2007, 40.*
44 *Mendel 2010.*
45 *Narantsetseg Lonkhoo, Undraa Bat-Ochir and Tserenjav Demberel, in interviews.*
46 *Mendel 2010.*
47 *The forum was financially supported by Friedrich Ebert Foundation.*
48 *Munkhmandakh Myagmar, Executive Director of the Press Institute.*
49 *Ibid.; Oyuntungalag Tsend and Gantumur Damba, in interviews.*
50 *Tserenjav Demberel, Executive Director of the Transparency Foundation Mongolia.*
51 *Oyuntungalag Tsend, former MNB radio journalist.*
52 *Ibid.*
53 *Oyuntungalag Tsend, former MNB radio journalist.*
54 *Ibid.*
55 *Zanaa Jurmed, Munkhmandakh Myagmar and Oyuntungalag Tsend, in interviews.*

On the contrary, some MNB employees are convinced that they have to serve the president, no matter what.[56] However, it should be noted that there are also critical voices and well-educated people working for MNB.

Financing, Management, and Newsroom Structures

As mentioned earlier, MNB has three main sources of funding: direct government subsidies, license fees and advertising. According to MNB, out of its total budget, 51% is government funding ("national treasury"), 21% is revenues from license fees from Mongolian households, 26% comes from "programs produced by special request, collaborations etc." and 2% stems from advertising.[57] Information provided by the Press Institute reveals that out of MNB's annual budget generated through own revenues,[58] 46% is income from license fees and 43% comes from sponsored and paid-for programs as well as advertisement. 10% of the own revenue comes from the rent of premises and facilities and other small business activities.[59]

Both international experts and all national stakeholders interviewed for this study point out that funding remains one of the main problems that impede MNB's transformation. There are difficulties concerning all three major sources of funding:

First, as the numbers above show, MNB is heavily dependent on direct government subsidies. This is highly problematical in terms of the broadcaster's independence, adequacy and stability, particularly as MNB has to negotiate this grant from the government on an annual basis. This gives the government enormous power and enables it to manipulate and pressure MNB, which has to "beg"[60] politicians for money and basically depends on their current mood. Generally, as Mendel puts it: "Indeed, in most respects a direct government grant is the worst form of funding for a public broadcaster."[61]

Second, another reason for MNB's heavy dependence on state funding is the fact that Mongolia has a population of only about 2.8 million people, of which a high percentage is nomadic. So, even if all Mongolian households, including the nomads, paid license fees, it would not be sufficient.[62] On top of that, currently the license fees are very low. One option would be to increase the fees, though this is never popular – and even less in a country where the public is not generally aware of the role of public service broadcasting. Moreover, MNB faces problems with the collection of license fees. Especially in rural areas, MNB staff still knock on people's doors often without success, a system which is far from efficient. The larger part of the fees, however, is collected through electricity bills with the help of power companies, with which MNB has contracts. Undraa Bat-Ochir, Director of MNB's Department Strategy and Finance, laments that the broadcaster has to beg the companies to help collect the fees and thus becomes dependent on them: "The power providers want 20% of the collected amount for their performance, next year they maybe want 25% and so on, and we cannot do anything about it."[63]

And third, MNB does not get enough funding through advertising because the law only allows non-profit ads.[64] All monitoring studies conducted by the Press Institute found out, however, that MNB actually broadcasts commercial ads, although its total advertisement time does not reach 2%. The studies revealed that within the time limit allowed by law, 89% of all the ads broadcast are commercial.[65]

Another source of revenue that MNB is highly dependent on are sponsored and paid-for programs.[66] Often, these are actually hidden ads, which are – in principle – prohibited by law. According to the blogger Tserenjav Demberel, during prime time more than half of the programs are paid and commissioned.[67] The government and the parliament also use these programs for their purposes. Further, half of all news items in news programs are paid-for, generating a new genre, the so-called "business news." The programs do not talk about business, but are wholly financed by businesses.[68] Although in most cases the payment is made transparent at the beginning of the broadcast, these programs constitute a big problem, since they endanger both MNB's independence and its credibility.

Recently, MNB introduced a new salary system, which is based on the scheme for salaries of public officials. Before that, the middle level, i.e., the administration, received a fixed salary and journalists got a basic salary plus a bonus, depending on their performance and number of publications. Since this was considered unfair, the new system was established and now everyone gets a fixed amount.[69] Broadly speaking, journalists are poorly paid in Mongolia, which is true for commercial media as well as for MNB. According to an MNB journalist interviewed, the average wage of journalists lies between 450,000 and 500,000 Tugrik (approx. 190–215 Euros) per month;[70] only very few journalists earn one million Tugrik, i.e., 430 Euros monthly. Journalists who have been with MNB for more than ten years and occupy a leading position receive around 800,000 Tugrik (approx. 340 Euros).[71] Since very often journalists cannot live on their salary they depend on so-called gatekeeper contracts and thus support the system of paid-for programs. These gatekeeper contracts include deals between journalists and politicians or companies, which force the journalist to only report positively about them, negatively about their competitors, or both.

Still under consideration with MNB, although scantily planned at the time of writing, is that of a single newsroom for its television production. To date, there is no centralized desk that delivers news and current affairs stories for the news shows. Each department (culture, business, and so on) works within its own domain – with little cooperation. MNB's management has identified the organization of such central structures as a priority task, though with little to no measurable result so far.

By request of the Mongolian government and due to international developments, another restructuring project has been approached. MNB is planning to launch digital transmission starting as early as July 2014. To date, however, the broadcaster has developed neither a stringent policy, nor a realistic

plan that would ensure both a successful operational launch and financial sustainability. While the digitalization of MNB's programs is estimated to cost about 50 billion Tugrik (approx. 21.5 million Euros), the government is currently only willing to pay between 3 and 4 billion Tugrik (1.2–1.7 million Euros).[72] In addition, no upfront research has been done, which is why a lot of fundamentals remain unclear, such as the pricing of licenses for digital broadcasting as well as the distribution of digital equipment for households. Thus, if the analogue terrestrial broadcasting signals were to be switched off in the near future, nobody knows what would happen. Consequently, all stakeholders interviewed doubt that digitalization will be achieved within the scheduled time frame.[73]

Perception, Participation, and Public Engagement

As shown in the section on "stakeholders," there are mainly two national NGOs that both support and at the same time critically monitor MNB: the Press Institute and Globe International. Further, there is a demanding blogger, interviewee Tserenjav Demberel, who focuses solely on MNB and critically analyzes and comments on the public broadcaster's programming. The public at large, however, has not been much involved in MNB's transformation process. Something that is also true for many CSOs or NGOs. It has become apparent that most of them do not know much about media and even less about public service media.[74] Several interviewees argued that not just journalists, but also and especially the general public is not aware of the role and importance of public service broadcasting. The basic level of education is poor and neither in families nor in schools or universities are basic democratic values or the significance of human rights taught.[75] "People want to be loyal to political and economic actors, like bondsmen. The society thinks that the state is responsible for everything and, as long as they are not affected directly, people just do not care."[76] This is one of the reasons why, although MNB's problems are well known, there is no public pressure to counteract obvious errors and power abuses. The public indifference towards MNB is intensified by the fact that there are plenty of alternative media outlets available in Mongolia, at least in the capital Ulan Bator.

Overall, MNB continues to enjoy a good reputation among citizens. Its daily "Tsagiin Khurd" is not only the most viewed news program, but also – according to opinion polls – has the highest credibility ratings. In this regard, MNB still benefits from its decades-long tradition and the fact that for generations of older Mongolians it was the sole media outlet available.[77] The status of MNB in public opinion is also reflected in political actions: Apart from politicians trying to influence the broadcaster, as seen above, political meetings and press conferences often do not start as long as the MNB journalist is not present.[78] However, mainly due to the strength of competition from private channels, MNB's ratings are falling and especially young viewers perceive the broadcaster's programming as boring and old-fashioned.[79] However, this is actually a problem that numerous public service media are facing, including those in the highly-industrialized world. Maintaining its high ratings and credibility is among the biggest challenges that MNB will face in the future. On the other hand, it is a potential that should serve as motivation for continued efforts towards transformation.

Public Service: General Functions

The understanding of public service functions may very well help to establish a clear-cut understanding about the fields this transformation can and should progress. Therefore, the study will take a look at the general functions of public service media and establish in how far MNB is actually delivering these public goods.

Creating a Public Sphere

Creating a sphere for public debate and national dialogue is one such function that public service media should deliver. MNB in Mongolia provides a platform through which various

55 *Zanaa Jurmed, Munkhmandakh Myagmar and Oyuntungalag Tsend, in interviews.*
56 *Zanaa Jurmed, Director of the Centre for Citizens' Alliance.*
57 *Information provided by MNB (Solongo Erchitbaatar) via E-Mail on February 4, 2014.*
58 *According to the Press Institute, 55% of MNB's annual budget is generated through state subsidies and 45% through own revenues.*
59 *Information provided by the Press Institute via E-Mail on February 4, 2014.*
60 *Undraa Bat-Ochir, Director of MNB's Department Strategy and Finance.*
61 *Mendel 2010, 7.*
62 *Munkhmandakh Myagmar, Executive Director of the Press Institute.*
63 *Undraa Bat-Ochir, Director of MNB's Department Strategy and Finance.*
64 *The law allows 2% of the daily broadcasting time to be used for non-profit ads.*
65 *Information provided by the Press Institute via E-Mail on February 4, 2014.*
66 *Among others, also donor agencies such as the German GIZ place paid reports on air.*
67 *Tserenjav Demberel, Executive Director of the Transparency Foundation Mongolia.*
68 *Ibid.*
69 *Oyuntungalag Tsend, former MNB radio journalist.*
70 *Ibid.*
71 *Ibid.*
72 *Narantsetseg Lonkhoo, Head of Department Strategy and Planning, MNB.*
73 *Munkhmandakh Myagmar, Oyuntungalag Tsend and Narantsetseg Lonkhoo, in interviews.*
74 *Munkhmandakh Myagmar, Executive Director of the Press Institute.*
75 *Zanaa Jurmed, Director of the Centre for Citizens' Alliance.*
76 *Ibid.*
77 *Munkhmandakh Myagmar, Executive Director of the Press Institute.*
78 *Batzorig Tuvshintugs, Head of Center for Public Communication and Research, MNB.*
79 *All interviewees.*

actors within society (government and civil society, the political party in power and the opposition) are given a voice. Since the broadcaster still runs the most important news program, it definitely has the potential to set the agenda of public topics. Nonetheless, in particular in news and current affairs programs, the voices of the ruling party dominate because journalists interview predominantly government representatives. One would be unlikely to find harsh criticism of the ruling party and the government on MNB's programming, yet one could easily find critical stories on the behavior of politicians from the opposition parties. Societal problems are also criticized very cautiously within the MNB programming.

The wide range of topics represented in MNB's program schedule, however, is an asset when it comes to its function as facilitator and moderator of public debate. This program variety helps citizens to gain an overall understanding of their situation, even though some of these programs might be biased and not balanced.

Not surprisingly, within the Mongolian media environment, it is difficult to produce investigative stories due to the political pressure that journalists face. Moreover, there are legal obligations within the criminal law code that are frequently used to harass journalists (defamation is a criminal offense). The program of MNB is affected: Though sometimes there are good background stories, there are not enough and more in-depth investigations and critical stories are needed in order for MNB to be accountable to the public. Moreover, there are no special gender programs and the issue of women is not on MNB's agenda. Nor does the broadcaster have enough regional programs, i.e., stories from the countryside. Most reporting is strongly focused on the capital, rather than the rural areas. Though some topics are covered when, for example, the prime minister visits the regions, citizens of rural areas complain regularly about a lack of stories from their reality.

In essence, more in-depth investigations and critical stories are needed for MNB to be truly accountable to the public. Yet, on average, the quality of news is not very high – not only because of paid-for programs, but also due to a general lack of basic professional skills. For the audience, this means a lack of quality programming.

Supporting Integration

For the empowerment of the most vulnerable in society, MNB plays a highly important role. It is the broadcaster with the most extensive coverage throughout the country. Besides that, it is the only media outlet that has a special channel for minorities, namely MNB2. Since the Mongolian population is relatively homogenous, people regard MNB's program choice for minorities as more than sufficient.[80] Apart from broadcasting in the three main minority languages, MNB also provides programs for deaf people in sign language. Further, it offers special programs for children and families, as well as a popular FM radio station for young people, and educational and cultural programs that strengthen the cultural identity and support national traditions. Moreover, even critics admit that MNB's programming is more diverse and more professional than private TV.[81] However, there are too few regional programs that deal with the issues of the population outside of the capital. Therefore, their participation and voice is limited.

In general, MNB's programming puts a strong focus on the Mongolian culture and its traditions. The function is fulfilled through a wide range of programs that convey traditional and modern knowledge and cultural practices to the public. MNB's informational, cultural and entertainment programs provide reference for what is good or important. And in this sense, the broadcaster contributes to the creation and development of common values in society.

MNB distinguishes itself from commercial broadcasters through a high share of local content productions that promote traditional cultural values and the national identity. In particular in the field of education programming, MNB offers a wide variety of shows. But, as indicated earlier, the quality of the content is frequently questionable and programs for political education (promoting democratic values) are entirely missing.

Instead, entertainment is prominently featured: 10% of MNB's programming is entertainment shows and 27% movies and documentaries. However, here too, critics argue that the entertainment shows often lack quality. Moreover, MNB does not have a reputation as one of the innovators of the Mongolian media scene. Whilst MNB did establish the youth-oriented channel P3 FM, this radio and online product is only available to citizens in the capital. Generally, MNB is still perceived as traditionalist and rather old-fashioned.[82]

Achievements and Challenges

In 2014, MNB will be in the ninth year of its transformation process. And despite all the remaining challenges, the following statement holds true: MNB, which used to be the former mouthpiece of the Soviet system, has undergone a change process with significant achievements on its path of full restructuring.

The initial phase and the first years of the transformation process in particular are often evaluated positively: First, although there should be some amendments made to the Law on Public Radio and Television, especially with regard to the funding and the nomination process of the NC members, it generally provides a solid legal framework for MNB's functioning. Second, the support of SIDA led to a continuing improvement both of the professional skills of MNB radio staff and their understanding of a public service mandate. The decisive factor in the success of this support was the continuous and long-term (five years) collaboration, which was systematically planned and attuned to the everyday challenges. Further, the activities were very practical, which enabled the journalists to be "learning by doing." As a consequence, today "MNB radio is better organized, has its own values and is more professional."[83]

Moreover, due to the various training activities provided by different actors, MNB staff are constantly becoming more professional and are slowly beginning to understand their special mission. Third, the establishment of MNB2 guaranteed access of information for the country's minorities and further strengthened MNB's diversity. And fourth, through the national forum, which was organized for the first nomination process of the National Council, this process was monitored and made transparent. Together with training activities for the first NC members this ensured more political independence and thus professionalism of the NC, which in turn had a positive influence on the selection of MNB's executives and, hence, the broadcaster's overall functioning.

According to the stakeholders interviewed, however, there have been increasingly negative trends regarding MNB's transformation process in recent years. Some have even argued that currently there is no progress at all.[84] As indicated earlier, the issue of MNB's funding and the nomination of executives in its governing body entail numerous problems that have to be tackled. And despite gradual improvement of the journalistic quality, there is still a lack of professionalism at all levels within MNB, not only concerning basic journalistic skills, but also with respect to the understanding of a public service mandate. And, last but not least, opinion polls show that MNB's popularity amongst citizens is decreasing, not least because its programming is often perceived as old-fashioned.

Transformation Approaches

This assessment of achievements and challenges of MNB's transformation process can serve as a first step for future strategies and thus further improvements. The following steps are considered to be fruitful:

First of all, in order to further advance the public broadcaster's transition it is highly important to ensure – both legally and in practice – appropriate funding, which minimizes potential for political and economic influence. How could this be done? One consideration could be an increase in the amount of advertising that MNB is allowed to carry, as determined in the law – though indeed overall limits should still exist. An alternative could be to require private broadcasters to provide MNB with some portion of their advertising revenues, as a way of compensating MNB for not competing with them for advertising.[85] Another option would be to allocate MNB with a fixed percentage, up to a specified maximum, of either the national budget, or some other revenue source (like mobile phone charges or taxes on luxury items).[86] Consideration could also be given to increasing the license fees. Although this is never popular, they provide a relatively independent and stable source of funding. Finally, it should be ensured that power companies conclude appropriate agreements with MNB regarding the collection of the fees, without exploiting. These options should be evaluated by national and international experts and a decision then taken as to whether all or a combination of some measures are introduced and how. Smaller and less radical reforms should be realized soon: For example, in order to interrupt the complete dependence on the government, other players should be involved in setting the level of funding, guarantees against reductions in the funding could be introduced, and there could be a move to multi-year allocations.[87] Undoubtedly, even the smallest positive changes in this field would enhance the independence and professionalism MNB needs in order to be accountable to the public.

Secondly, regarding the appointment of NC members, the process determined in the Law is potentially a good one. The fact, that "civil society" is largely undefined, however, and that there are no clear regulations regarding the step-by-step course of the process have led to the highlighted problems. If nominations by civil society are involved, then these should be established and independent civil society groups, such as a council of human rights NGOs or federation of development groups: "Leaving this important matter to individual civil society groups is likely to lead to manipulation of the sort that has been witnessed in Mongolia."[88]

Another approach would be an open appointment process overseen by parliament, with an opportunity for the public to make representations, and the publication of a shortlist, again with an opportunity for public comment. Another option would be an appointment committee consisting of leading figures in society (not politicians), which makes nominations whilst parliament or these leading figures themselves, appoint members. In any case, if the process remains as it is foreseen now, it is very important to organize national forums in order to give NGOs the opportunity to name candidates and make the whole process more transparent. Financial support by donor organizations is needed for that.

Thirdly, in order to improve the skills and professionalism of MNB staff, further engagement will be needed. To begin with, each intervention should bear in mind that efforts to foster an understanding of general democratic values are still needed. Only through such support can awareness be raised for the significance of MNB's role as a public service broadcaster that

[80] *Munkhmandakh Myagmar, Executive Director of the Press Institute.*
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *All interviewees.*
[83] *Munkhmandakh Myagmar, Executive Director of the Press Institute.*
[84] *Oyuntungalag Tsend, Munkhmandakh Myagmar, Zanaa Jurmed and Tserenjav Demberel, in interviews. Of course, the MNB employees interviewed for this study emphasized the positive developments and success of the transformation process, while also reflecting on the remaining problems.*
[85] *Mendel 2010, 8.*
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] *Ibid., 7.*
[88] *Mendel 2010, 8.*

functions as a watchdog as well as an unbiased source of information. This fact, together with systematic and high-quality training opportunities, both external and also within MNB, would bring genuine improvements. On the other hand, well-educated employees would be able to modernize the broadcaster's programming – in terms of structure and with regard to individual programs and pieces.

Fourthly, all stakeholders interviewed for this study highlighted the great importance that the activities of international organizations have had – and still have – for MNB's transformation process. In overall terms, the past training interventions have resulted in an increased level of professionalism of individual employees at MNB, as well as a better understanding of the mandate of MNB as a public service broadcaster.[89] According to the interviewees, this is crucial because "even though the bosses might not have much understanding, it is important to train the journalists because they take their own decisions, share common values and professional attitudes."[90] The interviewees further asserted that despite the persisting problems, numerous MNB journalists have a certain level of professionalism. What remains to be done in particular is to engage in professional training with the management level. Therefore, interviewees noted that it is important that the training includes the executive level – and this is exactly where the support of international organizations is needed: "For local NGOs it is difficult to get managers on board because it is not prestigious to take part in local trainings. When the training is provided by international organizations, though, and the experts come from Deutsche Welle or the BBC, it looks a lot better for them to participate."[91]

Further, it was stressed that the continuity and the cohesion of this professional training is essential: There are frequent staff changes, be that in the journalism staff room or in management positions, such as the Board of Directors and the National Council. Consequently, the training should be repeated constantly. In general, long-term collaboration rather than ad hoc and isolated measures is necessary in order to make the cooperation more sustainable.

In summary, the investigation revealed that the following actions of both national and international organizations are needed in order to further support MNB's transformation process:

- Conducting ongoing research and analysis of the national context in order to ensure success of development cooperation.
- Improving the professional skills of journalists and management (including basic journalistic skills, understanding/awareness of the role and mandate of public service media, and self-perception).
- Developing an ethics code and clear editorial guidelines within MNB.
- Ensuring sufficient income for journalists in order to put an end to the system of gatekeeper contracts and paid-for programs and thus secure a higher quality of the journalistic content.
- Developing an active and self-sustaining training center inside MNB including a high-quality training program for young journalists.
- Increasing the professionalism of MNB's human resource development in order to ensure that employees are hired because of their skills and not because of personal affiliations.
- Developing an adequate strategy of organizational development which takes the establishment and professionalization of regional bureaus into account and makes MNB's operations more effective.
- Improving the transparency of the nomination and appointment process of the National Council (NC) and ensuring its independence.
- Develop a financing model for MNB that guarantees the broadcaster's sustainability and independence from political and economic influence.
- Improving the legal framework (changes of and amendments to the existing law, development of new laws in which the stated shortcomings are tackled).
- Supporting the process of programming reform with more innovative approaches as well as interactive programs, which give all parts of society the opportunity to raise their voices.
- Improving public communication of MNB in order to strengthen interaction with the public.
- Advocacy work aiming for more support from the side of the government in favor of public service broadcasting.

According to the interviewed stakeholders the following methods are most helpful:

- Practical methods that do not only talk about standards, but work with precise examples and allow for supervised "learning by doing" and direct feedback.
- Practical workshops and academic seminars.
- Mentoring and consulting through external experts working inside MNB for some time (helping to produce programs and supporting the administrative processes).
- Establishment of a forum for nominating members for the National Council.
- Training courses to familiarize stakeholders with international standards, new trends and technological advancements and support them in the implementation.
- Exchange of experiences.
- International study trips for NC members and MNB managers.
- Exchange programs for journalists to public service media abroad, so that they can gain hands-on experience.
- International study trips for administration employees and engineers.
- Overall: Systematic planning of activities and collaboration with a broad diversity of players: Media, national NGOs, politics, international actors, etc.

To conclude, apart from the existing challenges MNB already fulfills important public service broadcasting functions: It provides the Mongolian society with diverse programming of national coverage, which gives a voice to different parts of society. Despite the increasing competition from commercial rivals, it is still the broadcaster with the highest ratings and most credibility. This is the foundation that should be built on and that should serve as motivation for further advancement. All stakeholders interviewed for this study pointed out the great importance of the collaboration with international development organizations and foreign experts, who fuel and accelerate MNB's transformation process.

In Mongolia, where private TV and radio stations and the press are politically affiliated and mainly represent views of ruling elites, where the media market is extremely fragmented, where community radio stations and local media in the countryside are weak, there are no real alternatives to well-functioning public service media. The significant and highly valuable improvements achieved during MNB's transformation process so far, prove that the efforts made by the different actors were and will be worth it.

[89] *Batzorig Tuvshintugs, Munkhmandakh Myagmar and Oyuntungalag Tsend, in interviews.*

[90] *Munkhmandakh Myagmar, in interview.*

[91] *Ibid.*

Status of MNB

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Channels, distribution	**TV:** Two nationwide channels: main channel broadcasts 17–18 hours daily and second channel MNB2, broadcasts in minority languages 17 hours daily. **Radio:** Four channels, two nationwide: Main channel and second channel for minorities (nationwide), youth-oriented channel P3 FM (in capital and online only), and overseas station "Voice of Mongolia" for Mongolians living abroad and foreigners.	In 2011, establishment of second channel MNB2 for minorities. P3 FM has become a very popular station in Ulan Bator.
Legal framework	Law on Public Radio and Television, adopted in 2005, regulates MNB. The law is generally evaluated positively, controversial aspects are financing of MNB, advertising and nomination of National Council members. Further, Constitution of Mongolia and Law on Freedom of Media.	No amendments so far, but potential changes of the law are being discussed.
Public service remit	The Law on Public Radio and Television stipulates that MNB is a non-profit legal entity, which "serves only for public interests, holds responsibility before them, and carries out its operation under the public control."	–
Regulatory system/ governing body	The highest governing body of MNB is the National Council (NC), which consists of 15 members and appoints MNB's General Director. The law stipulates that individuals should be nominated by civil society/NGOs and appointed by the President (4), the Parliament (7) and government (4). Problems: Although the Law prohibits nominating politicians and other officials, in reality there is a political closeness of the NC and a lack of transparency of its nomination process.	While the first NC members were nominated and appointed transparently, the new ones were not. Today, it is assumed that at least 80% of the members are directly connected to the government.
Engagement of civil society	As stated above, the NC members should be nominated by civil society. However, there are problems with the nomination process of the NC.	–
Financing	MNB has three main sources of funding: Direct government subsidies (51%), license fees (21%) and advertising/sponsorship (2%/26%). Problems: First, MNB is heavily dependent on direct state subsidies, which have to be negotiated annually. Second, small Mongolian population, many nomads, and license fee with 50 Euro cents per month relatively low. Third, Law only allows 2% of the daily broadcasting time to be used for advertising. Commercial advertising is completely forbidden.	License fees are collected through cooperation with power companies. Many programs are paid-for programs.

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Use of mobile and internet communication/ modern technology/ challenges of digitalization	MNB originally planned digitalization by July 2014. However, there is a lack of policy – neither does a strategy or a realistic plan exist nor financial security. MNB has an online presence and broadcasts P3 FM for example also via internet.	–
Regional structures and reporting	There are only few correspondents in the countryside and not enough regional programs, strong focus on Ulan Bator. Regional topics are covered when politicians travel to the countryside. Citizens of rural areas complain about a lack of stories about their own issues.	–
Capacity building	A training center within MNB was established, but it is not very active. MNB staff has had various training opportunities through the cooperation with donor organizations (e.g., SIDA, DWA) as well as provided by the local NGO "Press Institute."	–
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	MNB does not have proper newsroom guidelines or an ethics code. The only existing documents regarding rules are the law, MNB's general statutes, and the press codex, which contains only very few paragraphs as well as a document about election coverage	–
Public perception and support for the media organization	Overall, MNB has a good reputation among citizens. Its daily "Tsagiin Khurd" is the news program with the highest ratings and opinion polls show that MNB enjoys the highest credibility. However, due to the high competition through private channels MNB's ratings are decreasing and especially young viewers perceive the broadcaster's programming as boring and old-fashioned.	–

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	Partially	MNB is the broadcaster with the most extensive coverage. Its programming is more diverse and professional than private TV channels. However, on average the quality of news is not very high – not only because of paid-for news items but also due to a general lack of basic professional skills. There should be more regional programs and less focus on Ulan Bator.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound bites, etc.	Yes	Though the voices of the ruling party dominate in the news, all political parties are given a voice. But journalists interview predominantly government representatives.
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	No	Criticism of opposition party only, no criticism of the ruling party and government.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	Partially	Problems in society are criticized very cautiously and quite generally.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	Yes	In general MNB offers a wide range of programs that try to enhance public debate on various issues.
Social/political orientation	Partially	MNB offers a wide range of programs that help citizens to get an overall understanding of the issue or situation, even though some of these programs are somewhat biased.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	No	Overall, in Mongolia investigative journalism is underdeveloped. MNB publishes only very few investigative stories. However, since the broadcaster runs the most important news program it definitely has the potential to set the agenda of public topics.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Participation, voice, empowerment	Partially	Both MNB television and MNB radio have a separate channel that broadcasts in minority languages. Further, there are programs for young audiences. However, there are too few regional programs that deal with the issues of the population outside of the capital. Therefore, their participation and voice is limited.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values and cultural cohesion	Yes	MNB's programming puts a strong focus on Mongolian culture and traditions. The function is fulfilled through a wide range of programs that convey traditional and modern knowledge and cultural practices to the public. MNB's informational, cultural and entertainment programs provide reference for what is good or important and in this sense the broadcaster contributes to creating/developing common values in society. MNB distinguishes itself from commercial broadcasters through a high share of domestic production content that promote traditional cultural values and the national identity.
Entertainment	Yes	MNB provides entertainment programs: 10% of MNB's programming are entertainment shows and 27% movies and documentaries. However, critics say the entertainment shows often lack quality.
Education	Partially	MNB provides various specific educational programs. But their quality is questionable and programs for political education are missing.
Innovation	No	MNB has no reputation as an innovator on the Mongolian media scene. While MNB started the youth-oriented channel P3 FM, this radio and online product is only available to citizens in the capital. Generally, MNB is still perceived as traditionalist and rather old-fashioned.

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) (2006–2010)	Focus on MNB radio: increasing management capacity, increasing news and current affairs capacity, development of a third radio channel focusing on the youth and a public service approach on the coverage of elections.	Around 50 different training activities: top-level seminars and workshops; classroom lecturing and workshops for journalists and technicians; on-the-job training; setting up practical routines and/or technical installations; practical hands-on consultation; study	700 MNB employees participated in SIDA's activities. SIDA's work led to significant improvements regarding the quality of MNB radio and professionalism of its journalists – both in terms of practical skills and knowledge and with regard to the understanding of the role and function of public service media. Establishment of popular P3 FM station.
Denmark's Development Cooperation (DANIDA) (1990s)	Among the first organizations active in the field. As part of the Free Press project, in 1995 the Press Institute was established and in 1996 the Free Press Printing house.	No information available.	Establishment of the Press Institute and the Free Press Printing house.
Internews (official representative since 2011)	Improvement of election coverage, strengthening of new media and investigative journalism	Television workshop about election coverage with focus on social media; workshop about investigative journalism and data visualization	The election coverage is mentioned as a positive example of MNB coverage.
UNESCO (UNESCO's Beijing office, active in the communist era already)	Focus on labor law and improving the working conditions for journalists; improving the situation of minorities	Establishment of community radios for minorities in ten isolated districts (sums); establishment of MNB2, MNB's second channel for minorities; comprehensive analysis of the media sector; courses on photojournalism and media for transparent governance; publication of a practical guide for journalists	Improved access of information and representation of minorities, support of MNB's public service remit.

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
DW Akademie (2011–ongoing)	Transformation of MNB, especially organizational development; establishment of a media council; development of a module of education and training for investigative reporting.	Planning workshop; workshop on the development of a strategic plan; workshop addressing the topic of communication and coordination; television training on election reporting; assessment and HR workshop; analysis workshop with the Board of Directors; workshop on the strategic plan; round table discussion with old and new members of the National Council; human resource workshop	Significant improvements regarding the transformation process of MNB, but remaining problems that need to be tackled (see text for details). Since the establishment of the media council and the development of the module for investigative reporting, just started at the beginning of 2014, no results and/or methods are available yet.
Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES)	Foundation of a journalists' trade union, the development of an independent media council (in cooperation with DWA) and journalistic training.	E.g., workshops on media self-regulation and independence of media councils.	–

N.B. All the information given in the tables above is based on the interviews, observations and document analysis made by the author of this chapter. The tables provide very rough summaries of what is being elaborated in the texts. Many of the issues mentioned here are, of course, subject to change.

Program Schedule MNB Main Channel

No.	Program Genre	%
1	News	13%
2	Documentary, movie, films	10%
3	Entertainment shows, quiz, sport competition	4%
4	Family, children edutainment programs	4%
5	Arts and culture	3%
6	Customs, tradition	2%
7	Social programs/interview, TV portrait, TV article, rural regional program	4%
8	Nature and science	2%
9	Programs produced by request, with payment	1%
10	Repeat	49%
11	Morning Show, "Window with lights on" Night Program	8%
12	Newly produced programs	0%
13	Religion	0%
	Total	**100%**

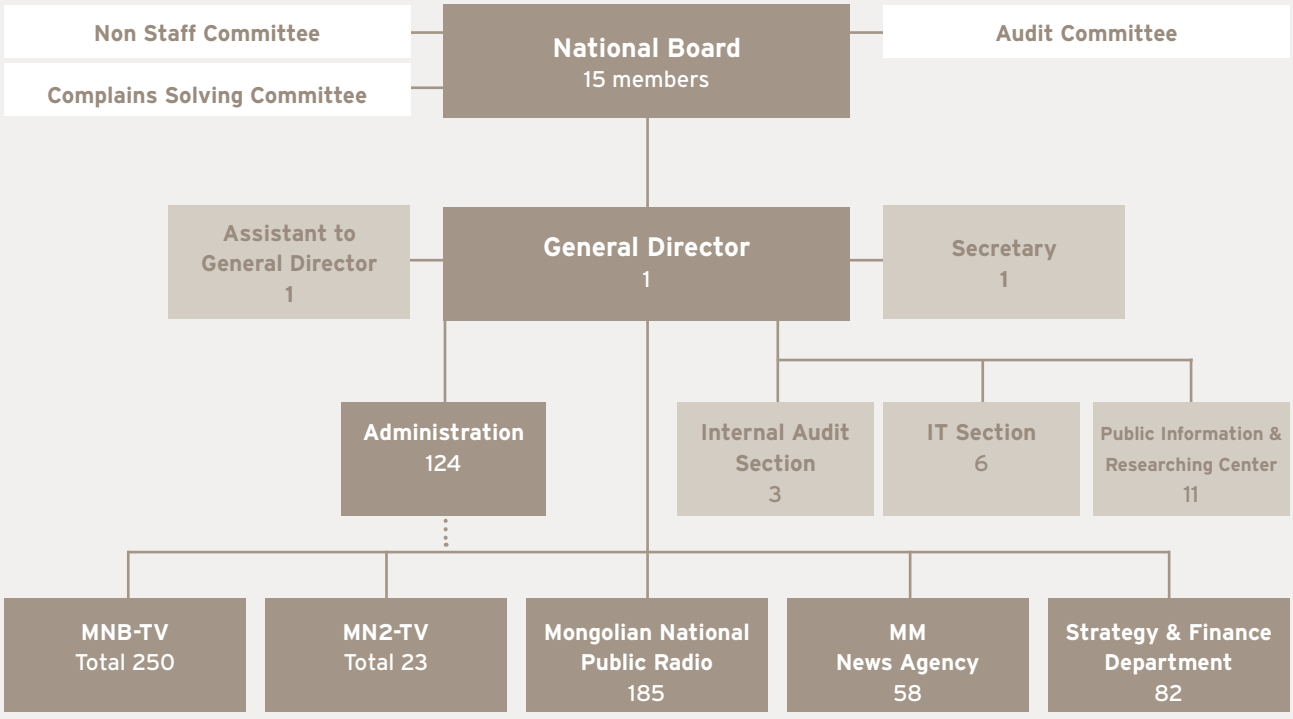
Source: MNB

Program Schedule MNB2

No.	Program Genre	%
1	News	10%
2	Science and edutainment programs, Documentary	13%
3	Movie, film	13%
4	Sport	10%
5	Children and education programs	2%
6	Family programs	6%
7	Arts and culture	5%
8	History, culture and customs	13%
9	Social and economic programs	6%
10	Health, well-being	6%
11	Nature, environment and regional	9%
12	Requested programs	2%
13	Programs for young audiences	5%
	Total	**100%**

Source: MNB

MNB Organizational Chart



Source: MNB

SIDA – Main Activities between 2006 and 2010

2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Public Service Seminar	Annual Evaluation seminar	Election training 2 January 2008	Study Visit Board & Top Level Management January 2009	Investigative reporting January 2010
LFA Planning Seminar April 2006	Audience Research 2 June 2007	Election Training Follow-up April 2008	News at Khurd 1 February 2009	Technical consultancy March 2010
Management Needs Survey May 2006	P3 installation September 2007	P3 Start April 2008	P3 Follow up April 2009	P3 Web April 2010
Basic Management June 2006	Basic Staff Skills 1&2, News & CA November 2007	Local reporting May 2008	Top Level Management & Strategic Action Planning May 2009	HR & Salary System April 2010
Audience research 1	Election training December 2007	Election Monitoring June 2008	News at Khurd 2 May 2009	Current Affairs at Khurd May 2010
Study Visit Swedish Elections September 2006	P3 Technical training December 2007	P3 support August 2008	Audience Research 3 August 2009	Minority Training October 2010
Needs Assessment October 2006		Election Evaluation September 2008	Training of Trainers + Setting up Training Organisation October 2009	P3 support October 2010
Study Visit Sweden December 2006		Annual Evaluation Seminar	Sound engineer training October 2009	HR/Salary system December 2010
			LFA planning seminar November 2009	Final Evaluation + support News & CA December 2010

Source: Tuvshintugs & Helgesson, 2010, p. 4.

Appendix

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07
Moldova: Slow but Successful Reform, Need for Visible Journalistic Quality

Erik Albrecht

Moldova: Slow but Successful Reform, Need for Visible Journalistic Quality

Teleradio-Moldova (TRM) has managed to fulfill some of its public service functions through institutional reform. After having served as a propaganda instrument of the ruling Communist party for years, the media outlet entered into a transformation process towards public service media when a pro-European coalition came to power in 2009. DW Akademie supported this process over many years. Since Moldova's media landscape is economically very weak and practically no media organization is making money, private media are not capable of fulfilling public service functions. This explains TRM's relatively strong position on the market. At the beginning of the reform process, the management opted to slow the speed of transformation in order to avoid conflict with the staff. Nevertheless, the content of its news and current affairs programs has become much more balanced and independent. With its new programs and talk shows, TRM is creating a public sphere open to debate. However, it still neglects its agenda-setting function. As to supporting integration, TRM has programs targeting various social groups. However, poor quality means the public's concerns are often not addressed adequately. The case of TRM shows that media development can assist in assuring some basic information services to the public – through processes of organizational reform.

Teleradio-Moldova (TRM) embarked upon the transformation process towards a public service broadcaster when a pro-European coalition came to power in 2009. Although the transformation progressed much more slowly than expected, TRM took significant steps towards fulfilling some of its public service media (PSM) functions. This study examines TRM's achievements and challenges in the course of the process. Furthermore, its role within society is put into perspective within Moldova's media landscape.

Moldova – A Brief Overview

The Republic of Moldova gained independence in 1991. Formerly known as the "fruit basket" of the Soviet Union, it is nowadays one of the economically poorest countries in Europe. The Republic has a population of 3.56 million people.[1,2] The biggest cities are the capital Chişinău with 650,000 inhabitants and Bălți in the north of the small country with roughly 150,000. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, 78,0 percent of the population speak Moldovan/Romanian as their native language, 8.3 percent Ukrainian, 5.9 percent Russian, 4.3 percent Gagauz, and 1.9 percent Bulgarian.[3]

After gaining independence, Moldova fought a bloody civil war with Transnistria, the separatist republic on the left bank of the Nistru river. Since August 1992, the Transnistrian-conflict has been considered a frozen one with a peacekeeping force under Russian leadership guaranteeing the status quo. The self-proclaimed "Pridnestrovian Moldovian Republic" is heavily dependent on Russian support, especially natural gas. Experts consider it to be a vital element in Moscow's attempt to wield control in the region. A peace process moderated by the OSCE has been without tangible results so far. Transnistria remains de facto a separate state that has not been recognized by any country in the world, including Russia.

The Republic of Moldova is divided into 32 districts, 3 municipalities and two territorial units, one of them being Transnistria, the other one the autonomous territorial unit of Gagauzia, a region with autonomy in culture, education and other aspects concerning local development, budget, taxation and social security. For Gagauzia, ties to Russia and the Russian language remain important. In February 2014, the autonomous region voted in a referendum for closer ties with Russia over EU integration. After the annexation of the Crimea by Russia, Transnistria officially appilied in Moscow to be integrated into the Russian Federation, as well.

Politically, Moldova is a unitary parliamentary democracy. In April 2009, the controversial results of the parliamentary elections granting victory to the ruling Communist Party sparked civil unrest in the capital Chişinău. In the end, the elections were repeated in July of the same year. Since then, a pro-European coalition has been governing the country in various constellations. Business and politics are tightly intertwined. More than once business interests affected the ruling coalition. The Republic of Moldova has signed an EU association agreement in summer 2014. An agreement on visa-free travel for Moldovan citizens to the counties of the Schengen agreement has been put into effect in spring of the same year.

Economically, Moldova is heavily dependent on agriculture. Wine and produce are the main export goods. In addition, the country exports textiles and machinery.[4] Most of the industry of the former Soviet Republic was built on the left (Transnistrian) bank of the Nistru river and is thus now lost to the Moldovan economy. Because of the dire economic situation, roughly one third of the Moldovan work force (an estimated one million people) is currently making a living as migrant workers in Europe, Russia, and other post-Soviet countries. Their annual remittances of $1 billion make up a substantial share of the Moldovan GDP.[5]

1 *Biroul Național de Statistică al Republicicii Moldova 2014a.*
2 *This data is valid only for Moldova proper, without Transnistria.*
3 *Biroul Național de Statistică al Republicicii Moldova 2014b.*
4 *CIA 2014.*
5 *Ibid.*

Media Landscape

In terms of language, Moldova's media landscape is as divided as the country as a whole. The media report in Romanian and in Russian. A lot of them even broadcast or print content produced in Romania or Russia. Media experts consider this to be "dangerous for Moldovan society"[6] as it hinders the media in fulfilling their two basic functions for society: creating a national public sphere and supporting social integration. According to experts, Russian-language media frequently assume a pro-Russian and Euro-critical stance while Romanian-language media often are more in line with pro-European politics. Major players in the TV market such as Prime TV (Russian) or Pro TV (Romanian) mainly rebroadcast channels from abroad. There is skepticism towards the accuracy of audience ratings in Moldova. However, according to existing data, Prime TV has a market share of 50 percent. Nevertheless, its newscasts are of very low quality. Entertainment content produced in Moldova has a hard time competing with foreign programs which are often of much higher quality, while informational programs are usually produced locally.

Television is the dominant media in Moldova. According to opinion polls,[7] 71 percent of Moldovans use TV as the primary source of information. For another 16 percent, it constitutes the second most important source. Newspapers play a minor role (2 percent/11 percent). In terms of TV channels, 60 percent of Moldovan viewers receive most of their information through Prime TV, 39 percent through Teleradio-Moldova's Moldova Unu which rates second.[8] Newspaper circulation figures are low; most national papers sell the largest share of copies in the capital. Media from Russia often have much higher circulation, and subsequently lower production costs as well as higher ad revenues. This distorts the market as a whole. Strong independent regional papers exist throughout the country, often with only a few thousand copies and very few journalists. Most of them are organized in the Asociația Presei Independente. Equally strong regional TV and radio broadcasters exist as well. There have been attempts at founding a national regional channel, run by an association of regional broadcasters.

For the association agreement with the EU, Moldova had to tailor its media legislation to the standards of the OSCE and the Council of Europe.

Moldova's TV market is highly concentrated, politicized and non-transparent. According to Ion Terguta, "it did not evolve from the audience's need for information to a developed TV broadcasting industry, but actually from the need for political influence on the masses to a controlled and profitable economic instrument."[9]

Most television channels are used as a means of propaganda by their owners. Ludmila Andronic, head of the Moldovan press council, deprecates the fact that their bias is so strong that critical viewers can guess the owner by analyzing the coverage of certain events.[10] The most important players on the market are Vladimir Plahotniuc (oligarch, media owner, sometime vice-head of the ruling democratic party and vice-head of Parliament) and Chiril Lucinschi (businessman, media owner, head of the media committee of Parliament).

In addition, Plahotniuc allegedly owns Casa Media, the biggest advertising company in the country. "Large operators in the advertising market continue to concentrate their resources to maintain a monopoly on the market," writes Terguta. Plahotniuc's Prime TV realizes 8 million of the 16 million-euro-strong Moldovan advertising market. Casa Media dominates the market of ad agencies with a share of 60 and 72 percent.[11] „The question of whether it is possible to do business in the media sector in Moldova is answered by the market itself. And the answer is negative," writes Terguta.[12] Even with reliable data in short supply, experts estimate that few media outlets make a profit.[13] While independent newspapers survive on grants, "commercial" TV channels fill the shortfall between ad revenues and production costs with their owners' "private" money which has the expected effect on their coverage.

All in all, Moldova's Broadcast Coordinating council (BCC) had issued 238 broadcast licences by 1st January 2014. 65 were licences for TV stations, 56 for radio stations and 112 to cable operators.[14] In 2012, there were 207 newspapers. Taking into consideration the fact that Moldova has a population of 3.6 million people, it becomes clear that there is very tough competition for audience shares, even if not all registered outlets are actually functioning. In addition, Moldova has some strong online media outlets, which are a very important source of information for the large migrant work force of the country. There are 1.3 million internet users in Moldova.[15] Annual advertising revenues are rather low with 16 million euros for TV, about 5 million euros for newspapers and 1.5 million euros for radio stations.[16] Altogether, the Moldovan economy is too weak to support independent journalism – at least in the present configuration of the media market.

Teleradio-Moldova (TRM)

In Soviet times, Instituția Publică Națională a Audiovizualului (IPNA) Compania "Teleradio-Moldova" (TRM) was the regional channel of Gosteleradio, the All-Union radio and television network. In 1990, it became the national broadcaster of the new Republic of Moldova. Initially, TRM was legally organized as a state company before it was turned into a "national public institute" in 2004.

However, gaining the legal status of a public broadcaster did not come with the freedom and independence that this should imply. Moreover, Vladimir Voronin's communist government (2001-2009) that initiated the reform never meant it to do so. Voronin's party turned TRM into a propaganda instrument with very limited access to airtime for the opposition. Pluralism of opinion was thus drastically diminished while government successes were overemphasized.[17] When the Voronin regime was toppled in 2009, the new pro-European gov-

ernment installed a different leadership at TRM as one of its first acts in office. The new management, in office as of February 2010, started a reform process with the declared aim of transforming TRM into a genuine public broadcaster serving the interest of the public. During the first five years of transformation, the company closed down its international channels in TV and radio and created a new multimedia news portal and a youth radio station.

Today, TRM has one TV channel, three radio stations, notably Radio Actualități (news) and Radio Tineret (youth) on-air, as well as Radio Muzical (music) online, and the multimedia department, producing and distributing content on www.trm.md and through social media. TRM mostly broadcasts in Romanian. There are TV programs for ethnic minorities in Russian (including a news show) and radio programs in Russian and other minority languages such as Ukrainian and Bulgarian. In addition, Gagauz Radio and Television (GRT), the public broadcaster of the autonomous territory, cooperates with TRM. Although GRT is associated with TRM it operates completely independently from it as part of the cultural autonomy of the Gagauz territory. Although Gagauz are a Turkic nation of Orthodox religion, only a few journalists speak and work in Gagauzian which is why the majority of the programming of GRT runs in Russian.

TRM has set itself clear objectives, as well as a clear vision, mission, and values stressing its public service remit.[18] The objectives include "fast, complete, and objective information of the citizens," "assuring the right to information on the base of pluralism of opinions, impartiality," "assuring access to information to all citizens," "presenting events, contributing to the formation of public opinion," "promotion of national values," as well as presentation of the socio-political reality of the Republic of Moldova. The production of programs for children and young people is mentioned explicitly.

TRM's vision is to promote the restructuralization process on a managerial, organizational, editorial, technological, and human resource level in order to be able to function in a competitive media environment with topically and artistically diverse formats, with the aim of improving the quality of content.[19]

TRM's mission states that the PSM is "to produce radio and TV programs for all segments and categories of the public." Its values include responsibility, credibility, editorial independence, political, and social pluralism.

Overall, TRM has the program structure a public broadcaster needs to fulfill its service functions. This applies to special programs for ethnic minorities as well as young audiences, but also to other shows for specific social groups such as rural populations, children, and families. It is the question of content which might decide to what extent it can live up to the needs of the audience.

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

Although the Moldovan media landscape is very small, it has a very vibrant media community with strong media NGOs and competent media experts. The community has taken an active role in the transformation process of Teleradio-Moldova with the most important actors being the Independent Journalism Centre (IJC) and the Electronic Press Association (APEL). Both Moldovan NGOs have received grants from foreign donors on a regular basis.[20] In 2010, Angela Sârbu was elected director of the television department of TRM by the Council of Observers. Before this, Sârbu had headed the IJC for ten years. Thus, civil society was directly involved in the transformation process from the very beginning. However, Sârbu resigned in 2012, declaring she lacked support from the rest of TRM's management for her reform strategy.[21]

The transformation of Teleradio-Moldova into a genuine public broadcaster has been supported by various international donor organizations: the Council of Europe funded the creation of the new multimedia department. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) financed a "Study on the restructuring options for the public Company Teleradio-Moldova" elaborated by the Business Consulting Institute[22] in cooperation and a consultant from the European Broadcasting Union EBU with NPI [National Public Institute] 'Teleradio-Moldova'" in August 2011 that serves the management as a basic guideline for the reform process.

Soros Foundation Moldova

The Soros Foundation Moldova supported the transformation process at TRM up until early 2014. Through a long-term partnership with APEL, it provided Teleradio-Moldova with assistance in producing a set of internal normative acts (regulations and other documents necessary for the implementation of reform). Furthermore APEL advised TRM's management on reforms to the company's salary system and monitored its programs in order to evaluate the progress made. It also monitored the manner in which TRM was managed in order to push forward reforms. All reports and monitoring are publicly accessible through APEL's website (www.apel.md). The Soros

6 *Perunov 2012.*
7 *Institutul de Politici Publice 2013, 24.*
8 *ibid.*
9 *Terguta 2012, 22-24.*
10 *Ludmila Andronic, Head of the Press Council of Moldova.*
11 *Terguta, 2012, 22-24.*
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Various interviews with media experts, see Annex.*
14 *CCA 2014.*
15 *CIA 2014.*
16 *IREX 2012, 210.*
17 *Study by APEL quoted in Moldova azi, March 13, 2009.*
18 *Teleradio-Moldova.*
19 *Ibid.*
20 *Such as Soros Foundation Moldova, European Commission, SIDA, Eastern Europe Foundation, and USAID.*
21 *Unimedia, March 23, 2012.*
22 *A Moldovan NGO offering consultancy services to private and public companies, financed by donors.*

Foundation Moldova ended its cooperation with TRM at the start of 2014 in order to focus on other fields that had not received as much support as TRM in the past years.

Furthermore, the Soros Foundation Moldova fostered cooperation between TRM and independent audio-visual producers. To this end, it organized round tables for TRM's management and the producers and issued a grant worth 30,060 US dollars (about 22,000 euros) for TRM to buy independent content – a step that was aimed at improving the quality and diversity of its programs.

Another Soros Foundation initiative was aimed at professionalizing the outlet's Council of Observers, in particular by funding a study trip to the Czech Republic in 2011.

DW Akademie

DW Akademie has been involved in the transformation process from the beginning. It assisted with institutional reform as well as with the improvement of TRM's journalistic products. On the institutional level, DW Akademie's activities were aimed at enabling the TRM management to steer the reform process and involve a larger part of the staff – at a minimum the middle management – in this. Together with TRM's executive level management, it drew a road map for organizational restructuring that was updated on a regular basis.

On a journalistic level, DW Akademie assisted in setting up TRM's new multimedia department – a project funded by the Council of Europe and implemented by DW Akademie. It also helped TRM create Radio Tineret, the newly-established youth station, and assisted with its programming. Professionalizing the news departments in radio and television was another part of DW Akademie's engagement with TRM. Furthermore, it trained reporters at radio and TV, for example staff working on the program "Baștina," a program specifically targeted at the rural population.

In addition to management consulting and journalistic training, DW Akademie assisted TRM with the development of a new approach to making news at TV Moldova 1. Consulting was provided in 2012 to introduce additional news casts, change the focus of single news programs, improve the news presentation and adopt a citizen-focused approach in reporting. The implementation is underway, the process is now planned to be finished by the end of September 2014. The refurbishment of its main television studio was meant as a visual signal that the content of its main news and current affairs shows has changed, as well as a way of making TRM more attractive to the Moldovan TV audiences.

There was no coordination of the support to TRM reform by any of the donors – with the exception of 2011, when the Council of Europe contracted DW Akademie on two occasions, to build the new Multimedia Department and to train local correspondents of Radio and TV, and the OSCE coordinated a conference branded "Re-Think TRM" in order to insure political and public support as well as donor money for the restructuring.

Status of the Media Organization

Legal Framework, Governance, Ethics

Teleradio-Moldova is legally speaking a public broadcaster, but its governance and financing structure render it prone to political influence.

The Moldovan constitution guarantees freedom of expression and speech as well as access to information as basic human rights. The pro-European government is firmly set on a political course of European integration. In the media sphere, this implies bringing legislation into line with the guidelines of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Convention on Human Rights. This is a condition for the EU association agreement Moldova is to sign in 2014.

A new law on freedom of expression was adopted in 2010, making it more difficult to sue journalists for libel in civil courts by introducing a state fee of three percent of the amount of the legal claim. According to assessments of the implementation of the law in practice, the newly introduced state fee discourages plaintiffs, as intended, from claiming millions of Moldovan lei (MDL) from journalists.[23] Generally speaking, media NGOs consider Moldovan press legislation to be "almost perfect" apart from aspects of transparency of ownership and media concentration.[24] However, there are problems with its implementation, mostly due to the lack of knowledge of the laws on the part of judges. Nevertheless, there are provisions that need to be amended, namely in the aforementioned field of ownership transparency in the media sector and in the audio-visual codex, Moldova's broadcasting law.

The latter is the basic piece of legislation for Teleradio-Moldova, defining the structure of governance of the public broadcaster. Adopted in 2006 under the communist government, the Broadcasting Code stipulates that TRM is a public company that is "to assure the right of information of all categories of citizens of the Republic of Moldova, including national minorities." It is to provide a public service "with an independent editorial board that offers program services to all layers of society on the whole territory of the Republic of Moldova." Furthermore, the Broadcasting Code defines the structure of the governing bodies of TRM: the Council of Observers, the president of TRM and the directors of radio broadcasting and of television. The highest governing body is the Council of Observers. It approves the company's statute and its annual task schedule, including the budget. Furthermore, it evaluates the company's performance. The Council of Observers is supposed to consist of nine members of civil society, selected as "persons of public life with professional qualifications in different domains."[25]

However, the current appointment procedure does not guarantee that the Council remains free of political influence. Its members are selected by Parliament from a field of 18 candidates who are nominated by the national Broadcasting Commission (CCA). Although formally independent, the CCA itself

has very strong party affiliations. Thus, the formation of the main governing body of TRM is prone to political influence on two levels, at the pre-selection by the CCA and at the selection by Parliament.

In 2013/14, six new members of the Council of Observers had to be appointed. The process illustrated very clearly to what extent the decision is a political one. The CCA presented 12 candidates to the parliamentary committee for media issues. Among them were acknowledged media experts such as Ion Bunduchi, former head of APEL, the independent Electronic Press Association that had assisted TRM in reforming the company from the outset. Also among the candidates was Petru Macovei, head of API, the Association of Independent Press. In April 2014, the parliamentary committee postponed its decision. The three ruling parties were unable to agree on how many members each of them was allowed to send into the Council of Observers. According to interviews with media experts, independent candidates were told that they did not stand a chance of being selected since they did not have any party affiliation. Only months before parliamentary elections in Moldova, scheduled for 30th November 2014, the parties of the governing coalition seemed set on strengthening their influence on TRM instead of rooting it firming in civil society. So the mechanism for selecting the supervisory body makes the broadcaster's independence subject to the good will of the country's political elite. According to Victoria Miron, head of the mass media program at the Soros Foundation Moldova, the outgoing Council of Observers acted very unprofessionally. Thus, it was not capable of supporting the management in the improvement of the quality of TRM.[26]

Constantin Marin has acted as president of TRM since February 2010. In personal conversation, he seems to be dedicated to transforming the company into a public broadcaster. However, many media experts in Moldova complain that reform processes are stretched out over too long a period. The Centre of Independent Journalism (IJC) in Chișinău writes in its 2013 report on media freedom that "the reforms launched in 2011 had stagnated."[27] In 2012, the independent media expert Eugenio Rîbca resigned as head of the Council of Observers because he was dissatisfied with the slow speed of reform at TRM. Ion Bunduchi, head of Radio Moldova Actualități and former director of APEL, stated in August 2013: "Reforms are proceeding very slowly. Nevertheless, the content of the programs changes."[28]

This is supported by studies monitoring TRM radio and television news which suggest that although the program shies away from assuming a strongly critical position towards the government, it provides pluralism of opinion on a regular basis. "While there are visible efforts by TRM to reflect all the views on the political spectrum, journalists are still cautious when covering controversial political topics."[29]

Critics inside and outside of Teleradio-Moldova agree that the company has a serious problem in its governance structures.[30] Although the directors of radio and television are publicly elected, they have very little leeway within their respective departments. Budget decisions are a prerogative of the president. Thus, the two directors have only very limited possibilities to act. This means that although they were elected by the Council of Observers for a certain program, they do not have the power to implement it. Furthermore, TRM lacks a middle management which could make independent decisions within its range of responsibility. Developing an organizational structure with clear responsibilities for each department was one goal of the reform process. This could have resulted in a system of checks and balances between the different levels of management. However, the suggested structural reforms were never fully implemented.

Furthermore, reforms were carried out very differently in the radio and the television department due to constant changes in leadership at TV Moldova 1. In 2010, Angela Sârbu was appointed director of television. Having previously worked as director of the media NGO Independent Journalism Center, she was dedicated to high speed reforms but faced strong resistance from within TRM. She resigned in February 2012, citing a lack of support as the reason for this step and leaving Moldova 1 in the hands of an interim director. "The leadership, instead of encouraging reform with a nice word at least, was mainly concerned about the comfort of those who opposed the reform for the sake of their convenient jobs," she said in an Interview with Jurnal de Chișinău.[31] At the same time, Sârbu was criticized for her leadership style and her expertise. Internally, her management style was controversial, leading to strong divisions between the employees in particular at the news department. In addition, her managerial decisions – for example, to completely abolish the network of local correspondents in the regions or to change the broadcasting time of the evening news cast in Russian language – have provoked dissatisfaction with external and international observers.[32]

A permanent successor was not found until 2013 with Mircea Surdu. Surdu has worked at TRM since 1985. The Media Sustainability Index qualified his election as the "return of the old guard,"[33] as Surdu looks back at a long career at Moldova 1. Other experts criticized that Surdu had not been the best candidate by any means.[34] According to one interviewee, Surdu only presented an agenda for the first two years of his five-year-term to the Council of Observers. Surdu is a journalist specialized in talk shows and documentaries. His long affilia-

[23] *Hanganu 2012.*
[24] *Interview in 2013*
[25] *Codul Audiovizualului al Republicii Moldova.*
[26] *Victoria Miron, Head of Mass-Media Program Soros Foundation Moldova.*
[27] *IJC 2013, 8.*
[28] *Interview with Bunduchi in August 2013.*
[29] *IREX 2013, 198 and 203.*
[30] *Interviews with various Moldovan media experts and TRM staff in August 2013.*
[31] *Quoted from IJC 2012.*
[32] *Filip Slavkovic, Country Manager, DW Akademie.*
[33] *IREX 2013.*
[34] *Interviews with media experts in August 2013.*

tion with Moldova 1 makes him a director very dedicated to the channel and therefore much interested in improving Moldova 1's programming. On the other hand, Moldovan media experts claim, he is opposed to drastic institutional reform that would involve laying off staff (most of whom he has worked with for almost 30 years). To DW Akademie Surdu stated several times to be urging laying off old staff and employing new young people but lacking administrative support.[35] In contrast, structural reforms could be implemented much more rigidly in the radio department, as Alexandru Dorogan served his whole five-year term as director of radio broadcasting, according to TRM management. DW Akademie project manager, Filip Slavkovic, states that Radio Moldova has changed the name of its flagship news program to Actualități and introduced youth radio Tineret, first just online and then on-air too (although only in about one third of the country, covering only about one fourth of the population, notably not the capital Chișinău, but the town of Bălți), and the online radio Muzical. According to Slavkovic, in Actualități, though, little changes in the program have been made (daily shifts have been partly introduced). New job positions (for example, producer) have been introduced on paper but not in practice. While older employees have retired, new reporters and editors have been employed, so that overall the number of staff remained the same – making a more efficient production not possible, since its costs remained high, Slavkovic criticizes.

TRM endorsed a code of ethics in 2007. The 59-page document covers all important aspects of journalistic ethics, from accuracy and impartiality to the question of how to cover election campaigns and how to deal with sources, the right to privacy of crime victims and methods for gathering information.[36] However, the code was adopted at a time when TRM acted as the government's most important propaganda tool, thus violating principles of impartiality and pluralism of opinion, stipulated in the code, on a regular basis. In 2013, the Council of Observers approved a new statute which states impartiality, editorial independence, and political pluralism among the company's mission goals, principles, and values.[37]

Capacity Building and Human Resources

Human resource management is probably the single most pressing problem of Teleradio-Moldova. The company's origins date back to Soviet times and the human resource policy of that time has survived the fall of the Soviet Union by more than 20 years. In April 2014, TRM employed 794 people to broadcast one TV program (347 employees) and three radio programs (268 employees). The multimedia department had 18 people on its payroll, general services 161.[38] At the beginning of the reform process, TRM employed a workforce of roughly 1000 people. A large part of TRM's employees started working for the company before 1991.

Most independent experts estimate that the broadcaster could do without a third to a half of its staff.[39, 40] A substantial number of them were not only trained in Soviet times, most them have also seen many presidents and directors coming and going as well as editorial policies changing. It is, therefore, a major challenge to motivate these employees to help transform the old (post-)Soviet radio and TV station into a genuine public broadcaster. Furthermore, it is obvious that not all employees of TRM have the commitment and the skills required for the task.

When the new management took over, it was decided to reduce the number of staff in order to free resources. The freed financial means were to be used to improve TRM's programming. However, the management claims that Moldovan labour laws make it almost impossible to lay off staff. Several media experts, interviewed for this study, think that this is a false pretence.

In 2010, TRM started to reform its salary system. According to Soviet tradition, journalists used to receive a rather low basic monthly salary. In addition, every single report made by a journalist would raise the employee's salary by a fixed amount. This system rewarded quantity instead of quality as it did not provide incentives for high quality output. Its reform was deemed to be crucial to the success of the reform process at TRM.

The Soros Foundation issued a grant in 2011 for an expert to work out a system to monitor the performance of TRM staff over the course of six months. The aim was to establish a constant monitoring mechanism to evaluate the quality of work. The supervision system would have shown clearly which members of staff were able to fulfill their tasks according to their job description and who was unable to cope. This system would have led to layoffs. With close monitoring of performance, workers' insufficiencies could have been documented. In addition, these records could have been used in eventual court cases to justify the layoffs.[41] However, TRM's management dismissed the proposed system, saying that they lacked the human resources to implement it.[42]

Instead, the TRM management decided to put a bonus system in place, in which a basic salary is combined with bonuses according to the performance of the staff. In the words of a TRM executive, the reform process has been "painful" but has made some progress – even if only very slow. This process was also delayed several times. The Electronic Press Association (APEL) received a grant from the Soros Foundation Moldova to monitor the process closely. Four years after the process started, only Radio Actualități and the TV department Știri și Dezbateri (News and Debates) had implemented the new salary system.[43] 40 percent of employees were working in line with the new bonus system by spring 2014.[44]

In its report, APEL states that the staff has a very critical view of the way this process has been handled so far. APEL points out that "the leadership of TRM did not sanction those responsible for exceeding the time-limits and the non-execution of the orders."[45] The report also finds that the methods of performance evaluation need to be simplified, and that the implementation of the new system was incomplete in the TV department. This illustrates yet again how crucial a function-

ing middle management would be for TRM, as all decisions depend on the directors of the departments.

In fact, says the Soros Foundation, the bonuses are rather small compared to the basic salary,[46] and do not provide incentives for high-quality reporting. According to Victoria Miron, TRM's flawed salary reform constitutes a missed opportunity to make its internal processes more effective. This, in turn, would have given more room for manoeuvre for the continuously underfunded company.[47] Miron argues that TRM's management was not willing to step into conflict with its staff in order to push through a stringent salary reform.[48]

The new payment system is "difficult given errors by management as well as the resistance of the employees," APEL criticizes in its report. Nonetheless, it considers the framework for the payment system "satisfactory for ensuring the continuation of reforms."[49]

In early 2014, none of the TRM top managers was satisfied with the reform and the president showed readiness to abandon it, if a new system could be adopted.[50]

With regard to capacity development, the situation at TRM is rather dire. The broadcaster still relies heavily on external training by foreign experts to enhance its employees' professionalism. In addition, it organizes training courses and seminars with heads of department or public figures as speakers. The installation of a training center is on the agenda of TRM's management.[51] The Independent Journalism Centre (IJC) states however that the plan for the training center could have been realized a long time ago. According to the NGO, the problem was that the TRM alleged it was not able to pay an employee to run the training center. All in all, TRM is throwing away a vital opportunity by failing to invest sufficiently in staff training.

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

Financing is crucial for a public broadcaster. It determines its editorial independence as well as the quality of its services rendered to the public. For TRM, financing has always been a difficult question. The audio-visual codex stipulates that the "Parliament guarantees that financing is secure and corresponds to the needs of the activities of the company."[52] In reality, TRM has always lacked sufficient funding. In the task schedule for 2014, it has been estimated that the company will need 139 million MDL (7.5 million euros). However, the company will receive only 82 million MDL (4.4 million euros) from the national budget. In addition, it expects to be able to earn another 15 percent of its budget (20 million MDL or 1.08 million euros) through other sources of income (advertising and sponsoring). This leaves 26 percent of its budget unfunded, meaning that TRM cannot fulfill certain tasks that are part of its responsibilities as a public broadcaster. The potential to generate revenue from advertising is limited. TRM names the small advertising market in Moldova and its monopoly structure as the main hurdles.[53] The fact that TRM's funding is assigned on an annual basis from the state budget makes the broadcaster prone to political influence in various regards. This may imply cuts to TRM's budget because the government deems other spheres more important than the financing of an independent public broadcaster. With various private TV stations in Moldova being owned by very influential politicians, it could also mean that TRM is hindered in its development in order to reduce its competitiveness. Finally, there is, of course, always the danger that the government asks for reporting to be weighted in its favor in return for sufficient funding. For 2014, the Ministry of Finance cut TRM's budget by 12 million MDL (0.64 million euros), the part of the budget that was intended for the (technological) development of the channel.

At present, the media experts interviewed for this study don't believe that political influence has been exerted through the financing of the company so far. However, all experts have stressed that the mode of TRM financing may pose a potential risk for the future.[54]

TRM can hardly compete with the private channels, as it has been notoriously underfinanced throughout its existence. A lot of its shows still exude the atmosphere of early post-Soviet television. Studios have not been modernized since the fall of the Soviet Union. In 2013, TRM started on a project to update its main television studio out of which Moldova 1's main news and current affairs programs are broadcast: the news, the morning show, and the most important talk-show format. By renovating the studio, the channel wanted to make these programs more attractive to the audience (after all, information is the core mandate of a public broadcaster). The new look of the shows was also meant to be a visible sign to the public that TRM is changing. However, the process was stalled for a long time as the Council of Observers refused to approve the

35 *Filip Slavkovic, Country Manager, DW Akademie.*
36 *Standardele profesionale şi principiile eticii jurnalistice in emisiunile IPNA Compania „Teleradio-Moldova." Regulament din 7.11.2007.*
37 *Statutul Instituţiei Publice Naţionale a Audiovizualului Compania „Teleradio-Moldova" (în redacţie nouă).*
38 *Constantin Marin, President of TRM.*
39 *IREX 2013.*
40 *Interview in Chişinău in August 2013.*
41 *Victoria Miron, Head of Mass-Media Program of the Soros Foundation Moldova.*
42 *Ibid.*
43 *APEL 2014.*
44 *Constantin Marin, President of TRM.*
45 *APEL 2014.*
46 *Victoria Miron, Head of Mass-Media Program of the Soros Foundation Moldova.*
47 *See 7.5.3.*
48 *Victoria Miron, Head of Mass-Media Program of the Soros Foundation Moldova.*
49 *ICJ 2012, 9.*
50 *Filip Slavkovic, Country Manager, DW Akademie.*
51 *Constantin Marin, President of TRM.*
52 *Codul Audiovizualului, Articolul 64 (1) Bugetul companiei.*
53 *Constantin Marin, President of TRM.*
54 *Various interviews conducted by the author in 2013 and 2014.*

budget for the studio refurbishment. As a further blow to the management's plans, the Ministry of Finance cut TRM's budget as mentioned above. After that, the management tried to find a cheaper solution for the studio as well as other sources of funding. In the end, the Polish government offered TRM a loan of approximately 120,000 euros. The Norwegian and the US embassy both granted roughly 65.000 euro. TRM's management considers the renovation of the studio as a core investment which should eventually increase the competitiveness of the program compared to rival commercial stations.

Generally speaking, insufficient funding impairs the company's ability to compete with other channels for the best journalists. To date, TRM pays substantially lower salaries than private channels in Moldova. This means that the best-qualified journalists will not want to work for public television or radio. This brain drain from public to commercial media is a vicious circle hard to break, given TRM's current very weak efforts at capacity development. In interviews, media experts quoted the Moldovan Minister of Finance as justifying this restrictive human resources policy by saying that unless TRM accelerates its reform process, improving the funding situation will only mean throwing more money into a black hole.[55] Substantial layoffs as advocated by experts would enhance efficiency, free financial resources, and offer the possibility to pay well-trained journalists competitive salaries.

In August 2011, TRM presented a "Study on the restructuring options for the public Company 'Teleradio-Moldova.'" This study was conducted by the Business Consulting Institute, a non-governmental organization that was created as a spin-off from a USAID project and is currently funded by the European Union. The study proposed three possible restructuring options for TRM's institutional reform. The "slow restructuring" scenario implied "an insignificant personnel reduction," alongside with "efficiency increase of costs and production processes." The "progressive restructuring" scenario included "an essential restructuring of the staff, and also of the production process." The "radical restructuring" scenario involved "deep, courageous and significant changes," including a new office building for TRM, modern technology and an integrated management concept.[56]

According to Constantin Marin, TRM opted for the slow model of restructuring with "elements of the progressive model." This decision was allegedly mainly motivated by TRM's financial situation.[57]

In the course of institutional reform, TRM adopted a new statute, overhauled the internal normative framework and applied a new organizational chart for the broadcaster as a whole, as well as sub charts for the radio, TV, and multimedia departments.[58] Furthermore, TRM's top management adopted a road map for change with the assistance of DW Akademie. Thereby, TRM defined its vision, mission, values, and principles as well as objectives for all levels of the organization.[59] It developed PSD's (products, services, and distribution channels), and defined its organizational structure and the workflows within it. Whilst the process of development of PSDs, after more than three years, has been completed at the time of writing for the radio and multimedia departments, this redefining exercise was not completed with the television unit.

Nadine Gogu, head of the IJC, is supportive of TRM's reform plan. She criticizes, however, that it is not being implemented.[60] According to her, Angela Sârbu resigned as director of Moldova 1 due to a lack of reform will in top-level management. Gogu argues that 2013 has only seen marginal progress happening: Notably, the optimization of the programming scheme and the broadcaster's Web page have improved.[61]

As far as TRM's management is concerned, "the majority of candidates (for the Council of Observers) pleaded for a modernization of the management of the institution," reports "Media-Azi" (Media today), a media news website edited by the IJC.[62] Media experts criticize mainly the distribution of responsibilities between TRM's president and the directors of radio and TV. In addition, as previously mentioned, the company lacks an efficient middle management.[63]

The relationship between the president of TRM and the last Council of Observers was characterized by repeated disputes. This meant the Council did not fulfill its function of supporting the management in governing the public broadcaster efficiently. Victoria Miron from Soros Moldova blames a blatant lack of professionalism of the members for at least part of the problem and fears that the next Council of Observers will have the same deficits.[64]

TRM has two newsrooms – one for radio and one for TV. In addition, the multimedia department takes news reports from radio and TV and adapts them for the internet. The radio and television newsrooms cooperate, partly also with the multimedia department, in setting their agenda. For the sports section, a joint service was created.

TRM has to go digital by July 2015, according to international agreements. Digitalization of the program was a priority in 2013. Nevertheless, as in many fields of reform, progress is slow. In the words of TRM president Marin, the process is advancing, albeit slowly. In April 2014, digital equipment was installed in the first of four television studios. Work on two furher studios has not even started, as TRM still lacks the funding for it. Marin points out that the video editing suites are already digital, but that they do not comply with the technical standards of digital television. This also seems to be the case with some other equipment, such as cameras. New cameras are now being purchased for the new studio which will host news and shows, since the majority of the few existing ones are outdated.

All in all, half of television and about 70 percent of radio are now digital.[65] The broadcaster has entered into negotiations with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a loan of 5 million euros that should help to digitalize the whole channel.[66] Digitalization could have represented a chance for substantial modernization of TRM equipment. However, it seems as if this chance is being missed.

Perception, Participation and Public Engagement

The "Study on the restructuring options for the public Company 'Teleradio-Moldova'" was presented to the public in 2011 in the presence of the prime minister. Thus, the goals and methods of the reforms were communicated to the public from the very beginning.

The transformation process of TRM has been closely monitored by civil society and in particular by the media community. Teleradio-Moldova makes a clear point of publishing relevant documents on its website. This includes important legislation such as the audio-visual codex, internal regulations like the bonus system, the principles, standards, and recommendations for TRM products or its code of ethics. Moreover, the agenda of the meetings of the Council of Observers as well as the task schedule are accessible to the public.[67]

Furthermore, civil society organizations have closely monitored the transformation process through various studies.[68] APEL has been particularly active in this. For its analysis of the implementation of the new bonus system, the organization was able to monitor the whole evaluation process with data from within the company thanks to the cooperation of the TRM management.

Thus, TRM's reform process is very open to the public with the broadcaster itself being the object of various news items in the course of recent years. Despite all criticism, TRM's management has offered deep insight into its structures to civil society. This must be used in the future to gain new momentum for the transformation process.

Public Service: General Functions

This chapter will evaluate Teleradio-Moldova with regard to its public service functions. TRM is part of Moldovan society and the country's media landscape. As a public service broadcaster, it acts within this framework and its constraints. This has to be taken into consideration for the assessment of TRM's public functions.

Creating a Public Sphere

According to the audio-visual codex, Moldova's broadcasting law, one of the tasks of Teleradio-Moldova is the "fostering of democratic debates, the exchange of opinions between different groups of the population, as well as the integration of all citizens into society." Its programs and the information it broadcasts are to be "pluralistic" and "impartial."[69]

Although there are no valid surveys, all media experts interviewed for this study agree that TRM's news and current affairs programs are nowadays much more balanced and independent than they used to be under the previous management. Miron from the Soros Foundation Moldova perceives a radical change. According to her, TRM's editorial policy fulfills the requirements of balance portraying pluralistic views and independence. The Media Sustainability Index report on Moldova states: "While there are visible efforts by TRM to reflect all the views on the political spectrum, journalists are still cautious when covering controversial political topics."[70] At the same time, the authors see a tendency that TRM's "editorial policy accommodates the politics of the government as it avoids reporting on certain topics less favourable to it."[71]

Political reporting in election campaigns changed fundamentally. In the past, TRM used to report almost only on the Communist party. In the 2011 election campaign, all parties participated in public debates on screen and were able to get airtime for their TV spots.

In parliamentary debates, TRM makes an effort to feature government politicians as well as MPs of the opposition. Since the Republic of Moldova is a parliamentary democracy, these debates are crucial to the country's political life. However, political decisions of the government are often presented without critical comment from the opposition. Generally speaking, criticism of political and societal actors is rare. TRM concentrates on its basic informational function instead.

Gogu objects that the opposition seldom appears on the public channels.[72] She reports that the opposition Communist party recently complained about this, but points out a contradiction in this since representatives of TRM have frequently declared that the opposition refused to participate in its programs when it was invited. This applies mostly to the two talk-show formats "Bună seara" (Good Evening) and "Moldova în Direct" (Moldova Direct) broadcast workdays on Moldova 1.

All in all, both programs do create a platform for public debate. They offer discussion between politicians, experts, and commentators and integrate questions from the studio audience as well as from viewers via telephone into the shows. Similar shows exist on radio. The topics discussed in these talk shows are relevant to society, say some media experts. Furthermore, TRM focuses on social as well as political topics.[73] Its private competitor PublikaTV, a 24h news channel, on the other hand, limits itself to solely politics. Gogu proposes that TRM should focus more on the daily problems of the Moldo-

55 *Interviews with Moldovan media experts in 2014.*
56 *BCI 2011.*
57 *Constantin Marin, President of TRM.*
58 *Ibid.*
59 *Teleradio-Moldova, see also 7.3.0.*
60 *Nadine Gogu, Head of IJC.*
61 *Ibid.*
62 *Media Azi, April 2, 2014.*
63 *Jochen Walter, Project Manager at DW Akademie.*
64 *Victoria Miron, Head of Mass-Media Program of the Soros Foundation Moldova.*
65 *Constantin Marin, President of TRM.*
66 *IJC 2013.*
67 *Teleradio-Moldova.*
68 *For the numerous studies conducted by APEL, see apel.md. IJC analyzes TRM's reform process annually, as in: IJC 2013.*
69 *Codul Audiovizualului. Articolul 51 (a,j).*
70 *IREX 2013, 203.*
71 *Ibid., 198.*
72 *Nadine Gogu, Head of IJC.*
73 *Victoria Miron, Head of Mass-Media program of the Soros Foundation Moldova.*

van citizens.[74] Social topics are often reported through statements of politicians and economists but rarely through the eyes of ordinary citizens.

Meanwhile however, TRM does not fulfill its agenda-setting function. Most experts criticize that the broadcaster mainly reacts to events instead of putting topics forward for public debate that are relevant to its audience. The broadcaster also lacks a department for investigative journalism. The audio-visual codex stipulates that TRM should strive to obtain a rate of 20 percent in terms of content bought from independent producers[75] – a regulation aimed at increasing the production of content in Moldova. In the past, TRM bought programs from a production company associated with the newspaper *Ziarul de Garda*, which is famous in Moldova for its investigative journalism. However, the cooperation was part of a project of the Soros Foundation Moldova and it remains to be seen whether this cooperation will continue.

Overall, the general quality of TRM's programs remains poor in comparison to those of its private competitors. However, since the start of the reform in 2011, some departments, such as the news section, have improved the quality of their output. Notwithstanding various deficits, their programs show a pluralism of views and offer a forum for public debate. Whilst TRM's news programs are still perceived as "boring" and "old-fashioned," the outlet nonetheless beats its competitors in terms of information value and balance.

Supporting Integration

Teleradio-Moldova has the task "to assure that all categories of citizens of (the) Republic of Moldova can exert the right to information, including minorities."[76] TRM takes this seriously, which can be illustrated by the following facts: The company broadcasts in the languages of all minorities on Radio Moldova, as well as in Russian and Gagauz (the latter through the regional Gagauz public broadcaster GRT, affiliated with TRM) on TV. Furthermore, it has a radio channel especially designed for young people (Radio Tineret) and there are plans to distribute special programs for children via podcast. TRM produces cultural and educational programs as well as shows for young audiences and children in Moldova, although the quality is not always satisfactory. Shows like "Baştina" (Native) and "La Noi în Sat" (With Us In The Village) focus on issues affecting rural populations. However, many of the minority programs are often criticized for their low quality, which is considered much worse than that of the general programming. Some media experts argue that this is due to the fact that these minority programs have not yet been affected by the reform process. Moldova 1 covers virtually the entire Moldovan territory, which is significantly more than its private competitors. Therefore it has a much stronger position among the rural population. In fact, its news show "Mesager" is the second most-viewed newscast in the country, according to polls by the Institute for Public Politics.[77]

The fostering of cultural expression and the strengthening of identity, values, and cultural cohesion are stipulated in TRM's statute. The media in Moldova, a small and poverty-stricken country, are very much dominated by foreign content, mostly from Russia or Romania. Media content and programs in both languages can be aired in Moldova without subtitling or dubbing. In the time of the Ukrainian conflict, Moldova ordered a stop of rebroadcasting of Russian TV channels due to hate speech. Increasing the rate of content produced locally is therefore vital for the country, a position held by many experts. TRM constantly monitors how much local content it produces. In the last year, it was able to add several hours to the overall annual amount. The aforementioned cooperation with independent producers is also part of an attempt to increase the original content broadcast on TRM. Media that broadcast mainly foreign content cannot function as a forum of public debate for a society. Locally-produced content – be it information or fiction – fosters inclusiveness and cohesion of society.

All criticism notwithstanding, most media experts interviewed for this study do not see an alternative to TRM. The commercial channels are interested in ratings and sales, and are therefore unlikely to make an effort to air programs that represent the interests of all categories of citizens.[78] In addition, TV channels are highly politicized in Moldova. Legal ownership remains non-transparent, even though it is obvious which major politicians use them as their instruments of propaganda.

Achievements and Challenges

In the years of reform, Teleradio-Moldova has changed, but not nearly as much as it could have. Today, it fulfils the functions of a public broadcaster to a much higher degree than it did under the previous management. However, huge opportunities to implement substantial change were missed.

TRM has a potentially very strong position on the Moldovan media market. It has the widest coverage across Moldovan territory, and numbers among its assets the most important news and current affairs channel in radio. Radio Actualităţi has undergone substantial organizational reform. With Radio Tineret, a youth-oriented radio station with modern programming that has been created from scratch, even if it lacks an FM frequency in the capital. In addition, TRM has established a new multimedia department that offers news and makes the broadcaster's TV and radio content available online. Its TV channel produces the second-most important news program in the country. In the course of reform, TRM closed its foreign channels Moldova International in TV and Radio in order to free up financial resources for other purposes. Thus, the channel strengthened its focus on its key audience as demanded by the statute.

Certain limitations notwithstanding, TRM does serve today as a platform for public debate. Its programs strive to support integration by broadcasting different shows for different soci-

etal groups. The outlet has also become much more pluralistic in its reporting. News on TRM's television and radio channels has become more balanced and impartial in the course of reform. In a media system in which the agenda of media outlets is often set by their owners, this is a vital achievement, crucial for Moldovan society.

Even with all its financial problems, TRM has the great advantage of not depending on advertising revenues in the poor economic climate of Moldova – as its competitors do. As all commercial channels depend heavily on financial support from their oligarchic owners, all experts agree on the fact that there is no alternative to TRM as the public broadcaster for Moldovan society.

However, the quality of TRM's products remains poor. The management was not able to raise the necessary resources in order to improve the overall appearance of its programs. Institutional reform has stalled in the course of the last few years. With its strategy of slow and gradual reform, the TRM management has not been able to create the organizational framework for quality journalism. Therefore, the organization does not have the position on the media market that a genuinely high-quality public broadcaster should have. It would have to invest much more in superior, showcase journalistic products in order to completely fulfill its role in creating a public sphere.

TRM's achievements in the course of the reform process are the following:

- TRM's radio department has undergone an organizational reform that enables it to fulfill its public service function to a greater extent.
- TRM has built up a new radio program for young audiences and a multimedia department.
- TRM's journalistic programs have become much more balanced and impartial.
- An institutional reform was started that reconfigured the organizational structure of the public company.
- TRM has begun to cooperate with independent producers in order to increase the diversity and the quality of its programming.

TRM's recurrent problems on the way towards public service broadcasting remain:

- The low quality of TRM's journalistic products prevents the broadcaster from improving its audience ratings.
- With the speed of institutional reform being as slow as it is, TRM is not able to improve its efficiency in order to increase the quality of its programs.
- Although TRM fulfills vital functions as a public broadcaster, its organizational structure remains vulnerable to political influence. This applies especially to its financing and the selection process for members of the Council of Observers.

Transformation Approaches

The case study shows that there are clear achievements in TRM's progress towards becoming a genuine public broadcaster. However, the media outlet needs further reform to tap its full potential. All in all, it seems that – although slowly moving in the right direction – TRM lacks the necessary resolve for a genuinely successful transformation. This applies to the management's will for fast change as well as to funding and outward support. Among national as well as international stakeholders in the transformation process, the following approaches are being discussed to give new momentum to the transformation process:

– A new broadcasting code is needed. APEL wrote a new draft that would solve some of the management issues at TRM, most notably the politicization and unprofessionalism of the Council of Observers and the strong concentration of power with the president of TRM. At the time of writing, the draft was pending in parliament. Further lobbying by Moldovan media NGOs and external pressure from the EU could help it pass parliament. The association agreement between Moldova and the European Union provides leverage for this. In addition, Moldova has to adopt a new system of financing the public service media organization (different suggestions have been made, one of them suggesting a combination of fees for the citizens and cable network operators as well as obligatory contributions by the private broadcasters while in return TRM would give up advertising).

– TRM needs to adopt a more decisive strategy to lay off employees in order to increase efficiency and free resources for the improvement of its content. This constitutes the broadcaster's only chance to increase its popularity with the public. To achieve success in this, external assistance is crucial. Management structures have to be decentralized. Heads of departments and subdivisions need to play a more active role in the reform process. They are vitally important in ensuring that layoffs do not destroy support for reform. With more managerial independence within its respective subdivisions, middle management can be made one of the motors of reform at TRM.

[74] *Nadine Gogu, Head of IJC.*
[75] *Codul Audiovizualului. Articolul 51 (2).*
[76] *Codul Audiovizualului. Articolul 51 (1) g.*
[77] *Institutul de Politici Publice 2013, 24.*
[78] *Nadine Gogu, Head of IJC.*

– The Council of Observers has to be professionalized. On the one hand, this means adopting a new broadcasting code that prevents members from being elected for political reasons (see above). On the other hand, elected members have to be prepared for the tasks that await them in the Council of Observers – be it with seminars or study trips to other European broadcasters. Only then can the Council fulfill its task of controlling and supporting the TRM management adequately.

– The quality of TRM's news and current affairs programs has to be improved, since they constitute the core competence and the central mandate of a public broadcaster. TRM has to strengthen its journalistic competence in key topics, such as the country's EU association process as well as questions relevant to national minorities. Given the current financial situation, TRM has to shift resources from entertainment programs towards information-oriented programs. This might also imply raising salaries or bonuses for journalists working on the programs in order to attract the best professionals available in Moldova. This way, institutional change could be combined with visible changes in TRM's content to strengthen public support (in terms of both ratings and civil society support) for the reform process. In addition, TRM has to work on structural reforms aimed at introducing citizen participation, for example through an ombudsperson, and through cooperation with other media, national and international.

– In addition, in order to make these flagship news and current affairs programs successful, TRM needs to adopt and implement a strategy of capacity development. This has to include a standard training curriculum for young journalists as well as a mechanism for systematic professional improvement for all its staff.[79] Should the media outlet express the genuine will to invest in systematic capacity building, it could attract the assistance of international donors as well as local media NGOs. The IJC has great experience in this sphere thanks to the School of Advanced Journalism Studies it has run in Chișinău since 2006. At the same time, TRM could invest in professionalizing young journalists by forming a partnership with the journalism faculties of various universities in Chișinău. This could help the broadcaster acquire motivated and well-trained young journalists. In addition, programs created by students of the faculties could enhance the diversity of TRM's content.

– TRM has to stick to the road map for the transformation process. Delays in the past have to be analyzed in order to find out which management structures have to be amended for more efficient reforms. A steering team for the change process has to take a more active role. At the same time, the Council of Observers has to be involved in all decisions of the transformation process from the beginning. This way, it will be able to support and monitor TRM's management much more efficiently.

[79] *Interview with DW Akademie Project Managers.*

Status of Teleradio-Moldova (TRM)

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Channels, distribution	**TV:** One nationwide channel Moldova Unu **Radio:** three channels: the news channel Radio Moldova Actualități, the youth channel Radio Moldova Tineret, and the music channel Radio Moldova Muzical. Radio Tineret does not have an FM frequency in the capital Chișinău. **Online:** News website made by a multimedia desk. The website also provides live streaming of all radio and TV programs of TRM.	TV Moldova International went on air in 2007, but was closed at the start of the reform process in order to free funds for the reform of programs aimed at the interior market. The same applies to Radio Moldova International.
Legal framework	The legal framework for TRM is set by the Broadcasting Code of the Republic of Moldova (BCC), adopted in 2006. It defines TRM as a public channel with an independent editorial policy. The law is generally evaluated positively, controversial are the financing of TRM and the political selection process for the controlling bodies of TRM.	No changes so far. Amendments to the broadcasting code are discussed in the respective parliamentary committee. Media NGOs have drafted alternative BCCs for further discussion.
Public service remit	The Broadcasting Code stipulates that TRM is a public company that is "to assure the right of information of all categories of citizens of the Republic of Moldova, including national minorities." It provides a public service with an independent editorial board that offers program services to all layers of society throughout the territory of the Republic of Moldova.	–
Regulatory system/ governing body	The highest governing body of TRM is the Council of Observers (CO) consisting of 9 members (persons of public life with professional qualifications in different domains). The CO approves the statute of TRM and the task schedule, supervises the management and appoints the president of TRM as well as the directors for radio and TV. **Problems:** The 9 members of the CO are selected by parliament out of 18 candidates proposed by the Broadcasting Council. Thus, party politics have a large influence on the CO.	–
Engagement of civil society	The members of the Council of Observers are meant to be part of civil society, however, due to the nomination process there is always the danger that political affiliations of the members of the CO will play a role in their election. Civil society actively monitored and accompanied the reform process.	–

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Financing	TRM is funded by the state budget, sponsoring, and advertisement. The BCC states the parliament is to guarantee secure funding according to the needs of TRM.	In 2013, however, the minister of finance cut additional funding that was meant for long-term development of TRM and had already been allocated by the company.
Use of mobile and internet communication/ modern technology/ challenges of digitalization	TRM'S website offers a mobile version as well as podcasts. It offers its content via facebook and twitter, too.	The creation of TRM web-appearance is part of the reform process.
Regional structures and reporting	They exist.	–
Capacity building	Employees are mainly trained by agents outside the company (mostly by donors). The installation of a training center within TRM is planned by the management.	–
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	Do exist and comply with international standards	Updated in the course of the reform process.
Public perception and support for the media organization	The reform process has been open to the scrutiny of civil society. Various media NGOs assumed a critical and constructive role in it.	–

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partiall /no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	Yes	Information is presented overall in a balanced and impartial way.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound bites, etc.	Partially	In parliamentary debates all parties are present in sound bites. However, government policies are explained without the critical voice of the opposition. The same applies to talk shows. TRM claims opposition politicians refuse to participate in its programs.
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	Partially	Criticism of political actors takes place without barriers in talk shows and in parliamentary debates. However, TRM rarely puts critical topics on the national agenda.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	Partially	See above.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	Yes	TRM's talk shows create a public sphere that fosters debate. They offer discussions between politicians, experts with questions from the audience.
Social/political orientation	Yes	TRM's talk shows pick up important social and political topics and offer orientation. The same applies to its news programs.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	No	TRM limits itself to its informative function. It does not set the agenda proactively, nor does it engage in investigative journalism.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Participation, voice, empowerment	Yes	TRM offers programs for minorities, young audiences, rural population, and families. Although the quality of some of these programs is rather poor, they still give a voice to those groups and empower them by giving information vital to them.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values, and cultural cohesion	Yes	A lot of Moldovan media content is produced either in Russia or in Romania. Therefore, TRM plays a vital role in strengthening cultural cohesion.
Entertainment	Partially	TRM does offer entertainment but its programs often cannot compete with its commercial competitors.
Education	Partially	TRM does have some educational programs. Furthermore, it plans to set up a podcast service for children's radio.
Innovation	No	TRM is not very innovative.

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/problems
DW Akademie (2010–2014)	Transformation of TRM, especially organizational reform; creation of a youth-based radio station and a multimedia department, reform of news departments in radio and TV.	Planning workshop, interviews with employees and management of different levels, training, consultancy.	Youth radio station and the multimedia department are functioning. Institutional reform has been started although the management chose a very slow speed for it. The news programs in radio and TV started to seek balance in their reports.
Soros Foundation Moldova	Transformation of TRM; institutional reform as well as professionalization of TRM journalists, consolidation of the company's news department, while not neglecting programs for children, youth, and ethnic minorities.	Assistance through its long-term partner APEL (Electronic Press Association) in producing a set of internal normative acts, including specifications for professional employee performance appraisal; monitoring of programs and departments; assisting with the creation of mechanisms to buy independent content; study trip for the Council of Observers.	News department improved its product significantly; the speed of institutional reform has been very slow; core regulations have been adopted; mechanisms for cooperation with independent producers established.

N.B. All the information given in the tables above is based on the interviews, observations and document analysis made by the author of this chapter. The tables provide very rough summaries of what is being elaborated in the texts. Many of the issues mentioned here are, of course, subject to change.

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08
Myanmar: New Media Freedom, New Transformation Challenges Radio and Television

Lina Hartwieg

Myanmar: New Media Freedom, New Transformation Challenges Radio and Television

In Myanmar, the transformation process of the state broadcaster MRTV was launched in late 2012. It is far too early to speak about real improvements in the quality of the broadcaster's programming. MRTV is still widely considered the mouthpiece of the government, a program filled with state propaganda. After decades of top-down control, trust in MRTV's programs is limited. Gaining the public's trust is one of MRTV's biggest obstacles to reform. The lack of basic journalism and technical skills as well as operational management skills is extensive. Small improvements, however, can be witnessed. MRTV launched the National Races Channel (NRC), a TV channel committed exclusively to ethnic minorities, broadcasting ethnic songs, news, documentaries, dances, and movies in eleven languages. Furthermore, the program broadcasting from parliament, featuring sound bites from different political parties, can be considered a first. The implementing and drafting of new media laws, most notably the Public Service Media Law, is essential for the right to freedom of expression. Even though the draft Public Service Media Law still has significant shortcomings, it would provide a legal framework for MRTV, which in itself would be a major achievement. In Myanmar in the coming years, media development organizations can prove the worth of supporting transformation towards PSM.

In September 2012, U Aung Kyi, the Union Minister of Information, announced at a conference on public service broadcasting his aim to transform Myanmar's state-owned media outlets into public service media. The objective of this chapter is to assess where Myanmar's state-owned media stand in this transformation process. The following analysis will primarily focus on the transformation of Myanmar Radio and Television (MRTV),[1] which is at the center of the transformation process. But it should be mentioned here that the government is also transforming state-owned newspapers as well. In order to effectively examine the role of the future public service media in Myanmar, the political and social context in which MRTV operates as well as the rapidly developing media landscape and various characteristics related to the structure and operation of MRTV are taken into consideration. Throughout this chapter the reader should, however, keep in mind that Myanmar Radio and Television (MRTV) has, at the time of writing, been operating less than two years under the new agenda. This analysis can therefore only provide an early snapshot of the status of the organization in a rapidly evolving environment.

Myanmar – A Brief Overview

Myanmar[2] was ruled for more than five decades by a military junta that isolated the country from the rest of the world. But in 2011 the situation changed fundamentally. The military regime was dissolved and a new quasi-civilian government led by President Thein Seine was inaugurated. Since then an inclusive top-down transformation process has paved the way for a series of significant political, economic, and social changes: Hundreds of political prisoners were released, including the leader of the National League for Democracy (NLD) Aung San Suu Kyi, who was kept under house arrest for years. Later, several NLD party members were elected as members of parliament, and new laws were drafted that provide greater space for freedom of expression and the right to freedom of assembly. Notably, better labor protection rights were also implemented and sanctions on international trade have been lifted.[3] In essence Myanmar changed in a way the world community could have not foreseen a couple of years earlier.

Nevertheless, the process is far from being complete and severe challenges to peace, democratization, and development remain present, also due to continuous problems with cronyism, environmental destruction, land-grabbing, and ethnic and religious conflicts. Despite the fact that it is a resource-rich country, it still suffers from political and economical mismanagement. Today, Myanmar is one of the region's least developed countries, with around one quarter of its population estimated to be living in poverty (below US$ 1.25 per day).[4] The development gap between urban and rural areas is particularly high, with rural poverty at 29.2 percent, sharply higher than urban poverty at 15.7 percent in 2010.[5] Increasing demonstrations against land-grabbing, working conditions and environmental destruction indicate that inequalities and social injustice, which have been suppressed for decades, are no longer being tolerated.[6]

A brief look at the ethnic and religious composition of the country seems particularly important, as few other Asian countries are ethnically as diverse as Myanmar. The approximately 57 million inhabitants belong to eight national ethnicities, which comprise 135 different ethnic groups.[7] The ethnic group of Bamar (or Burman) makes up about two-thirds of the population. Other ethnic groups are relatively small, amongst

1 *According to internal documents, the spelling would be "Myanma Radio and Television". Nevertheless, Myanmar Radio and Television is consistently used throughout this article as it is the most widespread spelling in articles, documents etc.*

2 *The official name of the country "Burma" was changed into "Myanmar" by the military government in 1989. "Myanmar" is used by the United Nations, therefore it will be used throughout this article. This is not meant as a political statement.*

3 *Effner 2013, 2.*

4 *The UNDP's Human Development Index ranks Myanmar 149th out of 187 nations. See UNDP 2013, 143.*

5 *UNCT in Myanmar 2011, 13.*

6 *Effner 2013, 4.*

7 *Estimations of Myanmar's population rank between 47-60 million people. The last official census was conducted in 1983. For details see Crisis Group 2014.*

them Shan, Kayin, Rakhine, Mon, Chin, Kachin, Kayah, and a few other small indigenous and foreign ethnic groups, each with distinct cultures and languages.[8] Over 100 living languages are listed in Myanmar.[9]

The Bamar dominance has been one major source of substantial ethnic tensions. Ethnicities have repeatedly fought for greater equality as well as political influence and cultural autonomy. Even though the authorities have signed ceasefire agreements with the majority of the armed ethnic groups the longstanding history of ethnic conflicts has not yet been overcome.[10] The picture is complicated by the fact that ethnic identities are tightly bound to religious beliefs: over 80 percent of Myanmar's populations, particularly Bamar citizens, are Buddhists. The other 20 percent are Muslim, Christian, Hindu or Animist.[11] It would be an oversimplification to define Myanmar's conflicts as religious per se, but they increasingly do follow religious lines as ethnicity and religion are often closely intertwined.

One severe inter-communal conflict between Burmese Buddhists and the Rohingya population, which are largely Muslims, erupted mainly in the Rakhine State in 2012. The publication of a picture of a Buddhist woman, who had been allegedly raped and murdered by Muslims, provoked violent riots in the Rakhine State as well as religious and ethnic violence in other areas – Miektila, Lashio and Sagaing Region. Such a publication was unheard of in the country. Before the transformation process, mainly state media reported on communal violence, "which did not allow the same scope and spread of information as the current online and legacy media space."[12] The Rohingya conflict is long-standing but various international experts raise awareness about the opening of the information space and the lack of capacity to deal with this newly won freedom.[13]

Against this backdrop, it is crucially important that Myanmar develops a pluralistic, tolerant and well-informed society. Media play a key role as the availability and accessibility of information is central in this process. The process, however, is by no means a linear one.

Media Landscape

For over fifty years, Myanmar's media landscape had been suppressed by an omnipresent censorship system. Media laws prevented journalists and media organizations from publishing freely. It was only in late 2012 that the announcement of a series of upcoming media regulation and licensing reforms led to an ease of governmental control that gave independent media organizations the opportunity to become part of Myanmar's rapidly developing media landscape. Undoubtedly, the world is witnessing a radical change in the entire media sector, which has affected private as well as state-owned media.

The print sector is best characterized by its diversity and its fast pace of development. A growing number of weekly newspapers[14] and magazines are available. According to official government reports, 385 journals and 260 magazines were offered in July 2013, with about 90 percent operating in Yangon.[15] For the first time in fifty years, private daily newspapers were allowed to publish as of 1st April 2013. For Myanmar a revolutionary development, as this used to be an exclusive domain for state media. There are some ten private[16] and six state-owned newspapers published on a daily basis.[17] The three daily nationwide newspapers – New Light of Myanmar (English Edition), Myanmar Alin, Kyehmon (The Mirror) – are operated and run by the Ministry of Information (MoI) and shall be transformed into public service media.[18] Despite the lasting absence of private daily newspapers, the print sector is considered to be the opinion leader of the ongoing media reform process, discussing, analyzing, and criticizing political actions.[19] The end of the prepublication censorship in 2012 and the lifting of the prohibition of certain topics further strengthened the print media in their new role. Nevertheless, notably self-censorship is a common practice amongst journalists, especially when it comes to sensitive topics such as ethnic conflicts, land-grabbing, the military or corruption.[20]

Yet, due to high levels of poverty and illiteracy, as well as poor infrastructure and distribution networks, the reach of the print sector is particularly limited to the cities, especially Yangon and Mandalay and local-language print media are scant as the ban to publish in ethnic languages was only lifted in late 2012.[21] Therefore, broadcast media, especially radio (62%), remains the primary source of information and news, followed by TV (45%) and print (15%) (as of 2011/2012).[22] It should be noted, however, that there are striking differences in media usage between people living in cities and those living in rural areas where two-thirds of the population lives. To give just one example, while 67 percent of the urban population uses TV to listen to news at least once a week, this number stands at 35 percent in small towns and rural areas.[23]

While print media are experiencing a new dimension of freedom, the situation in the broadcasting sector is quite different as it is still primarily controlled by the state and far less freedom has been granted to it.[24] "I think the government still likes to control the broadcast media because they understand well the impact of broadcast media,"[25] said the director of an online broadcaster in an interview conducted by BBC Media Action. Currently, it comprises the state-run Myanmar Radio and Television (MRTV), the army-run Myawaddy and a handful of TV broadcasters, which are predominantly joint ventures between the state and private sector.[26] In addition to the three existing nationwide AM radio programs, run by the government, few FM licenses to private companies to cover one or more of Myanmar's eight regions had been granted at the end of the last decade.[27] But similar to the print market, radio coverage is concentrated on and produced in central areas. Against this backdrop, community based broadcasters producing and disseminating local news and information in ethnic languages seems particularly important. Currently there appears to be no legal community broadcaster in Myanmar due to the absence

of an official regulation, explicitly the Broadcasting Law.[28] In terms of access to information, particularly in the rural areas of Myanmar, state-owned broadcasting is and most likely will remain the largest provider of nationwide coverage.

This stands in contrast to the fact that the broadcasting sector is mainly focused on entertainment, infotainment and edutainment. Producing their own news instead of rebroadcasting state media-produced news, is so far not on top of the agenda of most private broadcasting organizations.[29] But some changes are being reported, e.g., Mandalay FM increased "their civil society programming" allowing the youth to address issues that concern them, notes BBC Media Action.[30]

In complete contrast is the performance of several formerly exile media organizations, which have been among the few sources of reliable and critical information for a long time. Organizations such as Democratic Voice of Burma, Mizzima Media or Irrawaddy have recently returned to Myanmar, producing in-depth background news coverage for their radio and TV as well as for their print and online programs.

Even though internet and mobile penetration are still in their infancy, social media and in particular Facebook have become very popular in Myanmar, especially in urban areas.[31] It is estimated that roughly one percent of Myanmar's population has a Facebook account, meaning that almost the entire internet-using population is on Facebook.[32] Facebook is also the most popular social network among politicians, using the platform to disseminate information, like Y Htut, the Deputy Minister of Information of Myanmar. Freedom House (FH) names Facebook "the sole source of online news."[33] Taking into account the fact that even though the accessibility of governmental information has improved, the information given out by public authorities still seems to be inconsistent and imbalanced, interviewees welcomed Facebook as an additional information platform.[34] Alongside potentials like openly sharing and discussing news and information, there are also negative aspects: Facebook and other social networks are also being used as a public relations tool – spreading selective information instead of answering journalistic inquiries. Observers point out that Facebook is also being used to spread hate speech among different ethnic groups, particularly between Buddhist and Rohingya Muslims.[35]

To sum up, a space has opened up for people to exercise their right to freedom of expression. This relates in particular to the development of a greater press freedom, which constitutes one of the cornerstones of a democracy.[36] In 2014, the Press Freedom Index of Reporters without Borders ranks Myanmar 145th out of 180 countries.[37] However, Tomás Ojea Quintana, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, highlights, "that there is a long way to go before Myanmar has a free, uncensored and unhindered press."[38] Nonetheless, the world community is observing Myanmar's transformation with great interest, waiting to see if the country will become Southeast Asia's benchmark for freedom of information.

Myanmar Radio and Television (MRTV)

To date, Radio Myanmar and Television Myanma (MRTV) are still entirely governed by the Ministry of Information (MoI). Founded in 1946, the MoI is the regulator for the entire media industry in Myanmar and consists of two departments: MRTV and the Information and Public Relation Department and has three further organizations under its supervision: Myanmar Motion Picture Enterprise, Printing and Publishing Enterprise, and News and Periodicals Enterprise. The state-run Myanmar News Agency (MNA), which was founded in 1963, is under the News and Periodical Enterprise. It functions as the main source of information as it is still the only news agency with access to government meetings authorized to cover the visits of senior government officials. The MoI has, however, granted four international news agencies official permission to open news bureaus in Myanmar, according to media reports.[39]

MRTV's television service was first introduced in 1979 and was formally launched in 1980. Today it operates two nationwide television channels, Myanmar Television (MRTV) and the newly launched National Races Channel (NRC) (2013). Myanmar Television is the main TV channel of MRTV with a limited set of predominantly traditional programs in Burmese language. An external program evaluation is currently not available. But according to MRTV, the programming is divided into 40 percent of information, which would mean an increase of 20 percent, 25 percent education and 35 percent entertainment. The program modification was scheduled to start in April 2013.[40] The main news bulletin is at 8 p.m.

8 *CIA 2014.*
9 *Lewis, Simons & Fennig (eds.) 2014.*
10 *HRW 2014, 4.*
11 *CIA 2014.*
12 *Dolan & Gray 2013, 12.*
13 *Ibid., 11-12.*
14 *Weekly newspapers are also commonly called journals in Myanmar.*
15 *According to data provided by the Copyright & Registration Division, Ministry of Information.*
16 *As of July 2013, authorities approved 25 dailies, but only a handful is available for purchase one year later. See: Kalansooriya April 11, 2014.*
17 *IMS 2012, 16.*
18 *Lwin, Min, November 9, 2012.*
19 *BBC Media Action 2013a, 11.*
20 *BBC Media Action 2013a, 12.*
21 *Patrick Benning, Country Manager of DW Akademie.*
22 *Broadcasting Board of Governors & Gallup 2012, 22.*
23 *Ibid., 23.*
24 *Lwin, Sandar, October 10, 2014.*
25 *BBC Media Action 2013a, 10.*
26 *Foster 2013, 11-14.*
27 *IMS 2012, 17.*
28 *Foster 2013, 6.*
29 *U Khin Maung Htay, Director and Co-Founder of Forever Group (FG).*
30 *BBC Media Action 2013a, 16.*
31 *According to the Worldbank, only 1.1 percent of the population is using the internet, but people increasingly access online information on mobile devices.*
32 *Fui, Chen Shaua, Sept. 11, 2013.*
33 *Freedom House 2013, 10.*
34 *U Khin Maung Htay, Director and Co-Founder of Forever Group (FG).*
35 *Freedom House 2013, 11.*
36 *Quintana 2014, 6.*
37 *Reporters Without Borders 2014.*
38 *Quintana 2014, 6.*
39 *Horrocks, December 2, 2013.*
40 *According to information provided by U Tint Swe in 2013.*

The newly launched NRC, broadcast from Tatkone, consists of several programs, such as music, dance, news, documentary, and movies, in 11 ethnic languages, running from 6 a.m. to 12 noon, before the program repeats itself for the rest of the day. Currently, programs in Kachin, Kayah, Mon, Rahkine, Shan, and Wa are 60 minutes long, while the five remaining languages are 30 minutes each. According to U Myint Aung, Director of the National Races Channel, there are 166 people working for NRC, with up to 13 employees for each ethnic program.[41]

Additionally, MRTV holds shares in MRTV-4 and Myanmar International TV and provides the technical platform for Myawaddy TV, produced and controlled by the military and the Farmer Channel, primarily run by the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation. The latter was launched in September 2013 on MRTV in order to disseminate agricultural knowledge and skills to farmers across the country. MRTV-4 started airing in 2004 as a joint venture with the Forever Group and is now a 24-hour free-to-air channel. The channel broadcasts in Burmese, carrying entertainment and infotainment programs, which are mainly produced by the Forever Group. In cooperation with Shwe Than Lwin Group, MRTV broadcasts Myanmar International TV, a 24-hour English-language program directed towards an international audience and the diaspora.

Myanmar National Radio Service, formerly known as Burma Broadcasting Service, went on air in February 1946 and currently consists of three channels: the government-owned Myanmar Radio and two further channels for ethnic minority programs. The main radio channel, Radio Myanmar, broadcasts a traditional program schedule. From April 2013 onwards, the number of hours of information programs during prime time has been doubled from 30 to 60 percent.[42] Almost the entire program is pre-recorded, except news. MRTV also produces some 15 ethnic language programs for the minority program channels. Similar to the TV cooperation, Myanmar National Radio Service has joint ventures with several private FM stations, but is not contributing to their program. While some observers find that "Myanmar Radio seems to have lost virtually all its appeal and listeners,"[43] media researchers still come to the conclusion that 44 percent of the population listen to Myanmar Radio at least once a week, which means that it still has the highest rating among the radio channels in Myanmar.[44] However, at this point one should bear in mind that access and usage of information in rural areas is primarily subject to availability.

In 2012, Myanmar Radio and Television had approximately 3,000 staff positions but one third are currently vacant.[45] MRTV's enormous difficulties to recruit and retain staff are partly linked to the special characteristics and constraints of the relocation. In 2007/2008, MRTV moved its headquarters entirely to Tatkone, a remote area of the country outside the capital Naypyidaw. As will be discussed later in more detail, the location may hinder MRTV's transformation process not only in terms of retaining and recruiting personnel but fulfilling public service functions as well.

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

Many countries are responding favorably to the opening up of Myanmar and the government's commitment to reform of its media sector. This is attested to by a significant increase in the amount of development assistance. In 2012 and 2013, the European Union (EU) spent over 200 million Euros on development assistance, and is planning to increase its further assistance substantially by up to 90 million Euros per year (2014–2020).[46] Along with other countries, Germany has re-established its bilateral development cooperation with Myanmar in 2012 and committed 46.8 million Euros.[47]

The enhancement of official development assistance is just one indicator out of many that the international interests in Myanmar, including in the media sector, increased significantly. In 2012, a Media Conference was held in Yangon, which constituted a forum for government representatives as well as international and local media organizations and initiatives to exchange and discuss current media developments.[48] As for the transformation of MRTV the broadcaster works with international media organizations as well as former exile media. The most important ones will be briefly introduced below, starting with former exile media.

Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) and Mizzima Media

Several exile media organizations have returned to Myanmar, which can be interpreted as a positive sign for Myanmar's reporting landscape. For many years, exile media have been committed to the task of criticizing and questioning the ruling party, a function local media from within the system could not fulfill. Nevertheless – or perhaps exactly for that reason – the government requested that the former exile media (DVB and Mizzima Media) assist in the training process of MRTV's personnel early in the transformation process. The organizations held short-term journalistic training sessions focussing on basic news writing and basic video production. Moving from a critical opponent to a cooperation partner, the engagement within MRTV caused some arguments, within the organizations and the media landscape in general. The cooperation was phased out within a very short period of time. Interviewees did not specify why the cooperation was stopped.[49] But it may be assumed that the organizations were worried that the engagement with the government could have jeopardized their editorial independence.

International Media Support (IMS)

Still active in this field is International Media Support (IMS), one of the leading media training organizations in Denmark. IMS was amongst the first active international organizations in Myanmar, starting as early as 2006 with the support of exile media. Since 2012, IMS has worked closely with members of the government and with civil society groups, private media organizations and institutions and has implemented various media projects in the following areas: "Supporting Peace and

Dialogue, Media Laws and Regulations, Expand Media Outreach and Access to Information; Coordination of Media Support and Partnerships and Building the Skills and Capacity of Media."[50] Within the scope of the transformation process of MRTV, IMS is active in the field of capacity building and training. In cooperation with ABC Australia, IMS offers radio journalists a variety of journalistic training events that are focused on hands-on learning. The training focuses on news production and presentation, mainly for young journalists, turning them into professional journalists according to international standards. But it also offers middle-management training that aims to foster the managers' understanding of their employees' journalistic work.[51]

BBC Media Action

For almost two years BBC Media Action has been active in Myanmar and recently opened an office in Yangon mainly to train journalists and offer long-term support to several media outlets, state and privately owned. Since early 2013, BBC Media Action has engaged on several different levels with MRTV. On the one hand the organization is training journalists, introducing them to the fundamentals of journalism: conducting research, interviewing, writing, and editing. Throughout 2013, employees have also been introduced to the fundamental concepts of journalism ethics and the idea and concept of public service media. To date BBC Media Action has trained around 250 journalists, mainly in the area of television. On top of this BBC Media Action focuses on structuring newsroom procedures, establishing efficient recruitment strategies to change the personnel structure of MRTV and conceptualizing a convergent newsroom structure.[52]

Interviewees from IMS as well as BBC Media Action have highlighted the importance of establishing and fostering a long-term relationship between international media development organizations and local actors. It was generally agreed among the interviewees that flying different consultants in and out is not a consistent strategy. It takes continuous engagement for sustainable change.

DW Akademie

Within the above-mentioned context of international support through several actors DW Akademie focuses on the strategic and organizational development of MRTV into public service media. In 2012, DW Akademie was involved in the organization of a study tour, introducing and promoting Europe's public service broadcasting landscape to a media delegation from Myanmar. One year later, a fact-finding mission assessing the present situation of MRTV on its path to transformation was conducted. This was followed by the development of a strategy to accompany the broadcaster through all stages of its transformation process: analysis, strategy, and organizational and management development. A new organizational structure that reflects the reality of a public service broadcaster was developed in cooperation with MRTV and implementation began from late 2013 onwards. As part of this process the position of a chief editor was created, according to MRTV interviewees.[53]

From 2014 on, workshops with the middle management are planned in order to foster a more decentralized work environment – for journalists as well as technical staff. Another major project that DW Akademie is aiming for is the development of an editorial charter that may serve as a basis for several fields such as the corporate vision and mission, working principals and standards as well as rights and obligations for employees.[54]

Status of the Media Organization

Legal Framework[55], Governance and Ethics

As the Deputy Minister of Information stated in 2013, Myanmar is in the second phase of a profound legal media reform process – transforming state-owned media into public service media.[56] The first phase could be characterized by a decrease in press restrictions, particularly by the abolition of the pre-publication censorship in August 2012. This phase can be considered as a learning phase for practicing press freedom as well as for setting up the stage for future media laws. These moves aimed at easing the control over the media are in accordance with the new constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, which was enacted in 2008. Section 354 of the constitution states "that freedom of expression and the right to publish one's beliefs and opinions are guaranteed as long as they are not contrary to the country's laws, security, law and order, and public decency."[57]

41 *U Myint Aung, Director National Races Channel (MRTV).*
42 *U Ze Yar, Director of Myanmar Radio (MRTV).*
43 *Cheeseman, Skidmore & Wilson 2012, 198.*
44 *Broadcasting Board of Governors & Gallup 2012, 14.*
45 *Document provided internally.*
46 *European Commission 2014.*
47 *Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development 2014.*
48 *Conference on Media Development in Myanmar: http://myanmarmediadevelopment.org/*
49 *Soe Myint, Managing Director of Mizzima Media.*
50 *IMS 2013.*
51 *Glen Swanson, Country Project Coordinator of International Media Support (IMS).*
52 *BBC Media Action expert.*
53 *Patrick Benning, Country Manager of DW Akademie.*
54 *DW Akademie 2013.*
55 *The statements made in this chapter are mostly based on the translated draft laws, evaluations of international NGO and interview partners. It should be noted that none of the discussed laws to enshrine media freedom in Myanmar has been enacted yet. Another difficulty is the fact that the laws are under current revision and amendments could have been made without informing the public.*
56 *Tuazon & Manowalailao 2013.*
57 *Reporters without Borders 2014, 19.*

Even though the constitution can be seen as a great improvement, it has also been harshly criticized, as it does not include "the obligation to respect, protect and fulfill the right to freedom of expression and information, in accordance with international standards."[58]

According to media reports, two new media laws were approved by Myanmar's parliament early in March 2014: the Printing and Publishing Law and the Media Law.[59] But the reactions regarding the enactment are controversial. Experts are quoted that, e.g., the Printing and Publishing Law, drafted by the MoI, puts too much power in the hands of state authorities, as it requires all media to register with the government and bans issues that could insult religion, display nudity or harm ethnic unity.[60] Violations of these regulations are a punishable offence and may lead to heavy fines or the withdrawal of the license.

To this day, the legal broadcasting rights remain exclusively in the hands of government authorities. Despite the laws, which continue to prevent private media groups, community, and exile media from officially broadcasting in Myanmar, broadcasting licenses were assigned to private companies.[61] International broadcaster and NGO representatives disapprove the lack of transparency in granting broadcasting licenses. According to BBC Media Action analysts, "participants believed that licenses were only given to government cronies or those with close relationship with the government."[62] Considering that television and radio are the most important sources of information in Myanmar, particularly in rural areas, it is crucial that the country establishes independently regulated broadcast media. The Broadcasting Law, which was submitted to the parliament in March 2014,[63] is to enable private media companies to broadcast in the country – for the first time in the history of Myanmar. Even if it is expected that the Broadcasting Law will relieve decades of rigid state control over the broadcasting sector, it is still likely that the bill contains several restrictions of press freedom, according to media reports.[64] Particular concerns have been raised about the two regulating bodies, the National Broadcasting Development Authority and the National Broadcasting Council, whose independence has been called into question: "Under the proposed structure any ruling party would effectively control the broadcast media,"[65] says Aye Chan Naing, executive director at DVB.

The second phase of the media reform process started with the ongoing initiatives to draft and enact the Public Service Media Bill,[66] which will not only transform MRTV, but also state print media such as Myanmar Ahlin New, Light of Myanmar and Kyemon (The Mirror) into public service media. The draft was submitted to Parliament's lower house in March 2014.[67] The aim to transform Myanmar Radio and Myanmar Television into a valid public service media outlet is mainly welcome. However, all interviewees raise questions regarding the transformation of the state-owned newspapers to public service media. Members of the Interim Myanmar Press Council pointed out that mainly due to the proposed financing structure for broadcasting and print media - 70 percent of the budget would consist of government funding and 30 percent from commercial advertising. The bill would therefore create unequal conditions that would put privately owned media at a disadvantage.[68]

The law would transform state-owned media into public service media with an institutional structure, principles, and standards as well as two governing bodies for the broadcasting sector: Public Service Media Council and Public Service Broadcasting Enterprise (PSBE) Governing Board.[69] The prospective Public Service Media Council (PSC) will, according to the planned bill, consist of fifteen members. They are to be appointed and dismissed by politicians, and to oversee the whole PSBE Governing Board. Its top management is to be appointed through the PSC, whereby nominations by civil society organizations are not binding.[70] The Governing Board will oversee the internal policy and function of MRTV and according to Chapter 7 (50) "has the responsibility to formulate ethics, work procedure rules and basic operational regulations for the Public Service Media."[71]

Concerns remain among others due to insufficient safeguards to guarantee the independence of MRTV, especially editorial independence and the absence of binding obligations to carry a diverse range of opinions and perspectives.[72] More specific information about the Draft Public Service Media Law will be given throughout the next chapters. Until late 2013 several experts expressed their doubts that the law may not be enacted by the election in 2015.[73]

Capacity Building and Human Resources

Media in Myanmar are facing fundamental changes and so are their journalists. But 50 years of harsh dictatorship have left Myanmar with few professional reporters and editors. Even though the level of journalistic standards and ethics varies from one media outlet to another, it can be said that there is a severe need for capacity building for Myanmar's journalists and media organizations.[74] Official data on the number of journalists are not available, but IMS estimates it to be around 1,000 as of 2012.[75] Journalists entering the profession and journalists working in the media without formal journalism education require quality training in basic journalism skills, specialized reporting as well as editorial values.[76]

Since 2007, the Yangon University's National Management College has offered the only academic journalism course in Myanmar, with around 50 students enrolling each year. Different journalists and media practitioners have criticized it as a low-quality program with a heavy focus on theory. Moreover, it is widely seen that its curriculum has been influenced by the Ministry of Information. As a consequence, many journalists have preferred to be trained by international organizations like BBC Media Action, IMS, DW Akademie, Canal France International (CFI), and Fojo Media Institute, as well as privately owned local institutions such as the Myanmar Media Development Center, Yangon Journalism School and Myanmar Egress or the Interim Press Council.

Being a state-owned media organization under authoritarian rule for over 50 years, one has to consider that people working for MRTV not only lack basic journalistic skills, but also independent thinking and a professional attitude. Characteristics and attitudes of the old regime are still manifest, especially within MRTV. All interviewees pointed out that beyond institutional changes and improvement of journalistic skills, the biggest obstacle to the public service media reform may be changing the mindset of the employees working for MRTV. They have not yet developed an understanding of the concept of public service broadcasting and its implications. MRTV's staff is more accustomed to a culture of obedience, broadcasting governmental press releases without questioning or adding to the information it contains.

This situation is complicated by the fact that most people working for MRTV were recruited as civil servants and not journalists. Until today, they are not considered to be qualified journalists or reporters, but rather fall into the employee group of technicians.[77] In this context, one has to take a closer look at the tasks and responsibilities of journalists working for MRTV's news program, which mainly consists of official announcements provided by MNA. As Bill Hayton, a former consultant at MRTV, puts it: "Newsgathering used to be a fax in the corner of the office."[78] Neither sound bites nor interviews were allowed on the news and newsgathering on the ground remained infrequent. Proper reporting, professional interviewing, and editing were barely needed. For progress, however, it is crucial that journalists are not only well equipped with reporter skills to produce quality news but establish a professional journalistic role perception. The way journalists perceive their work and its social function has a strong influence on journalists' professional behavior and how they interact with news sources. Experts from international media organizations point out that journalists working for Myanmar Radio and Myanmar Television have to learn to put audience interests at the heart of their work and cover stories that matter to the people. Moreover, they are supposed to learn the rights and responsibilities that come with the role of a public service broadcaster.[79]

So far MRTV does not have its own organizational structure for journalism capacity building. As described above, international and local media organizations like DW Akademie, BBC Media Action, and IMS offer editorial guidance, mainly focusing on news and current affairs output as well as technical training. To achieve such objectives and bearing in mind that one third of staff positions are vacant, MRTV's management should also make reasonable adjustments in the current staff recruitment process. Almost the entire management circle, explicitly the Board of Directors, was replaced in 2012.[80] But it would be presumptuous to say that the recruitment was based on a fair and transparent process with a performance-based assessment. Unfortunately, the same seems to apply to ongoing recruitment processes for ordinary staff. The Ministry of Information not only retains the power to control the contents distributed by the broadcaster, but it also holds the right to appoint and remove staff as well.

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

Several studies have shown that the capabilities to carry out the mandate and responsibilities of a public service broadcaster largely depend on a sustainable financing structure. There are many possible funding models for public service media, such as the license-fee model, the government model or hybrid solutions. Being a state-owned media organization, MRTV's budget is at this time entirely determined by the Ministry of Information.

According to the draft Public Service Media Law, MRTV, respectively the Public Service Broadcasting Enterprise Governing Board (PSB), shall directly receive a mix of an annual state grant, allocated by the Hluttaw, Myanmar's parliament, as well as advertising revenue and sponsorship. 70 percent of its funding is to come from the state's budget in the form of an annual parliamentary grant or a "precise amount of it from some kind of tax income."[81] Additionally, it shall be allowed to raise funds from sources other than government appropriation. Consequently, 30 percent shall be generated through advertising and sponsorship but the proportion of advertisement time may not exceed 10 percent of daily programming in TV and radio.[82] The draft bill does not outline, however, if MRTV is required to raise the revenue through supplementary sources, once the law has been ratified and enacted. Looking at Myanmar's economic situation and other transformation processes, it seems advisable to increase the percentage of the supplementary sources progressively up to around 30 percent over a longer period of time.

A license fee is not included in the draft. Such a financing system could encourage a link between MRTV and the public it serves and create a sense of public ownership. It could also protect it from political and commercial interference. But taking into consideration that around one quarter of Myanmar's

58 *Article 19 2013a.*
59 *Radio Free Asia 2014.*
60 *Ibd.*
61 *Lwin, Sandar, May 5, 2013.*
62 *BBC Media Action 2013a, 16.*
63 *Lwin, Sandar, May 5, 2013.*
64 *Hindstrom, October 11, 2013.*
65 *Ibid.*
66 *Tuazon & Manowalailao 2013.*
67 *Zaw, Htet Naing, March 20, 2014.*
68 *Members of the interim Myanmar Press Council (IMPC).*
69 *Draft Public Service Media Bill 2013.*
70 *Article 19 2013b.*
71 *Draft Public Service Media Bill 2013.*
72 *Article 19 2013b.*
73 *Roughneen, November 23, 2013.*
74 *U Khin Maung Htay, Director and Co-Founder of Forever Group (FG).*
75 *IMS 2012, 6.*
76 *BBC Media Action expert.*
77 *Patrick Benning: Country Manager of DW Akademie.*
78 *Barrett November 4, 2013.*
79 *BBC Media Action expert.*
80 *U Ze Yar, Director of Myanmar Radio (MRTV).*
81 *Draft Public Service Media Bill 2013.*
82 *Draft Public Service Media Bill 2013.*

population is estimated to live below the poverty line,[83] it is questionable if a license fee could yield a stable stream of revenue. Moreover, as MRTV has been for decades the old regime's mouthpiece, significant public resistance to the implementation of a license fee would be likely.[84]

In countries where media freedom from political interference is particularly threatened, funding from government grants should be questioned critically. MRTV's budget seems highly uncertain in terms of independence, adequacy, and stability, especially because MRTV has to negotiate the budget on an annual basis.[85] A longer-term budgetary cycle, e.g., three years, would allow for a greater stability in financial planning. Therefore, it is even more important that a procedure for an independent budget distribution is put in place. Otherwise, there will be the constant risk that budget allocations are used to influence decision processes within MRTV.

Another problem with the recently submitted draft Public Service Media Law consists in the fact that it does not contain a procedure to reallocate the budget internally.[86] The situation is aggravated by the fact that there is still uncertainty concerning the amount of the budget. Parliament should provide here for a stable source of revenue, not only to reflect society's commitment to MRTV but also to enable its sustainable development and independence.[87] At the same time it is necessary to take the salaries into consideration. The draft PSMB does not outline adequate salaries for journalists, editors and other staff working for MRTV, nor does it specify salaries for governors of the Council.[88] Currently, MRTV's staff receives fixed wages. Additional bonuses based on the journalistic performance are not prevalent.[89] Even though there has been an essential increase in the average employment income of journalists, salaries are still comparatively low. Broadly speaking, Myanmar's journalists working for private media companies earn about 150 Euros a month, depending on the media they are working for.[90] Within MRTV, earnings are even lower. The average wage of journalists working for MRTV lies at around 85,000 Kyat (approximately 80 Euros) per month.[91] These rather low wages paid by MRTV could influence editorial independence, foster widespread corruption, lower motivation as well accelerate a high level of staff fluctuation. Considering MRTV is not able to fill one third of vacancies, adequate salaries become critical for the future of the broadcaster.[92]

Looking closer at the organizational structure of MRTV, it appears to be overly bureaucratic and hierarchical. A clear distinction between the journalistic core business (e.g., journalistic news and current affair production) and the support structure (e.g., technical support) is currently nonexistent.[93] The MRTV management has identified the need to build up and centralize the news production in one department. Currently, MRTV has three newsrooms – for Myanmar Television, MITV and Radio Myanmar. According to Ze Yar, MRTV and BBC Media Action are conceptualizing a convergent newsroom structure, but at the time of this research there was no assessable result available.[94]

Perception, Participation and Public Engagement

Myanmar has recently taken more steps in the direction of democracy than it has done for many decades. A rapid development through top-down changes by the new government has occurred in all sectors. But a study by BBC Media Action identified "a lack of awareness and discussion of this issue among citizens, which may prevent them making their voices heard in the reform process."[95] But how should people participate in a transformation process, if they possess neither the knowledge nor the awareness to do so? As noted, print media can be considered the opinion leader in the ongoing media reform process. As a result, the discussion focuses primarily on the print sector.

For a new awareness with respect to MRTV, timely and comprehensive information about the reform process are needed. In this the audiences could be encouraged to participate in the ongoing process by scrutinizing and commenting on relevant issues regarding the transformation process. But most of the interviewees from within and those from outside the broadcaster, still consider MRTV as the mouthpiece of the government, an unattractive program filled with state propaganda.[96] After decades of top-down control, trust in MRTV's programs is limited. Gaining the public's trust is MRTV's biggest obstacle, notes U Ze Yar, Director of Myanmar Radio (MRTV).[97] Nonetheless, the interviewees acknowledge the efforts to transform MRTV into a public service broadcaster. (As far as state-owned newspapers are concerned the picture is completely different: here they are mostly against this process). They emphasized that the audience is starting to recognize the gradual progress MRTV's program has already achieved.[98]

At this point, no reliable long-term audience research data about MRTV is available. But it seems that the loss of audiences for MRTV is within limits. At least at the present stage, the majority of the population seems to stick to their viewing habits. This may be due to the fact that so far MRTV is not yet operating in a highly competitive broadcasting landscape – after all, the transformation in the past two years has brought far less freedom to the broadcasting media than to the print media. Nevertheless, influence of private media organizations is increasing. In this respect, BBC Media Action found out, that "young people in Burma [Myanmar] consumed news and information and trusted media broadcasters in different ways depending on their location."[99] Compared to residents living in rural areas, the urban youth relies on a wider range of information platforms and competition is becoming more profound. The more choices people have the more selective they get. This means for MRTV's program that it not only has to inform the citizens in an accurate and independent way. It also has to be tailored to their needs and interests to keep a high range in the future.

Not only the current, but also the prospective participation of Myanmar's civil society within MRTV is questionable. Even though the bill states that MRTV should carry minority programs in diverse languages, the NGO Article 19 stresses its

failure "to encourage media pluralism or diverse viewpoints and perspectives" within the program.[100] The extremely centralized structure aggravates this situation, as the size and diversity of Myanmar is not reflected appropriately. If one looks at all the aspects discussed here it seems likely that MRTV might encounter major difficulties in gaining public support and credibility.

Public Service: General Functions

Creating a Public Sphere

U Aung Kyi, the incumbent Minister for Information, made the following statement at a conference on public service in 2012: "Public broadcasting performs a crucial role in ensuring the public's right to receive a wide diversity of independent and non-partisan information and ideas. It also serves as a meeting place where all citizens are welcomed and considered equals and where social issues are discussed. It has probably been the greatest of the instruments of social democracy to be accessible to all and meant for all."[101]

Encouraging dialogue and interaction between diverse communities, through a program that represents diverse political affiliations and viewpoints is primarily important in a multi-ethnic state like Myanmar. But to this day, the Ministry of Information governs MRTV. Programs that cover issues of public concern or help citizens to evaluate the performance of the government barely exist. Instead of keeping a skeptical eye on those in power, MRTV is informing the public about government policies and actions. So it is still acting as a mouthpiece of the government.

But some positive changes can already be observed: In MRTV's current affairs programs not only voices of the established ruling party are broadcast, but also members of the opposition party are present, at least to a limited extent.[102] Furthermore, the government has lifted its ban on the coverage of certain topics. So now information on women and youth, the poor and marginalized groups is issued in the program. This is a major advancement although a diversity of viewpoints is not given and background stories or in-depth research stories are not available in the program. It should be stated, however, that MRTV is not a public service media organization operating in a clearly distinguished legislative framework yet. So this limited contribution to the public sphere comes as little surprise. The current stage of the transformation process, similar to the legal situation, should be understood as a learning phase for the efforts to be made in the future.

Overall it must be concluded that MRTV is not driven by public interest, yet, and the contribution it makes to the public sphere does not reach its potential by far.

Supporting Integration

Providing quality educational and informational training, serving the needs of minorities and other communities, public service media can foster a greater sense of national identity, democratic and social values – these are the ambitions of Information Minister U Aung Kyi for MRTV.[103] The gap between the desirable and reality is overt at the moment but the draft Public Service Media Law also gives rise to doubts as to whether MRTV's program will really be able to support the integration of society. Although the draft contains the mandate to broadcast in different languages, a specific requirement that compels MRTV to include specific languages and minorities in their programming is missing.[104] The management can therefore decide which minorities are provided with content in their own language.

Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that MRTV launched the National Races Channel (NRC), a TV channel committed exclusively to ethnic minorities, broadcasting ethnic songs, news, documentary, dances, and movies in eleven languages. In that respect it should be stressed that the teams not only consist of different ethnicities, but also of local staff.[105]

As noted, MRTV is located in a relatively remote and desolate region of the country. Regional offices, which would provide for more pro-active newsgathering and interaction with the public, are not yet fully established. Therefore, employing local journalists appears to be a promising approach to providing alternative information to the public, fostering public participation and uniting multi-ethnic groups. Up to now, the program mainly consists of ethnic music and dance, but it is a promising starting point of social integration and could play a part in strengthening the unity and harmony of people from different ethnical backgrounds. Due to the fact that private media are primarily based in urban areas and mainly concentrate on urban news and barely any community media exist to represent the interests of their community, it is even more

83 *UNCT Myanmar 2011, 13.*
84 *Soe Myint, Managing Director of Mizzima Media.*
85 *Draft Public Service Media Bill 2013.*
86 *Article 19 2013a.*
87 *Patrick Benning, Country Manager of DW Akademie.*
88 *Article 19 2013a.*
89 *U Ze Yar, Director of Myanmar Radio (MRTV).*
90 *Khin Maung Win, Deputy Executive Director at Democratic Voice of Burma (DvB).*
91 *Internal MRTV document.*
92 *Patrick Benning, Country Manager of DW Akademie.*
93 *Van Leupen & Grolmann 2013, 3.*
94 *U Ze Yar, Director of Myanmar Radio (MRTV).*
95 *BBC Media Action 2013b.*
96 *Zin Lynn, Journalist and vice president of the Burma Media Association.*
97 *U Ze Yar, Director of Myanmar Radio (MRTV).*
98 *Cheri Mangrai, Consultant at International Media Support (IMS), seconded from Australian Broadcasting Cooperation Radio.*
99 *BBC Media Action 2012.*
100 *Article 19 2013.*
101 *New Light of Myanmar September 26, 2012.*
102 *U Khin Maung Htay, Director and Co-Founder of Forever Group (FG).*
103 *Conference on Media Development in Myanmar: http://myanmarmediadevelopment.org/.*
104 *Article 19 2013.*
105 *U Myint Aung, Director National Races Channel (MRTV).*

important that MRTV is reflecting Myanmar's diversity. The indentation to establish and to further build up regional offices could foster the inclusions of a diverse range of regional issues in the future.

Achievements and Challenges

Myanmar's first elected president after a half-century of military rule said in his new year's message of 2013: "The world was amazed at Myanmar's impressive political progress in 2012." However, while almost every international and national media organization welcomed the government's intention to increase media freedom, concerns about the forthcoming commitment to a freer journalistic environment are being raised. After three years of Thein Sein's government, political transition continues to be top down, with basically the same political elite. This applies to all governmental institutions, including MRTV. It can be concluded that despite official declarations the political influence on the strategic direction as well as on editorial processes of MRTV will likely be present in the mid-term. It will take time to build and strengthen the independence of this broadcaster.

As the transformation process of MRTV is still in its very early stages, it is difficult to identify particular achievements as milestones but some seeds for the future have been planted. The implementing and drafting of new media laws, most notable the Public Service Media Law, is essential for right to freedom of expression. Even though the draft Public Service Media Law still has significant shortcomings, it would provide a legal framework for MRTV, which in itself would be a major achievement.

At the time of writing it is far too early to speak about real improvements in the quality of broadcasters programming. The lack of basic journalism and technical skills as well as operational management skills is prevalent. Small improvements, however, can be witnessed. Up till recently, MRTV broadcasted only mute pictures, interviews and sound bites were not included in the news. The audiences could only listen to the voices of the presenters, reading out the script provided by MNA. At least during special events, e.g., the Southeast Asian Games in 2013, radio reporters started to conduct interviews and used sound bites in news. The daily program broadcasting from parliament, featuring sound bites from different political parties, can also be considered a first.

There are 135 officially recognized ethnic groups living in Myanmar, which are hard to reach due to language barriers and location. Ongoing ethnic and religious conflicts make the promotion of ethnical diversity and the support for cultural expression also of minorities, involving civil society, community and private media, even more important and should be a priority of the transformation process. This is in line with the findings of the United States Institute of Peace, which concluded that broadcast media in Myanmar have a severe influence on ethnic and conflict-affected areas and "the need to bridge the divide between Burmese and other ethnic communities through media."[106] The establishment of the National Races Channel can therefore be seen as a promising development. It holds the potential to serve as a platform of information for the ethnic minorities and it could strengthen MRTV's program in terms of diversity and inclusion. It is therefore not only necessary that MRTV ensures not only broadcasting in diverse languages but reporting in a balanced and impartial way to ease the long-lasting tensions within society.

One major challenge in the transformation process of MRTV is the location of the headquarters in Tatkone. Only a couple of years ago MRTV moved its broadcast center to an isolated location outside the capital Naypyidaw. This is in strong contrast to MRTV's future role as a public service broadcaster, serving the diverse needs of audiences. The isolated location requires the entire personnel to live on site, excluded from social life and often separated from family and friends. But to be able to cover socially and politically important issues in a timely and local manner, journalists should not only live with but be integrated within society, as public service is all about serving the public. Inviting interviewees, experts, artists, and other guests to the studio also remains difficult due to the location. Another challenge that comes with the special characteristics and constraints of the relocation of the broadcaster is MRTV's problem filling one third of their vacancies and retaining their staff. It appears, that especially younger people do not want to relocate to such an isolated work place, far away from a vibrant lifestyle. As a consequence, new untrained staff is being recruited from neighboring communities.

As media organizations, particularly public service media, can play an essential role for a functioning democracy and a human rights culture, they should act as an independent observer of power and as a servant of citizens. To fulfill public service functions, journalists must inform, analyze, investigate and sometimes also advocate for a certain political program or perspective. In this context, MRTV is not only facing a major challenge in terms of professional skills, but also in mindsets, including values and attitudes of the personnel. Being under state control, journalists were not capable of developing professional standards. They are accustomed to a working culture that can be characterized by 'blind' obedience, one-sidedness and a passive newsgathering approach. They need to be encouraged to think and act independently. At present it seems that they are not aware that public service broadcasters are broadcasters with a specific function and that it comes with certain responsibilities.[107]

Transformation Approaches

At the beginning of 2014, more and more observers have asked if Myanmar's recently-begun democratization process will be sustained, questioning the government's sincerity. International and national experts consider political events like implementing the first census after more than 30 years and

hosting the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in 2014 as important benchmarks on the path to elections in 2015. Undoubtedly these elections will be a critical milestone in the transition to a more democratic society.[108] And in this, of course, MRTV will have a decisive role to play in enhancing the people's understanding of electoral processes as only educated citizens can make informed choices.

As other transformation processes demonstrate, it is particularly important that all stakeholders involved cooperate to support MRTV's transformation process towards genuine public service media. Based upon the assessment of the transformation process of MRTV as well as upon individual recommendations by diverse stakeholders interviewed for this chapter, the following possible measures can be assembled here:

– Creating a legal environment for public service media, which enables MRTV to do their work freely – editorially and financially.

– Strengthening regional coverage through regional news offices, so the whole country and all sectors of society are included – reflecting Myanmar's ethnic and linguistic diversity.

– Investing in specific training and capacity building so that MRTV broadens the range of stories, issues and events covered and leaves behind the official political agenda.

– Finding ways to support and safeguard editorial independence, credibility and accountability – in order to gain the public's trust.

– Offering management training is of the same importance, as a functioning public service broadcaster needs efficient managers.

– Improving salaries for MRTV staff not only to fight corruption and encourage independence but also to find and keep suitable employees.

– Strengthening a new understanding of the meaning of public service media on all levels of the organization. This should go in line with an enhanced education of journalists on their rights and responsibilities as well as regional and communal issues. Reflecting on the inclusion of all groups in society, including the weakest. Understanding the bigger picture of the society in Myanmar will be very significant in the forthcoming reform process.

As the transformation process is only just beginning an alteration on all levels within MRTV as well as in its legal framework seems necessary – but it may be acknowledged that the first promising steps have been made thanks to the commitment of the government to transform MRTV into a genuine public service media organization.

[106] *Dolan & Gray 2013, 22.*

[107] *Zin Lynn, Journalist and vice president of the Burma Media Association.*

[108] *Reporters without Borders 2012, 13.*

Status of Myanmar Radio and Television (MRTV)

At the time of writing MRTV can still be considered as state-owned media. No more than two years ago, in September 2012, the Information Minister U Aung Kyi announced the government's intention to transform state-owned media into public service media. The following tables can therefore only provide an early snapshot of the status of the organization within a new and evolving legal environment.

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Channels, distribution	**TV:** Operates two nationwide channels: Myanmar Television (Broadcasting mainly traditional programs); National Races Channel (Carrying mainly music, dances and documentaries in 11 ethnic languages) MRTV holds shares in two 24-hour free-to-air-channels: MRTV-4 (infotainment and entertainment); MITV (English-language program) It also provides the technical platform for Myawaddy TV (military channel) and the Farmers Channel (Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation). **Radio:** MRTV operates three radio channels; Myanmar Radio and two channels for minority programs (15 minority language programs, broadcasting 12 hours on each of the two minority channels) and has joint ventures with several private AM stations.	In September 2013 MRTV launched the National Races Channel and started transmitting the program of the Farmers Channel. In mid-2013 Padaukmay Radio and Myanmar Radio Service were merged.
Legal framework	Even today MRTV is part of the Department of the Ministry of Information and is not functioning within a legal framework. MRTV operates under the constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar and other existing laws like the Emergency Provisions Act or the Television and Video Law.	The Draft Public Service Media Law is being discussed in parliament at the time of writing and it is expected to be implemented in late 2015. Additionally, the Media Law and Printing and Publishing Law were approved in March 2014 and the Broadcast Law is being drafted.
Public service remit	MRTV does not have a clearly defined public service remit yet. But the drafted Public Service Media Law indicates that it shall "provide services, as a non-profit enterprise" and "work in the public interest."	–
Regulatory system/ governing body	An independent governing body does not yet exist. MRTV is entirely controlled by the Ministry of Information.	–
Engagement of civil society	Civil society is at the moment not represented at MRTV.	–

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Financing	In principle, MRTV is funded and handled by the Ministry of Information. Therefore, responsibilities for the financial management are not in the hands of MRTV.	–
Use of mobile and internet communication/ modern technology/ challenges of digitalization	MRTV has an online presence and is streaming several TV and radio programs via internet, but online and social media products are still in their early stages. The studios in Tatkone are technically mainly state-of-the-art (digitally-equipped studios, virtual reality TV studio, non-linear editing systems). **Problem:** Newsrooms are not equipped with desktop computers.	–
Regional structures and reporting	Almost all employees are based at the headquarters in Tatkone, an isolated rural location outside of Naypyidaw, and only few are based at the office in Yangon. Further offices in the region or urban areas do not yet fully exist, but are currently under development. Nevertheless, there are not enough reports covering issues that reflect the whole country yet.	Despite the absence of well-equipped regional news bureau, MRTV has started to work with some correspondents based in the countryside, mainly producing for NRC.
Capacity building	MRTV has over 3,000 staff positions, but one third are vacant. The training need at MRTV is extensive, but only little training was offered over decades. Most staff learned on the job or were being mentored by more experienced colleagues.	Recently, MRTV staff had several training workshops, conducted by international and national media organizations.
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	Independent newsroom guideline or ethics codices are not implemented within MRTV. Currently MRTV is officially working with external guidelines such as the Code of Ethics from the MoI and editorial guidelines from the BBC.	–
Public perception and support for the media organization	MRTV is still perceived as the mouthpiece of the government and lacks public trust. Especially young urban people lose interest in MRTVs program. Nevertheless, official data still rank Radio National Service as the top source of news, followed by Myanmar Television, which is also due to its nationwide reach.	–

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	No	MRTV remains the major broadcaster with nationwide reach, but the offered program remains limited and one-sided. The news agenda is dominated by official announcements, government and protocol news. MRTV has limited reports covering regional or urban news from the ground. It therefore lacks credibility and comprehensiveness and people do not feel that they are represented within the program.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound-bites, etc.	No	Even though some members of opposition parties are present or represented at MRTV to a limited extent, MRTV is clearly broadcasting in favor of the government. A wide range of views and opinions is not presented.
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	No	As MRTV still receives their news mainly from the state-run Myanmar News Agency (MNS) and does not have the right to edit scripts, apart from shortening them, criticism of political actors, except the opposition, is not heard.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	No	Despite the increasing number of social problems that exist in Myanmar, issues like land-grabbing, poverty and health problems are, if at all, being covered in a narrow and superficial way. Whereas several print media and exile media are valued for their reliable news coverage on social issues.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	No	At the time of this writing MRTV lacks current affairs programs. A platform for debates and analysis is not integrated within the program.
Social/political orientation	No	MRTV's program is still characterized by a limited range of traditional programs that clearly miss the opportunity to inform Myanmar's citizens about the ongoing transformation that affects all parts of society.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	No	MRTV is not setting the agenda, but following the government's agenda. Consequently, not only investigative journalism but independent newsgathering and solid reporting on the ground remain highly underdeveloped.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Participation, voice, empowerment	No to Partially	MRTV is carrying programs in 15 local languages as well as English-language programs. But almost all programs are produced in Tatkone and a limited number in Yangon, concentrating on urban issues. Local news and real participation, except some recorded call-ins or letters from readers, are too limited.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values and cultural cohesion	No to Partially	Both, radio and TV, offer a limited range of mainly traditional programming, including documentaries about traditions and cultural values. But whether the program strengthens cultural stereotypes or contributes to a better appreciation of the unique cultures and values of the different ethnic groups requires further research.
Entertainment	No to Partially	Broadcasting media in Myanmar are known for their entertainment and infotainment focus, and so is MRTV. Myanmar Radio and Myanmar Television are broadcasting entertainment programs to a large extent. However, audiences as well as analysts criticize the quality of the programming.
Education	No to Partially	MRTV provides several educational programs. Their quality and perspective, however, are often questioned.
Innovation	No to Partially.	In 2008, as MRTV moved to Tatkone, the technical equipment is mainly state-of-the-art of that time. And even though MRTV has an online and social web presence and, e.g., the news presentation style was adjusted, the program may still be characterized as traditional.

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
Democratic Voice of Burma 2012	Improving reporting, video and audio editing skills.	Training – No further information available.	No information available.
International Media Support (IMS) (2013–ongoing)	Focus is on radio, particularly radio news programs: Developing reporter skills, such as researching, planning and writing stories, conducting interviews, audio, and presenting news as well as focus on middle-management capacity to foster the understanding of their employees' journalistic work.	Long-term training from IMS, through an ABC Radio consultant, Middle-management workshops; workshops and on-the-job training for journalists/technicians.	Minor improvements regarding the quality of the radio program and their understanding of their role as journalists can already be witnessed (at least during the Southeast Asian Games).
BBC Media Action (2013–ongoing)	Focus is on television and to a smaller degree on organizational support, e.g., recruitment strategies, newsroom management newsroom and structure.	Mix of training and on-the-job mentoring, concentrating on practical skills and public service journalism within MRTV's news operation. Mentoring and training through a long-term consultant based in Tatkone. Throughout 2013, training was offered to some 250 employees, including ongoing advisory of directors and senior management particularly regarding news management.	New skills and knowledge is being applied to some extent, e.g., news presentation style was adjusted, most visible the layout/design, on-the-ground newsgathering approaches are being practiced on a superficial basis. Major challenge remains due to gaining trust.
DW Akademie (2013–ongoing)	The strategic and organizational development of MRTV is the main center of attention: establishing a new organizational structure and developing an editorial charter to support de-centralization and editorial independence of MRTV.	Starting with long-term advice and consultation throughout the transformation process: Approaching discussions, addressing internal and external interests through workshops, and on-the-job-training.	New organizational structure has been implemented and the position of an editor-in-chief was created.

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Swanson, Glen; Country Project Coordinator of International Media Support (IMS), interview conducted in Yangon on January 23, 2014.

Zin Lynn, Journalist and vice president of the Burma Media Association, interview conducted in Yangon on January 21, 2014.

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Serbia: B92 and RTS, Two Very Different Models of Successful Public Service Media

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The case of Serbia shows that despite their contrasting preconditions, both privately-owned B92 and the public broadcaster Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) managed to serve as public service broadcasters in their respective time and context. In the 1990s, B92 was among the very few media outlets that were accountable to the Serbian population by covering all topics relevant to the different parts of society, including sexual and national minorities. However, the financial crisis of 2007/2008 severely affected B92, and forced it to sell the majority of shares to a private businessman. Hence, today, B92 has a less analytical approach to journalism; it has become less diverse and is characterized by infotainment.

On the other hand, RTS is an example that shows that a successful transformation from a former state broadcaster to a public service media organization is possible. Today, RTS fulfills the main public service functions: It offers balanced and objective news, ensures participation, gives Serbian citizens a voice, moderates the public debate and offers social orientation and criticism. Moreover, it does not suffer from strong political pressure anymore. However, agenda setting and serious journalistic research are rare. And RTS has never been as innovative as B92 at its best. Despite the remaining severe financial problems, the network generally has sufficient professional and physical resources to further advance its transformation process. RTS is an example of the very successful transformation of a state media outlet with the help of a committed media development organization: BBC Media Action supported the former propaganda broadcaster in its development into a public service media outlet that creates a public sphere and supports integration in Serbia.

This chapter aims to introduce two different approaches to public service broadcasting in Serbia: the two broadcasters B92 and RTS (Radio-Televizija Srbije or Radio Television of Serbia). At different times in recent Serbian history both media outlets fulfilled or rather still fulfill important public service functions – in each case under particular circumstances that could not be more contrary. On the one hand, there is B92, which started as a local youth radio station in 1989 and which developed from a banned, semi-pirate radio station into a nationwide broadcaster, providing crucial public service content during the most turbulent times of the country's recent conflict-prone decades. On the other hand, there is the former state broadcaster RTS, which acted as a propaganda tool and even a war instrument during the Milošević era in the 1990s. After extensive reconstruction it is Serbia's official public service broadcaster today, though is still in the process of transformation.

B92 and RTS – individually and when compared – are interesting examples of different public service broadcasting models. This chapter introduces both media outlets and examines to what extent the two broadcasters fulfill the main functions of public service media – both in the past and today. The transformation process of Serbia's national public service broadcaster RTS will be analyzed in detail following the pattern of the other country cases included in this study. B92, on the other hand, is a private media network today that is not undergoing any transformation process. Therefore, the focus will lie on its role as a public service broadcaster mainly in the 1990s and its developments to date.

Serbia – A Brief Overview

Serbia became a sovereign republic in 2006, after roughly two decades characterized by conflict and war. After World War II, Serbia together with Montenegro, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia became part of the new Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia proclaimed in 1945. Under the authoritarian communist leader Josip Broz Tito, who governed the country for 35 years, ethnic tensions were repressed.[1] The federation fell apart in the 1990s under the Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milošević, who became President of Serbia in 1989. Two years later, after the fall of communism in the rest of Eastern Europe and due to economic and political crises, Slovenia, Macedonia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina broke away from Yugoslavia. As a consequence, the remaining republics of Serbia and Montenegro declared a new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.[2]

Under Milošević's leadership,[3] Serbia led various military campaigns to unite ethnic Serbs in neighboring republics into a so-called 'Greater Serbia.'[4] After bloody wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first half of the 1990s the situation escalated again in 1998, when an ethnic Albanian insurgency in the formerly autonomous Serbian province Kosovo provoked a brutal crackdown launched by Serbian forces. This led to NATO's bombing of Serbia in 1999,[5] – while Serbian forces conducted massacres and massive expulsions of ethnic Albanians – and resulted in Kosovo gaining the status of a UN protectorate. In 2000, due to extensive street demonstrations after an attempt to rig lost elections, Milošević stepped down as the President of Serbia and a democratic government was installed.[6] The huge importance of the Milošević era for the development of both broadcasters analyzed here will be pointed out later in the text.

1 *BBC News 2014.*

2 *The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia existed between 1992 and 2003, when the Yugoslav parliament consigned Yugoslavia to history by approving the constitutional charter for the new, looser Union of Serbia and Montenegro (BBC News 2014).*

3 *Milošević was not only reelected as the Serbian President, but also became President of Yugoslavia in 1997.*

4 *CIA 2014.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Milošević, for his part, was arrested and put on trial on charges of genocide and war crimes in the subsequent years.*

After Serbia and Montenegro had been united in one form or another for nearly 90 years, the latter voted for independence in a referendum in 2006. Two years later, the UN-administered Kosovo declared itself independent of Serbia – an action Serbia refuses to recognize, though today there is de-facto recognition of sovereign territorial integrity of Kosovo.[7]

Today, Serbia carries the status of candidate member of the European Union; the country's EU membership talks began in January 2014. The Balkan nation has long been mired in a deep economic crisis and faces further painful reforms as a condition of EU membership.[8] Serbia has a population of around 9.8 million people (including the roughly two million people living in Kosovo),[9] of which 41% live in rural areas.[10] The ethnic composition of the country's population is as follows: 82.9% Serbian, 3.9% Hungarian, 1.8% Bosniak, 1.4% Roma, 1.1% Yugoslavian, 0.9% Croatian, 0.9% Montenegrin, 0.8% Albanian, 0.5% Vlah and 0.3% Bulgarian.[11] The country's capital is Belgrade; the second largest city, Novi Sad, is the administrative seat of the northern province of Vojvodina.

Media Landscape

The lack of proper regulation of the Serbian media sector during the Milošević era led to a media boom in the 1990s. In almost every major community, television and radio stations were founded, though most of them transmitted without a valid license. This was not only true for the private media sector, but also for public media: Suddenly, each town had a TV channel, which was owned by the state through the local administration/municipalities.[12] In the course of his presidency, however, Milošević founded a centralized media collective, RTS (Radio Television of Serbia), which was completely subordinate to the government. In subsequent years, many local channels were integrated into RTS in order to create a homogeneous propaganda unit.[13] However, despite the rapid transformation process of the Serbian media system right after the overthrow of Milošević's regime and its extensive privatization approaches, many of the local state broadcasters still exist today: There are 120 TV and radio stations,[14] which are owned and funded mainly by local municipalities, i.e., 26% of TV and 25% of radio broadcasters are state-owned.[15]

In all, there are around 1050 media outlets in Serbia,[16] representing the highest per capita number of media in Europe.[17] The most prominent medium in terms of use is television; 98.2% of Serbian households possess a TV set, while 44.5% have access to cable TV.[18] 98% of the population older than four years stated to watch television regularly; 87% listen to radio, though 69% of them consume mostly music programs.[19] The Serbian public broadcaster RTS, and especially its flagship channel RTS 1, is among a handful of outlets, which dominate the country's television market. In addition to RTS, in 2006, the media regulatory agency RRA (Republicka radiodifuzna agencija) also awarded national TV licenses to the private stations TV B92, TV Pink, Prva, TV Avala and a license share to Happy TV.[20] Further, it granted five private national radio licenses: B92, Radio Index, Radio S, Roadstar, and Radio Focus.[21] All other stations were transformed into local channels or disappeared completely. In 2013, out of the top five national TV channels Pink had the biggest audience share with 21.4%, RTS1 19.9%, Prva 16.2%, B92 7.7% and Happy TV 4.0%.[22] In March 2014, however, RTS1 was the most viewed TV channel with 22%, followed by Pink with 20.5%.[23]

In addition to the national public broadcaster RTS, there is RTV (Radio Television of Vojvodina), which is the public broadcaster of the Serbian province of Vojvodina based in Novi Sad. Until 2006, RTV officially belonged to Radio Television of Serbia, which was then divided into two public broadcasting systems: The national public network RTS and the regional public network RTV.

Since 2006, digitization has significantly impacted the range and consumption of media content in Serbia, i.e., an increasing number of Serbians go online and most media outlets invest in their online presence. Serbia has a strategy for switching over from analog to digital broadcasting, prepared with broad public consultation.[24] In 2012, 47.5% of all Serbian households had an internet connection[25] and almost half of the population (48.4%) claimed to have used the internet "within the last three months."[26] While television is still, by far, the main source of news and information,[27] the internet is catching up: 29% of persons between 12 and 29 use the internet for many of their information needs. However, there is a digital divide: rural areas lag behind cities when it comes to computer ownership and internet connections.[28] In 1999, much of the terrestrial broadcasting equipment was destroyed by NATO bombing. In spring of 2014, some cable networks were damaged in severe flooding.

B92

In order to understand how B92 practically served as a quasi public service broadcaster during the conflict period in the 1990s and to what extent it still fulfills public service functions today, both the history of the broadcaster and its recent developments have to be taken into account.

B92: From a Banned, Semi-Pirate Local Radio to a National Broadcaster

The beginnings of B92 as a local youth radio

B92 was founded in 1989 as a youth radio station in the Serbian capital. While the B stands for Belgrade, the 92 represents its frequency 92.5 Mhz, and was also the Serbian emergency police number at that time. Until then, in former Yugoslavia there was only one youth radio station in Zagreb. Encouraged by a sense of competition and jealousy, a group of around 30 young journalists took the opportunity of the month of May, which was dedicated to youth, to establish the first Serbian youth radio.[29] After B92's temporary license expired after six months, the radio continued as a semi-pirate station.

From the outset, B92 was completely different from anything else the country's media landscape had ever seen: The station did not broadcast folk music, but served the taste of the young generation and – most importantly – established the first regular nightly news show covering independent news. Due to its reputation as something new and different, the station attracted broad public attention. However, in the early years B92 broadcast from a tiny room not larger than 15 square meters, covering the area of downtown Belgrade only. Thus, although many people were talking about the station, only few were able to actually listen to it. As B92 continued to broadcast, the number of curious people wanting to listen to its programs increased – and with it B92's importance as one of the leading representatives of independent journalism.[30]

Under the authoritarian Milošević regime in the 1990s, which invariably repressed all independent and critical media, B92 quickly became the most important alternative media outlet. The radio station followed the basic approach of the rights prescribed in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In contrast to almost all other media outlets in Serbia, it was dedicated not only to independent news coverage but also to the promotion and equal treatment of sexual and ethnic minorities.[31] Despite the increasing tensions in the 1990s and eventually the beginning of conflict due to people's dissatisfaction with the government, B92 always continued to criticize the people in power. Moreover, the media outlet put taboo topics such as violence, intolerance, war crime and other social problems on the agenda. The former youth station quickly became one of the very few sources for news that was not controlled by the government during the Serbian conflict period.

B92's guerilla struggle with the Milošević regime

Unsurprisingly, B92 paid a high price for its independent reporting. It fought an endless battle with the Milošević regime. From its establishment until the democratic changes in 2000, the outlet had to broadcast under extremely difficult conditions. In the course of this guerilla struggle it was closed down four times: The first two bans were imposed after the station's unbiased reporting on mass demonstrations against the government in 1991 and 1996. Both bans were lifted within days in response to massive pressure from the Serbian public and the international community.[32] In addition to its radio programming, B92 was also actively engaged in any form of anti-war activism, organizing numerous activities on the street.

Extensive international support – both financially and with regard to technical resources (see 3.2) – together with increasing domestic solidarity due to the growing repression, made the station even stronger and more influential. By 1997, citizens in almost all parts of Serbia could listen to B92 through local stations that unofficially rebroadcast its programs.

The only period when despite the constantly difficult conditions, B92 had to stop broadcasting its critical content was in the context of the third closure in 1999. Before the Kosovo war Milošević increased the pressure and made B92 the state's main target. The government illegally took over the station and appointed new management. As a consequence, from shortly after the beginning of the NATO bombing (April 1999) until the resignation of Milošević (October 2000) B92 was run for 18 months by people loyal to the regime and pro-government content was broadcast.[33] Since the original B92 journalists refused to cooperate with this new management, after the bombings they started to broadcast again under the name B2-92.

In May 2000, B92 (called B2-92 at that time) was banned for the fourth time, but managed to broadcast its program within 24 hours via internet as well as using the BBC satellite. With the democratic changes in October of the same year, the station's employees were able to return to their premises, to their old frequency 92.5 MHz, as well as to their old name B92. At the same time, TV B92 was launched in Belgrade. In 2006, B92 was given its first legal national license, both for radio and for TV.

International Support of B92

As one of the few critical media outlets in the decade of conflict, B92 constantly received extensive international support, not only financially but also in terms of technical resources. In 1996, with the help of a Dutch internet provider, B92 started broadcasting its programs over the internet. Further, when the radio was banned in the same year, it sent its signal to foreign news services such as Voice of America, BBC World, Deutsche Welle or Radio France International, who then rebroadcast B92's programming. This international support significantly increased B92's popularity, so that the authorities decided that it would be the lesser evil to bring the station on air again.[34]

7 *BBC News 2014a.*
8 *BBC News 2014.*
9 *UNdata 2014.*
10 *OSF 2011.*
11 *Ibid. information from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia.*
12 *Milutinović 2011, 135.*
13 *Ibid. 115.*
14 *Matic 2012, 7.*
15 *ANEM 2012.*
16 *Ibid. 9.*
17 *Ibid. 136.*
18 *Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2012.*
19 *Milutinović 2011.*
20 *BBC News 2012.*
21 *Ibid.*
22 *Television Audience Measurement by the Nielsen Company, document provided by Jobanka Matic.*
23 *Document provided by Djordje Vlajic*
24 *Ibid. 6.*
25 *38% of all households had access to broadband internet (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2013).*
26 *Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2013, 345.*
27 *Three quarters of the population still use TV as their main source of information (OSF 2011).*
28 *OSF 2011, 7.*
29 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
30 *B92 2014.*
31 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
32 *B92 2014.*
33 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
34 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*

During the decade of conflict, B92 could not have survived without the financial support of international donors. Among the organizations that financially supported B92 during the conflict time were the Soros Foundation, USAID, the Swedish Helsinki Committee, NED, and Norwegian People's Aid.[35] However, the donor support completely stopped a few years after the end of the Milošević era.

In 2003, 30% of B92's capital was sold at auction and bought by the Media Development Loan Fund (MDLF)[36] – a fact that enabled the broadcaster to be a serious competitor of other private channels for a number of years.[37]

B92 as a Public Service Broadcaster in the Conflict Period

There is general agreement[38] that B92, though privately funded, served as a quasi public service broadcaster fulfilling all major public service functions during the conflict period in the 1990s and in the first years after the establishment of democracy. From its foundation, the broadcaster was based on international standards of independent and free media. And from the beginning B92 journalists were driven by a very strong public service ideology, as will be seen below. Further, as a new, young, and innovative media outlet it also had a specific style and taste in its approach and manner of communication with its listeners.[39]

Creating a Public Sphere

During the conflict period in the 1990s, B92 was among the very few media outlets that provided the Serbian citizens with independent information. B92 had a strong focus on news, which was comprehensive and generally objective. However, B92 was against the policies of the authoritarian Milošević government and therefore pro-opposition. Its daily evening news program quickly became very popular: The B92 journalist Veran Matic even claims that the radio featured the "best, the most credible and the most objective current affairs and news program."[40]

B92 indeed offered balanced programming, in which all political parties were represented. The overall approach was a very critical one, meaning that both political and social actors were regularly criticized. Moreover, B92 was one of the few media outlets which covered the whole range of relevant issues, putting taboo topics such as discrimination, violence, war crimes and other social problems on the agenda too.

B92 had an analytical approach, providing not only factual news but also background information and debates. Both political and social actors and topics were critically reflected and questioned. Thus, the broadcaster offered social and political orientation and moderated the public debate.[41] Further, from the beginning B92 attributed great importance to in-depth journalism, as far as this was possible under such difficult conditions and with limited resources.

Supporting Integration

B92 was accountable to the Serbian population by covering all topics relevant for the different parts of society, including sexual and national minorities.[42] The station ensured participation through call-in programs and live debates and further gave different sections of society a voice by regularly including vox pops in its programs.[43] Due to the analytical approach, which meant that topics were not only presented but also critically reflected and questioned, B92's programming also had an educational aspect. Moreover, not only with its programs but also by supporting protests and other civil activities, the broadcaster contributed to strengthening the Serbian identity as well as fostering cultural cohesion.

B92 commonly had a reputation of being a young and innovative media outlet. In fact, since it operated under extremely difficult conditions – including recurring bans and shut downs – the journalists were forced to be innovative so they could broadcast their program. Consequently, B92 was among the first media outlets to provide content via the internet.[44] Overall, and particularly in comparison to the traditional and very formal state media, the station's characteristics of broadcasting were and still are perceived as innovative. The interviews conducted for this study show that, for most people, B92 has more rhythm, more dynamics in its programming and that its news is easier to watch and understand than that of today's official public service broadcaster RTS.[45]

Despite the fulfillment of general public service functions, it is important to remember, however, that until 2000 B92 was only a radio station and did not distribute its content via television. Further, until 1996 it was a local broadcaster with a signal that mainly reached the capital Belgrade. Thus, many parts of the Serbian population, especially in the rural areas, did not have easy access to B92. The station's coverage increased constantly and eventually reached the national level when, in 2006, B92 got national licenses for both its radio and its TV channels.

Yet, in the first years after the democratic changes, B92 – by then both a radio and television broadcaster – still fulfilled the crucial public service functions mentioned above. Indeed, as the Assistant Minister for Information, Saša Mirković, pointed out in the interview, after the end of the Milošević regime the former youth network offered perfect conditions for becoming a formal public service broadcaster:[46] Its staff, whose number had grown from around 30 in 1989 to ca. 100 in 2000, was driven by a strong public service ideology; its program was balanced, critical, of a high journalistic standard and B92 was very popular and enjoyed high credibility among the Serbian population. However, according to the interviewees, the new people in power did not have sufficient understanding of its importance and future potential. Some even worked against the critical broadcaster.[47]

Recent Developments of B92

The financial crisis of 2007/2008 severely affected B92. The crisis increased the pressure on advertisers and the money that B92 could generate through advertising decreased significantly. On top of this problem the broadcaster had adversaries in the economic sphere due to its critical journalism. Together with the withdrawal of the international donor support this led to serious financial problems.

So despite the strong public service ideology of B92 journalists, the lack of financial resources forced them to act and sell the majority of the broadcaster to a private businessman. As a consequence, in 2010, the majority of B92 shares were sold to the Greek investor Stefanos Papadopoulos. Today, 84.99% of B92 belongs to his company Astonko d.o.o., 11.35% to the B92 Trust and 3.66% to other small shareholders.[48]

The B92 Trust is a limited liability managing company owned by ten executives, editors, and founders of B92, who aim to ensure the continued independence of the station's editorial policy as well as its viability.[49] However, this change in the ownership structure quickly led to an increasing commercialization and thus lack of program quality, as will be explained in the following.

B92 as a Public Service Broadcaster Today

Despite the fact that Veran Matic, one of B92's founders, is still the president of the broadcaster's board of directors, the editor-in-chief of its news department and the main owner of the B92 Trust, B92 can no longer be understood as an alternative, quasi public service broadcaster. Rather, it is a commercial broadcaster, which is profit-driven and has a clear market-oriented business model. Since B92 has to compete with other private media outlets on the market, it is controlled by general business values. In order to attract new audiences the new owners completely changed the programming.[50] As media researcher Jovanka Matic stated in an interview conducted for this study: "Everything depends on money."[51] As a result, poor quality entertainment and reality shows such as Big Brother, which attract masses and therefore also advertisers, have become more prominent in B92's programming. Hence, today B92 has a less analytical approach, is less diverse and characterized by infotainment.[52]

Nevertheless, all interviewees emphasized that B92 is still not a typical private broadcaster, i.e., it is believed to be different from – and better than – other private media outlets.[53] Despite the increasing commercialization B92 still has a certain mission to fulfill public service functions: According to the broadcaster, "independence, impartiality and objectivity are the backbone of B92. Our audience is our primary focus in the provision of high-quality and credible current affairs broadcasts, as well as entertainment and educational programs. We support social responsibility and education. We advocate creativity, universal respect and cultural diversity."[54]

Despite the commercialization and general decrease of program quality, B92's informative section is still characterized by the station's history.[55] That means that the editorial line of its news programs is still shaped by its original ideology; the news programs are still good quality and are much better than those of other commercial channels.[56] The news is balanced and objective, and all political parties are equally represented. Both political and social actors and topics are criticized and reflected.[57] And B92 has retained a different, younger, fresher and livelier rhetoric, which is directed towards the audience and makes its content easier to understand.[58] Further, the broadcaster still targets critical topics and has popular and high-quality debate and interview programs.[59] Moreover, B92 is one of the few Serbian media outlets, which provide investigative journalism, with its investigative program called *Insider*. In addition to its main radio and TV channel it also runs the cable television channel B92 Info, which focuses on news and information.

Overall, despite the general disappointment caused by B92's commercialization, all interviewees stressed that compared to other private media B92 is still the best and most credible source of information. Further, although many journalists have left the station, its staff is still highly professional and well educated.[60] The fact that the B92 Trust intends to keep the original ideology is important and the reason why the broadcaster produces better quality than other commercial channels.[61]

35 *Ibid.*
36 *Today it is called Media Development Investment Fund (MDIF).*
37 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
38 *Not only among all people interviewed for this study but also in studies and among international experts, e.g. Julia Glyn Pickett and Simon Derry from BBC Media Action.*
39 *Matic, 2004.*
40 *Matic, 2004, p. 160.*
41 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
42 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
43 *Julia Glyn-Pickett, Senior Programme Manager BBC Media Action.*
44 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
45 *Aleksandra Krstić; PhD Candidate at the University of Belgrade.*
46 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
47 *Ibid.*
48 *B92 2014a.*
49 *Ibid.*
50 *Jovanka Matic; Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
51 *Ibid.*
52 *Ibid.*
53 *All interviewees, see full list at the end of this chapter.*
54 *B92, 2014b.*
55 *All interviewees.*
56 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information, in interview; Aleksandra Krstić; PhD Candidate at the University of Belgrade.*
57 *Result of the interviews conducted for this study.*
58 *Aleksandra Krstić; PhD Candidate at the University of Belgrade.*
59 *Jovanka Matic; Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences; Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
60 *Jovanka Matic; Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences; Aleksandra Krstić; PhD Candidate at the University of Belgrade.*
61 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*

Consequently, although B92 cannot be understood as an alternative public service broadcaster anymore, it still features certain public service characteristics. Out of all commercial media in Serbia B92 comes closest to PSB.[62]

Radio Television of Serbia (RTS)

Under the first law on Public Broadcasting, which was adopted in 1991, the hitherto independent broadcasters Radio Television Belgrade (RTB), Radio Television Novi Sad and Radio Television Pristina were merged and became part of the new centralized media conglomerate Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) – which from the beginning was completely controlled by the Milošević government.[63] Around 1,000 journalists were fired because they were considered politically problematic by the regime.[64] The control of the authoritarian government led to a deterioration of professional standards, which resulted in decreasing credibility and influence of the formerly successful broadcaster. RTS quickly became Milošević's propaganda instrument – and thus its headquarters the main place of assembly for the mass protests in the 1990s. During the NATO bombings in 1999, the broadcaster was even declared a military goal because it was seen as the main promoter of the Milošević regime.[65] Consequently, transmitter masts, technical equipment such as studios and RTS's headquarters were destroyed by the NATO; 16 employees died.[66] Although never declared a war crime, the bombing of RTS was sharply criticized by international media and human rights organizations. The dissatisfaction and anger of the Serbian population towards RTS became even more apparent during the huge protests in 2000, which finally resulted in the fall of Milošević: Protesters occupied both the parliament and RTS's headquarters, and even set the latter on fire.[67]

Under the Broadcasting Law, RTS was formally transformed into a public service broadcaster on April 30, 2006.[68] Currently, RTS employs around 3,500 people.[69] As will be seen later, this huge number of employees is one of the biggest problems RTS is facing.

RTS television consists of the following three nationwide channels: The main channel RTS 1 broadcasts mainly information and entertainment. RTS 2 focuses on educational and cultural programs as well as sporting events and parliamentary sittings. RTS Digital[70] is available through DVB-T2 and airs classical music, jazz and ballet performances and broadcasts various concerts. Further, RTS SAT is RTS's satellite service created to serve the Serbian diaspora across the world, broadcasting the most popular programs from RTS 1 and RTS 2. The two channels have the following program structure:

RTS 1	
Genre	**Percentage (%)**
Information/news	31,83
TV Series	20,82
Movies	13,78
Documentaries	7,71
Entertainment	5,76
Live sports	4,90
Advertising	4,54
Children	2,79
Music	1,85
Self-promotion	1,65
Education/Science	1,49
Sports	1,42
Culture/Arts	0,76
Religion	0,68

RTS 2	
Genre	**Percentage (%)**
Live sports	15,23
Information/news	13,99
Documentaries	13,37
Education/Science	12,48
Music	10,92
Culture/Arts	7,30
Children	6,85
TV Series	4,34
Entertainment	3,68
Movies	3,04
Advertising	2,83
Religion	2,63
Sports	2,43
Self-promotion	0,92

Source: RRA, 2012 (p. 16 & p. 59)

RTS radio consists of four nationwide channels: Radio Belgrade 1, which is the main channel – and also the second-most listened-to channel in Serbia – broadcasting news, current affairs, educational, cultural and entertainment programs. Radio Belgrade 2 is a cultural station, which broadcasts documentaries, religious discussions, jazz and classical music 14 hours daily (6 a.m. until 8 p.m.). Radio Belgrade 3 shares the same radio waves as Radio Belgrade 2 and is broadcast from 8 p.m. until 6 a.m. focusing on artistic music, philosophy, radio dramas and social and political sciences.[71] Further, Radio Belgrade 202 is directed towards a younger audience, broadcasting short news segments, rock and pop music, and current cultural, social and political trends. As mentioned above, RTS 1 is Serbia's television channel with the highest daily reach (market share of 22%, see 2.0). Further, its daily news program *Dnevnik* (the flagship evening edition) remains Serbia's most-watched news program.[72]

Overall it can be said that today, eight years after becoming a public service broadcaster, RTS fulfills the basic public service broadcasting functions. In the course of around 15 years it has developed from the propaganda tool of an authoritarian regime to a respected and professional broadcaster, whose reputation and credibility is constantly improving.[73] However RTS is still in the middle of a complex transformation process. Its different aspects and remaining problems as well as the agents involved in the changes will be discussed in the following.

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

Overall, the European Union, USAID through the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX), the Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, and the OSCE have been the main players in supporting the Serbian media system.[74] However, while especially USAID has focused on private media, the EU in cooperation with BBC Media Action has concentrated on the public broadcaster RTS.

European Union

The European Union has been a key player in developing independent media in Serbia, supporting projects focused on devising a positive legal and regulatory framework, journalism training and improving the economic sustainability of independent media. The EU has invested around ten million Euros in projects for RTS.[75] Between 2003 and 2005 it provided a new news studio, technical equipment such as an ENG (electronic news gathering) van for broadcasting from the street as well as extensive journalism training. Further, in 2003 a full audit and scanning of the whole structure of RTS was conducted providing recommendations for improvement. The results, however, were never taken into account by RTS's management.[76]

BBC Media Action

The major project that RTS has benefitted from since the democratic changes was implemented between May 2007 and November 2009 by BBC Media Action, with EU funding. According to BBC Media Action, the project, called "Technical Assistance to RTS, Serbia", had a very positive impact on RTS and is considered one of BBC Media Action's flagship projects. The project's primary objective was to assist RTS, through training, in its transformation process. The focus was on the improvement of the journalistic output, particularly the quality of news and current affairs programs in TV and Radio Belgrade 1 and Radio 202. For this purpose, BBC Media Action provided trainings in three major areas: (1) Journalism skills: Improvement of craft skills at RTS within the TV and radio newsgathering teams; (2) production skills: Improvement of technical skills both within the newsgathering teams and at the TV studios; (3) management skills: Improvement of the capacity of editorial managers to produce focused, participatory and cost-effective output, which responds to audience needs; as well as enhancing wider managerial know-how and financial systems at RTS.[77] Prior to the implementation of the in-house training program the key training needs as well as the key stakeholders from across the organisation were identified.

Over the 30-month lifespan of the project, BBC Media Action managed to train more than 100 journalists across TV and radio and more than 100 production and technical staff.[78] In addition to the journalism and news editor courses, which included practical exercises, on-the-job mentoring was part of the project. That means that mentors were present in the workplace, able to give direct feedback and provide continuous consultation on the whole production process of the programs, including planning, editorial meetings, going out on stories, workflows of newsrooms, managing the process of news as well as HR selection of staff.[79] Moreover, through study visits the project aimed to raise awareness of best practice at public service media across Europe.

62 *Aleksandar Djordjević; Media and Information Officer, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia.*
63 *Milutinović, 2011.*
64 *Ibid. p. 115.*
65 *Ibid.*
66 *Ibid.*
67 *Milutinović, 2011,. 117.*
68 *Ibid., 126. As mentioned already, another regional public service broadcaster for the Northern province of Vojvodina (RTV) was established as well.*
69 *Matic 2012; Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
70 *RTS digital started in 2008 as an experimental channel testing digital broadcasting.*
71 *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1, in interview*
72 *All interviewees.*
73 *Ibid.*
74 *European Commission 2009; final report of the major BBC Media Action project "Technical Assistance to RTS, Serbia" implemented with EU funding; document provided by BBC Media Action.*
75 *Aleksandar Djordjević; Media and Information Officer, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia.*
76 *Ibid.*
77 *European Commission 2009.*
78 *Ibid., 3.*
79 *Simon Derry , Regional Director at BBC Media Action.*

The project's main objective was met: RTS's news and current affairs output is now more professional (both technical and editorial), human and more relevant to its audience than prior to BBC Media Action's intervention.[80] Apart from the improvement of the journalistic content the project brought other successes, such as more effective organisation structures in the newsrooms, a heightened awareness of the public service ethos due to management trainings as well as more professionalism and production in RTS's regional bureaus as a result of training efforts outside Belgrade.[81] Due to the aforementioned achievements it can be said that the project significantly contributed to the overall success of RTS's transformation process. Recently, RTS has received support from the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), which assisted the digitalization of RTS's archives and provided training for trainers at the beginning of 2014.[82] These, however, were smaller projects, and currently there are no international organizations active in RTS.

Status of the Media Organization

Legal Framework, Governance and Ethics

The most important law with regard to the Serbian media system remains the Broadcasting Law, adopted in 2002. It was drafted in cooperation with national media and law experts as well as international experts and stipulates both the overall principles of Serbian broadcasting and the regulation of public service and private broadcasting.[83] However, the law is considered outdated and currently three new laws for the regulation of the Serbian media landscape are being drafted: the Law on Public Information, the Law on Electronic Media, and the Law on Public Service Broadcasting.[84] These laws were due for ratification by early autumn 2014. They were developed by local as well as EU and OSCE hired experts.[85] So far, it is known that a central element of these new laws will be provisions to privatize the remaining state media which are owned and funded mainly by local municipalities.[86] It is considered important that the state withdraws from media ownership in order to ensure independence of media outlets. Further, the new Law on Public Service Broadcasting will contain regulations of a new financing model for RTS.[87] These new provisions are urgently needed, since currently the financing is among the main problems hampering the broadcaster's transformation process (see 6.3).

The most important topics of the present Broadcasting Law are the guarantee of freedom of expression, the prohibition of censorship and all forms of interference with the work of public service media, freedom, professionalism, and independence of public service media as well as objectivity and transparency with regard to license allocation.[88] Moreover, in accordance with the law, the Republic Broadcasting Agency (RRA) was established, an independent organ that controls and ensures the implementation of the law, monitors all broadcasters and guarantees the protection of minors or copyright, among other things.

The RRA is also the regulatory body of RTS; it appoints RTS's board of directors.[89] RRA's most important organ is its council, which consists of nine people nominated both by civil society (universities, church, journalists associations, and local media NGOs) and by the state. The candidates need to have professional expertise in relevant areas; among them are media experts, legal experts, economists, and engineers.[90] The four civil society sectors and the regional parliament of Vojvodina each nominate two candidates. Out of these ten suggestions, the parliament selects five people and appoints three members itself. These eight members, in a next step, determine the ninth member – a native of the Kosovo province, considered by Serbia to be its southern province.[91] Generally, the legal provisions with regard to RTS's regulatory body try to reduce both the political and the economic influence to a minimum: Article 25 prohibits the nomination of government representatives, deputies, party officials and all persons who professionally deal with the production or transmission of media content. Further, family members of these people are excluded from the nominations.[92]

However, the interviews conducted for this study revealed that the RRA council suffers from significant political influence. Moreover, the media researcher Jovanka Matic points out that the criteria to ensure that the council members are experts are not taken seriously. Matic questions the way the RRA monitors RTS's programming: In its yearly "Report on the fulfillment of legal and programme obligations"[93] the controlling agency has repeatedly stated that everything is fine except the compliance with the 10% quota of independent productions.[94] According to the media researcher the problem is twofold: First, the RRA is not critical enough, e.g., regarding the percentage of cultural and educational programs, and second, the law only stipulates that the PSB's programming should be diverse but does not clearly determine what the structure should be like in detail.[95]

RTS's governing body, the board of directors, is appointed by the RRA council and consists of nine people, for which similar criteria as for the RRA council apply, e.g., they have to be experts and must not be politicians or members of the RRA. However, according to the interviews currently only two members fulfill the criteria, i.e., are real experts.[96] Moreover, the above-mentioned political influence within the RRA council results in the fact that the members of RTS's governing board are not independent either.[97] The main tasks of the governing body include the implementation of strategic plans, informing the public, the parliament and the RRA about RTS's activity, appointing the director general as well as dealing with suggestions of the programming council.[98]

RTS does not have an individual ethics code, but rather works according to the national code – the Codex of Journalists of Serbia – adopted by all media. The public broadcaster does not have official editorial guidelines either.

Capacity Building and Human Resources

All interviewees pointed out that one of the biggest problems that RTS is facing is its huge number of staff. Currently, the broadcaster employs around 3,500 people,[99] of which only 30% work in the content production while 70% are administrative staff.[100] One obvious problem is the financial burden that this large number of employees constitutes. Another problem is the fact that the excessive number of staff negatively influences the internal structure of RTS. There is a lack of coordination and effectiveness, which leads to the fact that sometimes two different TV teams of RTS show up at the same event.[101] An analysis has shown that 1,000 employees less would still be enough for RTS to operate properly.[102] However, the Serbian law dictates that the broadcaster would have to pay compensation to each employee it lays off; at a cost of between seven and ten million Euros.[103] As RTS simply does not have enough money to pay this compensations, it is not able to reduce its employment structure – and solve the problems caused by it.[104] However, the new laws on labour and pension funds that were passed by parliament on 18th July 2014 should allow easier and cheaper layoffs while government directives prohibit new employments in public companies as of 1st January 2014.[105]

Overall, RTS's journalists are decently educated and work professionally – the extensive training conducted by BBC Media Action (see 5.0) still shows effect. Further, RTS used to have a very good own training center of its own (until around ten years ago), which provided training mostly for technical skills such as camera work and editing. However, due to financial restraints this in-house training unit does not exist anymore. However, some RTS journalists are appointed a kind of mentor who support young journalists in their work.[106]

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

All interviewees pointed out that the difficult financial situation of RTS is the main problem that currently hinders the further transformation of the public broadcaster. According to the law, RTS is financed primarily through license fees. Further, it is allowed to generate income by providing services to third parties (sale of programs and services such as teletext, organizing concerts and events[107]) as well as through advertising.

The Broadcasting Law does not stipulate any specific restrictions regarding advertising. The Law on Advertising (Articles 15 and 16), though, determines that RTS is allowed to have ten percent of advertising in its overall broadcasting time, i.e., six minutes per hour. In reality, however, RTS violates these limits and places more advertising in its programs.[108] The amount of advertising in RTS's programming shows that despite the absence of major violations of the law, not all legal provisions are fully respected and control by the RRA is fragmentary.

The license fee amounts to 500 Serbian Dinars (around 4.30 Euros) per month and is paid via the electricity bill.[109] However, since the economic crisis in 2007/2008 the fees have been decreasing constantly. Today, only 25% of Serbian households pay the fee.[110] One reason for that is of course the generally difficult financial situation of the country. Another main reason, however, is the fact that before the last elections a political campaign proposed state funding of RTS and told the population not to pay fees anymore.[111] As a consequence, the amount of fees further dropped (it was 60% of households before that) and RTS (and RTV) came close to a financial meltdown,[112] which led to the allocation of state budget to the two public broadcasters: In 2014, RTS will receive 50 million Euros, and RTV 15 million Euros from the state.[113] The state financing of Serbia's public service media has been widely criticized and reveals the urgency of a new financing model, which is currently being developed by a working group in the context of the new Law on Public Service Broadcasting.

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80 *European Commission 2009.*
81 *Ibid.*
82 *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
83 *Milutinović 2011, 119. Although since then other laws have been adopted, such as the Telecom munications Law, the Law on Public Information, and the Access to Information Law, the Law on Broadcasting has remained the fundamental corpus of legislation of the Serbian media landscape.*
84 *Aleksandar Djordjević; Media and Information Officer, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia.*
85 *Ibid.*
86 *Aleksandra Krstić; PhD Candidate at the University of Belgrade.*
87 *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
88 *Milutinović 2011, 119f.*
89 *Ibid.*
90 *Ibid., 121.*
91 *Ibid.*
92 *Ibid.*
93 *RRA 2012.*
94 *Jovanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
95 *Ibid.*
96 *Jovanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
97 *Jovanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences, in interview; Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
98 *Milutinović 2011, 132.*
99 *Matic 2012, Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*
100 *Aleksandra Krstić; PhD Candidate at the University of Belgrade.*
101 *Ibid.*
102 *Jovanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
103 *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
104 *All interviewees.*
105 *Information provided by Filip Slavkovic, Country Manager, DW Akademie.*
106 *Vanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
107 *Broadcasting Law, Article 80.*
108 *Jovanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
109 *Saša Mirković, Assistant Minister for Information.*
110 *Ibid.*
111 *Aleksandra Krstić, PhD Candidate at the University of Belgrade, in interview; Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
112 *Birn, 2013.*
113 *Saša Mirković; Assistant Minister for Information.*

In Serbia, the average net salary of journalists is around 30,000 Serbian dinars,[114] which equals roughly 260 Euros. The general average salary is around 415 Euros.[115] The average payment of RTS staff is approximately 400 Euros.[116] That means that in comparison with other media RTS employees are relatively well paid, though their salary still lies under the national average. While editors with 20 years of experience or more earn around 450 Euros,[117] younger journalists receive less money. So-called star journalists, e.g., presenters of programs, earn much more – though their salary is kept secret.[118] Due to the enormous financial problems of the public broadcaster in the last two years, RTS was not able to pay its staff regularly. Thus, salaries were paid significantly later and RTS employees remained unpaid for months.[119]

Currently, RTS television and RTS radio operate in two different buildings and have two newsrooms, one for TV and one for radio. The management plans to merge these newsrooms in the future. However, they already share the same system and material today and are electronically connected.[120] RTS has over 30 correspondent offices in all Serbian regions and major cities. Like the broadcaster in general, its regional offices are also over-staffed. RTS's office in the city Kragujevac, for instance, – population 150,000 – has 30 employees.[121]

Perception, Participation and Public Engagement

On the one hand, RTS's reputation suffered considerably for a long time from its past as the propaganda instrument of the Milošević regime. In order to mark a turning point and a rebirth in the broadcaster's history, after the end of the authoritarian era RTS was officially called "Nova RTS" (New RTS) to symbolize liberation from political control. Further, in May 2011 RTS officially apologized for its role in supporting the regime during the 1990s.[122] In the last decade, the broadcaster has been recovering from the Milošević era, though this process will still need time; people are still critical towards the network. RTS's struggle to collect enough license fees has also partly to do with its reputation: The fact that people do not pay the fees shows that they do not want to support the public broadcaster.[123]

On the other hand, the public perception of RTS has been constantly improving. It is fair to say that today – 14 years after the democratic changes – RTS has a good reputation. Its news program is the most watched of all television news and enjoys a high level of credibility.[124] Further, the broadcaster's domestic TV series as well as its morning program are hugely popular.[125] Overall, today Serbians trust RTS – a fact that reveals the general success of the broadcaster's transformation process.

Public Service: General Functions

Creating a Public Sphere

RTS provides the Serbian public with comprehensive and mostly balanced and objective news; its news program is the most watched of its kind.[126] Further, the broadcaster's information programs enjoy high credibility. Generally, all political parties are represented in the news and all political players have the opportunity to speak. However, there is a slight pro-government tendency, i.e., the attention given to parties in news programs corresponds to their representation in parliament.[127] This tendency is also reflected in the criticism of political actors: Although there are political talk shows with guests from the whole political spectrum, the opposition is more frequently criticized than the government.[128] However, an analysis of the pre-election coverage of Radio Belgrade 1 revealed that there was a difference of only 30 seconds in the time attributed to the different parties during all 45 days of the election campaign.[129]

While RTS generally covers all major social problems and also criticizes the involved actors, the interviewees stressed that some topics are only addressed when a scandal comes up, but no follow-up or background coverage is provided. Social issues such as unemployment and child diseases are regularly addressed, whereas more controversial social problems such as extremism, LGBT issues, or war crimes are often only dealt with superficially. There is a lack of investigative journalism at RTS. One problem certainly is financial constraints. The interviewees also pointed out, however, that many journalists do not want to dig deeper or sometimes even exercise self-censorship in order to avoid problems.[130]

Supporting Integration

Generally, RTS's programming ensures participation and gives Serbian citizens a voice. There are call-in programs as well as programs with a live audience. Further, for example, Radio Belgrade 1 has a contact program every first Monday of the month, whose sole aim is to measure the public's reaction and opinion. In the one-hour live program listeners can call and discuss what they think about the program, criticize and make suggestions.[131] In addition, both RTS 1 and RTS 2 broadcast programs for families and children. However, RTS does not offer many programs for national and linguistic minorities. While the regional public broadcaster RTV broadcasts more than 68 percent of its own production of television programs in minority languages (in total ten languages),[132] RTS television has only one program, *Citizen*, which addresses national minorities and is broadcast in minority languages. Radio Belgrade 1, in addition, provides a 40-minute Roma program in Roma language every day.[133]

RTS 2 and Radio Belgrade 2 are the cultural and educational channels of the main public television and radio stations. They, as well as to some extent also the main channels RTS 1 and Radio Belgrade 1, offer numerous cultural programs that provide for cultural expression and give orientation with respect to identity and values. Around 33 percent of RTS 2 and nine percent of RTS 1 are documentaries, educational and cultural programs.[134] However, the focus of these programs lies more on historical traditions; they often do not represent the culture and modern society of today.[135] RTS is not known for being especially innovative as a media outlet. But it does have

a website as well as smart phone apps that provide content. Further, the broadcaster has put some effort into digitalizing its technology. For example, the television channel RTS Digital has existed since 2008 and the big radio studio was digitalized at the beginning of 2014. In addition, the radio master (the module where all signals are sent to), has been digitalized recently.[136]

Achievements and Challenges

Despite the remaining problems all interviewees stated that in the last decade RTS has achieved major improvements and that overall the transformation process has been successful: Today, RTS fulfills the main public service broadcasting functions; the quality of its programming has constantly been improving. There is agreement that the broadcaster has a general understanding of the public service mission. RTS's staff not only understands but mostly also intends to comply with this mandate. Further, it was stressed that the public broadcaster's programs, especially the news, which used to be fully controlled by the government, have become more and more balanced and objective. Also, the broadcaster provides political talk shows and debate programs that give the population both political and social orientation. The programming generally is more diversified; RTS offers a wide spectrum of genres, including educational, cultural and children's programs. Further, the spectrum of voices represented has widened. The fact that RTS's news program is the most watched and is considered the most credible news show also reveals an important success of the transformation process. With regard to domestic productions RTS is the forerunner. Especially its domestic TV series enjoy high popularity.[137] Moreover, RTS does not suffer from strong political pressure anymore; it is much more independent from political actors than it used to be and does not favor commercial interests. The network does not broadcast hidden advertising and has internal norms that determine that economic interests are not promoted. Moreover, RTS's journalists mostly have a generally high level of professionalism, which in the interviews to a large part was attributed to the extensive training program implemented by BBC Media Action.

Nevertheless, some challenges that currently decelerate the further transformation process of the broadcaster remain. The two main problems that RTS is facing are its financing and the fact that it is overstaffed including all problems resulting from that, e.g., a lack of effectiveness and an unclear internal structure. The broadcaster's current dependence on state financing makes it more vulnerable to political pressure and thus endangers its independence. Further, due to the fact that the RRA council suffers from political influence, the governing board of RTS is not sufficiently independent and professional. Too often its members do not meet the criteria determined by the law. Another problem is that despite the numerous regional offices there is a focus on the capital Belgrade and too few reports that address the concerns of the rural population. Moreover, RTS neither has its own training center nor an ethics code regarding editorial guidelines, which guide the journalists' work. The major problem of the media laws being outdated is addressed by the currently ongoing development of three new media laws, to be adopted in the course of 2014.

Transformation Approaches

The research conducted for this study reveals the major problems that hinder RTS's further transformation process. Accordingly, the following recommendations can be given:

– The new Law on Public Service Broadcasting should stipulate a new financing model for RTS, which guarantees the broadcaster's independence, both from political and from economic pressures. This model should ensure sufficient income for RTS mainly through license fees and advertising. RTS should not be dependent on state funding.

[114] *Matic 2012, 9.*
[115] *Jovanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
[116] *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
[117] *Jovanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] *Birn 2013a.*
[120] *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
[121] *Aleksandar Djordjević, Media and Information Officer, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia.*
[122] *Freedom House 2013.*
[123] *Saša Mirković, Assistant Minister for Information.*
[124] *All interviewees.*
[125] *Aleksandar Djordjević, Media and Information Officer, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia.*
[126] *RTS 2014.*
[127] *Jovanka Matic, Media Researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences.*
[128] *Aleksandar Djordjević, Media and Information Officer, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia; Aleksandra Krstić, PhD Candidate at the University of Belgrade.*
[129] *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
[130] *Saša Mirković, Assistant Minister for Information, in interview ; Aleksandar Djordjević; Media and Information Officer, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia.*
[131] *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
[132] *Valić-Nedeljković 2013.*
[133] *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
[134] *RRA 2012.*
[135] *Aleksandar Djordjević, Media and Information Officer, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia.*
[136] *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*
[137] *Djordje Vlajic, Editor-in-Chief of Radio Belgrade 1.*

– According to the interviewees, the internal structure of RTS has to be modernized; both people and costs should be reduced and the effectiveness increased. Currently, RTS has too many employees. A plan is needed for a systematic reduction of staff.

– Independence of the RRA council should be guaranteed and it must be ensured that all members fulfill the determined criteria, i.e., are real experts and thus work professionally.

– The RRA should take its task seriously and rigorously monitor and control RTS's programming. It should be more critical and make sure that all legal provisions are fulfilled. Further, the RRA council should appoint a governing board of RTS, which is free of political influence and consists of high level experts of the field.

– RTS should develop and implement an ethical code regarding editorial guidelines, which are adopted by all employees.

– In order to ensure that its staff is constantly trained, RTS should establish its own systematical journalism training program such as an in-house traineeship. In particular younger journalists who have not benefitted from the training provided by BBC Media Action would profit and be able to better meet international professional standards. For continuing education it would be further advisable to establish the internal training center again.

– Regarding its programming, RTS should not favor the political party in power and equally criticize and cover all political and social actors and topics. Further, it should enlarge its programs that provide follow-up and background information and thus offer political and social orientation. Investigative journalism should be strengthened.

– RTS should be aware of the communication needs of Serbia's national minorities and take them into account in their programs. The same is true for the regional population – regional issues should not be constantly under-represented.

Overall, RTS is one example that shows that a successful transformation from a former state broadcaster to a public service broadcaster is possible. Despite the remaining problems the network generally has sufficient resources – both physical and professional – to further advance its transformation process. Moreover, the potential EU membership of Serbia is likely to have an additional positive impact on its public service broadcaster, as the country is forced to meet EU standards. The interviewees pointed out that further international support such as topical training workshops (e.g., on EU issues) or support in the organizational development of the broadcaster in the context of the modernization of its internal structure might be helpful. However, there was a general consensus that currently no major international interventions are necessary – a fact that further supports the assumption that generally RTS's transformation process has been successful. DW Akademie still supports some initiatives for innovation among PSM in the Balkans: Currently, a center of excellence is being established which aims to promote public service media in South East Europe and ensure the participating media a close exchange about the individual reform processes. The center will be located at the Serbian regional public service broadcaster RTV in Novi Sad and supported by national and regional PSMs of Serbia's neighboring countries (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro) as well as RTS.

B92 and RTS: Different Approaches to Public Service Broadcasting

B92 and RTS could not be more different: On the one hand there is B92, the commercially-funded formerly public service, ideology-driven, innovative, critical and banned semi-pirate youth radio, which due to changes in the ownership structure has become a profit-driven, less public service-oriented commercial national media network. On the other hand there is RTS, the traditional and well-established former mouthpiece and propaganda tool of the authoritarian Milošević regime, which after a complex transformation process is Serbia's official public service braodcaster, offering socially responsible media content.

This chapter shows that despite their differing preconditions, both B92 and RTS managed to serve as public service broadcasters in their respective time and context. While B92 from the beginning followed an ideology of social responsibility and was always led by strong public service principles, the media outlet had very limited technical and financial resources at its disposal. In order to be able to survive and guarantee sustainability, B92 journalists gave their media outlet into the hands of profit-oriented businessmen; a fact that, not surprisingly, led to an increase in commercialization and a decrease in the fulfillment of public service functions. RTS, in contrast, lacked public service principles for a long time, but always had at its disposal generally secured resources through the state budget and later license fees. This shows that in one case the lack of resources and in the other case the lack of public service ideology prevented the media outlets from being real public service broadcasters. Consequently, from the examples of B92 and RTS, the following basic assumption can be derived: In the ideal case public service media should act in an environment of both strong, deeply-rooted public service principles and sufficient and secured resources in order to be able to fulfill its public service functions without major obstructions.

In the 1990s, the two Serbian examples did not reflect the ideal case, but rather the existence of an absolute public service ideology with strong innovative force but restricted resources (in the case of B92) on the one hand, and no inherent public service principles, but adequate resources (in the case of RTS) on the other. Today, due to political developments and thus changes in the ideology as well as trainings, RTS is characterized by a public service ideology and generally has sufficient financial and technical resources. Therefore, it comes closest to the ideal type of public service media. B92, in contrast, had to exchange its strong public service ideology for secured resources. Due to its increased commercialization and focus on entertainment it cannot be viewed as a public service broadcaster anymore. However, as was pointed out, some of its principles remain; they are the reason why the commercial broadcaster still has more public service characteristics than all other Serbian private media. Since Veran Matic, one of the founders of B92, is still the editor-in-chief of the broadcaster's news department, B92's news and information programs are still of high quality. Other examples for this are its investigative programs as well as its high-quality political talk shows, among others.

A comparison of the program structure of RTS and B92 shows that, in 2008, B92 dedicated more time of its overall broadcasting to informative and news programs (43.3%) than RTS 1 (33.8%) or RTS 2 (37.5%).[138] However, with 23.1% it had a significantly stronger focus on entertainment than RTS 1 (13.3%) and RTS 2 (4.7%). In contrast to the official public service broadcaster, B92 did not offer any culture and arts, religious or hobby programs. Further, compared to RTS it provided very few educational and children's programs.[139] This comparison was made in 2008, however, and since then B92's programming (with the change of the owners) has been even more commercialized.

As this chapter points out, in Serbia it was opted for implementing a public service ideology in a well-established media outlet rather than guaranteeing stable resources for a public service ideology-driven young media outlet. This is one possible option, as the generally successful transformation process of RTS reveals. However, it can be assumed that introducing a completely new ideology in an institution with more than 3,000 employees is more difficult and risky than developing a financing model that secures resources for an institution where the ideology is truly inherent already. After the end of the Milošević era in 2000, as revealed earlier, B92 offered ideal conditions for that. It would have been highly interesting to see the results.

Program Structure of DifferentChannels in Comparison (in 2008)

Genre	RTS 1	RTS 2	B92	PINK	RTV1	RTV2
Informative/news	33,8	37,5	43,3	15,4	27,5	24,1
Films and series	24,4	8,6	12,6	34,6	28,3	24,0
Entertainment	13,3	4,7	23,1	31,7	8,2	3,1
Commercials	9,4	3,6	11,6	16,7	4,6	2,7
Total (4 genres)	80,9	54,4	90,6	98,4	68,6	53,9
Sports	3,9	17,9	2,2		1,6	1,9
Total (5 genres)	84,8	72,3	92,8	98,4	70,2	55,8
Educational	2,4	9,8	4,5		9,6	7,8
Children	6,2	5,1	2,7	0,4	5,4	3,9
Culture and arts	2	6,6			7,0	20,8
Hobby	4,6	4,4		1,2	4,8	5,1
Religion		1,7			0,7	1,1
Youth					0	0,8
Other		0,1			2,3	4,7

Source: Matic, 2009

[138] *Matic 2009.*

[139] *Ibid., full table can be consulted in the Appendix.*

Status of Radio Television of Serbia (RTS)

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Channels, distribution	**TV:** Three nationwide channels: main channel RTS 1; RTS 2, focusing on educational and cultural programs, sporting events and parliamentary sittings; and RTS Digital, which broadcasts mainly musical events. Further RTS SAT (satellite service) for the Serbian diaspora across the world. **Radio:** Four nationwide channels: main channel Radio Belgrade 1; cultural channel Radio Belgrade 2; Radio Belgrade 3, which broadcasts artistic music, philosophy, social and political sciences; Radio Belgrade 202 focusing on a younger audience (news, rock/pop music, social and political trends)	Since 2012, RTS Digital is available nationwide.
Status of the legislative framework	The Broadcasting Law, adopted in 2002, regulates RTS. The law is outdated and does not provide clear provisions for advertising and the program diversity of the public broadcaster. Currently, a new law on Public Service Broadcasting has been drafted; it was developed by local groups as well as EU and OSCE hired experts.	Three new laws for the regulation of the Serbian media landscape are being drafted: the Law on Public Information, the Law on Electronic Media and the Law on Public Service Broadcasting. It is expected that these laws will be adopted by late 2014.
Public service remit	The Broadcasting Law stipulates that RTS's programs should be free from political and economic influences. RTS should provide content for all parts of society, including children and minorities. Its programming should strengthen the cultural identity of the population and allocate the same amount of time for all political parties ahead of elections (Article 78).	The new Law on Public Service Broadcasting will also include provisions for a clear public service remit.
Regulatory system/ governing body	The Republic Broadcasting Agency (RRA), which controls and ensures the implementation of the law, is the regulatory body of RTS. It appoints RTS's board of directors. RTS's governing body is the board of directors, consisting of nine people. **Problem:** Although there are specific criteria for RRA's council and RTS's governing body (e.g., they have to be experts and must not be politicians), the criteria are often not taken seriously, so that the members are no real experts.	According to the research conducted currently only two members fulfill the criteria, i.e., are real experts.

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Engagement of civil society	RRA's council is nominated both by civil society (universities, church, journalist's associations and local media NGOs) and by the state. The candidates need to have professional expertise in relevant areas; among them are media experts, legal experts, economists, and engineers. The council appoints RTS's board of directors, for which similar criteria apply.	While the criteria that the members have to be experts are sometimes violated, the research has not revealed irregularities regarding the nomination process of RRA's council and RTS's board of directors.
Financing	Officially, RTS has two main sources of funding: License fees and advertising. However, since the percentage of households paying the fee has significantly decreased in the last few years (to 25%), RTS received 50 million Euros from the state budget in 2014. **Problem:** The dependence on state financing makes RTS vulnerable to political pressure. A new financing model is needed, which guarantees the broadcaster's sustainability through license fees and advertising. It must be ensured that the majority of all households pay the fees.	Currently, in the context of the drafting of the new Law on Public Service Broadcasting a new financing model for RTS is being developed.
Use of mobile and internet communication/ modern technology/ challenges of digitalization	RTS has a website and a digitalized archive. Generally, the broadcaster has put some effort into digitalizing its technology. For example, the television channel RTS Digital has existed since 2008 and the big radio studio was digitalized at the beginning of 2014. Further, the radio master has been digitalized recently.	–
Regional structures and reporting	RTS has over 30 correspondent offices in all Serbian regions and major cities. Like the broadcaster in general, its regional offices are overstaffed. RTS's office in the city of Kragujevac (pop. 150,000), for instance, has 30 employees. Although regional topics are covered, there is a focus on the capital and too few reports that address the concerns of the rural population.	–
Capacity building	RTS used to have its own well-equipped training center (until around ten years ago), which provided training mostly for technical skills such as camera work and editing. However, due to financial restraints this in-house training unit does not exist anymore.	Some RTS journalists are appointed a kind of mentors, who support young journalists in their work.
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	RTS does not have an individual ethics code, but rather works according to the national code – the Codex of Journalists of Serbia – adopted by all media. The public broadcaster does not have proper editorial guidelines, either.	–

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Public perception and support for the media organization	Despite its past as a propaganda instrument of the authoritarian Milošević regime, RTS has a generally good reputation among citizens today. Its news program Dnevnik is the news program with the highest ratings and RTS enjoys high credibility within the Serbian population.	–

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	B92	RTS	Comment/Conclusion
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**1990s**: No **Today:** Partially	**B92:** Since Veran Matic, one of the founders of B92, is still the editor-in-chief of the broadcaster's news department, its information programs are still of high quality and characterized by public service principles. However, the general focus of B92 today lies on entertainment and people say that the quality of news programs, though currently still high, is decreasing. **RTS:** The quality of RTS's news has significantly improved; today, the broadcaster provides generally balanced and objective news. However, a slight pro-government tendency is sometimes criticized and the coverage focuses on Belgrade despite numerous regional offices.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound bites, etc.	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**1990s:** No **Today:** Yes	**B92:** The high quality of B92's news and information programs ensures that all political parties have the opportunity to speak and are well represented. **RTS:** In RTS's news programs as well as for instance in political talk shows all political parties have the opportunity to speak.
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Partially	**1990s:** No **Today:** Partially	The interviewees pointed out that although there is public criticism of political actors, both broadcasters are careful when they criticize the government.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**1990s:** No **Today:** Yes	Generally, both broadcasters criticize social actors and cover social problems. However, RTS tends to cover topics mainly when a scandal or crisis exists and lack follow-up and background coverage. Some topics such as extremism, football hooligans, and LGBT are dealt with only cautiously, since criminal or extremist groups have a history of threatening or even using violence against reporting journalists.

Function	B92	RTS	Comment/Conclusion
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**1990s:** No **Today:** Yes	Both broadcasters with their news and information programs moderate the public debate. For example, their political talk shows, which are of good quality, are given great importance.
Social/political orientation	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**1990s:** No **Today:** Yes	Both broadcasters offer a range of programs that help citizens gain an overall understanding of political and social issues.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**1990s:** No **Today:** Partially	**B92:** One, if not, the strength of B92 is the importance the broadcaster attributes to investigative journalism. Of all Serbian media it is the forerunner in that field, especially its investigative program Insider. **RTS:** Since RTS runs the most important news program it has the potential to set the agenda of public topics. However, investigative journalism is under-represented within RTS.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	B92	RTS	Comment/Conclusion
Participation, voice, empowerment	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Partially	**1990s:** No **Today:** Partially	**B92:** From the beginning, B92 has given the disadvantaged sectors of society a voice. However, in the context of commercialization this has decreased. The broadcaster does not offer programs in minority languages and has shifted its focus towards entertainment. **RTS:** RTS offers a few programs for minorities in minority languages, e.g., Citizen. Although it ensures participation and gives citizens a voice, the general focus lies more on political and institutional voices.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values and cultural cohesion	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** No	**1990s:** No **Today:** Yes	**B92:** According to the program schedule, B92 does not offer cultural programs. **RTS:** Especially RTS 2 and Radio Belgrade 2 provide cultural programs that, among other things, deal with values and traditions and thus strengthen the national identity.
Entertainment	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**B92:** B92 programming increasingly focuses on entertainment, e.g., Big Brother and other reality shows. **RTS:** RTS provides domestic TV series, which are very popular among the population and differ from private channels, which mainly buy international entertainment programs.
Education	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Partially	**1990s:** Partially **Today:** Yes	While RTS (especially the second channels) provides specific educational programs, B92 educational offers are marginal.
Innovation	**1990s:** Yes **Today:** Yes	**1990s:** Partially **Today:** Partially	**B92:** Due to its past as a semi-pirate radio station B92 was always forced to find innovative ways to broadcast. It was among the first Serbian media to use the internet in the 1990s. Today, its style, i.e., rhythm and speed of its programming is still innovative. **RTS:** RTS has digitalized various facilities and is still in the process of digitalization. Further, it runs a website and smart phone apps that provide content.

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/advancements/ problems
EU/European Commission (various interventions)	The European Union has been a key player in developing independent media in Serbia, supporting projects focused on devising a positive legal and regulatory framework, journalism training and improving the economic sustainability of independent media. The EU has invested around ten million Euros in projects for RTS, which concentrated on technical support and training.	Establishment of a new news studio; provision of technical equipment such as an ENG van; full audit and scanning of the whole structure of RTS; journalistic training (BBC Media Action project)	The technical support has improved RTS's broadcasting capabilities and modernized its equipment. The recommendations pointed out in the context of the full audit/scanning of RTS's structure were not clearly taken into account. The training program implemented by BBC Media Action has had a major positive impact (see below).
BBC Media Action (2007–2009)	Assist RTS's transformation process through training. The focus was on the improvement of the journalistic output, particularly the quality of news and current affairs programs in TV and Radio Belgrade 1 and 202. Trainings in three major areas: Journalism skills (improvement of craft skills at RTS within the TV and radio newsgathering teams); production skills (improvement of technical skills both within the newsgathering teams and at the TV studios); management skills (improvement of the capacity of editorial managers to produce focussed, participatory and cost-effective output, which responds to audience needs; as well as enhancing wider managerial know-how and financial systems at RTS).	Identification of training needs and key stakeholders; launch consultancy involving members of the RTS senior management team to explain project activities; journalism and news editor trainings (reporting, editing, camera, picture editing, newsroom consultancy, documentary production, talk shows, TV presenting, IT skills, multi skilling, training for trainers, radio technical skills, understanding audiences, program design, interview techniques, radio trails and promotion, etc.) including practical exercises; training in regional bureaus; on-site consultancy, i.e., mentors were present in the work place, being able to give direct feedback and provide continuous consultation on the whole production process of the programs, including planning, editorial meetings, going out on stories, workflows of newsrooms, managing the process of news production (general and financial management) as well as human resource selections; study visits.	Over the 30-month lifespan of the project, BBC Media Action managed to train more than 100 journalists across TV and radio and more than 100 production and technical staff. The project's main objective was met: Increased professionalism of RTS's news and current affairs programs (both technical and editorial), output more relevant to its audience, more effective organisation structures in the newsrooms, heightened awareness of the public service ethos due to management trainings as well as more professionalism and production in RTS's regional bureaus as a result of trainings outside of Belgrade. The project significantly contributed to the success of RTS's transformation process.

Appendix

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10
Nigeria: Freedom Radio, an African Private Public Service Radio

Jackie Wilson-Bakare

Nigeria: Freedom Radio, an African Private Public Service Radio

Freedom Radio is a privately-owned commercial radio station based in the northern Nigerian city of Kano. It is an example of how private media can take over some functions of public service media in an environment in which only state-run and private media exist. It shows some of the features of community radio – involving local audiences, giving a voice to local issues and concerns – but goes beyond that. Freedom Radio has clear ambitions to fulfill the primary tenets of public service media while remaining a private enterprise. It strives both to create a public sphere, a forum for the discussion of political and social issues, and to support the education, empowerment, integration, and entertainment of its audiences. The context within which it operates, however, remains a difficult one. The outlet is – by its own admission – strongly reliant on international partners to deliver certain values, including journalism training and sector-specific management training. Another main challenge is the extremely difficult environment that journalists have to work in. Freedom Radio has gained the loyalty and support of a broad segment of the population, a circumstance which allows it to wield an impressive amount of power. So this case shows that privately-owned public service media represent a model with advantages and challenges. The most important reforms that need to be made apply to the media sector itself, so as to generate a climate more supportive of initiatives and outfits, like Freedom Radio, that can make a valuable contribution to a media landscape in Nigeria that focuses on serving the public.

For more than half a century, since some time before independence, broadcasting in Nigeria has been well ensconced in state hands. Not until 1992 was a move made to break the government monopoly in audio-visual media, and since then the private sector has grown enormously. State-run media however remains largely that – state run; community media are nonexistent, so for a measure of independence in broadcasting, one must look to the private sector. In the following, we take a look at one of the leading private broadcasters in the north of the country, Kano-based Freedom Radio, and examine to what extent it fulfils public service functions.

Nigeria – A Brief Overview

Since gaining independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria – the 'Giant of Africa' – has had a checkered history, with military dictatorships following in rapid succession, interspersed with attempts to establish civilian rule.

The First Republic, established shortly after independence in 1960 and imbued with the sense of huge optimism that swept the continent at the time as one country after another gained their independence, only lasted until 1966. The Nigerian government was from the start an uneasy coalition of two of the three main ethnic groups which formed the larger body of Nigerian society: these three groups, the mainly Muslim Hausa/Fulani,[1] the Igbo (from eastern Nigeria) and the Yoruba (mainly based in the south west) were divided by marked cultural and political differences.[2]

In January 1966, the first of several military coups took place and in 1967 the Igbo in the eastern region of the country, who had been a prominent target of violence in the most recent coup, voted to declare independence as the Republic of Biafra. A nearly three-year ruinous civil war followed, resulting in the deaths of between one and three million people in the region.

During the oil boom of the early seventies, the country began to profit more from its mineral wealth, although the general standard of living for most people did not improve, nor did the infrastructure. In 1979, the Second Republic was established when then military leader Olusegun Obasanjo handed over power to a civilian government. This brief return to democracy, however, proved short lived, and the incompetence and corruption of the civilian regime meant that people viewed the military coup of January 1984 as practically unavoidable:

"Many Nigerians initially saw the army as the most effective body to control the country, but with the understanding that military rule was an interim measure and that plans must go forward for the transition to democratic government."[3]

That transition, however, took a further 15 years to effect. There was another failed attempt to elect a civilian president in 1993 under General Ibrahim Babangida. The grip of the military tightened. When finally, in 1999, elections were held and former military leader Olusegun Obasanjo was elected President, these elections, though deeply flawed, were nonetheless greeted with relief, both nationally and internationally. It was widely felt that the military had had their day.

Following elections, in 2003 and 2007, were far from satisfactory:

"EU observers witnessed many examples of fraud, including ballot box stuffing, multiple voting, intimidation of voters, alteration of official result forms, stealing of sensitive polling materials, vote buying and under-age voting."[4]

1 *The Hausa and Fulani are generally grouped together as the Hausa-speaking, largely Muslim ethnic group predominant in the north of the country.*

2 *Altogether there are an estimated 250 to 400 ethnic groups in Nigeria, depending on source and method of definition, and around 400 different languages. Hausa and Fulani make up around 29% of the population, Yoruba 21% and Igbo 18%. See IREX 2012.*

3 *Mother Earth Travel.*

4 *European Union Election Observation Mission to Nigeria 2007, 2.*

The next elections, in 2011, were felt to be a marked improvement.[5] As the EU Observation Mission stated, these elections "marked an important step towards strengthening democratic elections in Nigeria," but added that "challenges remain,"[6] not least the fact that most electoral offenses could be committed with complete impunity. The results returned President Goodluck Jonathan to office.

However, despite having committed itself to the democratic process, the country's leadership still has not rid itself of many dictatorial practices. Long-ingrained habits of corruption and discontinuity between government and citizenry are far from being overcome. This is a pluralist society on most levels, political, religious, and ethnic, but the divisions run deep. Inter-communal violence has threatened government stability on a local level – over the last 18 months in particular, terrorist attacks by the militant Islamist group known as Boko Haram have torn apart whole communities in parts of northern Nigeria and even rendered the capital Abuja unsafe. Most recently, these attacks have been targeted particularly at innocent groups of civilians, including schoolchildren. The country's media have also been targeted. The government's response has been at best insufficient, at worst brutal, and has done little to protect ordinary citizens.

Corruption in the country is entirely endemic – most ordinary Nigerians refer to the frequent solicitation of bribes for even the simplest bureaucratic tasks as 'tax.' Transparency International ranks Nigeria 144th (out of 177 countries/territories) on its Corruption Perceptions Index 2014[7] – a slight drop (from rank 139) compared to the previous year. The establishment in 2002 of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission has made little or no difference. Of only 30 arraignments of high-ranking office holders for corruption in nearly a decade of work, a mere four resulted in convictions.[8]

However, despite its problems on the domestic front, Nigeria is still Africa's main economic force, the most populous nation on the continent with around 174 million inhabitants,[9] and, as of early 2014, the continent's largest economy with a GDP of $510 billion in 2013, an increase "largely driven by a thriving service sector and, increasingly, by manufacturing."[10] This wealth as yet is massively unfairly distributed:

"Nigeria has a quarter of Africa's extreme poor, with 100 million of a population of 158 million living on less than £1 a day. Every day 136 women die due to complications during pregnancy. Over 2,300 children under five die every day from malnutrition or preventable diseases, and 10.5 million children do not go to school, the most of any country in the world."[11]

With its return to democracy in 1999, the country again became a major player on the international stage and has been taking an increasingly active role in international power politics, particularly on its own continent. Nigeria is a member of the African Union (the AU, successor in 2002 to the OAU), the Commonwealth of Nations, OPEC and the United Nations (and could even become the first African representative on an expanded Security Council). It's an influential member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and a major contributor to peacekeeping forces in the region and beyond.

Media Landscape

Nigeria's media sector has been variously described as "vibrant,"[12] "combative,"[13] and "outspoken."[14] Terms such as this are used most often about the print media, which have a long tradition of challenging the status quo. The first newspaper in Nigeria was established in 1859 by a British missionary; by the 1930s, some newspapers were agitating for independence for Nigeria. Most of the print media landscape was and still is privately-owned and there is still a strong tradition of advocacy[15] – often to the detriment of independence. There are more than 100 newspapers and news magazines in Nigeria, mainly in private ownership – the most influential titles, *The Guardian, Punch, Tribune, Daily Trust, This Day, The Sun*, to name a few, are all in private hands. There is a plethora of lifestyle and specialist publications, which tend to have a wide readership. In 2011, the Nigerian Press Council (NPC) counted 427 press titles in the country.[16] Only a handful of titles have national reach; circulation figures are not made available and readership figures are even harder to estimate, since every paper in circulation is likely to be passed from hand to hand. There are an increasing number of indigenous-language newspapers, the most influential of which are *Gaskiya* (Hausa) and *Alaroye* (Yoruba).[17]

The broadcast media sector is far less varied and lively, having been initially entirely in government hands:
"...state-run broadcasting organizations in the South are usually ill-prepared for their public-service role in the new, democratic era. They are often poorly funded, and still bound by the same 'rules of the game' that governed them prior to the democratic era."[18]

The sector is dominated by the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), both of which are owned and run by the federal government. These two have nationwide coverage. In addition, each state has its own stations – run by the state government - usually one each for radio and television. All of these state broadcasters frequently operate in competition to one another – a state of affairs that is entirely at variance with the principles of public service broadcasting.

For decades, "the industry led a sheltered life shielded from the winds of free market forces as successive regimes ensured that the sector remained an exclusive monopoly of the Central government."[19] The constitution of 1979, adopted with the beginning of the Second Republic, made provision for the establishment of a free press and private electronic media. Liberalization did not begin, however, until 1992, President Ibrahim Babangida established the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), "charging it to ensure that private radio and television licenses are issued before the end of his administration."[20]

Since then, the broadcast sector has expanded vigorously:
"In April 2011 there were 187 radio, 109 TV, 35 cable and 4 satellite broadcast stations on air. All of them operate either at Federal or State level. Even though more than a half of the households have access to television, radio remains the key medium in Nigeria."[21]

Radio is a key medium particularly in the north, where poverty precludes the access of most households to a TV, and illiteracy levels are shockingly high. Since 1993, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) has issued more than 120 private radio, television, and cable TV licenses.[22]

There are numerous constraints on editorial independence, right across the media sector in Nigeria. Financial instability as well as harassment and intimidation are widespread: journalists on all levels frequently take bribes (known as 'brown envelopes') to either elaborate or ignore a story; or they practice self-censorship in order to avoid being pressured, injured or worse.[23]

Libel is still both a civil and a criminal offense in Nigeria and carries heavy penalties, including a tendency to award substantial damages, which has two consequences, both of them potentially very costly for any outlet. First of all, if an outlet finds itself accused of libel and damages are awarded – and the higher the rank of the complainant, the greater the sums likely to be awarded in damages – these sums can be ruinous and can mean the shutdown of the outlet. In April 2012, the courts dismissed a defamation suit for one billion naira (6.4 million US dollars) brought by a former state governor against TheNews magazine for reporting his role in an alleged poultry-farm scam.[24]

Secondly, individual journalists may find themselves being criminalized and shut out from their profession if they are found guilty of spreading libelous or defamatory material. The weight of the law rests primarily on the side of officialdom, and there are few competent professional associations to offer journalists support in such a case. "Some of the professional associations are effective and their membership is growing."[25] However, some media outlets ban their staff from joining or forming any such association, and often, when membership payments prove insufficient to keep the organization going, "the associations solicit and receive sponsorships from governments and corporate bodies"[26] – with conceivable consequences for their independence.

Legal shortcomings also mean that no outlet has very much hope of protecting its independence legally, even should it wish to. Press freedom and freedom of speech are nominally guaranteed in the constitution of 1999 (as amended) and a Freedom of Information Act that spent over a decade in limbo was finally enacted in 2011. However, in practice, lack of clarity means that interpretation and application of the laws is difficult in the extreme. In fact:

"The laws establishing government owned media, including the Nigerian Television Authority, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, the Voice of Nigeria, and the News Agency of Nigeria make it clear that they are to take instructions from the responsible minister, which is the minister for information, and that they are obliged to comply with those instructions."[27]

In the IREX Media Sustainability Index for 2012, the score for Freedom of Speech has "improved significantly from previous years due to the panelists' assessment of the availability of public information and the existence of a right of access to information for media, journalists, and citizens."[28] This is in reference to the aforementioned Freedom of Information Act, a major gain but one which has been restricted and compromised by numerous exemption clauses, "with the overall effect that access to information is not adequately guaranteed."[29] Furthermore, the domestic news agency (NAN) is practically guaranteed a monopoly for the gathering and distribution of news to outlets throughout the country, in the News Agency of Nigeria Act with which it was established in 1976.[30]

Community radio is as yet non-existent in Nigeria: a community radio development policy document was drawn up in 2006 and a presidential declaration was made in 2010, stating that licensing by the regulator should start.[31] In January/February 2013, it was widely reported that 800 community radio stations were to be set up by mid-year, "to ensure that information on programs and policies of the Federal Government get to the rural communities."[32] Not a single station had been established at the time of writing.[33]

5 *Nossiter, April 16, 2011.*
6 *European Union Election Observation Mission to Nigeria 2011, 1.*
7 *TI 2013.*
8 *Freedom House 2013a.*
9 *Reliable statistics are notoriously hard to come by for Nigeria; some sources cite slightly different figures.*
10 *Birrell, April 16, 2014.*
11 *DFID 2013.*
12 *Freedom House 2013b.*
13 *UNDP Nigeria.*
14 *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_of_Nigeria*
15 *UNDP Nigeria.*
16 *As cited in: European Union Election Observation Mission to Nigeria 2011, 30.*
17 *Open Society Initiative for West Africa 2010, 9.*
18 *Milligan & Mytton 2009, 492.*
19 *Ariye 2010.*
20 *Ibid.*
21 *European Union Election Observation Mission to Nigeria 2011, 29.*
22 *Open Society Initiative for West Africa 2010, 9.*
23 *Freedom House 2013b.*
24 *Ibid.*
25 *IREX 2012, 320.*
26 *Ibid.*
27 *Ibid., 316.*
28 *Ibid., 315. The score for Freedom of Speech is 2.19 (out of a possible 4) which just pushes it into the 'Near Sustainability' section on the scale: "Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism, and the business environment supportive of independent media." (p.314).*
29 *Ibid., 317.*
30 *Ibid., 319. It will be noted, later on, that many news outlets nonetheless make use of foreign news agencies and channels, particularly for international news.*
31 *Open Society Foundations 2013, 34.*
32 *Agbakwuru, January 22, 2013.*
33 *Dadamac.net 2014.*

Nigeria is a country renowned for its entrepreneurial spirit and, as such, it would be surprising if the age of the Internet had passed it by. According to Google Nigeria, some 44 million Nigerians, or just under 29% of the country's total population use the Internet: "a fourfold increase in six years, from just 6.7 percent in 2008."[34] Access is of course concentrated in urban areas and restricted to those who can afford it, and therefore hardly improves the public media access situation in the country for those who really need it.

Freedom Radio Nigeria – Muryar Jama'a (Voice of the People)

Freedom Radio is a privately-owned commercial radio station based in the northern Nigerian city of Kano. It is one of the foremost radio stations of the region, and its mission statement identifies its ambitious objectives:

"To be an Independent Radio Station that promotes National Unity, gives voice to the voiceless through informative, educative and entertainment programs in an objective, diligent and fearless manner ... while raising the standards of Broadcast Journalism in our areas of coverage."[35]

Since the traditional three levels of broadcasting – public, commercial, community – do not exist in Nigeria, the supposed public broadcasters being state broadcasters and the community sector being entirely non-existent, small, and to all intents and purposes commercial broadcasters find themselves sometimes taking on additional roles. In the following we want to look at whether or not Freedom Radio might be said to fulfill – in part or more comprehensively – the remit of public service media.

The station was founded in 2003 by a group of men and women – from within one family – who had been frustrated by local politics and felt there was a need for an outlet specifically for the voices of the local people. None of the founder members were journalists, which meant, as one of these founder members put it, "a steep learning curve."[36] They were businessmen and law practitioners, which to a degree was an advantage, as it meant that they proceeded with the requisite amount of caution[37] in setting up what was in essence a business venture.

The purpose of the Freedom Radio Project was however very clear, and right from its inception, Freedom Radio asked the people what it was that they wanted from the broadcaster.[38] One of the first issues they picked up was a truly hot potato – that of HIV/Aids and its impact on society, something no other radio station or media outlet would touch because of the stigma attached.

By 2005, Freedom Radio had already established an online presence and live streaming of a selection of programs. The website now also offers apps for Android, iPhones, and iPads, for listeners to download. There are two FM stations in Kano itself (Freedom Radio and Dala FM, Da swag station, for young music fans, established in 2011), another was established in 2007 in Dutse, and most recently, in 2013, a further FM station was opened in Kaduna. There are plans to open a fifth station, in Maiduguri (Borno State), and a sixth in Sokoto[39] – the licenses have already been granted. They employ around 320 people across all four stations and in their offices. The Managing Director estimates that at present they reach audiences right across a region of some 32 to 35 million people, from Kano State itself, to Katsina, Kaduna, Bauchi, Jigawa, even as far afield as Plateau State (to the southeast), Yobi (northeast) and into the Niger Republic (in the north).[40] And of course the online presence opens them up to a listenership across the globe.

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

Of the innumerable development agencies with a presence in Nigeria, a surprisingly small number are to be mentioned in connection with media development in the north of the country. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) are both strong presences, and both work with Freedom Radio on several levels, primarily in the areas of equipping and training, with some minor funding involved.[41] The German Konrad Adenauer Foundation has worked with the outlet on various occasions: so, for example, during the election period in April 2011, when Freedom Radio set up the first-ever political debate for gubernatorial candidates in Kano to be broadcast live. The DFID also collaborated on this, and was involved, together with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Bayero University Kano, in the follow-up in July 2011 when the successful candidate (Dr. Rabiu Musa Kwankwasu) held a meeting in the town hall with a "broad spectrum of stakeholders."[42]

The outlet has strong links with Bayero University (the oldest institute of tertiary education in Kano City) and sometimes uses the facilities in their Centre for Democratic Research and Training (larger conference halls, for example) when debate or discussion programs threaten to strain their relatively limited studio spaces. Equally, the teaching staff at the university is often called upon to participate in programs or offer expertise, and students from the faculty go to Freedom Radio for their internships.[43] Civil society organizations – women's interest groups, child health organizations or, on a regular basis, the National Youth Service Corps – are involved with the station on a programming level: the NYSC has a weekly half-hour slot broadcast by Freedom Radio Kaduna and Dutse. As the managing director puts it, they (Freedom Radio) provide the CSOs with a platform for their messages and objectives, and, for their part, they gain content.[44]

Further, Freedom Radio collaborates with German international broadcaster Deutsche Welle and DW Akademie, the BBC and BBC Media Action, Voice of America (VOA), and China Radio International. Private radio in Nigeria has to ensure that 80% of content is produced locally (60% in the case of private TV);[45] so while some programs are made available by the international partners for rebroadcast, collaboration also takes other forms, that of co-production of programs or series – e.g.,

Learning By Ear (DW) – or the provision of expertise. DW Akademie provides training for Freedom Radio staff, both journalistic and technical.

Freedom Radio also works with ENABLE (Enhancing Nigerian Advocacy for a Better Business Environment), a DFID-funded organization that aims to improve the quality of business advocacy and public-private dialogue, and hence the overall business environment in Nigeria:

"In 2009 ENABLE partnered with Freedom FM, a commercial radio station based in Northern Nigeria, to support the launch of a new radio program, Da Rarafa, which discusses issues affecting small- and medium-sized businesses in the North. The program has now been on air for over one year with no financial support from ENABLE."[46]

State of Affairs: Analysis of the Broadcaster

Legal Framework, Governance and Ethics

Freedom Radio, as has been mentioned, is a privately-owned outlet, one of the first to set up in Kano (which it should be noted is Nigeria's second most populous city and a primary hub in the north). Its declared purpose is to provide the people of the region with a mouthpiece, but the only alternative to federal or state ownership was – and still is – a license as a private media outlet.

Licensing, however, whilst nominally in the remit of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), is neither an independent nor a transparent process, since the final decision as to who gets a license always rests with the president. It is also an expensive privilege, with average fees for a license amounting to tens of thousands of US dollars, even for small rural aspirants.[47] In 2010, President Goodluck Jonathan announced that the government was to give the NBC full authority over the licensing process, provided certain stipulated conditions were met. There has, however, "been no indication that an amendment to the law establishing the NBC and its charter, to support the change in the commission's mandate, is pending before the National Assembly."[48]

In addition to the 25,000 US dollars initially laid out for the license (and for each subsequent license), the outlet pays a further 10,000 US dollars annually.[49] It also has to hand over 2.5% of its turnover annually to the NBC, and every infraction of the Commission's rules brings with it a hefty fine. Given the general consensus that the NBC is both inefficient and ineffective, as well as being handicapped by legislation limiting its powers, it comes as no surprise that journalists and media owners in the region have recently set up the Northern Independent Broadcasters' Association, and eventually intend to challenge some of the conditions imposed.[50] The Commission's actions are often felt to be random and it is under no obligation to offer an explanation for any decisions.

The outlet is run by a Board of Directors, consisting of eight members, five of whom are from within the founder family. They are primarily businessmen, and one woman. The chairman is a retired Air Vice Marshal and former military governor of Kaduna State; the vice chairman is a prominent banker. Two Board members are engineers, the only members with prior experience in the broadcasting sector. New Board members are generally contacts or associates of the owning family, and will be recommended by at least one member before acceptance. They are not elected for a limited term.

Aside from the previously-mentioned mission statement which the station carries on its website, there were hitherto no published Ethics Codices or other editorial guidelines. The station used as its guide the National Broadcasting Code published by the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). The Editorial Board is, however, working on the outlet's own set of Editorial Guidelines, with the help of partner organization DFID – a process still ongoing at the time of writing.[51]

Capacity Building and Human Resources

As previously quoted, part of the mission statement of Freedom Radio is the intent to raise the standards of broadcast journalism in the region. The outlet is commercial, which means of course that they set out to generate a profit, but any profit made is – according to the will of the Board of Directors – not to be shared out among the stakeholders but to be re-invested in training and equipment.[52] The partners BBC Media Action, DFID, and DW Akademie provide training programs in-house, and DFID provides mentoring (but no funding) for the production of business programs. This mentoring, as the operations manager points out, and the attendant on-the-

34 *Opara, March 20, 2014.*
35 *Freedom Radio.*
36 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors, founding member.*
37 *Dr. Balarabe Maikaba, Head of Mass Communications Dept., Bayero University, Kano.*
38 *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*
39 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors. Mr. Dalhatu noted that the equipment for the new station in Maiduguri was already in storage but that the project had been delayed because of the state of emergency imposed in the wake of the Boko Haram attacks.*
40 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
41 *Ibid.*
42 *Ibid.*
43 *Prof. Dr. Abdallah Uba Adamu, Dept. of Mass Communications, Bayero University Kano.*
44 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
45 *Freedom House 2013b.*
46 *ENABLE.*
47 *Ojo & Kadiri 2001, 17f.*
48 *Freedom House 2013b.*
49 *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*
50 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
51 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors – by telephone, June 24, 2014.*
52 *Ibid.*

job polishing of skills such as reporting and production, filter down through other areas.[53] The managing director is in no doubt that Freedom Radio has some of the best and most highly-trained staff of any outfit in Nigeria. He points out that the station has 4 interns with the BBC; two of the BBC's correspondents in the region are from Freedom Radio; the VOA stringer in Kano is a Freedom Radio journalist, as is the Deutsche Welle stringer in Kano.[54] However, Freedom Radio has no dedicated organizational structure for capacity building. Most training is provided as just described, either on the job by more experienced colleagues or with the help of international organizations.

Training is also provided in the use of modern recording equipment. A major concern within the broadcasting sector is the lack of modern and well-maintained equipment: often, even if the studios are well equipped, the individual journalist, rarely financially secure, cannot afford up-to-date tools of his or her own. Freedom Radio makes sure that each journalist working for the outlet has, at the very least, a laptop or a tablet with the necessary software and access to digital recording equipment. As an interviewee explains, in order to encourage responsible care and use of the equipment, the journalists are required to purchase them from Freedom Radio, but at just 40% of the actual price, which they can also pay in instalments, if necessary. Thus they are co-owners and bound to be more careful. The station then also employs an IT expert who comes into the station to train staff in the use of the equipment.[55] There is an IT department, responsible primarily for maintaining and updating the website (which is hosted out of the USA).

Most journalists enter upon their professional careers woefully unprepared; this level of support for staff is highly unusual in the media sector. It engenders a degree of loyalty among those who work for the outlet, although a note of caution was sounded by an independent source with regard to pay, since it is widely known that pay is not high across the entire sector. (This leads to journalists being only too happy to accept the 'brown envelopes' that buy their loyalty or their silence.) The interviewee cited one example of a Freedom Radio journalist who worked for the station for 9 years on a casual basis but was "poached" by another station that offered him something more solid.[56]

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

As a commercial outfit, Freedom Radio has at the top of its managerial structure a board of directors, the highest policy-formulating body, and, overseeing the professional sphere of activity, an editorial board, which is set up to include the station managers and the general manager of operations, members of civil society, including veteran journalists, and two representatives from the board of directors.[57] On the next level, there is the headquarters management team, headed by the managing director and overseeing business development, operations, administration and finance, and Engineering, with each department headed by a general manager. Alongside this there is also a station management team: each station is headed by a station manager and has four departments: news and current affairs, programming, marketing, and engineering.[58]

Each of the station managers reports back to the headquarters management team and the managing director. Each station is encouraged to be largely independent, on an administrative and an editorial level, since in this part of Nigeria, regional differences can run deep, beginning with the languages. As the managing director put it, "What you can broadcast in Kano will probably set Kaduna on fire."[59] There is a management meeting, with the station managers, every two weeks; the editorial board meets every quarter, to review programs and timetables; and the board of directors meet "whenever they want."[60] There are also regular external audits.

The biggest headache for management is the sourcing of funds for a rapidly expanding outfit with a sizeable staff. Revenue is generated primarily from advertising; some advertisers will also sponsor a program on a regular basis. But the biggest problem, says one interviewee, is the fact that many of their advertisers or sponsors don't pay on time.[61] In February 2004, just months after first going on the airwaves, Freedom Radio opened a commercial office in Lagos, staffed by a small team whose sole purpose is to generate – and collect – advertising revenue. These days the team numbers six people, plus a car with driver. The state government also advertises with Freedom Radio but this is the least viable source of income, since not only do they have the worst record of non-payment of all advertisers, they will also not hesitate to use their status as an income source as leverage. On several occasions in the past, when the station's output has in some way 'displeased,' government advertising has been withdrawn, something which the station does not easily cope with, since it operates within a very tight budget.[62]

The extent of audience loyalty and the general popularity of the station's programs are Freedom Radio's most important asset when it comes to attracting advertisers. Some advertisers conduct their own surveys, and a media sales and marketing company called mediaReach also conducts readership and audience surveys on behalf of the most influential clients. mediaReach publish the West and Central African Media Facts Book (mediafacts), a publication that puts the ratings out there and is widely used by marketers: The radio listenership data (North West) in mediafacts 2011 put Freedom Radio at the top of the list by a substantial margin, with 22% of listeners (actual number cited as 30,680,402) saying they tuned in to the station the day before; in distant second place is KanoBBC (Hausa Service) with 9%.[63] The station has occasionally done surveys of its own with the collaboration of the Bayero University Sociology Dept. which designed audience questionnaires for distribution in the surrounding area.[64]

This area of activity – audience and market research – is one which could profitably be improved and expanded upon.It is

also possible to buy airtime. All program slots except for news and current affairs slots are 'for sale,' which generally means that they are open to sponsorship. Sponsored programs carry announcements or advertisements of the sponsors. News related programs are not open to sponsorships, this, of course, in order to "maintain the station's editorial controls and ensure independence to broadcast news without undue interference."[65]

Freedom Radio's news output is mainly fed by the agencies, first and foremost by NAN (News Agency Nigeria) which, as mentioned previously, is state-run and has a legally protected monopoly in Nigeria. Access to other sources is not prohibited or monitored, so that the newsrooms also use international agencies (Associated Press and Agence France Presse were specifically mentioned here[66]), and cable networks such as CNN, AlJazeera, and BBC World are fed into the newsrooms. There is a small staff of reporters available for local news and events, but the station cannot afford a large enough pool of reporters to enable them to cover a wider region. Apart from Kano, they have reporters in Kaduna State and in the capital, Abuja. A Freedom Radio/Bayero University audience survey conducted in Kano in 2011 put the news and current affairs programming very near the top of the popularity list out of over 100 programs a week.[67] The general perception is that the station made its name in news and political programming.[68]

There are four main news slots a day, at 9 a.m. (Monday to Friday as part of a 'live interactive talk show' 8:30–10 a.m.), at 12:00 (News at Noon, seven days a week), a brief bulletin at 4 p.m. (as part of the Evening Show) and at 7 p.m.. Most bulletins are 15–20 minutes, the 7 p.m. slot is half an hour of Global News and Reports followed by half an hour of Mu Leka Mu Gano, with "news of the day, with reports from all parts of the state"[69] (vice versa in Kaduna and Dutse Stations), seven days a week. There are several other slots – such as Kowanne Gauta, which features comments on daily politics "from a cross section of the public"[70] – reserved for magazine-style news and politics.

The newsroom is headed by a Manager as the overall supervisor. He is assisted by a Head of News Desk, who holds daily editorial meetings to review the previous bulletins and chart the course of the day. The newsroom operates a two-shift system, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. and 5 p.m. to midnight. Each regional station has its own newsroom and operates independently, though they share important stories.

Perception, Participation and Public Engagement

Conducting the interviews in preparation for this report, it was noted that every interviewee, at some point early on in the interview, said that Freedom Radio asked the people what they wanted from the outlet, what programs they wanted to hear, what kind of content they hoped for. One of the first programs to be taken up – by public request – was a program about people living with HIV/Aids. Freedom Radio was the first station to do this and the program has now been running for ten years, every Thursday, inviting sufferers, their doctors, and medical experts into the studio to report on their experiences and answer questions from listeners.[71] The managing director states that the funding for the program is generated entirely by the station itself, since no sponsor wants to be associated with the subject, and that offers to farm the program out to other networks have so far elicited no take-ups.

The ratings as established by mediaReach have been cited and are confirmation of another statement made by every interviewee: namely, that Freedom Radio is the most popular and widely-used radio station in the local area and the wider region.[72] Programming is interactive to an unusual degree, continually encouraging the audience to participate, not least by inviting members of the public directly into the studios. The phone-in format is widely used. As at least one interviewee pointed out, this means that audiences are being educated; people are learning that radio provides a forum, where their opinions are just as valid as anyone else's.[73]

Through Freedom Radio a culture of debate is being formed – we look more particularly at this below (10.6.1 Creating a Public Sphere). This was not an overnight process and Freedom Radio occasionally made itself the target of public ire because of something that guests on the air said. On at least one occasion, as most interviewees mentioned, an armed crowd gathered at the gates of the station, and in 2006, the station buildings were badly damaged as the result of a fire-bomb attack.[74]

53 *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*
54 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
55 *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*
56 *Dr. Balarabe Maikaba, Head of Mass Communications Dept., Bayero University, Kano.*
57 *The Chairman of the Editorial Board is a journalist of some standing and the only person thus far in Nigerian media history to have headed both state television (NTA) and state radio (FRCN).*
58 *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*
59 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
60 *Ibid.*
61 *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*
62 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
63 *mediaReach OMD 2011, 32.*
64 *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*
65 *Ibid. – information provided via email on June 21, 2014.*
66 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
67 *Ibid.*
68 *Dr. Balarabe Maikaba, Head of Mass Communications Dept., Bayero University, Kano.*
69 *See Freedom Radio homepage.*
70 *Ibid.*
71 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors*
72 *mediaReach OMD 2011, 32.*
73 *Prof. Dr. Abdallah Uba Adamu, Dept. of Mass Communications, Bayero University Kano.*
74 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*

Audience education and participation has been particularly successful since the establishment of Freedom Radio's online presence. Their programming had already gained them a very wide-based audience, across all ages and social levels,[75] and the advent of an online platform, including a social network platform with Facebook and Twitter (as the first station in Kano to do so), increased their popularity with the young. One interviewee – an independent observer – feels that, by encouraging its audiences to use the online facilities and social networking platforms, Freedom Radio has "created an awareness of social media, an awareness of social networking"[76] that was not previously as widespread.

Public Service: General Functions

Freedom Radio is an FM station "whose content is AM in nature."[77] Does this mean that it is a step towards public service media in Nigeria? It fulfils some of the conditions of community radio – involving local audiences, giving a voice to local issues and concerns – but goes beyond that. The following looks at the functions of public service media and whether this private broadcaster could occupy that space.

Creating a Public Sphere

Investigative journalism or even well-researched journalism is completely underdeveloped in Nigeria – the media for too long have been understood as a reactive rather than a proactive agent. There is still a strong tradition of subservience to powers that do not like to answer questions. Freedom Radio has therefore chosen this as a main focus of training programs and accepts that there is still much to be done.

Nonetheless, the station doesn't hesitate to tackle unpopular social issues. It is widely accepted that the HIV/Aids program – a regular Thursday slot with audience participation – has helped to overcome some of the stigma attached to the disease in this primarily Muslim state. It should not be overlooked that international partners such as BBC Media Action also tackled the subject with programs for re-broadcast. Outlets however have always been reticent to deal with it and sponsors are hard to find in the private sector.

In 2006, Freedom Radio took on the subject of the Almajiri, street beggars, who are all too often children and young men, and who beg at the car windows on most main intersections. It is a tough and dangerous life for young children but tolerated by some Muslim leaders and therefore was seen as a legitimate source of income for poor families. After several years of campaigning by Freedom Radio and debate on air, in December 2013 a law was enacted by state government to get the beggars off the streets.[78] Recently it was disclosed that state government has also set up an "empowerment program for physically-challenged persons in the state"[79] – many of the beggars are in some degree disabled.

Another success story is the case of standardization of weights and measures such as those used in the street markets. These new practical rules were registered after Freedom Radio took up the issue.[80] As the managing director put it, the station acts as "a springboard for changing public attitude and behavior and also government policies."[81]

Independent observers confirm this. The outlet's increasing acceptance as a forum for debate has given rise to a lively use of its facilities by what one interviewee from the university called the 'oral army' – meaning the class of political party followers who are very vocal in their support for their chosen party. So controversial did the debate at times become, said the interviewee, that the police were forced to also take to the airwaves in order to remind people about the basic rules of civilized debate, namely, to remain objective and to take care not to resort to simple insult or inflammatory remarks.[82] The outlet's relationship with state government can at times be volatile because of the fact that the studios are available to representatives of all parties. But, said this interviewee, those in government have come to realize that if they ostracize Freedom Radio, they "censor themselves out of the public stage." Radio Kano is the state-run outlet but government "are so much aware of the community power of Freedom Radio that they prefer to patronize Freedom Radio to ... explain their policies than to go to Radio Kano."[83]

In election times, Freedom Radio takes care to be seen to be impartial. In the elections of 2007, the station was mentioned by EU observers to have provided more critical coverage than other radio stations, "though its coverage also focused on the three main parties, which combined enjoyed almost 90 per cent of total news coverage of political parties."[84] Similarly in the 2011 polls:

"The privately-owned Freedom Radio offered the most equitable coverage to the political parties and their candidates: 35 percent went for CPC, 33 percent for PDP, 21 for ANPP and nine percent for ACN. Freedom was the only radio station where presidential candidates from opposition parties gained more airtime than the incumbent president."[85]

Supporting Integration

Freedom Radio broadcasts in 13 or 14 languages – taken across all three stations – the primary language being Hausa. Around 65% of programs are in Hausa, then come the other two main tribal languages, Yoruba and Igbo, also Arabic, English and French, and then numerous minor languages.[86] Pidgin is also included. No matter how limited the use of the language, said one interviewee, if a request was made to include that language, the outlet would do its best to do so.[87] Some languages are only broadcast an hour a week; another might be specific to Kaduna State but barely used next door in Kano State and so only the Kaduna station will include it. French was included when the station management discovered that there were more migrants from francophone Niger republic to the north than they had realized. A francophone music program was born and proved so popular that it has now been running for nearly ten years.[88]

The equally long-running program about HIV/Aids has already been mentioned in another context. There is also a program established with the specific purpose of enhancing women's participation in society and enabling them to discuss their issues. The program has a female anchor and invites mainly female guests – women entrepreneurs, those involved in local politics, as well as 'ordinary' women.[89] A program produced by BBC Media Watch and re-broadcast by Freedom Radio concentrates on the difficult subject of pregnancy and childbirth – the rate of death in childbirth and infant mortality in this part of Nigeria is extraordinarily high.

Another very popular program is known as *One God, Different Towns* (in Hausa) and is a kind of travelogue. Kano is a hub for this region of Nigeria and people from all over the world travel through or to the city. Every week a reporter goes out into the city and talks to people from different parts of the world. He asks them to describe where they come from, habits and customs peculiar to their own place of origin, or to talk about their travels.[90]

Specifically educational programs are rarer: There is a long-running program that takes up various themes in an educational context, *Learning By Ear*, provided for re-broadcast by Deutsche Welle. The Kano outlet has a creative writing program on a Sunday morning.

A glance at the program schedule shows the variety of the outlet's programming: There is a Top Ten countdown, a reggae slot and a slot called *Musical Express*. There is Hausa classical music, Arabic music and, as stated, francophone music. There are sports broadcasts, including English Premier League soccer. The station was one of the first to include a weather forecast in its schedule – and winds it up with the phrase "by the Grace of God." This, says an observer, helps convey respect for the local culture and mentality.[91]

Apart from an innovative approach to programming – particularly debate programs, as mentioned – the station has also led the way in technical innovation, introducing apps for iPhone and smartphones on its website, live streaming facilities, and the use of social media networks such as Twitter.

Achievements and Challenges

The main challenge facing any media outfit in Nigeria today is the climate of intransigence and intolerance that permeates society at the level of governance. Corruption is endemic and there is no real recourse to rule of law, nor any reliability in the status quo. This has proved to be a major problem for the operation of Freedom Radio on several occasions in the past, when they have found themselves at odds with the NBC.

The other main challenge, and closely bound up with the aforementioned, is the extremely difficult environment that journalists have to work in. Journalism is a dangerous profession in Nigeria, and many journalists do whatever they have to in order to get through. The kind of persecution they face "is nonetheless also indicative of the immense power that journalists still wield as watchdogs. They make it possible for the population to see and hear, and they make sense out of scraps of information, fashioning it into something intelligible to all and thereby maintaining their importance."[92]

This is a power which Freedom Radio seems to have been able to tap, and by eliciting the support of a broad public, they have been able to carve a niche for themselves which neither corruption nor bullying has been able to greatly encroach upon.

Nigeria experienced its most credible election to date in 2011. A freedom of information act which was a decade in the making was finally signed into law in May 2011 and not only are the people of Nigeria becoming increasingly aware of their entitlements, they are being supported in this by a growing number of media outlets and by the country's unhesitating embracing of social media.

Nonetheless, as far as the country's media are concerned, and the improvement of conditions for its professionals, there are still massive reforms to be initiated:

"People in many parts of rural Africa remain reliant on the state broadcaster … This may take some time to change, because the poor have little purchasing power. As a consequence, the poor can be 'squeezed out' of the programming content of commercial radio stations, and commercial outlets see little financial gain in reaching remote areas."[93]

Freedom Radio has achieved a great deal in convincing a very observant stakeholder sector in the country that commercial outlets can overcome this apparent shortcoming and make a worthwhile contribution. The broadcaster has gained the loyalty and support of a broad segment of the population, a circumstance which allows it to wield an impressive amount of power. It provides staff as far as possible with regular training and up-to-date equipment – both basics which are otherwise singularly lacking in the media sector.

75 *Prof. Dr. Abdallah Uba Adamu, Dept. of Mass Communications, Bayero University Kano.*
76 *Ibid.*
77 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
78 *Ibid.*
79 *Punch, February 7, 2014.*
80 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
81 *Ibid.*
82 *Prof. Dr. Abdallah Uba Adamu, Dept. of Mass Communications, Bayero University Kano.*
83 *Ibid.*
84 *European Union Election Observation Mission to Nigeria 2007, 25.*
85 *European Union Election Observation Mission to Nigeria 2011, 34.*
86 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors. See also Freedom Radio Website.*
87 *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*
88 *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors.*
89 *Ibid.*
90 *Prof. Dr. Abdallah Uba Adamu, Dept. of Mass Communications, Bayero University Kano.*
91 *Ibid.*
92 *Reporters Without Borders 2014.*
93 *Milligan & Mytton 2009, 492.*

Nonetheless, whilst the outlet prides itself on its financial self-sustainability, it recognizes the value of the input, particularly with regard to training, of the partner organizations.[94] Freedom Radio doesn't have the financial resources, nor does the sector have the practical resources, to provide quality capacity building measures. The involvement of international partners therefore continues to be vital. In particular, training and mentoring of young talent is mentioned, as well as support with marketing and networking strategies.[95] In the last segment of the chapter, we look at what needs to be addressed in order to enable reform and progress.

Transformation Approaches

The most important reforms that need to be made apply to the media sector itself, so as to generate a climate more supportive and encouraging of initiatives and outfits, like Freedom Radio, that can make a valuable contribution to a media sector in Nigeria that focuses on serving the public.

– First and foremost, legislative reforms need to be either completed or carried through: the Freedom of Information Act, the Code of Ethics, the National Community Radio Policy and many other half-hearted reform attempts should be reviewed so that they can fulfill the original objectives.

– Repressive legislation such as that on sedition and on criminal defamation should be repealed entirely, so that journalists are not criminalized unnecessarily.

– Legislation governing digitalization needs to be overhauled and reviewed in collaboration with independent experts. The Federal Government has been postponing the deadline for the switch from analogue to digital for close on a decade now, and "stakeholders believe that the level of awareness concerning this all-important date is still abysmally low."[96] It is feared that many media outlets will find the cost more than they can cope with and that huge segments of the population will once again be shut out, particularly from TV viewing, because of the potential cost of new equipment.

– Civil society and other stakeholders, such as the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), professional associations, and industry experts, should become involved in the process, by establishing an interest group or a committee.[97]

– The National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) Act needs to be reviewed and the NBC made entirely independent of government, political parties or media interests. Political party members and other interested parties should be banned from seeking a position within the NBC. The licensing procedure should be made transparent, independent and should allow for an appeals procedure.

– Licensing needs to go ahead for the private media sector, and above all for the community radio sector.

– Financing models need to be established that make it possible for media outfits to be self-sustaining and independent of commercial imperatives.

– Degree courses in the country's tertiary institutions need to be improved and modified to keep up with the demands of the fast pace of change in the sector. Here, too, there are developments to be supported and encouraged: "The Mass Communication Department of Bayero University, Kano (BUK) may soon be transformed into a school of communication to allow for the introduction of new degree programs in the field of journalism. ... [Head of the Department, Dr Balarabe Maikaba,] said some of the programs to be introduced in the school include degrees in broadcast journalism, print journalism, public relations, media and culture, and development communication."[98]

Within Freedom Radio itself – noting that these can at best be recommendations:

– Support for the newsroom and its staff through consultancy and training can be improved upon and financing models set up specifically for that purpose.

– this would probably require more involvement from international partners. Investigative reporting – or at the very least, better research habits – and presenting are the areas particularly mentioned.[99]

– An improved human resources management strategy is vital. In particular staff – and particularly journalists' – salaries should be better regulated[100] so that there is less danger of them going elsewhere once Freedom Radio has trained them to a high standard.

– Audience polls and market research could be improved upon, perhaps in cooperation with the University as has been the case in the past.

– Journalists should be encouraged to join or form press associations and to regularly pursue networking and professional self-improvement activities. Access to these opportunities can be made much easier via the internet and social media.

– Generation of revenue needs to be diversified so that the station isn't solely dependent on a small number of major advertisers.

– Development and discussion of editorial guidelines. So far Freedom Radio only has an oral culture of sharing values, principles, and practices. It could be of help to put them down in writing to assure a general agreement on the newsroom's operations.

– Improved maintenance and management of the websites and the therein published program schedules; in today's web environment, the station's profile must be seen to be kept scrupulously up-to-date.

Freedom Radio has clear ambitions to fulfill the primary tenets of public service media. It strives both to create a public sphere, a forum for the discussion of political and social issues, and to support the education, empowerment, integration, and entertainment of its audiences. The context within which it operates, however, remains a difficult one. Educational standards in the country are disappointing even at secondary level, and solid, multi-faceted vocational training in universities and colleges is practically non-existent, so that training on the job is a must. There is also insufficient appreciation of the need for well-founded market and audience research.

The outlet is – by its own admission – strongly reliant on international partners to deliver these values, journalism training, and sector-specific management training. There is a lively desire to continue profiting from the training standards of the partner organizations. More generally speaking, there is also a need for guidance in the development of better professional support networks, which in turn could lead to greater professional confidence amongst journalists. Existing associations need support in developing sustainable financing structures and combating ingrained corruption. Both media organizations and the journalists themselves should be encouraged to view such networks as an integral and necessary part of the media landscape. An outlet like Freedom Radio could easily take the lead in this.

[94] *Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors – by telephone, June 24, 2014.*

[95] *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio – information provided via email, June 21, 2014.*

[96] *Ofose.*

[97] *Dr. Balarabe Maikaba, Head of Mass Communications Dept., Bayero University, Kano. Dr. Maikaba points out that this is in fact already in process, with the NUJ "and other relevant stakeholders" calling for a review of the Code of Ethics, amongst others.*

[98] *Faggo, February 27, 2014.*

[99] *Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio.*

[100] *This should be a task for the outlet itself but the individual journalist should have recourse to regulatory frameworks and support networks in case of conflict with the outlet.*

Status of Freedom Radio Muryar Jama'a

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Stations, distribution	4 FM stations; 2 in Kano (Freedom Radio and Dala FM), 1 in Dutse (opened 2007), 1 in Kaduna (opened 2013). Distribution across a region of some 32 to 35 million people, from Kano State itself, to Katsina, Kaduna, Bauchi, Jigawa, then as far as Plateau State (to the southeast), Yobi (northeast) and into the Niger Republic (in the north). Also an online presence.	Plans (licenses already granted) to open a fifth station in Maiduguri (Borno State) and a sixth in Sokoto.
Legal framework	Freedom Radio is a privately-owned station. The licensing process is neither cheap nor transparent, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) is in charge of licensing but final decision lies with the President. Initial outlay is $25,000, then $10,000 annually, plus 2.5% of turnover to be paid to NBC. Hefty fines for any transgression, whereby there is no appeals process.	President Goodluck Jonathan announced in 2010 that he was to put the licensing process entirely in the hands of the NBC – no sign as yet, however, of any amendment to the law governing the NBC
Public service remit	Freedom Radio as a private station does not have an official remit. Its mission statement is to be an independent radio station that "gives voice to the voiceless through informative, educative and entertainment programmes in an objective, diligent and fearless manner ... while raising the standards of Broadcast Journalism in our areas of coverage." The sector is otherwise dominated by the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), both of which are owned and run by the federal government.	Freedom of speech and of expression is nominally guaranteed under the constitution of 1999 – but state-owned outlets are under the jurisdiction of the Minister for Information. There is as yet no community radio sector.
Regulatory system/ governing body	The board of directors is the highest policy-formulating body, consists of eight members, five of whom are from the owning family. Members are chosen by the board itself, often being contacts or associates of incumbent members. Overseeing the professional sphere of activity is an editorial board, chosen by the directors; candidates should preferably have a journalistic or broadcasting background. editorial board includes station managers and the operations manager, members of civil society, and two representatives from the board of directors. Below this there is a headquarters management team (Business Development, Operations, Administration and Finance, and Engineering) and each station has its station manager plus team.	Obviously a functioning model, no major changes. Members to both main boards are elected for a non-specified period of time. Each station is encouraged to be independent – regional differences can be quite profound.

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Engagement of civil society	The editorial board includes representatives from civil society: the only woman member is a former USAID program manager and a leading member of Women in Community Development; there is also a professor of sociology, and a veteran journalist and traditional title holder. There are – or were - no media or journalists' associations, no unions, and no representation otherwise.	Journalists and media owners in the region have recently set up the Northern Independent Broadcasters' Association, in an attempt to protect their interests and provide a lobby.
Financing	Mainly through advertising, otherwise through sale of airtime. The station has a commercial office in Lagos, with a staff of six (plus driver) whose sole job is to generate advertising and collect the revenue. Donor contributions are few and far between.	Market research or audience polling is underdeveloped. There is one marketing outfit that operates in the larger region (W and C Africa), it produces an annual 'mediafacts' ratings and research publication: The radio listenership data (North West) in mediafacts 2011 put Freedom Radio at the top of the list by a substantial margin.
Use of mobile and internet communication/ modern technology/ challenges of digitalization	Freedom radio established an online presence in 2005 and has a website which also enables live streaming. The webpage provides listeners with a selection of apps for their smartphones, so that they can listen to Freedom radio on the go. The outlet also has a social networking presence.	Plenty of potential for still more and more efficient use. Very popular with listeners, particularly the young. The outlet seems to have helped spread awareness of social media where before this had been limited.
Regional structures and reporting	A large proportion of programming is shared between the stations but there also has to be an awareness of regional differentiation which can be considerable. The stations employ local reporters in Kano, Kaduna, and in the capital Abuja. No funding for a larger pool of reporters.	Room for expansion/ improvement.
Capacity building	The station lays claim to some of the best and most highly-trained staff of any outfit in Nigeria. The station has 4 interns with the BBC; two of the BBC's correspondents in the region are from Freedom Radio; the VOA stringer in Kano is a Freedom Radio journalist, as is the Deutsche Welle stringer in Kano. A large part of international partner activity (DFID, BBC Media Action, DW Akademie) is in training.	The outlet also makes sure that all journalists are equipped with at least a laptop, and access to digital recording equipment, and provides training with the equipment.

Characteristics	Status	Changes and progress over the past years
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	Part of the mission statement of Freedom Radio is the intent to raise the standards of broadcast journalism in the region. The NBC's National Broadcasting Code provided the station's editorial and ethics guidelines up until now.	The station is putting together its own set of editorial guidelines, with the help of the DFID – process ongoing at the time of writing.
Public perception and support for the media organization	Both ratings ('mediafacts') and word of mouth place Freedom Radio at the top of the popularity scale in Kano and beyond. Programming is highly interactive and many programs taken up by request. The phone-in format is widely used. Audiences are being educated; a debate culture is being formed.	Freedom Radio has also undertaken some audience research of its own, with the help of the Sociology Dept., Bayero University in Kano. The use of social networking has further engaged the audience.

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	Partially	There are four main news slots a day, at 9 a.m. (Monday to Friday as part of a 'live interactive talk show' 8:30–10 a.m.), at 12:00 (*News at Noon*, seven days a week), a brief bulletin at 4 p.m. (as part of the *Evening Show*) and at 7 p.m.. Most bulletins are 15–20 minutes, the 7 p.m. slot is half an hour of *Global News and Reports* followed by half an hour of *Mu Leka Mu Gano*, with "news of the day, with reports from all parts of the state." Funds, however, do not allow reporting 'from the field' beyond the local area, therefore mainly reliant on domestic and foreign news agencies and outlets such as CNN.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound bites, etc.	Yes	The outlet's increasing acceptance as a forum for debate has given rise to a lively use of its facilities by the so-called 'oral army' – meaning the class of political party followers who are very vocal in their support for their chosen party.
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	Yes	At Freedom Radio voices opposing the government are regularly heard. The outlet's relationship with state government can at times be volatile because of the fact that the studios are available to representatives of all parties. State government itself has come to realize that it is more useful to work with Freedom Radio.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	Yes	The station's HIV/Aids program – a regular Thursday slot with audience participation for 10 years now – has helped to overcome some of the stigma attached to the disease. No other outlet will tackle the subject.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	Yes	In the elections of 2007, the station was mentioned by EU observers to have provided more critical coverage than other radio stations. Similarly in the 2011 polls, the EU observers noted that the privately-owned Freedom Radio offered the most equitable coverage to the political parties and their candidates. Freedom Radio was the only radio station where presidential candidates from opposition parties received more airtime than the incumbent President.
Social/ political orientation	Yes	Numerous programs are audience participation and ask civil society organizations into the studio to report on social issues such as child and maternal health.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	Partially	Investigative journalism or in-depth research is completely underdeveloped in Nigeria, but there are cases where Freedom Radio successfully puts something on the public agenda, e.g., in 2006, Freedom Radio took on the subject of the *Almajiri*, street beggars, who are all too often children. After years of campaigning, in December 2013 a law was enacted by state government to get the beggars off the streets – and find alternatives for some of them.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Participation, voice, empowerment	Partially	Some social minorities (HIV sufferers, women) are heard; numerous minority languages are represented, some only for half an hour per week; ethnic minorities such as the non-indigenes are also heard in a program called *One God, Different Towns*. (Kano is a type of mixing-pot for cultures from all over this part of Africa and there are many who are regarded as 'not belonging' though they might have lived there all their lives.)
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values and cultural cohesion	Partially	French was included when the station management discovered that there were more migrants from francophone Niger Republic to the north than they had realized. A francophone music program was initiated and has now been running for nearly ten years. Also, Hausa classical music and Arabic music (see below), as well as music programs for a younger audience.
Entertainment	Yes	There is a Top Ten countdown, a reggae slot and a slot called *Musical Express*. There is Hausa classical music, Arabic music and francophone music. There are sports broadcasts, including English Premier League soccer.
Education	Partially	*One God, Different Towns*: Every week a reporter goes out into the city and talks to people from different parts of the world; he asks them to describe where they come from, habits and customs peculiar to their own place of origin, or to talk about their travels. There is *Learning By Ear*, a general education program (provided by Deutsche Welle), and a creative writing program once a week.
Innovation	Yes	Numerous of the above can be seen as innovative: the live political debate with the newly-elected governor; asking HIV sufferers and their doctors into the studio to talk about problems they face; the station has gained itself a reputation as an innovator. It was also the first in Kano to introduce live streaming on its website; the website also offers apps for smartphone and iPhone; and has a Facebook page, a Twitter account and a Google+ profile.

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
DFID – Department for International Development, UK	Capacity building with training programs, mentoring; guidance with a set of editorial guidelines.	Provides mentoring of business programs. Has collaborated – together with Konrad Adenauer Foundation – on a political debate program during elections for state governor.	The debate program was so successful, a follow-up with the successful candidate was also conducted.
BBC Media Watch	Co-production, some programming for re-broadcast.	Regularly provides a program on mother and child health.	–
Deutsche Welle, DW Akademie	Capacity building, also technical education	In-house training programs, co-productions	An understanding and appreciation of in-depth journalistic research is initiated in the newsroom. One reporter won international journalism awards for environmental reporting.
VOA	Re-broadcast, co-production	VOA has a regular almost-daily slot on programming schedule.	Private radio in Nigeria has to ensure that 80% of content is produced locally so while some programs are made available by the international partners for re-broadcast, collaboration also takes other forms.
ENABLE (Enhancing Nigerian Advocacy for a Better Business Environment)	A DFID-funded organization that aims to improve the quality of business advocacy and public-private dialogue	Collaborated in the launch of a new radio program, Da Rarafa, which discusses issues affecting small and medium sized businesses in the North.	The program has now been on air for over one year with no financial support from ENABLE.

N.B. All the information given in the tables above is based on the interviews, observations and document analysis made by the author of this chapter. The tables provide very rough summaries of what is being elaborated in the texts. Many of the issues mentioned here are, of course, subject to change.

Appendix

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List of Interviews

Faruk Dalhatu, Managing Director Freedom Radio, Board of Directors, founding member – interviewed by telephone March 23, 2014.

Umar Saidu Tudunwada, General Manager Operations, Freedom Radio – interviewed by email March 3, 2014, by telephone March 27, 2014.

Dr. Balarabe Maikaba, Head of Mass Communications Dept., Bayero University, Kano – interviewed by telephone April 8, 2014.

Prof. Dr. Abdallah Uba Adamu, Dept. of Mass Communications, Bayero University Kano – interviewed by telephone April 6, 2014.

11
Nepal: Radio Sagarmatha, an Asian Community Radio Pioneer

Priya Esselborn

Nepal: Radio Sagarmatha, an Asian Community Radio Pioneer

In 1997, Radio Sagarmatha went on air as the first community radio station in Nepal and South Asia. Today, the 250 community radio stations in Nepal play an important role. For most of the citizens who live in the more remote areas of the country, community radio is the sole source of information. Radio Sagarmatha set the standard for independent, public-interest radio in the country. It also contributes to the empowerment of local communities. As a means of social mobilization, the station is raising its voice to discuss many hidden issues or taboo topics in society, reflecting the shortcomings of Nepal's fledgling democracy. In the 17 years since its establishment, Radio Sagarmatha has groomed and transformed itself into a professional media house. Nevertheless, the community station struggles to maintain the high level of professionalism in times when international donors are pulling away. This case shows how much community media in Asia can achieve on behalf of the public in the absence of public service media. But also what their limitations are.

It was a struggle that lasted many years before Radio Sagarmatha[1] went on air in 1997 as the first community radio station in Nepal and South Asia. Since then, Radio Sagarmatha has become a role model for community radio in the region: in terms of content, agenda setting, and courageous broadcasting even in times of crisis. In order to understand what makes Radio Sagarmatha different from other community radio stations and what its impact on the media scene in Nepal is, an analysis of Radio Sagarmatha's role shall be delivered.

Radio Sagarmatha's growth and success is especially impressive and it is therefore worthwhile to take a closer look at the different services it delivers to the public. The following analysis is based on the definition of a community radio as "a radio station that is owned and controlled by people in the community, is usually smaller and low-cost in comparison to commercial radio stations, provides interactive two-way communication, is non-profit and autonomous, therefore non-commercial, has a limited coverage or reach, utilizes appropriate, indigenous materials and resources, reflects community needs and interests, and its programs or content support community development."[2] To begin with, a brief overview of Nepal's main characteristics and the country's media landscape shall be outlined.

Nepal – A Brief Overview

Nepal is a young and fragile democracy that abolished its powerful 240-year-old monarchy in 2008. The monarchy had been in trouble since Maoists began a civil war in 1996. A massacre in the palace that left King Birendra, Crown Prince Dipendra and many other members of the royal family dead in 2001 traumatized Nepal even more. According to figures from the Nepalese government 17,265 people were killed and thousands displaced before the Maoists finally agreed to a truce in 2006.[3] Despite general elections in 2008, which the former Maoist rebels won by a large majority, and second general elections in 2013, the process of writing a new constitution could not be completed because of fundamentally different group interests. Moreover, Nepal is ethnically a very diverse country. The National Census of 2011 reports more than 120 different ethnic groups and tribes that often have very different cultures and languages.[4] 80 percent of the Nepalis are Hindus. They follow the caste system strictly, thus deepening the rift in society even further. Furthermore, the landlocked Himalayan state is one of the poorest countries in the world. It ranks 157th out of 186 nations in the United Nations Human Development Index 2013.[5]

Media Landscape

All the aforementioned challenges that Nepal as a country is facing have a direct impact on its media scene. Nepal is far from having a state-run or public service network that provides the majority of its citizens with access to information. The majority of the 30 million Nepalese still rely mainly on radio for information, news, and entertainment as some 80 percent of the people live in rural areas where electricity is a problem and the literacy rate is low.[6,7]

Radio Nepal was founded in 1951 and had a monopoly on radio broadcasting for the next 46 years. Its broadcast area covers some 80 to 90% of the country.[8] State-run Nepal Television started broadcasting in 1985. Not until the end of the 1990s did Nepal's government allow private FM stations to go on air, filling a vacuum, and giving citizens from then on a choice. The first private TV station, Channel Nepal, got its license in 2002.

1 *Radio Sagarmatha 2014a.*
2 *Definition based on Maslog et al. 1997.*
3 *Nepal Monitor, July 23, 2011; Real Clear Politics, March 29, 2011.*
4 *Central Bureau of Statistics 2013.*
5 *UNDP 2012.*
6 *The literacy rate overall is 57.4 %. It is higher for the male population (71.1%), but significantly lower for women because of their low status in society 46.7%. See CIA 2014.*
7 *Infoasaid 2011, 5.*
8 *The Website of Radio Nepal (http://radionepal.gov.np/) is directly connected to the Government, which shows that it is not a public service broadcaster, but a state-run network. The government still views Radio Nepal as its official voice and this, local and commercial radio news in general are more trusted.*

Today, there are over 250 community radio stations broadcasting in Nepal. For most of the citizens who live in the remote areas of the country, community radios are the sole source of information.

Media laws and regulations are decades old and therefore don't address the most recent developments in technology and new media.[9] Moreover, reviewing the laws is not a priority for lawmakers.[10] The reason for this is simple: since the first general elections after the end of the civil war in 2008, there have been seven prime ministers. Some of these governments remained in power for a few months only.[11] This development has unveiled deep cleavages in society and political instability that is not only prevalent in all spheres but is also a hindrance for progress.

Despite these challenges, Nepal's media scene is diverse and vibrant. Nepal has some 100 daily newspapers as well as 15 TV stations. Across the country, some 300 radio stations – commercial and community-based are on air. The capital Kathmandu alone has more than 30 FM stations that mainly focus on entertainment, gossip, and call-in shows. As these stations in general rarely offer a forum for debate or feature programs dealing with social issues for the people, station loyalty is low. Urban listeners who have a choice tend to turn the dial to a different station several times in an hour.[12] The concentration of media houses in Kathmandu[13] shows that Kathmandu is not only the administrative, economic, and cultural center of Nepal. It also shows how extreme the urban-rural divide in Nepal is. Quality and standards of media outlets vary greatly as news stories are often manipulated in order to please politicians or powerful industrialists that finance the media houses, especially in the capital. Even after the establishment of Radio Sagarmatha, radio licensing remains restricted only to the elite as it was regarded as an "attractive business."[14]

Very few journalists have studied journalism or mass communication at three universities – Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu University and Purbanchal University – or the many hundreds of colleges that have been offering such courses since 1976. But they often lack practical knowledge and are very far from the realities of professional media houses.[15] It is very common that journalists receive their knowledge as interns and through training on the job only. In 2001, the private College of Journalism and Mass Communication based in Kathmandu started to offer B.A. and Master courses. For six semesters, students, however, have to pay tuition fees of more than 200,000 Nepalese Rupees, about 1,500 Euros.[16] Despite these hurdles, a poll of 4,500 people conducted by the BBC in 2008 people revealed that an overwhelming majority (92%) of the respondents said they trusted the media more than any other institution in Nepal.[17] Experts describe the role of the media for Nepal especially after the end of the civil war both as positive and negative. The media, on the one hand, has been playing "a very good role in terms of sensitizing the people of having a constitution" and that it should be a "democratic" one. But many journalists, especially in the big media houses, are "members of political parties" and can therefore not truly fulfill their role as watchdogs in society.[18]

Government censorship is rare. In 2005, however, when then King Gyanendra declared a state of emergency, many media outlets including Radio Sagarmatha were closed, their equipment was seized and staff detained. To this day, many journalists avoid hot topics and practice self-censorship as intimidation and harassment of media professionals is common.[19] In the Press Freedom Index of Reporters Without Borders, Nepal ranks only 120th out of 180 nations.[20] Ten journalists and media owners lost their lives between 2002 and 2010. Moreover, Radio Nepal and Nepal Television are not allowed to broadcast anything which is in contradiction "to the unity and cultural identity of Nepal" leading to a strongly-filtered selection of content.[21]

Already back in 1985, it was demanded that Radio Nepal and Nepal Television should act as public service broadcasters (PSB). A transformation process was started with the goal to make both bodies more independent from the government, but also bring more transparency into decision making. But many academics deem the transformation unsuccessful: "Broadcast culture calls it to be a PSB, funding compulsions drag it towards market forces, while the government would like it to remain its mouth piece."[22] Therefore, due to continued governmental intervention the majority of the people in Nepal "have lost trust" in Radio Nepal and Nepal Television.[23] In view of this discrepancy between the mandate and actual performance, community radios, especially Radio Sagarmatha, have taken over many functions of public service media as will be described in the following.

Internet Penetration in Nepal is growing rapidly. Although the overall rate at around 9% is still very low, it is significantly higher among the urban population giving them more choices of consuming different media and informing themselves.[24] Some 75% of the Nepalese population uses mobile phones and every month some 300,000 new people are added.[25] Especially the Nepalese youth are listening to radio and using the internet through their mobile phones.[26]

Radio Sagarmatha

The unique characteristics of the media scene in Nepal make it understandable why Radio Sagarmatha has been hailed in the international media and by academics as a "pioneer,"[27] the "voice of a nation"[28] that offers "a conduit for the wide range of voices and opinions that were previously unheard on Nepal's radio channels."[29] Established in 1997, Radio Sagarmatha (MHz 102.4) views itself as a "defender of democracy and freedom of speech."[30] Radio Sagarmatha is run by The Nepal Forum of Environmental Journalists (NEFEJ). This NGO was formed in 1986 by journalists with a high interest in development and environment related issues.[31] "Sagarmatha" is the Nepalese name for Mount Everest, the world's highest mountain situated in Nepal, and which is considered holy. It literally means "fac-

ing the ocean with its forehead." Some translate it as "mother of the universe." Either way, the name is highly symbolic and deeply rooted in the Nepalese mythology.

Radio Sagarmatha is proud to be the first independent community radio of South Asia. However, the very first "independent" radio broadcast in South Asia was not quite free from state control. To get its license, the station needed to adhere to 17 conditions that included, for example, not to broadcast news and current affairs programs, to only broadcast for two hours a day using only a 100 Watt transmitter and that government officials would monitor the programming and would be informed about the content.[32] That is why in the early years the focus was on programs that dealt with issues connected to the environment, the preservation of Nepal's natural resources, and sustainable development since these issues were considered to be non-political. As Radio Sagarmatha became more and more popular, it gradually shedded the restrictions that were initially connected to its license, including the broadcast of news and current affairs programs. At the same time the community radio movement as a whole gained momentum in the rest of Nepal. Thus, Radio Sagarmatha set the standard for independent, public-interest radio in the country.[33] Despite the fact that many countries in the region such as Sri Lanka, for example, were experimenting with the set-up of community radio stations, countries like India needed many more years to develop a clear strategy for the establishment of community radio stations. That is why the establishment of Radio Sagarmatha in 1997 is now widely seen as a "milestone"[34] for the entire community radio sector in the region.

Currently, Radio Sagarmatha broadcasts 18 hours of programs daily, from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m. It uses a 1 Kilowatt transmitter (1,000 Watt) which makes it possible for people in the entire Kathmandu valley to listen to programming.[35]

On its website[36], Radio Sagarmatha highlights its objectives:

– To promote open public discourse on issues of public interest as part of the effort to carry out advocacy for social justice

– To set standards in public interest broadcasting

– To produce a pool of journalists in community broadcasting

[9] *Nishchal Pandey, Director of the Centre for South Asian Studies in Kathmandu: "Well our laws are quite lax. As far as media are concerned, most of these laws were inacted some 25-30 years back. That's why lots of the business persons nowadays criticize them. Especially the online media, the web-based media resorted to criticism and yellow (press) journalism. And if I go to the court the judiciary will ask for a penalty of a meager amount of money like 200 – 300 rupees. So these laws were inacted many years ago and the media has benefitted from that." (sic)*

[10] *The Radio Act dates back to the year 1957. It was reviewed, amended and extended in the National Broadcasting Act of 1993. In 1997, the Telecommunication Act came into existence. The Right to Information Act of 2007 can be considered as a milestone, as it declares the citizen's right to information and the government responsible in a democracy to work in a transparent and accountable manner. But till date, there is for example no act that is describing or dealing with the role of community radios and regulating their work. For Acts and Regulations see: Ministery of Information and Communications 2014.*

[11] *The prime ministers were Girija Prasad Koirala (28.05.2008 – 18.08.2008, Nepali Congress), Prachanda alias Pushpa Kamal Dahal (18.08.2008 – 25.05.2009, Unified Communist Party of Nepal), Madhav Kumar Nepal (25.05.2009 – 06.02.2011, Communist Party of Nepal), Jhala Nath Khanal (6.2.2011 – 29.08.2011, Communist Party of Nepal), Baburam Bhattarai (29.08.2011 – 14.03.2013, Unified Communist Party of Nepal), Khil Raj Regmi (14.03.2013 – 11.02.2014, Nonpartisan), Sushil Koirala (since February, 11 2014, Nepali Congress). See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Prime_Ministers_of_Nepal.*

[12] *Infoasaid 2011.*

[13] *The population of Kathmandu according to the National Census of 2011 is 975 453. In 2001, it was only 671 846. The population of the whole Kathmandu valley is estimated to be 2.5 million. 20% of the urban population live in Kathmandu. See Kathmandu Metropolitan City Office 2014.*

[14] *Dhungel 2012.*

[15] *Analysis by Pant, Pant 2009.*

[16] *CJMC Fee Structure, see: http://cjmc.edu.np/home/insidepage/67*

[17] *Infoasaid 2011, 21 and 22.*

[18] *Nishchal Pandey, Director of the Centre for South Asian Studies in Kathmandu.*

[19] *See NGO Reporters Without Borders' website on Nepal: http://en.rsf.org/nepal.html*

[20] *Reporters Without Borders 2014.*

[21] *Settekorn & Kannengießer 2007, 48.*

[22] *Adhikarie, March 3, 2011.*

[23] *Kafle 2010.*

[24] *Internet World Stats: Nepal Usage and Population Statistics.*

[25] *Kathmandu Post, February 13, 2013.*

[26] *Nepal is a very "young" country. More than half of its population is under 24 years old (54,2 %), see: CIA 2014. For the use of the internet through mobile phones and listening of programs over mobile phones please see Infoasaid 2011, 7.*

[27] *Dahal & Aram 2011.*

[28] *Taylor 2007.*

[29] *UNESCO 2008.*

[30] *Quote from Radio Sagarmatha's website.*

[31] *NEFEJ 2014a.*

[32] *Dahal & Aram 2011.*

[33] *Pringle & Subba 2007.*

[34] *CRSC 2011.*

[35] *Ghamaraj Luitel, Former Station Manager of Radio Sagarmatha: "Radio Sagarmatha reaches 4.5 million people." Estimations say that 2.5 million people are listening to Radio Sagarmatha on a regular basis.*

[36] *http://www.radiosagarmatha.org*

– To educate the masses in issues of their interest

– To contribute to the proliferation of community radio stations in the country

– To sensitize government and policy makers on issues from constitutional process to gender relations

– To facilitate the democratization process by increasing access to information to the people including women and excluded groups as a responsible community radio

–To strengthen democratic culture, peace, sustainable development and the environment

Especially popular is the evening talk of Radio Sagarmatha *Aaja ka Kura* (Today's Talk) from 8 to 8.30 p.m. daily in which current affairs topics related to major social, economic or political issues are discussed. In this program, senior government officials such as department secretaries and ministers, but also parliamentarians, are invited and questioned "using a mixture of interviews, round table discussions, and listener phone calls."[37] The program is so successful that its host Kiran Pokhrel, who was in his twenties when he started at Radio Sagarmatha, soon became a celebrity. The newspaper "Nepali Times" stated in August 2002: "Kiran Pokhrel hosts Radio Sagarmatha's best-known prime time radio talk program Aaja ka Kura. He has talked day-in, day-out, seven days a week about everything under the Nepali sun: the dissolution of parliament, life without local governments, mismanagement of hospitals, vehicle emission standards, the marital rape bill, duped Nepali migrant workers, you name it. It's now come to the point where you're nobody unless you have been grilled by Kiran on Aaja ka Kura."[38]

In the program schedule social issues related to children (*Bal Chautary,* Children's Forum and *Lukamari*, Hide & Seek), women and senior citizens, good governance (*Hamro Sarokar*), environment (*Batabaran Dabali, Aankhijhyal*), education, health as well as discussion rounds (*Radio Talk with Dr. Prakash Raj Regmi, Jyoti Baniya, Sulochana Manandhar etc.*), the BBC's Nepali Service Re-Broadcast, music programs (*Mirmire Bhaka, Yuwa Sangeet, Mera Geet, etc.*) and news bulletins (*Radio Khabar Patrika, Haalchal*) can be found.[39] The popularity of Radio Sagarmatha's news bulletin *Haalchal* in particular dates back to February 2005 when the station was shut down for the first time by armed soldiers on the orders of the King. "Haalchaal" isn't the correct term for news in Nepali which would be "samachar". "Haalchal" means just a casual conversation. A few days after the first shutdown in February 2005 the station decided to fight censorship by broadcasting news sung and proclaimed in a comedy form that is traced back to Nepal's tradition of oral folk media. And thus the name *Haalchaal* has stuck for news bulletin to this day.[40] Besides programming in Nepali, there are programs for other communities too, for example, for the Newar community (*Our Collective Voice/Munasa*), Maithil, and Tamang communities. All in all, some 80 different programs are broadcast throughout the week. Many of them are well established and extremely popular.

Radio Sagarmatha does not have correspondents or contributors outside of the Kathmandu valley. The station, however, provides other community radio stations in the country through a pool set up by the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB) with its programs and news. It also receives programs and content from community radios from other parts of the country that are dealing with issues of shared interest.[41] This exchange of programs was institutionalized by ACORAB in the year 2009 by establishing the Community Information Network (CIN) that connects all members of ACORAB – some 250 community radio stations – through a single satellite network. The network dispatches for example ready-to-broadcast news twice every day and in a customizable manner. This means that a 30 minute program, for example, contains 10 minutes of national news, 10 minutes of local news that is of relevance for community radio stations throughout the country, and 10 minutes of interviews or talks. CIN has a production studio in Kathmandu for which some 8 producers work.[42] The network was established because most community radios are located in remote areas of the country and this system can overcome hurdles for diverse reporting such as the reliability of air networks, slow and interrupted phone and internet connections, or continued closures and strikes. This system makes local content nationally available. The CIN studio also produces feature programming, for example, on social issues such as public health or women empowerment which are then shared. Community radio stations can make their content available to others through this platform too. Besides the news programs that are rebroadcast by over a hundred stations, the amount of stations that rebroadcast feature programs differs depending on the topic.[43]

Stakeholders in the Transformation Process

Nepal relies heavily on international aid from governments, international institutions such as the World Bank or the United Nations, and civil society organizations such as NGOs. This has become a problem when it comes to Nepal's media landscape for international organizations and donor agencies impinge upon media function and policies in Nepal.[44]

UNESCO

Under the International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC) UNESCO played a major role in supporting the community radio sector in Nepal. Between 1997 and 1999 UNESCO helped Radio Sagarmatha set up and establish itself with 60,000 US Dollars. This start-up support included training of staff, consulting, computer, transmission and studio equipment. Over time, IPDC supported other com-

munity radios as well as the ACORAB, established in the year 2002. IPDC also helped to prepare different studies assessing the needs and state of the community radio sector in Nepal. Furthermore, UNESCO has been very active in the education and qualification of journalism students. Since the 1980s the organization supported, for example, the Department for Mass Communication and Journalism at the Ratna Rajya Laxmi College at the Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu. UNESCO helped in designing the curricula as well as in the training of lecturers in the use of interactive teaching methods and knowledge transfer. Some of the lecturers were sent abroad to attend such trainings, among them also to Germany to the International Institute for Journalism (IIJ) in Berlin.[45]

BBC Media Action

Already in the late 1990's Radio Sagarmatha agreed on a partnership with the BBC World Service as well as with BBC Media Action. Until today, the station rebroadcasts the programs of the BBC's Nepali Service on a daily basis. But an exclusive interview with the former leader of the Maoist rebels, Prachanda alias Pushpa Kamal Dahal, by the BBC's Nepali program created a stir in 2005 and almost put the station's existence at risk. After Radio Sagarmatha decided to rebroadcast this interview in November 2005 the station was shut down for the second time in that year, equipment was seized, and some employees were detained. After heavy protests, the station got its license back a few days later.

Radio Sagarmatha also airs two popular programs prepared by BBC Media Action in the evening: the radio soap opera *Katha Mitho Sarangiko* (Bittersweet Tales of the Sarangi)[46] that deals with problems and challenges in the life of women and men in the villages and cities in Nepal through the eyes of the main character Dilu. The mix between poetry, social drama, and music has been hailed in Nepal by the media.[47] The Facebook page of *Katha Mitho Sarangiko*[48] shows more than 109,000 fans, although the production of the program was terminated in August 2013 after almost 240 episodes. Moreover, Radio Sagarmatha airs another radio magazine *Sarangiko Bhalakusari* produced by BBC Media Action which supports the fight against gender-biased violence.[49] Both issues are relevant because Nepal is currently undergoing a sometimes painful transformation process as questions relating to tradition and modernity as well as gender and urbanization are sometimes violently debated in society. BBC Media Action has extensively trained journalists and staff of Radio Sagarmatha in different areas of radio and multimedia journalism. The organization now employs 27 people that work on different media projects.[50] BBC Media Action has in total some 100 broadcast partners in Nepal, among them Radio Sagarmatha and ACORAB. Besides producing programs, BBC Media Action aims to build capacity strengthening partnerships in the FM sector. It also engages in extensive research and works on issue-based communication activities such as climate change.

DW Akademie

As Germany's leading organization for international media development, DW Akademie has been active in consulting, coaching, and training journalists at Radio Sagarmatha since the late 1990s. DW Akademie has coached employees on many levels in developing the organizational structures, worked with the management on workflows and professionalized the programming too. In a three-week workshop in 1999 – which was part of a series of workshops – DW Akademie trained journalists in preparing improved programs in terms of content (training in research and writing skills), interactivity (phone-in, call-in, write-in, drop-in), and liveliness (integration of sound bites, vox pops, interviews, music and natural sounds). In terms of organizational structure, new elements were discussed and put into practice: editorial meetings, planning tools, times for air-checks, and team-building measures were part of the consulting process.

The daily morning show was modernized to incorporate different voices in the program and to offer a platform for discussion and the inclusion of as many actors as possible. As a regular part of every morning broadcast, vox pops were introduced and trained. Until today, these lively elements are a regular feature in programming and reporters go out to collect the voices of people from all walks of life on the burning issues of the day. Moreover, the technicians were trained to improve the technical quality of live- and pre-produced radio content. Jingles and the marketing of the station (off– and on-air promotion) were other fields that were touched upon in the intensive training period. In all, 32 employees were coached. Some other 20 people, including the station manager and the representatives of the management board, took part in the consulting groups and discussion sections.

37 *UNESCO 2008.*

38 *Nepali Times, August 16, 2002*

39 *Radio Sagarmatha 102.4 MHz Program Schedule, see: http://www.radiosagarmatha.org/programm-list-with-grid.html*

40 *Taylor 2007.*

41 *Tirtha Koirala, President of NEFEJ and Chairman of the Board of Radio Sagarmatha.*

42 *Mohan Chapagain, Chairman of the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Raghunath, January 16, 2014.*

45 *See Website of Department of Mass Communication and Journalism at Tribuhan University: http://www.journalism.edu.np/introduction/index.html*

46 *The Sarangi is a bowed, short-necked string instrument from South Asia made out of wood. It is the most popular instrument in the region.*

47 *A selection of newspaper articles that praise the almost 150 episodes of "Katha Mitho Sarangiko" can be found at BBC 2014a.*

48 *http://www.facebook.com/kathamithosarangiko*

49 *BBC 2014b.*

50 *Ibid.*

The methods that were applied to design this project were the result of intense talks and negotiations with the station manager and other representatives at the station. The aim was to help Radio Sagarmatha to fulfill its own targets as a community radio station and to cater to the needs of the involved communities through better programming. Helmut Osang, project manager, and Goetz Buerki, technical consultant, of the DW Akademie noted in their final report. "There is a tendency towards narration overload. And there is a tendency towards expert overload. Many programs are talk dominated, thus not making full use of radio's wealth of formats and boring the listener. Furthermore, most programs are studio-based, with guests being invited to the studio rather than talking with them where they work, meet or simply live."[51] The report emphasized how important field trips are as they showed the value of going out, as the "results are lively and down-to-earth interviews, reports, and packages, making the program richer and more colorful."[52]

In recent years the following cooperation projects were carried out: A 30-minute radio feature on the education for marginalized groups in Nepal was co-produced in 2005 by an editor from Radio Sagarmatha together with an editor from Deutsche Welle. It was aired in German and English by Deutsche Welle and in English and Nepali by Radio Sagarmatha. In 2007, different workshops were designed to cater to the needs of the different stake holders in Nepal: a follow-up workshop for Radio Sagarmatha, training and consulting sessions for members of ACORAB as well as for technicians of ACORAB. Journalists of Radio Sagarmatha were also trained in other workshops in Nepal and Germany on issues such as "News and Online Journalism" or "Reporting" (2003, 2009, 2010). The European Union funded a study in 2008 about the challenges that community radio stations are facing in Nepal which was carried out by DW Akademie together with ACORAB.

The International Institute for Journalism (IIJ), Berlin

The International Institute for Journalism (IIJ)[53] organized on a regular basis trainings and workshops for Radio Sagarmatha and other community radio stations in cooperation with the German Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the Nepal Forum of Environment Journalists (NEFEJ). Besides journalistic multimedia-workshops, "Train the Trainer" workshops were organized in Berlin.[54] Journalists from Nepal also took part in summer schools and other specific programs in Germany that were organized by the IIJ.

DANIDA

Nepal became a priority country for Denmark's development corporation, DANIDA, in 1989.[55] The objectives for DANIDA in Nepal are to contribute to "poverty reduction, political stability, and to strengthen inclusive economic growth and access to renewable energy." Every year, Denmark provides approximately 35 million US Dollars in assistance. Besides training Radio Sagarmatha's staff on a regular basis, DANIDA organized in 1999 a unique concept with the station: *Safa Radio-The Clean Air Campaign*.[56] "Safa" is the Nepalese word for "clean." Five days a week a three wheeled electric van that could carry half a dozen or more people would measure the level of air pollutants in the city. Heavy smog and air pollution are serious problems in Kathmandu. Many call the city "unlivable" and that it is "choking" its residents.[57] According to Yale's 2014 Environmental Performance Index (EPI), Nepal's air quality ranks 177th out of 178 countries.[58] In 1999, results of the samples from 30 rotating locations that the Safa Tempo collected were analyzed in a lab, then explained the same day during the stations evening news bulletin, *Haalchaal*. In a monthly press conference, results would be presented to the media and the public.

Free Voice/Free Press Unlimited

Free Voice was established in 1986 to support independent media in developing countries. It stated as its objective to "strive towards establishing reliable journalism and press freedom in those regions."[59] Free Voice was founded by the Dutch Association of Journalists (NVJ), the Association of Dutch Newspaper Publishers (NDP), the Dutch Society of Editors, and Radio Netherlands Worldwide. In 2011 Free Voice was merged with others to form Free Press Unlimited. In Nepal, Free Voice supported the Community Radio Support Centre (CRSC) that was formed by NEFEJ, the license holder of Radio Sagarmatha. Free Voice has been actively supporting the growth and strengthening of community radios – in rural areas too – through workshops, the establishment of a help desk, grant fund, technical and management inputs, producers capacity building, reference materials development, advocacy and lobbying, and a radio knowledge center among others.[60]

Radio Sagarmatha states on its website[61] that it worked in the past with a variety of other development organizations such as Action Aid, Oxfam GB, Transparency International, US AID and the US embassy, Water Aid, and the WWF among others on a topic-based basis. It was highlighted in the interviews that in general the training activities were of great help and importance for Radio Sagarmatha as well as for the community radio sector. Workshops, however, were only useful when the needs and wishes of the station were taken into account. Only by "inviting people in a five-star-hotel" far away from the reality of their daily routine and work environment, many topics discussed could not be integrated in the daily work. Thus, in some projects "time and resources were wasted."[62]

Status of the Media Organization

Legal Framework, Governance and Ethics

Radio Sagarmatha is run by The Nepal Forum of Environmental Journalists (NEFEJ).[63] NEFEJ is the current license holder. At the time of Radio Sagarmatha's founding, three other NGOs – the Himal Association, Worldview Nepal, and the Nepal Press Institute – had campaigned together with NEFEJ to get the license and are therefore included in the Radio Sagarmatha

Board too.[64] It meets monthly to review and plan activities. Currently, the five member board is elected for two years and headed by a chairman. NEFEJ appoints the station manager as the executive chief of the station and the deputy station manager too.

Generally, there are three types of "owners" or license holders of community radio stations in Nepal: NGOs, corporatives and others such as village bodies or municipalities.[65] By far most of the community radios in the country are run by NGOs although the level of financial aid to the different stations varies greatly. This has led to widespread criticism if the concerned stations can truly be independent from the agenda of the NGO to whom they are attached.

Despite the fact that Radio Sagarmatha started its operations in 1997 already, there is still no legal framework under which the now more than 250 community radios in 70+ districts of the country work. Up until now, rules and regulations regarding the media in general and the role of the press in Nepal in particular can be found in the Radio Act of 1957,[66] that has been amended many times, as well as in the Broadcasting Act of 1993, and the interim constitution of 2007. Meanwhile the government has established a nine-member working group and is hopeful to finally come up with binding regulations by the end of 2014 in order to give the community radio sector a "separate identity."[67] As of now, community radios were only mentioned as being "non-profit-making FM stations."

All in all, the growth of the sector has been somewhat chaotic in the past years. As one expert has said, it was based "on sentiments, emotions, and ideals"[68] rather than a planned strategy. Especially after the end of the civil war in 2006, when the government was no longer afraid that airwaves could be used by the former Maoist rebels for their propaganda, licenses were issued en masse. Between April 2006 and July 2007 about 150 licenses were issued and in early August 2011, the government had issued 393 licenses and of these, 228 were community stations and the remainder commercial radios.[69] One of the reasons for this rush is that receiving the license is quite cheap. For a 100 Watt transmitter, the license fee is 20,000 Nepalese Rupees, approx. 150 Euros. A small station can be run on a budget of ca. 1.5 million Nepalese Rupees (11,200 Euros) a year.[70]

In the absence of governmental regulations and guidelines, ACORAB – the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters in Nepal – has come up with its own "constitution," a set of criteria its members should adhere to. This includes that "at least 60% of the programming should be localized. The programs of this category should be either dealing with local issues of the communities the concerned stations are serving or should be in the local language to give the communities a platform and support dialogue. The remaining 40% of the programming can deal with issues of national interest, can be rebroadcasts from other stations or could be entertainment based.[71]

The absence of a clear definition and binding criteria has made it in many cases difficult to differentiate clearly between commercial and community radio stations in Nepal as the station selects most of the times its label on its own. A report submitted in December 2012 by ACORAB and the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF) states: "Community radios face a number of governance and accountability related challenges including: inconsistent application of community radio principles, domination by elite groups, increased politicization and loss of local control and content. Despite large numbers of stations that use the label 'community radio', many of these stations would score low or fail if a well-researched set of criteria were applied to their operations."[72]

Three Nepali organizations in particular need to be mentioned when it comes to journalistic ethics. In 2003 (amended in 2008), The Press Council Nepal[73] has come up with a "Code of Journalistic Ethics."[74] The Press Council Nepal is an autonomous and independent body set up by the government in 1972 to monitor originally the print media only and promote freedom and ethical standards of behavior. It now also deals with complaints against journalists, publications, and broadcasters and advises the government on media development policy.

51 *Osang & Buerki 1999.*
52 *Ibid.*
53 *The IIJ was founded in 1962 and seeked to improve the performance of print and online journalists It later became part of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), and in 2013 its operations were taken over by DW Akademie.*
54 *NEFEJ 2014b.*
55 *See Ministery of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2014.*
56 *Noronha, May 22, 1999.*
57 *Lodge, March 21, 2014.*
58 *Yale University 2014.*
59 *Free Press Unlimited 2014.*
60 *NEFEJ 2014c.*
61 *Radio Sagarmatha 2014b.*
62 *Mohan Chapagain, Chairman of the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*
63 *NEFEJ 2014a.*
64 *See: Shivakoti.*
65 *In 2011, out of 242 licensed community radio stations 183 were run by an NGO, 54 by a corporative and the rest by village council, a municipality and educational institutions. In: CRSC 2011.*
66 *The original text of the Radio Act of 1957 can be found under http://www.asianlii.org/np/legis/laws/ra201463/.*
67 *Mohan Chapagain, Chairman of the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*
68 *Ibid.*
69 *Pringle & Subba 2007, 10.*
70 *According to data provided by the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*
71 *Mohan Chapagain, Chairman of the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*
72 *ACORAB 2012.*
73 *Press Council Nepal 2014.*
74 *Press Council Nepal 2008.*

Despite its mission statement, many are skeptical how independent the Council is and if it can really fulfill its role as a watchdog. The chairman of the council for example is appointed directly by the government which led in last year's appointment of former Supreme Court Justice Avadesh Kumar Yadav to serious controversies. Moreover internal reforms are overdue.[75] Despite that, the Nepal Press Council is for many community radios the only acknowledged entity that gives them guidance and orientation. That is why Radio Sagarmatha's current station manager Tika Ram Rai states that the station is "strictly following the code of conduct that the Nepal Press Council has prepared" and that there are "other directives dealing with journalistic standards especially for the news editors at Radio Sagarmatha in place."[76] Besides the Press Council Nepal, the Federation of Nepalese Journalists (FNJ) also aims to engage itself in the "development of a responsible and accountable media and promote the idea of press freedom."[77] FNJ was formed back in 1956, then under the name of Nepal Journalists Association. Today more than 8.000 journalists and media persons that work in print, electronic, and online media all over the country are represented by this body.

The Nepal Press Institute (NPI) is the only notable Nepalese institution that offers training to journalists and acts as a research institution for the media of Nepal. This NGO has its headquarters in Kathmandu, but the institute also runs three regional media resources centers in Biratnagar, Butwal, and Nepalgunj.[78] It is a membership-based organization. It funds itself from fees for services, membership dues, grants and donations. NPI emphasizes that it does not receive any grants or subsidies from the Nepalese government. On its website, the NPI further states that it receives funding from DANIDA which is its most important international partner and donor as well as the Danish School of Journalism, UNESCO, Panos South Asia and Save the Children US.[79] Its mission is to promote "the development of independent media, free access to information, human rights and pluralism of thoughts and ideas" and of "upholding the ideas of press freedom, human rights and democracy."[80]

Capacity Building and Human Resources

Currently, some 80 people work for Radio Sagarmatha. The station manager is heading the station and is represented in his absence by the deputy station manager. The station is divided then further into six departments: the program section with the chief producer as its head, the news section with the news editor as its head, the technical section headed by a technical manager, the finance section with a finance manager as its head and the human resources section headed by the human resources manager. According to the organization chart 20 people work in the program section and 22 in the news section. The interviewees emphasized the fact that Radio Sagarmatha especially values the participation and the capacity building of women. Station Manager Tika Ram Rai stated that about 60% of the journalists and program contributors at Radio Sagarmatha are women.[81] Tirtha Koirala as chairman of the Radio Sagarmatha board said that out of 31 journalists that are employed in one way or the other with the station, 17 are male and 14 are female, but that there are more female volunteers than male volunteers.[82] Radio Sagarmatha's own website talks of about 40% women.[83] Whatever the true number is, it is a big success for gender equality, for in the beginning, staffers and contributors were primarily men.

Generally speaking, Community Radio stations have to deal with a great fluctuation among their staff. The reasons are that community radio stations usually cannot pay great amounts of money to their staffers and volunteers. ACORAB strongly emphasizes that there are no salaries,[84] and it estimates the average compensation amount for contributors for a feature program of 20-25 minutes in a small community radio station based in a remote district to be about 300–400 Nepalese Rupees which is about 3 Euros. If the station is a bit better off it can also pay up to 800 Nepalese Rupees for a weekly program. According to ACORAB, small community radios run operations with just 20–25 staffers.

Financial sustainability is one of the biggest challenges that these stations are facing. Radio stations that have a bit more resources would have altogether some 40–50 staffers.[85] Operations with 80 employees, such as in the case of Radio Sagarmatha, are only possible in the big cities such as in Kathmandu, Pokhara or Biratpur.

Generally there is quite a big interest to work for a community radio station, despite the fact that the amount of money paid as a fee for transportation or research bears no proportion to the time and efforts volunteers put in their work for the community radio station. The background of the volunteers is quite diverse and ranges from teachers to advocates, health workers, doctors, housewives or students.[86] In the case of Radio Sagarmatha at least 10 university students per year do their internship at the station for 45 days.[87] After finishing their internship and completing their undergraduate degree, Radio Sagarmatha gives them the opportunity to apply at the station as volunteers. The best are selected and receive an amount of about 6,000 Nepalese Rupees monthly for transportation and as compensation for their efforts.[88]

Staffers and contributors are qualified by senior colleagues in the different stations through trainings that range from 10 to 15 days. Within this time, issues such as "how to identify topics of programs, criteria for radio journalism, and voice training" are discussed.[89] ACORAB also sends trainers to conduct trainings in remote areas in order to help small community radio stations to improve the quality of their programming.[90] Since they are operating isolated from national news and information in local languages other than Nepali, professionalizing programming and management remains a big challenge. Also the question of establishing regional training and resource centers was discussed many times but they could never be satisfactory established.[91] But what must be noted is that as Radio Sagarmatha has been a pioneer in the community radio

movement in Nepal and has transformed itself into a station that has a high quality of programming for which many noted journalists work. Radio Sagarmatha is today even able to give trainings to staffers from other community stations itself.

In 2007 recommendations from an assessment of the community radio sector highlighted the urgent need to come up with a long-term vision for the sector and to include stakeholders from various government departments (education, human resources, rural development, etc.) to colleges and universities in this process.[92] The aim should be "to build national and local capacities to ensure a dynamic and sustainable community radio sector, one that makes appropriate contributions to national development."[93]

Through a specific strategic capacity development plan for the community radio sector that is endorsed by all stakeholders issues that needed to be addressed were identified as university and college curricula, the role of different community radio groups, national and regional training centers, distance learning programs, internships, and government support for human resource development, among others.[94] In 1999 when DW Akademie conducted an initial three-week consultancy workshop including an assessment of the organizational structure of Radio Sagarmatha, it highlighted the challenges many community radios that started their operations but also established ones that have to deal with the high level of fluctuation among their staff will face: "Only by involving staff can one build a team. Teambuilding however also implies sharing work load, sharing responsibility."[95] As in some organizations payment and contract schemes are not transparent this adds to frustration and might bring down motivation. "Salaries, working time, actual performance, work load, job descriptions, and job perspectives for volunteers need to be constantly reviewed."[96]

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

These days, Radio Sagarmatha states that only about 30% of the funds that are required to run the station come from different NGOs including NEFEJ, the license holding NGO. The station therefore relies on local public service announcements – in short PSA - to generate income as most of the community radio stations in general do.[97] Such kinds of PSA are in the case of Radio Sagarmatha mostly related to issues dealing with "environment, sanitation, rule of law, gender relations, social justice, education, child rights, human rights, rights of women." Co-productions as paid sponsored programs are also possible. Under this agreement, the sponsor has the editorial say with Radio Sagarmatha providing airtime and technical support, as Radio Sagarmatha's website explains.[98] Major international agencies, foundations, and institutes can also spread their programs, thus raising awareness, when they pay for the preparation of the program.

In 2011, a detailed study assessing 15 of the most renowned community radio stations in Nepal already looked upon seven key challenges that are common for all community radios in Nepal: Participation and ownership, radio governance, radio programs, resource structure and resource management, radio station management, financial management, and networking. Radio Sagarmatha was ranked in third place out of the 15 stations that were analyzed.[99] The station was very strong in terms of programming, but recommendations were given regarding its financial management especially as its performance in this area was below par. General problems that smaller community radio stations have are, for example, that still until today not all maintain a bank account, don't know how to use and generate income from different sources, don't have an inventory of goods and equipment nor review their financial situation periodically.[100] Many studies have found that the quality of programming has improved considerably in recent years. But still, financial sustainability remains a challenge and is in many cases directly linked to the quality of programming when journalists are poorly paid, proper equipment is missing or not correctly installed.

Radio Sagarmatha is very proud of its news bulletin *Haalchaal* and news are broadcast throughout the day. It is one of the core issues for Radio Sagarmatha. Topics of the program and news are "collectively chosen" and an editorial meeting is convened "three times a day."[101] Besides the news editor, the organization chart shows that senior and assistant editors, co-reporters and junior reporters work in the news section to ensure proper research, unbiased reporting and cross-checking of information through a defined working pattern. Central planning is important as well as proper organization and guidance by senior journalists at the station. For international

75 *Dhungana, January 27, 2013; Freedom Forum, Jan. 28, 2013.*
76 *Tika Ram Rai, current Station Manager at Radio Sagarmatha.*
77 *Federation of Nepali Journalists 2014.*
78 *Nepal Press Institute 2014.*
79 *Ibid.*
80 *Ibid.*
81 *Tika Ram Rai, current Station Manager at Radio Sagarmatha.*
82 *Tirtha Koirala, President of NEFEJ and Chairman of the Board of Radio Sagarmatha.*
83 *Radio Sagarmatha 2014c.*
84 *Mohan Chapagain, Chairman of the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*
85 *Ibid.*
86 *Ibid.*
87 *Tika Ram Rai, current Station Manager at Radio Sagarmatha.*
88 *Ibid.*
89 *Mohan Chapagain, Chairman of the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*
90 *Ibid.*
91 *ACORAB 2008.*
92 *Pringle & Subba 2007, 36 and 37.*
93 *Ibid.*
94 *Ibid.*
95 *Osang & Buerki, 1999.*
96 *Ibid.*
97 *Tika Ram Rai, current Station Manager at Radio Sagarmatha and Ghamaraj Luitel, Head Media Academy Nepal and Former Station Manager Radio Sagarmatha.*
98 *Radio Sagarmatha 2014d.*
99 *Radio Lumbini and Radio Menchhyayem scored best according to CRSC, see CRSC 2011.*
100 *Ibid.*
101 *Tika Ram Rai, current Station Manager at Radio Sagarmatha.*

news, Radio Sagarmatha has subscribed to the national News Agency Rastriya Samachar Samiti (RSS)[102] that is working closely together with international agencies such as AP, Xinhua, PTI, etc. Meanwhile other stations – especially those in rural areas – that cannot afford to subscribe to a news agency sometimes face the problem that they rely on old news from newspapers only.

Perception, Participation and Public Engagement

Radio Sagarmatha is undoubtedly one of the most successful and powerful community radio stations of Nepal.[103] It is very popular in the Kathmandu valley and eagerly monitored by decision makers. The audience is diverse as are the programs that address all levels of society: from shop owners to housewives, from children and students to senior citizens and women to farmers and decision makers. Radio Sagarmatha joined Facebook in October 2013 and the station is slowly building up a community of fans.[104] The page is maintained by the program producers who post links and information about their programs on a regular basis, but sometimes there is a day gap or even more in updating the page. One can also find team photos or other information of NGOs that were featured on this page. "Excellent," "best," or "informative" were the words used by users to describe Radio Sagarmatha.[105]

Public Service: General Functions

Based on the analysis of the media scene in Nepal it is clear that the state broadcaster Radio Nepal is in many ways not a public service broadcaster. But Radio Sagarmatha is a very good example for a community radio station that is able to take over for its audience many functions of public service media as the following chapter shows.

Creating a Public Sphere

Radio Sagarmatha is proud to have been in many instances an agenda-setter and that through its investigative reporting many issues of domestic and foreign interest came into light. Some examples are mentioned on the Radio Sagarmatha website:[106]

> – The Nepalese government had agreed back in 2007 on a controversial extradition treaty with the Indian government. According to this treaty – it has been an issue that came up from time to time since the 1950s – even individuals with third country nationality needed to be handed over to India when demanded. Interior Minister Krishna Prasad Sitaula was traveling to Delhi to sign the deal. The Dashain festival – Nepal's longest and most auspicious festival – was celebrated on these days and all the newspapers were shut. Radio Sagarmatha organized a studio discussion and after it, the government backed down from its previous decision because of public pressure.
>
> – At the Supreme Court the case file belonging to Tulasi Devi Ghimire[107] had suspiciously gone missing. Radio Sagarmatha reported on the issue and interviewed the Joint Registrar and renowned judge, Til Prasad Shreshta. Eventually the file was retrieved.
>
> – Radio Sagarmatha also states that the intensive reporting and open debate on issues related to gender was helpful as the country came up with an improved and gender-friendly legislation including reproductive health for women.[108] If it was Radio Sagarmatha's reporting alone that changed the law or if Radio Sagarmatha's reporting was only part of a combined effort of many stakeholders cannot be proven.[109] But it can be safely said that this certainly was a case where the station offered an important forum and platform for debates, opinions and dialogue.
>
> – Natural disasters are another area where Radio Sagarmatha has been effective. Its broadcasting has informed people during crises about details of the emergency, rescue operations, restitution that victims can expect, and how to protect themsleves from illnesses. Examples were floods and landslides that hit especially western Nepal in 2002 or the Kosi river floods in 2008.[110] Radio Sagarmatha is running a program on issues related to earthquakes too, which is called *Bhukampiya Surakshya*. This is a very relevant topic as Nepal is earthquake prone and considered to be a "high-risk country."[111] In modern history, approximately every 75 years a major earthquake has occurred. The last one happened in 1934. The United Nations Office on Disaster Risk Reduction estimates that up to 100,000 people could lose their lives if an earthquake destroyed large parts of the Kathmandu valley.[112]

Supporting Integration

Radio Sagarmatha is educating, informing, and entertaining people through its programs, raising awareness, supporting integration and preserving the national and cultural heritage. One example is *Uhile Bajeka Palama - In the time of our forefathers*. The concept for this program was already drafted in 1999 during a first consultancy by DW Akademie. In its final recommendation the team noted: "Recording oral history is an essential task of public service broadcasting. Elders in the cities and villages in the valley certainly have stories to tell and songs to sing."[113] The 30-minute program values the cultural identity of the Nepalese people and educates the younger generation about history. It is a unique and creative way of constructing a local identity and emphasizing the sense of a local belonging. Moreover, Radio Sagarmatha is proud to have more than 25,000 sound tracks saved in its archives, preserving the cultural heritage of the communities it is serving.

Radio Sagarmatha also contributes to the empowerment of local communities. As a means of social mobilization, the station is raising its voice to discuss many hidden issues or taboo topics in society, reflecting the shortcomings of Nepal's fledgling democracy. Through this, marginalized groups can also participate in the public sphere. For example, programs dealing with the plight of the Dalit community - Untouchables as they are termed - are also produced on a regular basis in order to overcome the discrimination that the caste system has imposed on them which has deeply divided the Nepalese society.[114]

Another approach that was greatly valued by one of the interviewed experts was when Nepal was engulged in the civil war, Radio Sagarmatha tried to calm down sentiments and advocated for negotiations rather than the use of violent force. In this regard, Radio Sagarmatha was not only moderating, but in some ways also mediating the peacebuilding process.[115] The station's work has been acknowledged nationally and internationally. Radio Sagarmatha received in 2006 the AMARC International Solidarity Prize[116] and in 2007 the ONE WORLD Special Award[117]. The Supreme Court of Nepal, the Dalit Sewa Sangh, Nepal Center for Disaster, and the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse have sent formal letters of appreciation to the station.[118]

Achievements and Challenges

Radio Sagarmatha has achieved a large reputation, credibility and respect not only in the communities it serves, but also among academics and in the community radio scene worldwide. It is considered by its listeners as a trustworthy source of information, a role model as well as a trendsetter and a source of inspiration for many in Nepal.[119] The fight for an independent source of information by journalists and activists for over five years that finally led to the foundation of Radio Sagarmatha in 1997 has been a milestone for the community radio scene, not only in Nepal but for the whole of South Asia as described in detail before. In the 17 years since its establishment, Radio Sagarmatha can be proud of the fact that it has groomed and transformed itself into a professional media house. In the beginning, the station was only able to broadcast a few hours of programming with a handful of people using a 100 kilowatt transmitter. Today, some 80 people work for the station that broadcasts 18 hours of programming a day. The enthusiasm of the founding days is described by then technical director Upendra Aryal. "I thought it was a big fantasy to transform an outfit with a single mono Sony EV500 compact cassette recorder into a sophisticated FM station. It was very difficult to even get a building for the proposed station. Finally the station was in my house, and I was ready to rent out the land and the building for the next fifteen years. I had the transmitter hidden in my residence and at night kept it as if it were my pillow."[120] To keep this enthusiasm and identification alive for the cause of community radio journalism is seen by many of the interviewed experts as a big challenge. It will also always remain a big challenge to keep the diversity of programming alive, to integrate the concerns of the communities Radio Sagarmatha is serving and balancing this with other sectors of society. On top of this Radio Sagarmatha is also struggling with the general challenges the media sector in Nepal is facing.

> – In the absence of a legal framework and because of the continued political instability as governments keep changing within a short period of time, the lines between commercial and community radio stations are not very clear. All the interviewed experts said that new legislation is urgently needed to restructure and reorganize the sector which has grown so rapidly and in many ways uncontrolled.
>
> – It is also important to ensure that the community radio idea or its philosophy is not misused in order to simply generate funds or grants. The tendency for this development became clear in the 2012 study of ACORAB and the UNDEF. It stated that many stations that consider and label themselves as "community radios" would in fact fare very low, if they were analyzed by a set of criteria, such as: application of community radio principles, domination by elite groups, increased politicization, and loss of local control and content.[121]

[102] *http://www.rss.com.np/*

[103] *A list of national and international awards that Radio Sagarmatha received can be found on the radio's website.*

[104] *https://www.facebook.com/#!/sagarmathafm – on April 22, 2014 the number of likes was 1435.*

[105] *Ibid.*

[106] *Radio Sagarmatha 2014e.*

[107] *29 year old Tulasi Ghimire was staying with her husband and her two months old daughter in a hotel. She and the baby died as the oxygen level in the room was too low during the night because a heater had been installed to warm the room by the hotel. The family belonged to a very remote area of Nepal. The husband, a carpenter, survived. See: The Himalayan 2014.*

[108] *Radio Sagarmatha 2014e.*

[109] *Adhikary, Dhruba Hari; Noted journalist, author, analyst, former head of the Nepal Press Institute and now member of the Board of Directors.*

[110] *Ibid.*

[111] *For more information please see DPNet Nepal 2014.*

[112] *UNISDR 2012.*

[113] *Osang & Buerki 1999.*

[114] *Estimations of how many people in Nepal belong to the Dalit community vary greatly between around 13 % up to 20 % (between 3.5 to 5 million people). See: IDSN 214; DWO 2014; ILO 2005.*

[115] *Nishchal Pandey, Director of the Centre for South Asian Studies in Kathmandu.*

[116] *AMARC 2006.*

[117] *One World Media 2007.*

[118] *Radio Sagarmatha 2014a.*

[119] *Mohan Chapagain, Chairman of the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*

[120] *Communication Initiative 2001.*

[121] *ACORAB 2012.*

– One big issue is financial sustainability as this is important to make the community radio stations independent from their "owners" or financing institutions in terms of the content of programming and managerial as well as other important decisions. A mix of sources when it comes to the money that is needed to run the station is recommendable.[122]

– To maintain a high level of journalistic standards an emphasis must be laid on training and monitoring staffers and contributors on a regular basis with air-checks and proper feedback. This is especially important as only a few people at the various stations have studied journalism and have gained sufficient experience in this field.[123] One of the interviewed experts mentioned that in some cases Radio Sagarmatha was criticized in the past for not paying adequate attention to maintain its editorial and language standards.[124]

Transformation Approaches

This analysis shows that Radio Sagarmatha's success is remarkable and all the interviewed experts as well as the literature referred to emphasized that the station has undoubtedly achieved much. However, a few recommendations for further improvement shall be given. These recommendations are made on the basis of the challenges the community radio sector as a whole in Nepal is facing, but are also specifically dealing with issues that Radio Sagarmatha should address in the future to modernize itself further.

Recommendations for the community radio sector as a whole:

– The absence of governmental regulations and guidelines is harmful for the community radio sector in Nepal. It is in some cases not possible to differentiate on the basis of content between commercial FM stations and community radio stations. This is undermining the philosophy and vision of the community radio idea. It is therefore important that the legal status and the regulatory framework for community radio stations in Nepal are drafted and put into practice in order to ensure that community radio stations contribute to pluralism in media. This would also give them the legal backing to become truly a strong "third sector."

– A clear media strategy in general is lacking in Nepal. Laws and regulations as described in detail before are decades old. Community radio stations cannot take over all the roles of public service media just because Radio Nepal's transformation to a public service broadcaster, despite many efforts, could not be fulfilled.[125]

– Until today, Radio Nepal is still widely considered the mouthpiece of the government. That is why private media in general are considered to be more trustworthy. Although some responsibilities can be shared between the public, private, and community radio sector, it should be understood that private stations have a limited reach.[126]

– A clear governmental strategy could also be helpful in standardizing the education and qualification of journalists. This would lead to more professionalism in Nepal's media sector.

– The experiences of Radio Sagarmatha as well as the knowledge[127] the station gathered since its establishment in 1997 should be better used in order to strengthen the community radio sector as a whole in Nepal. Having better access to resource material for new community radio stations in the remote areas would be in this regard very helpful. As Radio Sagarmatha is based in the capital Kathmandu resources were and are more easily available than is the case in remote areas of the country.[128] A more effective staff exchange could be a tool to transfer knowledge. ACORAB is already trying to connect the different community radio stations with each other in a better way. But the exchange of ideas, best practices, the drafting of binding technical standards, consulting, and training should be organized in a more effective and systematic way.

– Training of staffers or incentives such as reporting opportunities could also help in cutting down the fluctuation among the staffers. Many talented young journalists leave the community radio stations to start a career as professional journalists in other media houses, especially if payments are low and no other incentives can be provided.

– It is very important for community radios to find their niche and character that is in many ways not a copy of successfully running stations, but a self-confident interpretation of their mandate: a balanced mix between informative, social, and entertainment programs that attract all fractions of the communities they serve. If the mandate is successfully delivered, inequity in society can be at least diminished.

– It is especially important for community radios to fulfill their mandate even though television is now the main source of broadcast news and entertainment in the urban areas.[129] TV is seen as the medium for people with better incomes and therefore owning a TV set is a kind of status symbol for many. Furthermore, TV is

especially popular among the youth. Nevertheless, radio still is the most preferred medium overall in Nepal. Here community radios need to take their stand and cater to the needs of the young generation too.

– Competition is growing as more and more radio stations hit the airwaves – commercial stations are coming up in Nepal. The market share of each station is shrinking and the demands and interests of the audience are also changing rapidly. An honest introspection is needed to understand the needs of the audience in this new environment and atmosphere that is considered by many as "unhealthy" especially regarding financial sustainability.[130]

Recommendations for Radio Sagarmatha:

– It is important that senior colleagues at Radio Sagarmatha – who are in most cases training younger staffers and contributors – have gained qualifications through "Train the Trainer"-workshops. As this analysis reveals, international organizations have been very active in training journalists and working with Radio Sagarmatha in recent years. But gradually, interest has dropped as the station professionalized its operations more and more. To keep the high quality of programming alive, it is important that every staffer or contributor receives the same amount of information and knowledge when he or she begins working for the station. This knowledge should not only include radio skills (how to conduct an interview, how to write a report and a lead, technical skills, voice training, etc.). It is equally important that every new colleague is familiar with the history, the philosophy and the aim of the station and the community radio sector as such.

– It has been pointed out that Radio Sagarmatha was very popular because of the fact that it would bring most of it reports back from the field and assign reporters to go out. But nowadays, more and more interviews are conducted over phone right from the studio which is undermining the credibility of the station.[131]

– New media and new technologies need to be made not only available, but integrated into the workflow. This is a challenge that many media houses in Nepal face currently. For example, Radio Sagarmatha's Facebook page was started in October 2013. But while an estimated over 1,3 million people in Nepal use Facebook,[132] Radio Sagarmathas Facebook page currently has just about 1500 followers. Also Twitter could be an interesting tool to build up a kind of a Radio Sagarmatha community feeling especially among its younger audience and to offer an interactive and immediate tool for dialogue, criticism, and a platform to exchange views. An effectively working multimedia department could better deal with such issues in the future. A few interviews and discussion rounds that were filmed by different NGOs when their employees or other activists were interviewed by Radio Sagarmatha can be found on YouTube. Instead of sporadically putting up individual interviews by various private or NGO accounts, Radio Sagarmatha as an institution could use YouTube as a tool for further spreading its message.

[122] *Radio Sagarmatha states that only some 30 % of funds come from different NGOs, money is also generated through PSA and paid sponsorship of programs. For more information please see 5.3. Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures.*

[123] *For detailed information please see chapter 5.2. Capacity Building and Human Resources.*

[124] *Dhruba Hari Adhikary, noted journalist, author, analyst, former head of the Nepal Press Institute and now member of the Board of Directors.*

[125] *Please see chapter 11.2 of this analysis with regard to fn. 22 as well as Kafle 2010.*

[126] *Adhikarie, March 3, 2011.*

[127] *"Knowledge" refers, for example, to things such as how to run a station, how to develop a program schedule keeping the specific needs of the communities that the station serves in mind, how to recruit the right people, how to generate different sources of funds, networking and marketing etc. However, especially when it comes to funds, the community radio stations in Nepal are also competitors.*

[128] *Mohan Chapagain, Chairman of the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB).*

[129] *Infoasaid 2011, 64.*

[130] *Dhruba Hari Adhikary, noted journalist, author, analyst, former head of the Nepal Press Institute and now member of the Board of Directors.*

[131] *Ibid.*

[132] *Socialbakers 2013.*

Status of Radio Sagarmatha

Characteristics	Status	Changes/Advancements over the past years
Channels, distribution	Radio Sagarmatha was established in 1997 as the first community radio station of Nepal and in South Asia. Since then it broadcasts programs on 102.4 MHz. It reaches today some 4.5 million people in the entire Kathmandu valley. 2.5 million people tune in to Radio Sagarmatha on a regular basis. Radio Sagarmatha broadcasts 18 hours of program daily from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m. It uses a one Kilowatt (1,000 Watt) transmitter.	When Radio Sagarmatha started its operations it was allowed to broadcast 2 hours of programs using a 100 Watt transmitter only. These conditions were part of 17 conditions that Radio Sagarmatha needed to adhere to in order to receive its license. Others were, for example: not to broadcast news and current affairs programs, that government officials would monitor the programming and would be informed about the content among others.
Legal Framework	There is no legal framework that would give Radio Sagarmatha and the community radio sector in Nepal a separate identity. The Radio Act of 1957 (amended many times), the National Broadcasting Act of 1993 and the Right to Information Act (2007) were important milestones. But the differences in mandate between commercial and community radio stations in Nepal are not very clear. The government established a working group to draft a binding legal framework for the community radios as there are now hundreds of stations spread over all districts of Nepal. But despite continued discussions and a working group it is still unclear if such a framework will be there in writing as binding legislation.	–
Public service remit (officially defined)	There is no official defined law for the community radio sector. The Association of Community Radio Broadcasters in Nepal that was established in 2002 - has come up with its own "constitution," a set of criteria its members should adhere to. This includes that "at least 60% of the programming should be localized." The programs of this category should deal with local issues of the communities the concerned stations are serving or should be in the local language to give the communities a platform and support dialogue. The other 40% of the programming can deal with issues of national interest, can be rebroadcasts from other stations or could be entertainment based. Besides that the station must serve a defined community and must be 100% non-profit-making.	–

Characteristics	Status	Changes/Advancements over the past years
Regulatory system/ governing body	Radio Sagarmatha is run by The Nepal Forum of Environmental Journalists (NEFEJ). NEFEJ is the current license-holder and forms the Radio Sagarmatha Board that meets regularly and plans activities. Currently, the five member board is elected for two years and headed by a chairman. NEFEJ appoints the station manager as the chief executive of the station and the deputy station manager too.	–
Engagement of civil society	No.	–
Financing	Radio Sagarmatha states that only about 30% of the funds that are required to run the station come from different NGOs, including NEFEJ, the license-holding NGO. The station is therefore relying on local public service announcements – in short PSA – to generate money. These are mostly related to issues with a social message for example issues related to "environment, sanitation, rule of law, gender relations, social justice, education, child rights, human rights, rights of women." Paid sponsorship of programs is also possible. This is a gray area as the editorial control lies with the sponsor and Radio Sagarmatha is only providing air time and technical help in production. This way of generating money needs to be viewed with caution as sponsored programs can be a way of influencing public opinion, although the generated money is essential to run the station.	–
Use of mobile and internet communication/ modern technology/ challenges of digitalization	Radio Sagarmatha is proud to have fully digital programming and more than 25,000 sound tracks in its archive. The newsroom is equipped with computers. Since October 2013 Radio Sagarmatha has also used Facebook to expand distribution of and to increase its presence to a wider audience.	Facebook and other new technologies are still not fully implemented in the workflow. A look onto the Facebook page shows that sometimes there are no posts for days, resulting in fewer discussions and interactions. In order to build a community and especially attract younger people, the frequency and the activities in Facebook should be improved and diversified. The integration of new technologies and other social media platforms should be constantly observed.

Characteristics	Status	Changes/Advancements over the past years
Regional structures and reporting	Radio Sagarmatha does not have correspondents or contributors from outside of the Kathmandu valley in the regions of the country. The station does provide other community radio stations in the country through a pool set up by ACORAB with its programs and news. It also receives programs and content from community radios from other parts of the country.	–
Capacity building	Volunteers and staffers receive training-on-the job by senior colleagues for a time period of 10 to 15 or more days when they start their job. There is the chance for university students to do a 45-day internship too. Radio Sagarmatha also sends staffers to trainings that are organized on a national level by ACORAB or NGOs. Moreover, trainings in cooperation with international organizations are also offered.	The various journalistic trainings by international organizations offered helped Radio Sagarmatha to evolve further. As international funds in the past years have shrunk, however, networking and more effectively using the knowledge already gained becomes vital, but also difficult looking at the fluctuation that is common for the community radio sector overall. 17 years after its establishment, long-term mentoringprograms could be an effective strategic tool for international organizations too to help Radio Sagarmatha to grow further.
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	–	–
Public perception and support for the media organization	Radio Sagarmatha is hugely popular in the Kathmandu valley and has built up a reputation and respect for itself by being a pioneer in its field. Especially decision makers use Radio Sagarmatha to access information and to share their perspective in public discussions.	–

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	Partially	Radio Sagarmatha has a limited scope and mandate as it is serving the Kathmandu valley only and the communities living there. It offers regional news only on a limited basis as part of its news block or when content is shared from other community radio stations. The programs aired as such are comprehensive, balanced and objective in general, but the topics are filtered as the target group is only a fraction of society.
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound-bites, etc.	Yes	However there is all over Nepal the tendency to invite the same actors always in the studio and interview them, as this is especially under time pressure more convenient.
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	Yes	The station was shut down in 2005 during the civil war in Nepal when it decided to air an interview with then Maoist leader Prachanda.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	Yes	Problems in society are addressed on a regular basis such as programs dealing with the Dalit community, issues related to women and gender equality, hot topics such as prostitution, trafficking or HIV/AIDS.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	Yes	Many debate and talk programs are on air, for example, the evening talk show *Aaja ka kura* or in the morning a radio talk show.
Social/political orientation	Yes	Radio Sagarmatha gives a voice to the representatives of different political and social groups and thus orients its listeners.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	Yes	Two examples are highlighted on Radio Sagarmathas website: 1) Controversial extradition treaty was halted after a debate about this topic on Radio Sagarmatha 2) Missing files in the Supreme Court regarding the Tulasi Devi Ghimire case were retrieved after public pressure.

General Functions II: Integration

Function	**Is it fulfilled?** (Yes/partially/no)	**To what extent is the function fulfilled/not fulfilled?**
Participation, voice, empowerment	Yes	Women, children, senior citizens, and youth are important target groups. For example, *Hidda Hiddai* is dedicated to the "man on the street" and *Yuwa Awaj* is designed for young people.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values, and cultural cohesion	Partially	Programs are generally broadcast in Nepali language plus three other common languages of the country: Newar, Maithili, and Tamang. Therefore, Radio Sagarmatha reaches only a fraction of society, as Nepal is multi-ethnic. For these communities, as well as for the Kathmandu valley, Radio Sagarmatha offers programs aimed at strengthening identity. Cultural cohesion is in general a problem in Nepal as the inhabitants are geographically scattered.
Entertainment	Partially	Entertainment programs play a minor role. There are programs for children that are lighter in their approach. Programs with contemporary, Bollywood or youth-oriented music can be heard, too.
Education	Yes	There are many programs designed in order to raise awareness. For example, programs dealing with health (*Arogya, Sanjivani*), with water and sanitation (*Pani Ra Sarsaphai, Chitikka*) or with earthquake precaution and safety (*Bhukampiya Surakshya*). Another popular program (*Uhile Bajeka Palama*) deals with the history and cultural heritage of the country. Such programs could act as source of inspiration for other community radio stations too.
Innovation	Partially	Radio Sagarmatha has many "firsts" credited to its name. It was the first community radio station of the country that came up with innovative formats, such as talk shows when nobody thought that such a program could become popular on radio. In 2005, the then station manager decided to fight censorship by broadcasting news sung and proclaimed in a comedy form that is traced back to Nepal's tradition of oral folk media. However, Radio Sgarmatha could make better use of the new media and should also integrate them in its set-up and work flow.

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/advancements/ problems
UNESCO	Technical support and capacity building	Under the International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC), UNESCO helped Radio Sagarmatha between 1997 and 1999 in setting up and establishing itself with an assistance of 60,000 US Dollars. This start-up support included training of staff, consulting, computers, transmission, and studio equipment.	The assistance was important in the first few years when the station struggled to establish itself given the fact that it was a pioneer and it had scarce resources.
BBC Media Action	Capacity building	Since the late 1990s Radio Sagarmatha rebroadcasts the programs of the BBC's Nepali Service on a daily basis. Besides that, Radio Sagarmatha also airs two other popular programs prepared by BBC Media Action in the evening: the radio soap opera Katha Mitho Sarangiko that deals with problems and challenges in the life of women and men in the villages and cities in Nepal and the radio magazine Sarangiko Bhalakusari which supports the fight against gender-biased violence. The mix between poetry, social drama, and music has been hailed in Nepal by the local media. The Facebook page of Katha Mitho Sarangiko records more than 109,000 fans. Many workshops were conducted to train staffers of Radio Sagarmatha too.	Professionalization, improved content could be achieved. Some training workshops, however, were too general and did not fully address the realities in the newsroom.

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/advancements/ problems
DW Akademie	Technical support; capacity building; qualification; consultancy in the newsroom	Different intensive workshops dealing with issues such as content (research and writing skills), interactivity (phone-in, call-in, write-in, drop-in) and liveliness (moderation/presentation, integration of sound bites, vox pops, interviews, music, natural sounds). Moreover, the technicians were trained in order to improve the technical quality of live- and pre-produced radio content. In terms of the organizational structure, editorial meetings, planning tools, times for air-checks, and team building measures were discussed. Jingles and the marketing for the station (off– and on-air promotion) were other fields that were addressed. Co-production of 30-minutes radio feature on education for marginalized groups.	Very good contacts still remain. But cooperation stopped in the late 2000s, as Nepal was no more considered a priority country in German development.
The International Institute for Journalism (IIJ), Berlin	Capacity building, qualification	Senior colleagues from Radio Sagarmatha took part in journalistic multimedia-workshops as well as in "Train-the-Trainer" workshops that were organized in Berlin. With effect as of January 1, 2013 the IIJ's funding was halted and its operations were taken over by the DW Akademie.	Highly valued, knowledge transfer was addressed in order to have sustainability at the station regarding the quality of programming and management.

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/advancements/ problems
DANIDA	Capacity building; qualification and training of journalists; multimedia awareness campaigns	Besides training Radio Sagarmatha's staff on a regular basis, DANIDA organized in 1999 a unique concept with the station: Safa Radio-The Clean Air Campaign. Five days a week a three-wheeled electric van would measure the level of air pollutants in the city. Results of the samples from 30 rotating locations that the Safa Tempo collected were analyzed in a lab, then explained the same day during the stations evening news bulletin, *Haalchaal*. In a monthly press conference, results would be presented to the media and the public.	The Safa Radio campaign was successful as air pollution and its consequences are not only topics that are relevant, but topics everyone can relate to. Moreover it is a core concern for Radio Sagarmatha as it was related to preserving the environment. Besides raising awareness, a lot of publicity could be generated.
Free Voice Netherlands/ Free Press Unlimited	Technical support; qualification; capacity building	In Nepal, Free Voice supported the Community Radio Support Centre (CRSC) that was formed by NEFEJ, the license holder of Radio Sagarmatha. Free Voice actively supports the growth and strengthening of community radios – in rural areas too - through workshops, the establishment of a help desk, grant fund, technical and management inputs, producers capacity building, reference materials development, advocacy and lobbying and a radio knowledge centre among others.	Development of reference building material, building of radio knowledge centers were positive steps as Free Press Unlimited touched upon areas other organizations did not address before.

N.B. All the information given in the tables above are based on interviews, observations, and document analysis made by the author of this chapter. The tables provide very rough summaries of what is being elaborated in the texts. Many of the issues mentioned here are, of course, subject to change.

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12
Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador: Three Examples From Latin American Community Media

Cletus Gregor Barié

Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador: Three Examples From Latin American Community Media

Public broadcasting has not played an important role in the last three decades in Latin America. Therefore, this chapter focusses on the social contribution of independent non-profit community radios, usually organized by civil society. Three stations are analyzed: Radio Pio XII in Bolivia is historically one of the first community media outlets. Vokaribe, in Colombia, shows the innovative side of community radio today when used in an urban context and with a focus on youth culture. Finally, as a rather new private radio station with a community orientation, the case of Radio Intag in Ecuador gives insight into the challenges facing community radio when it takes a stance defending the local environment against extractive megaprojects. Community radio can make a very significant contribution to pluralism in media, to empowerment of local communities, the construction of multiple identities, the sense of local belonging, and the defense of human rights, especially the right to freedom of expression and access to information. Although often under pressure, it compensates for profound gaps in the mainstream media landscape, where state media so rarely fulfill a public service function, and where the concentration of media leads to a unified and simplified image of social reality and even discrimination.

Media development organizations need a more strategic and comprehensive approach for community radio, embracing the legal and political framework, the strengthening of national and international networks for radio communities, the facilitation of knowledge management processes, and the support for selected community communication projects. However, in spite of the fact that community radio stations fulfill important public functions of social integration and the building of a public sphere, they can and should not be a substitute for public service media.

Public service broadcasting has not played an important role in the last three decades in Latin America. Therefore, this chapter focusses on the social contribution of community radio, as independent non-profit broadcast media, usually organized by civil society. We begin with an introduction to Latin America as a region, will have a look at the media landscape and describe then briefly the rise of community radio in the Latin American region. Based on three concrete examples of community radio stations in Bolivia, Colombia, and Ecuador, we analyze different aspects related to the public service functions of these stations and the contributions of media development partners. The chapter concludes with some reflections on how to enhance the potential of community radio which often turns out to be an underestimated and even despised bottom-up democracy promoter.

Latin America – A Brief Overview

Latin America refers generally to 21 countries of the Americas where Spanish or Portuguese as well as indigenous languages are official languages. The population of this sub-region is estimated at more than 500 million inhabitants and its surface area comprises approximately 20 million km². UN organizations and development agencies generally divide Latin America into South America (e.g., Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador), Middle America (including Mexico) and the Caribbean countries (Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Puerto Rico). In the last decade the middle class in the region has grown by 50 percent, and extreme poverty diminished significantly, according to a World Bank survey.[1] Latin America is now becoming a middle-class region, but historical challenges related to social inequity, violence, and lack of good governance persist.

Latin America is (still) not a politically and economically integrated region comparable to the European Union or the USA. A country like Brazil, an industrial power and airline manufacturer cannot be easily compared with smaller countries like Nicaragua or Honduras. However, social scientists still find the concept of Latin America useful, based on the fact that the region shares strong social and cultural traditions and institutions. When analyzing the media sector there are important reasons to maintain a regional perspective: There are many similarities in terms of the role of the private media, the emergence of community radio, the expansion of regional media enterprises, and patterns of cultural consumption, including popular music and soap operas.[2]

For the community radio stations in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia we are going to analyze, it is useful to take into account three aspects, which are also valid for the entire region: cultural diversity, economic dynamism, and increasing self-confidence.

Cultural diversity refers first of all to the indigenous peoples in the region, who are descendants of the original inhabitants of the Americas and were colonized and subjugated by the Spanish and Portuguese. Nowadays, there are still more than 40 million people living who identify themselves as a member of one of the 600 indigenous peoples or nations of the continent.[3] Indigenous people are important political players in the region, especially in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Guatemala, and they are recognized, along with transnational organizations, within the UN system. However, in spite of some achievements in political representation and legal reforms, extreme poverty in Latin America still has the face of indigenous women and children.[4]

[1] *Ferreira 2013, 1.*
[2] *Merayo 2007.*
[3] *IWGIA.*
[4] *Hall & Patrinos 2012, 344.*

Culturally, Latin America is seen as one of the most diverse and effervescent regions worldwide with high levels of social organization, as Nohra Rey de Marulanda and Francisco Bernadini Tancredi found in a best practice survey on participative projects: "Latin America and the Caribbean explode in creativity and social innovation... The driving force behind most of these initiatives is non-governmental organizations or groups that emerge from local communities."[5]

Since the late 1990s, the region has been experiencing dynamic economic growth and considerable advancement in the fulfillment of the Millennium Development Goals. After many years of unsuccessfully applied "neo-liberal" economic reforms, seeking privatization, deregulation, and open markets, several Latin American countries adopted a much more pragmatic economic approach, based on stronger state intervention and on social investment. These heterodox strategies have yielded startlingly good results, reports the World Bank:

"Steady growth and sound economic policies improved the lives of millions in the region over the past decade, with more than 70 million people lifted out of poverty and 50 million joining the ranks of the middle class between 2003 and 2011. For the first time ever, the number of people belonging to the middle class surpassed the number of poor, a sign that Latin America and the Caribbean is progressing toward a middle-class region."[6]

The new Latin American left-wing presidents – for example, Evo Morales in Bolivia, Dilma Rousseff in Brazil, Rafael Correa in Ecuador, Michelle Bachelet in Chile or José Mujica in Uruguay – are much more self-confident[7] and make explicit use of their right to national self-determination; this is also evident when negotiating with development agencies. Many of these leaders were persecuted and suffered torture during the years of dictatorship in the 1970s and contributed significantly to the movement for democratization in the 1980s. They focus on national development issues, at least in discourse (which is often interpreted as "populism"), reject US interference in domestic issues, and are skeptical about classical technical cooperation, seeking instead strategic partnerships at eye level.

In spite of the positive changes mentioned, many structural problems related to social exclusion, the fragmentation of civil society and an informal workforce persist. After all, the economic boom is based on the massive extension of extractive industries with very low added value in the production chains and with massive socio-economic and environmental impacts. Latin America is still the most unequal and most violent region in the world.[8]

Additionally, new expressions of violence obstruct development and affect good governance, as a comprehensive bibliographic revision on this topic concludes: "No other region of the world knows higher homicide rates nor has it such a variety of violence as the Latin American countries. Political violence, guerilla movements and civil wars, bloody revolutions, brutal dictatorships, domestic violence, criminal violence, and youth violence are all well known throughout history."[9]

Media Landscape

Contrasting with the great cultural diversity and the many social and institutional challenges the region is addressing, Latin America's media landscape appears to be poorly differentiated, with a reduced variety of only a few formats and only some mainstream communication channels: Conventional media like TV and radio still dominate the consumer's preferences in most countries, and only recently has a rising middle class begun to use internet-based platforms to access information or to use their cultural consumer goods. Because of the persistence of illiteracy and an undeveloped culture of reading, the print media have small print runs and their use is confined to a rather limited group of urban readers – a fact that has been analyzed for many years and is still valid today, as Philip Kitzberger confirms: "Despite the growing importance of new media and information technologies, the traditional media, especially television, are predominant in forming public opinion."[10] Media consumption on digital platforms is now increasing considerably in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico, including online viewing of TV shows, radio listening, and reading of online magazines.[11]

In addition to the concentration of media and the oversimplification and depoliticization of complex and multifaceted social realities, another key problem is the restriction of the right of access to information and the recurrent violation of freedom of expression. In the last decade, Latin American countries have been adapting rapidly advanced legislation based on international standards for the right of access to information. This legislation relates mainly to proactive publication obligations of the state, to procedural arrangements to exercise this right, and to legal ways to appeal breaches of the rule.[12] Nevertheless, in practice, the implementation of this modern legislation is still embryonic, and even when journalists finally get the access to relevant information, they often cannot analyze and publish it without personal risks: 670 journalists have been killed in the region in the last 20 years with a very low detection and prosecution rate; death threats and judicial complaints against journalists are very common, especially in Colombia, Honduras, and Mexico, a recent report reveals:

"On the one hand, there is total impunity for serious violations of freedom of expression, and an environment where low intensity physical violence is not actively prosecuted by the states. On the other hand, impunity is manifested in new mechanisms of indirect censorship with a severe chilling effect on free expression."[13]

For this chapter it is important to consider the national contexts in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia: In Bolivia the media landscape has been changing dramatically since the rise of a popular peasant and indigenous movement in recent years. The new Constitution of 2008, which is one of the most participative elaborated legal documents worldwide, guarantees not only the right of access to information, but also the right

to communicate actively through self-governed community broadcasting stations (arts. 106 and 107); anti-trust regulations are strict, and the state has a much more proactive role in the communication sector than ten years before. Analysts say the government is now taking direct or indirect control over the main private media, like the TV channels PAT and ATB, the radio network Panamericana, and the prestigious newspaper La Razón. This could lead to a monopolistic situation in the media sector, where critical voices have no chance to be heard by the massive public and where self-censorship of journalists is common.[14]

Similarly to Bolivia, the Ecuadorian political context is strongly influenced by the emergence of new reformist governments since 2006 with charismatic leaders. Ecuador's President Rafael Correa refers in a rather confrontational manner to his opponents, especially in the media sector. Major social investments of his government are directly linked to the expansion of extractive industries; the local communities usually react with distrust. Concretely, the Ecuadorian government is now planning large-scale copper mining operations precisely in the region where the radio station which we will analyze has given a voice to the local leaders, opposed to this megaproject because of the expected ecological damages.

Colombia is known to be one of the most violent places worldwide, according to the Global Peace Index. However, there have also been significant improvements made in the last decade in terms of citizen security, especially in the main cities.[15] After more than 50 years of violent conflict between government, paramilitary groups, and left-wing guerrillas, violence in its different expressions is still a major issue in Colombia. Since 1984 more than 220,000 persons have been killed, 4,150,000 have suffered displacement, 25,000 have been reported missing; local journalists in particular work under very difficult conditions.[16] Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos began peace negotiations with the guerrilla group FARC in 2013, after ten years of non-communication. On the other hand, it is also true that Colombia is the country with the most local territorial peace initiatives in the world;[17] a comparative explorative study suggests the widespread use of innovative and cultural approaches in communication initiatives, mainly related to violence prevention.[18]

In Colombia, community radio has been legally recognized and promoted in almost all rural municipalities since 1994. Today, there are 650 recognized community radio stations.[19] Community radio here has the important function of reconstructing social relations in an environment of fear and day-to-day violence: "Currently in Colombia, community radio stations are perceived as spaces to strengthen the social fabric that has been deteriorated by the violence of war and drug trafficking," writes the media expert Manuel Chaparro.[20]

As in many other regions and countries, the media in the three countries we are analyzing is legally organized in three sectors.[21] According to this rather simplified categorization, public broadcasting is organized and financed by the state with the task of promoting responsible citizenship. Although constitutionally the outlets in this category are usually defined as public media, analysts also refer to them as state media, as they often seem to reflect mainly the official government line and do not to fulfill a complete range of public functions. Commercial broadcasting is controlled by private enterprises for the sake of economic benefits. Finally, community broadcasting is locally organized, and involves and represents the interests of the community.

The first sector, public (or state) broadcasting, has not played an outstanding role in the last three decades in Latin America: Since the 1980s, the participation of the state in the media sector has diminished almost systematically, favoring the private sector model. Historically, from the 1950s, state-owned media served almost entirely as propaganda machinery in authoritarian regimes, for instance in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Arturo Merayo Pérez recalls in his historical review: "Once the coup leaders came to power, the first goal was often the direct control of broadcasting."[22] The most recent attempt to establish a public service media (PSM) system in Brazil was only partially successful, as it did not succeed in establishing an autonomous entity with some levels of participation of civil society.[23]

Nowadays, analysts associate PSB in the region with low professionalism, political manipulation, and a high degree of corruption. After all, the concept is not really widely understood: at least not as the ideal of an autonomous media sector, depending on and financed by the state but focused on the public interests of the citizenship.[24] A public debate on the role and relevance of PSB is only just beginning. Analysts usually make a distinction between state broadcaster (as official organ of the government) and PSB (with independent educational functions).[25] Despite an increasingly wide debate on this issue, in practice there has been no significant change, concludes Kitzberger: "In Latin America's media landscape, there has been hardly any public media service with an educational mission and a minimum of diversity of opinion."[26]

5 *Rey de Marulanda & Tancredi 2010, 5.*
6 *World Bank.*
7 *Schoepp 2011.*
8 *Ehlers 2013, 16.*
9 *Imbusch, Misse & Carrión 2011, 2.*
10 *Kitzberger 2013, 1.*
11 *Adlatina.com, February 11, 2014.*
12 *Mendel 2009, 162.*
13 *Ifex 2013, 1.*
14 *Guthmann & Salazar Tórrez 2013.*
15 *IEP 2013.*
16 *Semana.com, February 8, 2014.*
17 *Preti 2010.*
18 *Barié & Legatis 2014.*
19 *Mónica Valdes, Responsible for Capacity Development, AMARC, Colombia.*
20 *Chaparro 2008, 162.*
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23 *Cabral & Taveira 2009, 14.*
24 *Matthias Kopp, Country Manager Colombia, DW Akademie, Germany.*
25 *Becerra 2014, 63.*
26 *Kitzberger 2013, 2.*

In contrast, the second sector, *commercial radio*, has played a dominant role in the development of the radio and TV, as Merayo points out: "Latin American commercial radio was the origin and engine of radio on the continent, as had happened in the U.S. and in opposition to the European model."[27] However, this initial positioning of commercial media as an innovation factor later turned out to be a disadvantage for the media landscape: During the 1980s, governments radically reduced the participation of the state in public policies related to communication and the private media sector began to have an overwhelming prevalence. Today, big media enterprises like Grupo Clarín in Argentina, like Televisa in Mexico, Globo in Brasil or Cisneros in Venezuela dominate the television market (cable or satellite TV). They have a strong affinity with conservative elites and multinational corporations that hold commercial interests in the region, there are even transnational arrangements and commercial products like the soap operas that are broadcast simultaneously in most Latin American countries. Most analysts make a rather negative assessment of this process of media privatization:

"Today, in the territory that extends from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego, the turnover linked to the information business comes close to forty billion dollars a year. This impressive figure, however, has not translated into growth for the region nor an opportunity to achieve independent, participatory, autonomous and high-quality communication."[28]

Thus, the monopolistic and privileged position of the second media sector is now increasingly part of a strong public debate on the role of the media and on the necessity of legal reforms. The abovementioned New Leftist governments in Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Uruguay, and Venezuela have a tense relationship with media groups, for instance, Argentina's president Cristina Fernández with the powerful "Clarín" corporation. Frequently, these governments tend to centralize and control state power over media, whether through the expansion of state broadcasting, the participation in private media enterprises or the restriction of press freedom based on laws and regulations.[29]

The third sector is community broadcasting, which can be characterized as an independent, civil-society-based non-profit broadcasting sector.[30] There are approximately 15,000 community radio stations in the region, from a total of 25,000 registered outlets. In Brazil alone, there are 6,000 community radio stations. AMARC (World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters), the leading umbrella organization of community radio broadcasters worldwide, counts 1,500 members in Latin America. For decades, these stations were considered "pirate" or informal initiatives; the private sector engaged actively in lobbying against this "unfair competition" and the states limited or even prohibited the allocation of frequencies.[31]

Research on community radio in Latin America is still in its infancy. There are only estimates of the number of community radio stations in existence and of the recent development of this sector; few case studies demonstrate their impact empirically.[32] ALER (Latin American Association of Radio Education) published a study in 2001 on the development and role of "popular" radio in the region.[33] One of the first volumes that addresses the radio landscape of the region as a whole (rather than just community radio), was edited by the Spanish communication scientist Arturo Merayo.[34]

Brief History of Community Radio[35]

The first modern community radio stations worldwide emerged in Latin America, namely when Bolivian unionists started to establish local radio in tin-mining communities in the 1940s. The local mining company in the small town Catavi in the Andean region used to inform the workers about their daily duties and activities through public loudspeakers installed in a public square. Inspired by this communication system, the mining workers decided to install their own transmitters in 1947. Initially, they founded Radio La Voz del Minero (Radio Voice of the Mineworker) and Radio Sucre.

At almost the same time, the catholic priest José Joaquín Salcedo Guarín began to use radio as a means of delivering education to the indigenous peoples, as he found that the majority of the population was illiterate. Additionally they had very strong oral traditions and access to their communities was difficult. As Reyer Fernández explains, these educational programs were based on local knowledge: "Salcedo developed a methodology with members of the community of Sutatenza to produce radio content based on their own experiences in agriculture, health, education or cultural expression."[36] This educational approach adopted by Radio Sutatenza, enriched with elements of the participative pedagogy of Paulo Freire, was later taken as a model for many other community radio stations in the region and is still valid for the case of Radio Pio XII described below.

The mining radio stations in Bolivia were self-governed and financed by the contributions of each worker. Many other outlets emerged following the example of La Voz del Minero. By 1954, 24 stations had already sprung up, forming a powerful network, as Reyero Fernández explains: "In the 1950s these stations played a relevant role in the Bolivian revolution and contributed to the recognition of universal suffrage, the rights of indigenous peoples and land reform."[37] In 1979, this network of local radio stations resisted the media censorship imposed by a military junta and broadcast for a period of 16 days as the only independent news and information source. The network was called "Channel for Democracy" and contributed to the fall of the dictatorship. These broadcasters opened up their microphones to the people in the streets, in the markets and in the mines and they are considered by many analysts to be the forerunners of participatory communication.[38]

The mining companies were privatized in the 1980s and the trade unions forced to disband. Only few radio stations were left. In the 1980s, local community radio made a substantial contribution to the process of democratization, according to María Pía Matta, President of AMARC: "In the time of post-

dictatorship, community radio played a key role in memory recovery, the reclaiming of public freedom and the empowerment of women"[39] Since then, local radio in Latin America has supported the revival of indigenous languages, helps shape local identities and has even turned out to be the most effective communication platform in times of emergencies or social unrest.

In Latin America, the concept of community radio is used in a much more malleable way than in other regions, says Carlos Rivadeneyra, AMARC coordinator for Latin America: "Usually the main criterion to be considered community radio is the non-profit, associative, and participative character. For us, the main aspect is its role as spokesperson and mouthpiece of civil society, not its formal status. Community radio adapts recursively to specific local and national contexts; therefore we have a broad spectrum of situations in terms of legal status, coverage and institutional support. These variations make it so difficult to estimate the number of community radio stations, because they aren't always registered as community radio."[40] Recently, AMARC introduced the concept of citizens' radio (radios ciudadanas) to emphasize its mission to promote the exercise of civil rights.[41]

Regardless of its low public profile and generally precarious financial situation, this often underestimated sector is considered today in specialized literature a "worldwide reference as an instrument of social mobilization,"[42] performing an "educational, informative, formative and transforming role."[43] For analysts like Steve Buckley, Latin America's broadcasters have inspired many other community radio sectors: "The Latin American experience has profoundly influenced the growth of the international community radio movement, particularly as we have come to better understand the role of media in development."[44]

Three Examples From Latin American Community Media

We will briefly describe and characterize three community radio stations which illustrate the scope of impact and social contribution of community radio. Radio Pio XII from Bolivia is historically one of the first radio stations in the region. The case illustrates how a miner's radio station has been adapting to its changing intercultural context. The second case, Vokaribe in Colombia, shows the innovative side of community radio today when used in an urban context and with a focus on youth culture. Finally, as a recently-established private radio station with a community orientation, Radio Intag in Ecuador gives some insight into the challenges community radio faces when it defends the local environment against extractive megaprojects. It is important to note that these three cases are not really representative for all Latin American community radios but they show important aspects and issues, related to the problems of intercultural societies, of urban youth subcultures and of environmental protection. Additionally, DW Akademie has supported two of the three radio stations and has learned some thoroughly documented and useful lessons. The case analysis should enrich the general conclusion we will try to draw from a broader Latin American perspective.

Radio Pio XII (Bolivia) – Radio for the People With a Long Tradition

Radio Pio XII was founded in 1959 by Oblates Missionaries in the tin miners' colony Siglo XX in the Bolivian Andean Highlands. Initially, it had the explicit mission to "work against the growing influence of leftist ideology that spread" in a "mining camp considered a nest of communist agitation in the country."[45] Soon, the Oblates began to question their own approach, and even changed it drastically after 1965, when faced with the massacre of mining workers in the camp by the Bolivian army. Ever since, "Radio Pio XII, radio for the people" has been, not simply a slogan and corporate claim, but also a guiding ethical principle (*Una radio que se hace pueblo*). The station's official mission and mandate is to further the cause of the excluded peoples and to denounce injustice: "The essence of our work as reporters is to physically be with the people in the streets and the small towns, not in the studio. This closeness to the people is our strength and part of our moral authority," says Roberto Durette, director of Pio XII and priest.[46]

Since the 1970s, the radio station in the miners' camp Siglo XX has had to cope with numerous physical attacks. Successive military regimes tried several times to close the studio and prohibit the continuation of broadcasting. In 1976, the local population surrounded the central offices to protect the station from military forces. The first radio station in Siglo XX mainly served the miners and rural population; later, in the 1990s, the Oblates built additional stations in two provin-

27 *Merayo 2007, 14.*
28 *Bosetti 2007, 38.*
29 *Peter Deselaers, Project Manager, Research and Development, DW Akademie, Germany.*
30 *Buckley 2008, 4.*
31 *Lamas 2011.*
32 *Ernesto Lamas, Founding Member of Radio La Tribu, Buenos Aires, Argentina.*
33 *Geerts & van Oeyen 2001.*
34 *Merayo 2007, 10.*
35 *Thanks to Caty Luz Zárate, international development consultant, for her valuable contributions and reflections relating to the history and role of community radio in Latin America. The comments and observations of Peter Deselaers, Richard Fuchs, Matthias Kopp and Jan Lublinski from DW Akademie have also been very useful.*
36 *Reyero Fernández 2012.*
37 *Ibid.*
38 *Gumucio Dagron 2001.*
39 *El Expectador (2011)*
40 *Carlos Rivadeneyra, Coordinator for Latin America, AMARC, Peru.*
41 *Geerts & van Oeyen 2001, 38.*
42 *Chaparro 2008, 158.*
43 *Reyero Fernández 2012.*
44 *Buckley 2008, 1.*
45 *Torrez Miranda 2007, 2.*
46 *Roberto Durette, Director General Radio Pio XII in Bolivia.*

cial capitals, Oruro and Cochabamba. Together, all three stations are part of the network Pio XII. In the 1980s, the miners' unions were disbanded and 34,000 workers had to abandon the highlands. Since then, Pio XII has focused much more on local development issues, on the issues of indigenous people and on democratization matters, but it still has a very active listening community of ex-miners who migrated to other places in Bolivia.

Pio XII is the only broadcaster offering continuous programming for the northern part of the department of Potosi and is the preferred news and information channel of 85 percent of the 245,000 inhabitants of the region.[47] It broadcasts 8 hours every day in Spanish and in the indigenous languages Quechua and Aymara. The core team in Siglo XX consists of 6 journalists and the director, and about 30 local reporters in the community, most of them trained by Pio XII. The combination of FM, MW, and SW broadcasting together with Real Audio and a complete internet platform assures a good access to different target groups.

Besides local and international news and information, the focus is on local development news and social participation. Recent issues are the implementation of a new constitution which strengthens the rights of indigenous peoples, e.g., through local self-government. Pio XII produces pilots with small FM stations in other rural communities. More than 50 percent of the content is locally produced; a lot of the news is shared with or taken from the Catholic national radio network ERBOL, which connects more than 100 radio stations nationwide. Its colorful history means the station is very well known, as a report by the Institute of Development Studies in Brighton confirms: "Pio XII is one of the leading popular radio stations in Latin America."[48]

Vokaribe (Colombia): Urban Community Radio in Marginalized Neighborhoods

In contrast to Radio Pio XII as a consolidated rural broadcaster, we would like to look here at a recent urban project from Colombia. Radio Vokaribe is based on a community project in marginalized neighborhoods of Barranquilla on the Caribbean coast.

In 1995, a small interdisciplinary group of artists, journalists, anthropologists, and local representatives founded a neighborhood association to promote local culture in the southwestern part of Barranquilla, notorious for its problems with gangs and various types of violence. After several years of experimenting with the production of participative audio formats and its publication in parts of the neighborhood and on the internet, in 2008 the association decided to initiate the official certification process for community radio.

In 2012, Vokaribe finally obtained the authorization for a 50-watt broadcast station and began its test run with a four-hour production three days a week. The focus was on local identities, a sense of remaining relevant in a conflictive context, and the local culture to mobilize citizens against violence and discrimination. After a technical problem with the radio mast in December 2013, Vokaribe stopped transmitting as FM radio and shifted back to the internet. It maintained, however, a strong community educational involvement, a training program for young community reporters, for instance. "Our radio station was suddenly switched off but it continues to resonate. We decided to bring it out onto the streets," explains the project manager.[49] As the culmination of research conducted with the inhabitants of the area on local culture and the history of the neighborhood, Vokaribe launched several public radio events with local figures like hip-hop singers, and is now preparing to restart with a new mast.

Radio Intag (Ecuador): Engagement for the Community and the Environment

Radio Intag, 60 km distant from the city Cotacachi, Imbabura Province in Ecuador, was founded in 2006 as a private radio station with a strong community approach. The audience is the local peasant population. As in the case of Radio Pio XII, Intag fills a communication and information gap in the region and was until recently the only source of local news for the communities. Programming is 18 hours every day mainly in Spanish. In addition, it broadcasts music and national and international news which they get from support networks. Almost all contents are produced by local initiatives and schools, especially background information. In 2012 the collaborators of the Foundation Casa Palabra y Pueblo, which is a direct partner of Radio Intag, stopped printing a local newspaper because of financial constraints and transformed its popular reportage format into an audio report for Radio Intag. Today, you can call up 95 installments of these audio reports, called "Radio Revista." The main issues of Radio Intag are local news, live stories, and ecology. In election times it promotes debates between local candidates. As in the two other cases, Radio Intag has a direct community approach, training, for instance, peasant leaders and farmers in radio communication for their own organizations.

"We want to raise awareness for preservation and conservation. But we do not adhere to any political platform," affirms the director.[50] "Radio Intag has been threatened and even suffered sabotage, possibly because it published sensitive information about the environmental impacts of a planned mining project. Now that the views of the local population can be heard worldwide through Real Audio and internet, these actions have stopped," says Andreas Postrach from the German support group INTAG e.V.[51] At present, Radio Intag is dealing with serious challenges related to political restrictions and financial limitations: "Our main goal is just to continue broadcasting."[52]

Stakeholders in Support of Community Radio

Radio Pio XII

"Bolivians not only listen a lot to radio, they also love to be on air. Countless small stations provide the population with news and entertainment," according to a recently published survey of the community radio landscape.[53] Active NGOs and international actors support community broadcasting and participative media initiatives. There are national networks with experience in capacity development, such as ERBOL (association of community radio communication and educational institutions of Christian inspiration), Teko Guaraní (support network for Guarani Radio), AMARC Bolivia (World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters), and SECRAD (Research and Development Unity of the Catholic University); ONADEM (Observatory of Media Landscape of the Foundation UNIR Bolivia) is an important think tank, reflecting on critical issues like censorship and access to information. The Danish-funded NGO IBIS was involved until 2013 in the support of indigenous people. But it was then accused of "interference in internal affairs" and expelled from the country. Since then, there has been widespread nervousness among international development organizations.

Pio XII has been receiving support from various organizations and institutions and has built up solid alliances, e.g., with ALER (Latin American Association of Radio Education), Radio Netherlands, and OCLACC (Catholic Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Communication). Based on a long-standing partnership with ERBOL, DW Akademie in collaboration with GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH) recently supported this network (from 2010 to 2013), seeking to strengthen the quality of local reporting in a project called "Ondas en Red" (waves in a network).

Vokaribe

In Colombia there have been numerous initiatives relating to community radio as a vehicle to raise public awareness in remote areas, which are often dominated by illegal groupings such as paramilitary and guerrilla groups. There are support networks for community radio, like the Association ARDEMAG (Asociación Red de Emisoras Comunitarias del Magdalena Medio) and the indigenous networks AMCIC (Red de Emisoras indígenas) and ACIN (Asociación de Cabildos). Several universities, such as the Universidad Minuto de Dios and the Universidad de los Andes analyze the role of community media, whilst foundations like FNPI (Fundación Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano) and Medios para la Paz (actually in crisis) stand for journalistic innovation and professionalization. International development agencies like UNDP, GIZ, and IMS (International Media Support) have been supporting local and community media in a conflictive and violent environment.

Vokaribe has several strategic allies: a religious foundation with whom they share the public library (where Vokaribe has its main office) and arrange coordination for activities with the local community (Comunidad de los Ministros de los Enfermos Camilos). Vokaribe is also integrated into the Caribbean network Intermundos and Red Caribe, explains project manager Patricia Rendón: "The concept of region evokes the identity that connects to the history and culture of the Caribbean that transcends even the borders of Colombia and connects us with our roots, Afro-descendant and indigenous."[54] Additionally, Vokaribe implemented cultural projects in the neighborhood financed by the Ministry of Culture. The German public broadcaster SWR donated used technical equipment and the German Embassy financed the antenna. A project with WACC (World Association for Christian Communication) focused on radio training for community members. Vokaribe is part of an ongoing project with DW Akademie to strengthen four recently-founded urban community radio stations and help them become economically sustainable platforms with attractive and socially relevant programming.

Radio Intag

With a new constitutional framework and an anti-monopolist Communication Law approved in 2013, community radio in Ecuador now has a solid legal base and should receive financial and technical support from the state. However, implementation is still a challenge,[55] especially for projects that are not in line with the current government stance, such as those related to environmental questions and youth culture: "There is now a certain reluctance to express criticism openly in the broadcasting community."[56] Most community radio stations are attached to religious institutions (about 70 percent), the rest are part of local communities, mainly indigenous peoples. There are few national organizations that have been supportive of the community media sector: Corape (Coordinadora de Radios Populares y Educativas del Ecuador) is an umbrella group with 35 affiliated members; the Latin American Association for Radio Education (ALER) has its headquarters in Quito.

In this rather tense context, Radio Intag can count on a few allies: The associated Foundation Casa Palabra y Pueblo offers substantial support, producing a popular program (Revista Intag) with local news and background information. The foundation has full autonomy over the content of the programs. Radio Intag has the support of an international solidarity network for the protection of the Intag region, with very active volunteers[57] and receives news content form ALER and

47 *Pío XII 2008.*
48 *id21 2006, 1.*
49 *Patricia Rendón, Project Manager, Vokaribe.*
50 *Miguel Andrade, Director of Radio Intag, Ecuador.*
51 *Andreas Postrach, Coordinator, German Association for the Intag region.*
52 *Miguel Andrade, Director of Radio Intag, Ecuador.*
53 *Guthmann & Salazar Tórrez 2013, 1.*
54 *Patricia Rendón, Project Manager, Vokaribe, Colombia.*
55 *El Comercio.*
56 *Ana María Acosta, Wambra Radio, Quito, Ecuador.*
57 *http://intag-ev.de/*

CORAPE. There is an institutional agreement with some universities for an intern program; two local secondary schools produce their own program.

Media Support Organizations

AMARC
It is important to mention three media support organizations with a Latin American and international scope: AMARC's (World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters) mission is to support and contribute to the development of community and participatory radio. It has a special focus on Latin America, related to the development of legal frameworks for community radio, the promotion of gender sensitivity, the use of new technologies, and treatment of socio-environmental questions. AMARC produces regular international news to be used by community radio and offers legal advice and orientation.

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, a German political foundation, is working on a long-standing project for media development and communication consulting in the Latin American region (in Spanish: C3, Centro de Competencia en Comunicación) with three main working areas: political and legal framework for press and radio, social participation through local and community media, and dialogue between media professionals and political and civil society. Its services include legal advice, research, expert discussions, a panel with representatives and journalists, seminars, and international conferences.

DW Akademie
DW Akademie works primarily with local and national media partners in Latin America and has implemented a range of long-term projects to support balanced and independent reporting. It sets priority topics in each country; in Nicaragua for instance, DW Akademie is assisting with the training of journalists enrolled in a Masters of Environmental Reporting at the University of Managua. In Bolivia, work is focused on strengthening vocational training for journalists. In Guatemala, DW Akademie has prioritized youth as a topic, and in Colombia the focus is on consolidation of community radios and on independent information platforms. Recently, DW Akademie has been adjusting its global strategy, including that for Latin America. It now has a stronger focus on capacity development and continual follow-up counselling: "We feel that our role now is to strengthen and to connect existing expertise, not so much to bring knowledge from outside," comments the regional coordinator.[58]

Status of the Media Organizations

Legal Framework, Governance and Ethics

Radio Pio XII is formally a private Catholic radio network, but is generally considered a community radio station, as director Roberto Durette pointed out: "We are community radio in the sense that, since our foundation, we have been walking with the miners and indigenous peoples."[59] As a result of the abovementioned new constitution, a recent Communication Law guarantees 33 per cent of all Radio frequencies for community and indigenous radio (Communication Law, art. 10). The supervisory and controlling body ATT (Autoridad de Fiscalización y Regulación de Telecomunicaciones y Transportes) is responsible for the licensing process for new community radio outlets, particularly in urban areas, but it is a time-consuming procedure to obtain a license.[60] Some journalists suspect that ATT applies political criteria in the application process.

In theory, Pio XII could now officially try to get a license as a community broadcaster, but as Peter Deselaers, former coordinator of the project "Ondas en Red," explains, that could jeopardize the continued existence of the network as there is not necessarily a social organization in the region with sufficient credibility and capacity to manage it. In addition there is no reason for the Oblates to let go of a good and prestigious project that they care about.[61]

Radio Pio XII has established journalistic principles and standards for its reporters. Its official mission is to "contribute to a just, participatory and fraternal society through educational communication and support of indigenous communities, miners' colonies and marginal urban sites." The editorial teams identify with an ethical imperative to be "objective" in the treatment of information and to foster constructive, participatory solutions for the marginalized population.

Vokaribe is one of the first community radio stations in an urban setting in Colombia. The Ministry of ICT and communication established a new policy in 2008, sanctioning and promoting urban radio for the first time. The licensing process was tedious; for close to four years the core team had to deliver training, define goals, establish a program timetable, set up a programming committee, and formulate an ethics code and a style manual. DW Akademie's Matthias Kopp, who offered support and technical advice as country manager, finds the certification procedure is useful: "The long process was worthwhile for Vokaribe and contributed to the consolidation of a community as stakeholders. It helps to clarify goals and to test capacity and motivation."[62]

Radio Intag was founded as a private radio station by an electronic engineer, Miguel Andrade: "Legally it was almost impossible at that time to get a community radio license, so we opted for private status."[63] By law, all radio outlets have to publish an ethics code (código deontológico). Radio Intag has a rather standardized code with basic journalistic and ethical principles.[64] The broadcasting authority (Superintendencia de la Información y Comunicación) is observing Radio Intag very

closely, and recently sent a written warning because it supposedly exceeded the power limit of 100 Watts by 3 Watts. Because the government seems to have taken the decision to proceed with an extensive mining project in this ecologically fragile region, Radio Intag could have problems renewing its license in the future. Miguel Andrade has developed a plan B for this scenario, which would involve transforming the station into a community radio station. It is important to mention the international framework and legislation as it applies to community radio, for instance, the Advisory Opinion of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.[65]

Capacity Building and Human Resources

Radio Pio XII has been training local multilingual reporters for years in basic journalistic skills and standards. The strategy is to have at least one person in nearly every indigenous community that is qualified to submit a news report. This is considered a precondition for news coverage from the highland region. As a result, Pio XII has a pool of reporters whose skill levels are constantly maintained by the main editing staff.

Vokaribe relies mostly on capacity building through international organizations like WACC (World Association for Christian Communication) and DW Akademie. The core team (known as coordinators) are high level professionals, for instance, the director Walter Hernández is a well-known musician, and the project manager Patricia Rendo is a PhD student specialising in participative media. The coordinators consider that reflecting on own practice is also a good way of capacity building and they have regular meetings and internal workshops with a focus on knowledge management.

Finally, the core team at Radio Intag, responsible for local content such as "Revista Intag," has had basic training in print journalism and participates in workshops for community broadcasters held by the national radio organization CORAPE. The students on internship at Radio Intag are offered basic scholar's training with the aim of producing small programs related to their everyday reality.

Financing, Management and Newsroom Structures

Radio Pio XII is financially self-sustaining. Its main source of revenue is advertising, for example for NGOs and development agencies working in the region. It also receives strong financial aid for its community programs: The German Catholic Bishops' Organization for Development Cooperation MISEREOR, for instance, is a longstanding technical and financial partner; the directors of Pio XII receive support as priests from the Oblates.[66] The core team in Siglo XX consists of 6 journalists and the director, and about 30 local reporters in the community. Decisions on the editorial line and the treatment of news are mainly taken in the weekly editorial meeting. The combination of FM, MW, and SW broadcasting together with Real Audio and a fully-fledged internet platform ensure good access to the target groups.

Vokaribe is run by volunteer work on the part of all participants, who usually have other, paying jobs. There are specific projects and activities (like a fair for community radio) financed by external organizations such as foundations, the Ministry of Culture or the WACC (World Association for Christian Communication). Vokaribe has an upgraded webpage with many video and audio files on their work; they use Facebook and have more than 1,000 active followers.

Radio Intag generates little revenue and is sustained by its director. There are some revenues through advertising and a regular donation of 1,500 US dollars per year from a local environmental foundation. Radio Intag has an internet platform with Real Audio player. Since the director of Radio Intag has a full-time job as an engineer, he uses remote control software (ZaraStudio). Financial sustainability is a serious issue, except in the case of Pio XII, and there is always the risk of extreme self-exploitation, fatigue or low personal motivation through excessive voluntary work.

Perception, Participation and Public Engagement

Pio XII is popular with its audiences, according to several surveys, especially in rural areas, where the network is the only professional source of news.[67] The public appreciates the local information and the cultural programs, the most famous being Tuta Chasquita, an entertainment program with local Quechua musicians. Pio XII reporters meet with focus groups several times a month to evaluate programming and to detect hidden issues for future programs. There is also an annual evaluation with social organizations.

Criticism is heard about the music style, because the two main target groups – miners and indigenous people – have rather different tastes. There are also interest groups who oppose specific issues. For instance, miners' cooperatives dislike the coverage of environmental issues and reports on dangerous working conditions. Critics also question the "neutrality" of religion-based radio: "Similarly to private enterprises, the Catholic church also has its own agenda, sometimes discreetly hidden behind good principles like the love of one's neighbor."[68]

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58 *Rodrigo Villarzú,Coordinator for Latin America, DW Akademie, Germany.*

59 *Roberto Durette, Director General Radio Pio XII in Bolivia.*

60 *Santos Condori, Journalist of Radio Station Chasqui in El Alto, Bolivia.*

61 *Peter Deselaers, Project Manager, Research and Development, DW Akademie, Germany.*

62 *Matthias Kopp, Country Manager Colombia, DW Akademie, Germany.*

63 *Miguel Andrade, Director of Radio Intag, Ecuador.*

64 *Código Deontológico de "Radio Intag".*

65 *AFSCA 2009.*

66 *Roberto Durette, Director General Radio Pio XII in Bolivia.*

67 *Pío XII 2008.*

68 *Comment of Claudia Benavente, Director of Bolivia national newspaper "La Razón", during a public discussion on censorship, La Paz, MUSEF; 18th of march.*

With regard to Vokaribe, no systematic study has yet been made of the approximately 500,000 inhabitants in the neighborhood. Vokaribe has an active fan group and in recent meetings for its relaunch many local representatives and community members were actively involved. Vokaribe has systematized some lessons learned about participative processes, as Patricia Rendón explains: "You never can speak for others. Everyone has his or her own voice. The most we can do as Vokaribe is to promote and help to get that voice heard."[69]

Radio Intag makes an important social contribution for the region, strengthening local identities and defending its environment. For many inhabitants, this radio station is a main reference and they even feel that they can visit the radio station and share their concerns. Its core team makes skillful use of modern technologies, including the internet. There are some well-prepared programs and reports and solid support through international solidarity networks. However, the outlet is under pressure: In a global political context in relation to the massive promotion of extractive industries in the region, it finds itself in the middle of a political conflict between ecologists and enterprises authorized by the government. Its formal status as a private radio station is no longer adequate for its social goals. There are signs of "fatigue" related to low participation of the community, political pressures, and financial constraints.

In order to better understand the audience, Javier Torres, an Ecuadorian scholar, carried out a survey of Radio Intag's listeners. One of the main results is that almost 75 percent of the population (about 19,000 people) listen regularly to Radio Intag, and that radio reception and use in mining areas is weak. Until recently, the most popular program with the audience was the live transmission of early morning mass; another popular format is the local background information program "Revista Intag" and a participative cultural program where musicians from local communities come into the studio to play their rhythms and tell anecdotes from a peasant's life.

Public Service: General Functions

Creating a Public Sphere

Radio Pio XII undoubtedly contributes to the creation of a public sphere. It offers comprehensive information on provincial and local dynamics, and promotes a pluralistic forum on important development and governance issues – especially in a highly polarized national context. In many cases, Pio XII is the only source of information relating to indigenous and peasant people from small Andean villages.

The editorial policy seems to be focused on constructive criticism with regard to the solution of visible dysfunctions and of responsibilities for wrongdoing. Pio XII has the credibility to moderate debates and facilitate between conflicting political organizations and actors. In recent years, the editing team has been trying to respond to the management's quality requirement to be more "educative," gives much more social and contextual orientation and has improved the background reporting. Nevertheless, the range of journalistic formats used is still limited and the quality of many concrete communicational products could be still significantly improved. The use of investigative journalism is in very early stages.

Vokaribe is still in its pilot phase, and it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to its general functions. The radio team seems to have a clear idea of journalistic standards with regard to balanced information and inclusion of pluralistic opinions. But Vokaribe radio does not play the role of "watchdog" and critical observer of public policies in the area. Nor does it seek to uncover irregularities through investigative journalism – which would no doubt mean increased security risks for reporters. The focus is on local cultural life and its potential.[70]

Radio Intag is similar to Radio Pio XII in that its goal is to offer comprehensive local news. Additionally, it uses the news service of independent agencies like ALER (Latin American Association of Radio Education), CORAPE (Coordinator of Popular Educational Radio of Ecuador), and Radio Netherlands to cover the national and international news. However, Radio Intag has its own political agenda and a mission against mining projects for the sake of environmental protection, and it does not treat these issues without bias, giving the same space to the supporters of these extractive projects. In some of its programs, President Rafael Correa is criticized severely for his extractive industry policy. On the other hand, the broadcaster gives the official government channel (including live transmissions of presidential speeches) almost three hours for its standard program. This fact shows that Radio Intag is committed to its convictions, but not in an "obsessive" or "dogmatic" way. Even if investigative journalism is not very well-developed, some background programs raise awareness about certain hidden issues, such as the migration of young people to the big cities.

Supporting Integration

Radio Pio XII plays an important role for social integration in the region. It promotes cultural expression which would otherwise never be heard on the radio and it thereby empowers disadvantaged and repressed people. It has several participative mechanisms of consultation and reflection with civil society, but the final decisions are taken by the established internal instances. One recent innovation is a target-group-oriented use of new technologies, such as a webpage (mainly for journalists interested in local news), Twitter (for media experts), and Facebook (for people who had to leave the area and want to stay in contact).[71]

Initially, Vokaribe involved local leaders and members of the community, together with a group of professionals from other neighborhoods. The integration of different cultural voices is its main strength. There have been several training cycles in community radio production, the use and combination of new technologies via Facebook, Twitter and internet platform is innovative. One of the best examples of community integration is an annual fair of community radio stations in Barranquilla,

which is unique in the Caribbean region and where more than 100 radio broadcasters meet, swap stories, and run a live show in a local community to be transmitted by radio.

In the case of Radio Intag, community involvement has diminished and the instances of participation (like the steering committee) are not very active. There seems to be a kind of "fatigue": "People enjoy the program and are used to it. They don't see the necessity to be more actively involved. Perhaps they are not aware of the unstable situation at Radio Intag."[72] The cultural approach with focus on local identities is strong; a new program, for example, which looks at the life stories of elderly members of the community, is in the making.

Achievements and Challenges

The Bolivian Congress is dominated by the socialist political movement MAS, which is skeptical about the influence of the Catholic church. In December 2013 this Congress awarded Radio Pio XII a prestigious national distinction for its defense of democracy and human rights. The key to maintaining the broadcaster's significance in the region seems to be the long-term community approach, the institutional anchorage in the Catholic radio network, the intransigent engagement with human rights and vulnerable groups, the adaptability to new audiences and issues, and its capacity building approach involving vocational and practical training for its local multilingual journalists.

Pio XII has been skillfully using and integrating the services of existing radio networks like ERBOL. Evidently, it builds on cultural potential in a socially divided region where extreme poverty predominates. Its focus on local development issues is an adequate strategy to avoid political confrontation in a highly polarized national context. However, there are many challenges, mainly related to investigative journalism and the innovation in formats and products. The mechanism of participation seems rather conventional still, and the incorporation of civil society in the programming and management process, for instance, through a steering board in the same way as other stations, could be a worthwhile discussion. This conclusion is in line with the findings of a comparative study on participation mechanisms in community radio. Fröhlich examines the involvement of communities in programming, management, ownership, and funding, and concludes that "Latin American radio stations top participation in programming, but they are far below average in management and ownership."[73]

The Radio Vokaribe case demonstrates how to patiently build up an urban community station, based on an interdisciplinary cultural approach and strong local participation: "The convergence between neighbors, students, and artists making radio in a very popular urban area is the particularity of Vokaribe. The mix between conventional and new radio via internet is very promising," says expert Ernesto Lamas, who has been giving Vokaribe technical support. However, numerous challenges remain to be tackled, e.g., related to continuous programming and financial sustainability. After all, Vokaribe will have to find its "niche" and specific audience in a landscape where many other commercial radio stations compete for listeners.

When it comes to lessons learned for media support, we should mention two DW Akademie projects which involve Pio XII and Vokaribe, as well as AMARC and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (see table 4). The DW Akademie-supported project "Ondas en Red," which included the Pio XII network as one of eight cooperation partners, yielded important findings from an external evaluation.[75] Based on a previous detailed need assessment, the project, under the coordination of a German media expert, focused on the improvement and quality of different journalistic formats, online journalism, and the improvement of the processes in the editorial office.[76] The support consisted of a mix of methodologies related to horizontal learning and professional exchange between different cooperation partners, and included practice-orientated training, input from international experts, and personalized coaching and organizational counseling. The feedback of the journalists and participants involved has been positive: "The project improved the reporters' professionalism significantly," acknowledges director Roberto Durette.[77] As a result, Radio Pio XII has enhanced its background reporting, developed new formats and established a strong partnership with the radio network ERBOL. Furthermore, the editorial team transformed the webpage into a journalistic platform and introduced the use of social media like Twitter and Facebook.

Vokaribe is included in a project which aims, with support from DW Akademie, to strengthen four recently-founded urban community radio stations and to help transform them into economically sustainable platforms with attractive and socially relevant programming. DW Akademie's main contribution is in the areas of organizational development, journalistic capacity building, advice on the design and structure of programming, and consultation with international experts, e.g., on financial sustainability. The project is still ongoing: In the case of Vokaribe, the core team expressed satisfaction with the "process-oriented counseling" and the practical technical input. They also feel that this project offers a different type of support to that of previous projects, where certain goals established by the donor organizations had to be accomplished. In this case, the team perceives that the coaching process involves questioning essential elements (like visions and goals)

69 *Barié & Legatis 2014.*
70 *Patricia Rendón, Project Manager, Vokaribe, Colombia.*
71 *Peter Deselaers, Project Manager, Research and Development, DW Akademie, Germany.*
72 *Andreas Postrach, Coordinator, German Association for the Intag region.*
73 *Fröhlich et al. 2012, 1.*
74 *Ernesto Lamas, Founding member of Radio Tribu, Buenos Aires, Argentina.*
75 *Dietz 2013.*
76 *Peter Deselaers, Project Manager, Research and Development, DW Akademie, Germany.*
77 *Roberto Durette, Director General Radio Pio XII in Bolivia.*

of community radio and establishing a joint working route. The relationship is more that of partners rather than that of client and technical advisor.

AMARC is a leading reference for community radio in Latin America. Its methods include lobbying, alerts on violations of journalists' human rights, conferences and visiting missions, workshops, political dialogue, comparative studies, and supply of news content. At the introduction of the new Argentinean legislation on communication (Ley 26.522 de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual), AMARC made a significant contribution by means of discussion, consensus building, and legal advice. The new legislation guarantees up to 33 percent of the frequencies for "community-oriented media of popular nonprofit organizations." There are several good practices facilitated by AMARC, so, for instance, methods for the interaction with audiences and for impact assessment. "AMARC is a well-established network that facilitates the exchange of program content. Its legal advice services for community radio are essential," remarks Petra Berner.[78]

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation's C3 Project is a kind of think tank and has been publicly positioning key issues related to the transformation of the Latin American media landscape and the use of new technologies. It is a solid source of information on Latin American tendencies and has a good network of policy makers, media organizations, and journalists with several publications related to community radio.

Transformation Approaches

Community radio should be considered a third media sector, on equal terms with private and public media, as recent legislations in Latin America established, for instance in Argentina, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. According to this new approach, community radio should have its place in the media landscape, dispose of a part (usually one third) of the frequencies and should have the support of the state to be enabled to adequately develop. The idea of three types of broadcasting with equal relevance is the result of many years of international discussions, best summarized in an international declaration written by representatives of the UN system, experts, academics and policy makers in Amsterdam in 2007:

"Different types of broadcasters – commercial, public service, and community – should be able to operate on, and have equitable access to, all available distribution platforms. Specific measures to promote diversity may include reservation of adequate frequencies for different types of broadcasters... Community broadcasting should be explicitly recognized in law as a distinct form of broadcasting, should benefit from fair and simple licensing procedures, should not have to meet stringent technological or other license criteria, should benefit from concessionary license fees, and should have access to advertising."[79]

Community radio in Latin America can make a very significant contribution to pluralism in media, to empowerment of local communities, the construction of multiple identities, the sense of local belonging and the defense of human rights, especially the right to freedom of expression and of access to information. In some cases, it can even serve as mediator and moderator in social conflicts and has proved to be the most effective communication channel in the case of emergencies (such as earthquakes). Community radio networks are resourceful and creative in using new technologies and they rapidly pick up on hidden issues and urgent social questions, for instance, on intercultural issues or environmental matters. As we have seen in the three case studies presented here, the transition from informal (or private) radio stations into fully sustainable community broadcasting is a long one. The new legislation in the region is a window of opportunity to reorganize and restructure this rather informal and underestimated sector. This would mean community radio could interact in a cordial and complementary fashion with the two other media sectors, which are much better positioned and organized.

This analysis suggests that there are very few examples of strategic and long-term commitment of media development organizations with community radio in Latin America like the abovementioned involvement of DW Akademie. UN and development organizations (the World Health Organization – WHO, the United Nations Development Programme – UNDP, German Development Cooperation GIZ, and the US Agency USAID) have been working with community radio in the region for many years. However, generally these development agencies use community radio as a vehicle to reach marginalized populations and to promote developmental goals.[80] They do not usually perceive it as a strategic partner in the long-term transformation of the media landscape or as a key element of a coherent development strategy. Community radio networks usually receive financial support to implement the projects and goals of other organizations. They are rarely seen as a sector to be developed for its own sake, as Kivikuru points out:[81] "Public Service Broadcasting has not been assessed as a challenge, but rather as an institution belonging to the past."[82]

Certainly, there are many understandable reasons for this reluctance to support them directly: Firstly, it is difficult to identify and select the few good practices and eligible initiatives from hundreds of "fake" community radio stations, such as those, for instance, that are converted into political propaganda machines during election periods or are simply lucrative private enterprises.[83] In addition, Latin American governments possibly don't want development agencies to support democratic platforms where critical voices predominate, especially when those platforms use disrespectful and unconventional language. Finally, many community radio stations have limited impact in specific communities and it is not clear how to scale these results up to a more aggregated impact on a national level. These challenges could be adequately addressed in a more comprehensive strategy which we will propose below. Community radio compensates for profound gaps in the

mainstream media landscape, where state media rarely fulfill a public service function, and where the concentration of media leads to a unified and simplified image of social reality and even discrimination, as Becerra confirms: "The concentration of ownership in Latin America in few groups tends to result in an editorial unification and reduces and simplifies diversity."[84] Referring to the television sector, Kitzberger maintains that even mainstream media reinforce inequity:

"By propagating the lifestyle of the upper class as desirable, television as a place of symbolic representation contributes significantly to stabilization of the existing social divide in societies. At the same time, the rich barely experience anything about the living conditions of the poor on television. These usually appear only in the context of insecurity and crime. Thus, Latin American media today reproduce the existing social inequality."[85]

Media development organizations should seek to support the consolidation of the third sector and should ask how they can contribute to a much more strategic use and development of the community media sector as promoters of a pluralistic public sphere and as supporters of social integration in highly divided and fragmented societies.

However, in spite of the fact that community radio fulfills important public functions of social integration and the building of a public sphere, it can and should not substitute public service media: "It is important to stress that community broadcasting, while it may perform certain public service broadcasting functions, does not replace public service broadcasting with its broader outlook and national scope."[86]

Public service media should take community broadcasting as an inspiration and example, but states must not interpret the existence of a dynamic community radio sector as an easy way to get rid of their obligation (often constitutionally established) to guarantee the rights of access to information and political education. Public service broadcasting has an entirely broader mission than community radio, which can perfectly complement and reinforce the mission of community radio but not replace it.

As we have seen, the concept of public service media as first sector is still not widespread and often misunderstood in the region. However, the idea should not be abandoned, as Rodrigo Villarzú, Coordinator for Latin America at DW Akademie points out: "There is now more openness for the notion of public broadcasting and media development organizations should take advantage of that and promote this discussion."[87] This would imply working with those who could lobby for public broadcasting and seek political influence, as a recent report suggests: "Too many broadcasting conferences are aimed just at the broadcasters. The real need is to address those with the power to alter things. It is no use preaching just to the converted."[88]

Community radio emerges prompted by the urgent needs of diverse local communities, unions, groups, indigenous people or minorities to articulate their concerns, to make their interests visible or to counterbalance information of the mainstream media. Community radio makers feel and perceive that something is missing in the overall media landscape, that some groups or issues are not adequately represented and they want to fill that gap. They fulfill public media functions, but not necessarily in a conscious way, seeking the creation of political spheres and the promotion of social integration. For instance, Radio Intag has a clear political position against mining projects, and objectivity is not the main goal in this case.

Thus, it seems that the communicational needs perceived by specific communities or groups are the incentive and driving force that defines the roles and functions, rather than an abstract identification with public and social functions. In the case of Radio Pio XII, civil society organizations and religious groups perceived initially that the indigenous population of the Bolivian Highlands was disconnected and affected by extreme poverty. In reaction, Radio Pio XII tried to involve them, using their language, in local development issues. A group of activists and communication professionals was concerned about violence amongst the young people in the neighborhood and the weak sense of local belonging. As a consequence, they got together and established a radio station to help strengthen the local identity of young people (Vokaribe). Journalists and social leaders in the Intag region were concerned about the misinformation on the impact of extractive industries. So they founded a radio station to take up these environmental issues and offer a critical point of view.

Some community radio stations even respond to very specific needs: Las Voces del Secuestro, for instance, is a radio station aimed entirely at giving out information relevant to kidnapped persons and their dependents in Colombia, and La Colifata in Buenos Aires (Argentina) is produced by and for patients of a mental hospital. In conclusion, based on several interviews and the empirical data, we can imply that these

78 *Petra Berner, Head Research and Development, DW Akademie, Germany.*

79 *There are many other documents relating to this issue, for instance, the study "The state of Community Media in the European Union" submitted by the European Parliament in September 2007.*

80 *Mónica Valdes, in charge of capacity development, AMARC, Bogota, Colombia.*

81 *Carlos Rivadeneyra, Coordinator for Latin America, AMARC, Lima, Peru.*

82 *Kivikuru 2006, 7.*

83 *Matthias Kopp, Country Manager Colombia, DW Akademie, Germany.*

84 *Becerra 2014, 64.*

85 *Kitzberger 2013, 2.*

86 *Banerjee & Seneviratne 2005, 13.*

87 *Rodrigo Villarzú,Coordinator for Latin America, DW Akademie, Germany.*

88 *Smith 2012, 40.*

broadcasters emerge as a collective action to meet perceived (subjective) communicational needs of a community or even smaller interest groups.

When analyzing the functions of community radio, it is important to focus on the practical role, content, and the perception of the audience, rather than on the legal status and the official mission. For many years, community radio stations operated illegally and were seen as "pirate radio stations." Even today, many outlets have not completed a formal certification process or, for practical reasons, operate as private radio with a community approach (like Radio Intag); some only have an "illegal" or "semi-legal" status. Meanwhile, many community broadcasters are commercial in practice, as Matthias Kopp noticed in Colombia: "Of around 1,000 community radio stations, only a few really fulfill a social function."[89]

Almost all those interviewed said that the motivation for their participation in these projects was a social and political one; radio is seen as one of the best and most effective instruments of communication to contribute to a common good. For instance Ana María Acosta, radio afficionado from Ecuador: "Radio is the meeting place to articulate our demands and proposals as young people and to accompany our organizational processes."[91] The AMARC Coordinator Carlos Rivadeneyra is optimistic about the future of community radio: "As long as communities feel that they have something to say, to sing their songs, and to dance their dances, community radio will exist, whether legally or informally."[92] The local journalist Óscar Gómez from Colombia thinks that social compromise will always be a precondition for the engagement with community radio: "The future of community radio depends on the enthusiasm and altruism of its promoters and on their willingness to pursue the dreams of Don Quijote of an equitable world in harmony with our planet."[93]

Community broadcasting seeks therefore to compensate for the insufficiencies of formal democracy: "There is no discomfort with democracy, but there is discomfort in democracy," remarks Dante Caputo, director of the UNDP report on Democracy in Latin America.[94] Communities express this unease, and enrich and deepen democracy often by non-conventional and even insolent and provocative ways.

All sectors together, public, commercial, and community media, should have public service functions and obligations, but with different emphases and responsibilities. This is the reason why all media sectors together are defined as "social communication media" in more recent legislation (for instance, Ley Orgánica de Comunicación in Ecuador). Similarly, Blumler and Nossiter suggest that all media, including that of the private sector, should be guided by a philosophy of public service: "Public service broadcasting must be defined in terms of a commitment to a set of principles rather than in terms of the ownership or financing of broadcasting bodies; it is therefore not a philosophy which can be confined to national broadcasters or state corporations, but through various legislative and regulatory frameworks must also imbue privately owned stations and channels."[95]

The potential of community radio in Latin America is still seriously restricted by legal barriers, low budgets, and political interference. In spite of the impressive formal advancement, today community radio in Latin America confronts serious challenges: In a context of increasing concentration of media ownership in Latin America and the consolidation of left-wing governments in some countries (like Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela) community broadcasting is under strong pressure. Restrictive legal frameworks, limited access to the radio spectrum, censorship, lack of economic sustainability, political persecution, and social polarization are challenging the endurance of this historical media form. Meanwhile, many community radio stations are changing and adapting to new and sometimes adverse circumstances: They are making increasing use of information and communications technology (ICT), for instance, combining internet and FM radio. According to Ernesto Lamas, there is no crisis of community radio, since even when some disappear, new stations are created: "Almost every day I receive a mail, asking for advice on setting up a new community radio outlet."[96] Most new legislation seems to facilitate the process of formalization and consolidation.

Media development organizations should have a more strategic and comprehensive approach for community radio, which could embrace the legal and political framework, the strengthening of national and international networks for radio communities, the facilitation of knowledge management processes, and support for selected community communication projects with high potential.

A first field of intervention could be supporting the discussion, consolidation, implementation, and accompaniment of a more progressive legal framework and policy on community radios, focused on questions like: How to overcome legal and bureaucratic obstacles? How could state policy actively promote this community radio sector without political interference? How to avoid the misuse and manipulation of the community radio idea? How could community radio be made financially sustainable? How could the third sector operate in a coherent manner with the other sectors? How to guarantee an impartial and independent certification process?

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[89] *Matthias Kopp, Country Manager Colombia, DW Akademie, Germany.*

[90] *See also Barié & Legatis 2014; and Buckley 2008.*

[91] *Ana María Acosta, journalist, Wambra Radio, Quito, Ecuador.*

[92] *Carlos Rivadeneyra, Coordinator for Latin America, AMARC, Peru.*

[93] *Óscar Gómez, Journalist in Manizales, Colombia.*

[94] *UNDP 2004, 19.*

[95] *Blumler & Nossiter 1991, 24.*

[96] *Ernesto Lamas, Founding member of Radio Tribu, Buenos Aires, Argentina.*

The Table (below) shows typical communicational needs covered and met by community radios, taken from the information gathered from the case studies and from the interviews:[90]

Communicational needs	Aspects	Examples
Access to information	– Access to qualified information in remote and rural areas – Communication emergencies, such as natural disasters	Pio XII and Radio Intag are radio stations covering (almost exclusively) a specific region.
Empowerment and participation	– Instrument of social mobilization, protest and political advocacy (e.g., trade union and student movement stations) – "Voice of the voiceless" – empowerment and participation of minorities or marginalized groups, ignored by the mainstream media – Accountability and social control – Dialogue platforms and discussion forums	Radio Pachamama in Bolivia speaks on behalf of the indigenous urban women.
Education	– Formal education (distance courses) – Training – Local knowledge	Radio Irfeyal in Quito, Ecuador, has mainly educational programs with content for young students.
Conflict transformation and violence prevention	– Conflict transformation – Peaceful coexistence in violent contexts – Reconstruction of the social fabric	Radio La Voz del Secuestro in Colombia is motivated by the armed conflict and transmits messages to kidnapped people.
Culture	Promotion and strengthening of subcultures and local identities and languages	Radio Hamalali Garinagu broadcasts to the Garifuna communities of the Caribbean coast and promotes their music and cultural traditions.
Development	Local development issues	Radio Intag has a focus on development issues, like tourism and impact of extractive industries.

A second field should be the strengthening of and partnership with the numerous national and international networks, which have been the main support of local radio stations in the region, like AMCIC (Network of Indigenous Broadcasters) in Colombia and CORAPE (Popular Radio Education Coordinator of Ecuador) in Ecuador. There are also transnational organizations like AMARC (Latin America Section of World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters) and FELAP (Latin American Federation of Journalists). According to our interviewees, these networks play an important role for the promotion of public policies related to community broadcasting and are a key success factor for many local radio stations in highly vulnerable situations.

Third, one of the main needs of these community radio stations, identified by other investigations, is a sharing of knowledge with other projects on successful methods and practical strategies for overcoming the numerous obstacles they have to tackle, as Mónica Valdez from AMARC underlines:[97] "How to design a good programming plan? How to share responsibilities within the organization? How to make communities participate more actively? There are so many lessons learned and expert knowledge which should be systematized and available for all the new community broadcasters in the region."[98] Certainly, the aforementioned radio networks could contribute to a profounder exchange and knowledge management, but they possibly need strong methodological and technical support.

Lastly, it is important to select and support promising community radio practices and, in a broader sense, innovative community media projects. DW Akademie, for instance, has been accompanying the whole process of formation, legalization, qualification and consolidation of some identified community initiatives with high potential. The concept of a "critical friend" which comes from the study of learning environments could be useful in the counseling process: a trusted person who upholds the success of the project through technical input and constructive questions, part of a process-orientated counseling approach. The main criterion for a selection of such projects with high potential should be their community approach, the ambition to develop contents with a certain journalistic standard and organizational conformation as a possible "change agent" group. As a result, there could soon be well-documented "good practices" of community radio which serve as example and motivation for other projects.

"Community radio stations that impressed me"

A personal selection by Ernesto Lamas, international expert and co-founder of one of Argentina's most important radio stations, Radio Tribu

Radio Vokaribe in Colombia has a mix of traditional and modern approaches

Radio Vos Matagalpa in Nicaragua was built up by a feminist theatre group

La Azotea in Mar de Plata in Argentina is a good example of a platform articulating social organizations

Fe y Alegría in Venezuela is a Catholic network that combines the traditional radio schools with high quality journalism

Mocase Via Campesina is a network of peasant groups in Argentina promoting the creation of local radio for the defense of land rights and sustainable development

[97] *Barié & Legatis 2014.*

[98] *Mónica Valdes, Responsible for Capacity Development, AMARC, Colombia.*

Status of Radio Pio XII, Vokaribe and Radio Intag

Characteristics	Radio Pio XII, Siglo XX (Bolivia)	Vokaribe (Colombia)
Channels, distribution	Radio Pio XII was founded in 1959 by Oblates Missionaries in the tin miners' colony Siglo XX of the Bolivian Andean Highlands; in the 1990s, the Oblates set up additional stations in two provincial capitals, Oruro and Cochabamba. Pio XII focuses particularly on local development issues, on indigenous peoples, and democratization. It is the only radio network offering continuous programming for the northern part of the department of Potosi. Broadcasting is eight hours every day in Spanish and in the indigenous languages Quechua and Aymara. The combination of FM, MW, and SW broadcasting together with Real Audio and a complete internet platform ensures good access to the target groups. More than 50 percent of the content is locally produced; a lot of their news is shared with or taken from the Catholic national radio network ERBOL, which connects more than 100 radio stations nationwide. Pio XII produces pilots with small FM stations in other rural communities.	Urban community radio in marginalized neighborhoods of Barranquilla on the Caribbean Coast. After many years of experimenting with the production of participative audio formats and its publication in the internet, a group of artists and students of communication got serious. They finally obtained the authorization for a 50 Watt urban broadcast station called Vokaribe in 2012 and began a test run with four hours own production three days a week. The focus is on local identities, a sense of relevance in a conflictive context, and the local culture to mobilize citizens against violence and discrimination. After a technical problem with the antenna mast in December 2012, Vokaribe stopped transmitting as FM Radio and shifted back to the internet and community work; re-launch is planned in 2014.
Legal framework	Formally, Pio XII is a part of the Catholic radio network but it's generally considered a community radio network. New legislation in Bolivia could affect in the future the current license which needs to be renewed	Vokaribe is one of the first community radio stations in an urban area in Colombia. The Ministry of ICT and communication established a new policy in 2008 sanctioning and promoting urban radio for the first time.
Public service remit	The official mission is to "contribute to a just, participatory and fraternal society through educational communication and direct accompaniment of indigenous communities, miner's colonies and marginal urban sites." There are guiding principles like the Bible as main source of inspiration, commitment to the poor, human rights, and respect for different cultural identities. All media in Bolivia have to fulfill a social function, according to the new constitution and the Communication Law.	The radio station has the goal to highlight the "social, cultural, and political dynamics in South-Western Barranquilla" and to empower and qualify social organizations for the use of community radio. Vokaribe has the slogan: Make your own Radio! Community radio in Colombia has an explicit public function and must "promote spaces of expression, information, education, communication, cultural promotion, training, discussion, and consultation leading to the encounter between different social identities and cultural expressions of the community" (Act 1981 from 2003).

Radio Intag (Ecuador)	**Changes and progress over the past years**
Radio Intag was founded in 2006 as a private radio station with a community educational approach; it is nearly the only source of local information for the communities. Programming is 18 hours every day, almost 30 percent of content is produced by local initiatives and schools, especially the background information. Main issues are local news, investigative journalism, live stories and ecology, in election times it promotes debates between local candidates. There is an educational approach for peasant leaders in radio communication. Radio Intag gives a voice to local leaders opposed to extractive megaprojects; has to deal with serious challenges related to political restrictions and financial limitations.	Importance of long-term engagement and institutional support in times of change and crisis, Role of Catholic church, all three radios have direct educational community activities, differences between urban and rural community radio and between young and well-established radio
Private radio for community purpose, supported by a non-profit foundation (Fundación Casa Palabra y Pueblo). Under the new Communication Law (Ley Orgánica de Comunicación), Radio Intag must fulfill some requisites (e.g., there should be at least one professional journalist in the team) and it is not clear whether its license will be renewed. Possibly it could now be transformed into community radio.	The promotion of urban (and not only rural) community radio stations is rather innovative in Colombia. Pio XII and Radio Intag are formally not community radio, because when they were founded there was no adequate legislation. The process to obtain or renew the license implies sometimes complex administrative procedures. Community radio sometimes feels exposed to administrative control instances and is suspicious about the political use of licensing.
Radio Intag wants to provide the people and social organizations in the Intag region with basic tools for communication and to enable them to interact constructively between different local actors considering local needs and problems. The station got a private license on the explicit condition that it would have a community educational approach and support the conservation and protection of the environment. All media must publish their own code of ethics with references to social functions and professional standards, according to a new Communication Law (Ley Orgánica de Comunicación).	All three have the goal of empowerment and accompaniment of local communities, the reference to public service functions is not always explicit, but generally the national legislation makes reference to the social functions of media in general.

Characteristics	Radio Pio XII, Siglo XX (Bolivia)	Vokaribe (Colombia)
Regulatory system/ governing body	The editorial team, headed by the director, makes the main decisions on the treatment of information; there are also coordination meetings between the directors of the three local stations (Siglo XX, Oruro, Cochabamba) for organizational decisions. The managing editor has a margin of discretion with regard to the application of his professional criterion on how to approach and analyze the information.[99]	Formally, there is a Programming Board with 20 representatives of social organizations which have to take decisions on the general orientation of the programming and to control the fulfillment of the social service obligations, established by law.
Engagement of civil society	There are several participative mechanisms; the main one is regular discussions with focal groups. Pio XII also has annual participative evaluations with representatives of civil society and local organizations. Every few years the reporters visit and interview hundreds of listeners as part of an audience survey, which is later published.	From the beginning local leaders and inhabitants were involved in the construction process and program planning.
Financing	Pio XII is financially sustainable. Its main source of revenue is advertising from local or national government and NGOs, it also receives strong financial aid for its community programs, for instance, from the German Catholic Bishops' Organization for Development Cooperation MISERIOR, and the directors of Pio XII station receive support as priests from the Oblates	Vokaribe is based on volunteer work of all participants who usually have other professional paid activities. There are specific projects and activities (like a Fair for Community Radios) which are financed by external organizations like foundations, Ministry of Culture or WACC (World Association for Christian Communication).
Use of mobile and internet communication/ modern technology/ challenges of digitalization	The programs are transmitted in FM, MW, SW and Real Audio in good quality and an internet news portal at www.radiopio12.com. The audience is growing and MW and SW are adequate for very remote areas. Pio XII has a well-designed social media strategy and increasingly uses mobile phones for transmission in remote communities.	Vokaribe has an upgraded webpage with many video and audio files on their work; they use Facebook and have more than 1000 active followers
Regional structures and reporting	Radio network with three main radio stations. The station in Siglo covers the complete region of the North of the department Potosi. Pio XII has a pool of local multilingual reporters in almost all communities and a few pilot stations in indigenous communities.	Vokaribe has a strong presence in the neighborhoods through workshops, events, and local reporting.

Radio Intag (Ecuador)	Changes and progress over the past years
The director together with the local reporters (volunteers) defines the annual programming. The allied foundation (Fundación Casa Palabra y Pueblo) has full autonomy over the content of its own programs.	Community radios usually do not have very highly formalized internal regulations. Communication laws often establish certain control instances like programming committees integrated by representatives of local social organizations.
During the first years of foundation, an advisory committee with social representatives guided the programming process, but in the last years participation has diminished, and the director and involved participants would like to have a more active community involvement. Still there are meetings with local communities and the radio station is open to all visitors from the rural areas who used to bring news from remote areas. By law, there must be a public event this year with social representatives to render public account.	There are different levels of involvement and participation from incorporation of voices to co-management.[100]
Radio Intag receives almost no revenues and is sustained by its director. Minor revenues come from advertising and donations of around 1,500 US dollars a year from a local environmental foundation.	Except in the case of Pio XII, financial sustainability is a serious issue. Also organizations that rely on excessive self-exploitation through voluntary work are risky and unstable undertakings in the long run.
Radio Intag has built up an internet platform with Real Audio player. Because the director of Radio Intag has a full-time job as an engineer, he uses remote-control software (ZaraStudio).	In all three examples there is a strategic use of internet and social medial, making different use of each channel of communication (internet, Twitter, Facebook). Digitalization is still not an important issue in Latin America. Real Audio is a good way to bypass regulations, as it does not need authorization.
Some programs like “Revista Intag” give interviews with local representatives; there are special productions from local bachelor schools.	Pio XII has a strong local presence; Vokaribe's presence is intermittent (festival, workshops, and public events), and Radio Intag's public presence is only incipient.

Characteristics	Radio Pio XII, Siglo XX (Bolivia)	Vokaribe (Colombia)
Capacity building	Radio Pio XII has been training local multilingual reporters for several years in basic journalistic standards. As a result it has a pool of reporters who are constantly trained by the main editing staff. In almost all indigenous communities there is one person qualified to submit a news report. In the project "Ondas en Red" with the support of DW Akademie the Pio XII network was one of the eight cooperation partners. Focus was on the improvement and quality of different journalistic formats, online journalism, and improvement of the processes in the editorial office (see table 4).	The radio station relies mostly on capacity building through international organizations like WACC (World Association for Christian Communication) and DW Akademie (see table 4).
Ethic codices, newsroom guidelines	"We use the standards of the National Journalist Association as guidance. Objectivity and honesty are the most important principles"[101] There are basic principles and ethics standards for all involved journalists, but nothing publicly available. Bolivia now has a new regulatory entity, ATT (Autoridad de Regulación y Fiscalización de Telecomunicaciones y Transportes).	In the process of legal authorization, Vokaribe elaborated its own ethics code and principles based on pluralism and local participation. This style manual is obligatory for all community radios in Colombia.
Public perception and support for the media organization	The radio station in Siglo XX covers the northern part of the department of Potosi with approximately 243,000 inhabitants. According to audience surveys 85 percent of this population listen regularly to the programs, in rural areas it has almost a monopoly position, as there is no serious competition. The Bolivian congress, dominated by the socialist political movement MAS, which is rather skeptical about the influence of the Catholic church, gave Pio XII an award in 2013 for its defense of democracy and human rights. Radio Pio XII in SigloXX is one of the most popular community radio networks in Latin America.	So far no systematic evaluation, there are about 500,000 inhabitants in the region, Vokaribe has an active fan group and at a recent meeting for the relaunch, local representatives and community members participated in great numbers. Vokaribe will still have to find its place in a rather complex urban broadcasting landscape with a lot of commercial radio stations.

Radio Intag (Ecuador)	Changes and progress over the past years
The core team has basic training in print media and has been taking part in a workshop for community broadcasters run by the national radio organization CORAPE. The students doing internships are offered basic scholar's training with the aim of producing small programs related to their everyday reality.	There are two levels: the direct capacity building of core team and training of local reporters or other community members to contribute to the radio station.
By law, all radio stations have to publish an ethics code (código deontológico). Radio Intag has a rather standardized code with basic journalistic and ethical principles.[102]	–
Javier Torres, an Ecuadorian scholar, did a survey on the audience of Radio Intag: almost 75 percent of the population (about 19,000 people) listens regularly to Radio Intag, but radio reception in mining areas is weak. The favorite program of the audience is the live transmission of early morning mass; another popular format is the local background information program "Revista Intag" and a participative cultural program where musicians from local communities come to the studio to play.	–

[99] *Peter Deselaers, Project Manager, Research and Development, DW Akademie, Germany.*

[100] *Fröhlich et al. (2012)*

[101] *Roberto Durette, Director General Radio Pio XII in Bolivia.*

[102] *Código Deontológico, http://www.flipsnack.com/B7DA786BDC9/ftcfg39n*

General Functions I: Political Sphere

Function	Radio Pio XII, Siglo XX (Bolivia)	Vokaribe (Colombia)
Information: comprehensive, balanced, objective – and also regional news.	Yes But journalistic quality of news varies and commentaries are not always based on broader fact checking; national news comes from network Erbol	Partially Focus on local cultural news, programming is still in pilot phase, comprehensive news coverage is not the main goal
All political parties have the opportunity to speak in the program and are present in interviews, sound bites etc.	Yes Sympathies with President Evo Morales were evident in the first years of his government.	Yes Different local actors are generally involved in the programs.
Criticism of political actors (government, administration, other political actors)	Yes No direct confrontation, criticism is based on specific technical aspects, e.g., contamination and working conditions in mining cooperatives.	Partially It is not the goal of Vokaribe to promote political debates, as the focus is much more on culture and urban peaceful coexistence.
Societal criticism (social actors, individuals, problems in society)	Partially But problems are criticized cautiously.	Partially For instance, related to situation of violence in the neighborhood.
Moderation of debate/ democratic facilitation	Yes Pio XII facilitates debate.	Not clear, as the radio is still in pilot phase.
Social/political orientation	Yes There is a good information spectrum and specific local issues, like intercultural relationships, discrimination, and autonomy (self-government) are addressed, sometimes too superficially.	Not clear.
Agenda setting/ investigative journalism	Partially Pio XII has registered improvement in background information but research and investigative journalism is only incipient.	Not clear Vokaribe has positioned the idea of community radio for this area, which is already an impact.

Radio Intag (Ecuador)	To what extent is the function fulfilled /not fulfilled?
Yes Intag uses the news service of independent agencies like ALER (Latin American Association of Radio Education), CORAPE (Coordinator of Popular Educational Radio of Ecuador) and Radio Netherland. Own production on local news, there is an explicit political commitment against mining exploitation and for environmental protection	Use of independent agencies for national and international news. Community radio does not necessarily pretend to be objective (e.g., Radio Intag has an explicit commitment with environmental questions) or to give comprehensive information on all issues (e.g., Vokaribe with a specific cultural focus)
Yes Some programs of Radio Intag criticize President Rafael Correa severely for his extractive policies. Nevertheless it gives the official government channel almost three hours of airtime for its standard transmission.	On a local level, it is much easier to involve different political parties than on a national level, where polarization is high and the government is watching the media landscape much more intensively.[103]
Yes Mainly related to environmental questions.	As licenses depend on national control entities, there is always a risk of (self-)censorship. "There is the danger of losing autonomy with 'friendly' governments such as the Venezuelan government."[104] One of the main challenges in the future is how to guarantee the administrative autonomy of the certification offices.
Partially Not an important aim, but part of some programs.	Societal criticism requires research and investigative journalism, which is not the strength of community radios.
Partially Some programs promote debate.	Pio XII is a good example of a radio station with high credibility, enabling it to moderate debate.
Partially Only related to the main issues, like environment	–
Partially Some background programs help to raise awareness about certain hidden issues, like migration of young people to the big cities	It takes many years to set an agenda, investigative journalism is still underdeveloped in community radio.

[103] *Roberto Durette, Director General Radio Pio XII in Bolivia.*

[104] *AMARC (2007), p. 28.*

General Functions II: Integration

Function	Pio XII	Vokaribe (Colombia)
Participation, voice, empowerment	Yes Local inhabitants and communities have a voice and are considered; their point of view is taken in focal groups, but they do not really manage the broadcasting station or decide on strategies.	Yes Strong participation in the preparation process of this community radio station.
Cultural expression, strengthening of identity, values and cultural cohesion	Yes There are several cultural programs, indigenous languages are consistently used.	Yes Main strength of Vokaribe is building on local culture.
Entertainment	Yes Some programs in the evening are for cultural entertainment.	Yes Music and cultural programs.
Education	Yes Pio XII was an educational radio station originally.	Yes Community radio training.
Innovation	Yes Strategic use of internet platform and social media.	Yes Complementary strategy of Facebook, Twitter and internet platform.

Radio Intag (Ecuador)	Some Conclusions
Partially At the beginning, strong participation, but now diminishing.	All community radios give a voice to civil society and social organizations, but there are differences in grades of involvement.
Yes Recently for instance, Radio Intag developed a program about the life stories of elderly individuals in the community.	Typically a strong area of community radios.
Yes Mainly different (local) music styles.	Many educational programs have an appearance as entertainment. However, entertainment is not a typical strength. It is not clear what entertainment (another function of public broadcasting) for community radio means, beyond playing some local music.
Yes Educational component with two schools.	As one original purpose of community radio was education, in all three examples this component is strong.
Yes Use of remote control for programming.	Community radio used to be "resourceful," many commercial radio stations have copied more participative formats from community radio.[105]

[105] *Ernesto Lamas, Founding Member of Radio Tribu, Buenos Aires, Argentina.*

International Media Development Partners

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
AMARC	AMARC (World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters) has the mission to support and contribute to the development of community and participatory radio. It has a special focus on Latin America, related to the development of legal frameworks for community radio, the promotion of gender sensitivity, the use of new technologies, and treatment of socio-environmental questions.	News agency with many products to be used by community radio (http://www.agenciapulsar.org/) Database on legal framework and legal advice (http://amarcalc.org/infoderechos/) Declarations and lobbying in case of critical issues related to community radio including human rights alerts International conferences and visiting missions with concluding statements and recommendations (like the UN visitors and rapporteurs) Workshops and panels Political dialogue events Comparative studies Supply of qualified news	AMARC is a leading reference for community radio in Latin America. At the introduction of the new Argentinean legislation on communication (Ley 26.522 de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual), AMARC made a significant contribution by means of discussions, consensus building, and legal advice.[106] This Law guarantees up to 33 percent for "communitarian media of popular nonprofit organizations." There are several good practices facilitated by AMARC, for instance, for the interaction with audiences and impact assessment.[107]
DW Akademie (urban community radio in Colombia)	Ongoing project (2011 – 2014) with the aim of strengthening four recently founded urban community radio stations and supporting their transformation into economically sustainable platforms with attractive and socially relevant programming. DW Akademie has been adjusting its strategy for Latin America; it now has a stronger focus on capacity development and the long term accompaniment of community radio.	Organizational development, capacity building in journalistic quality, advice for design, and structure of programming, professional exchange.	Project is still ongoing; in the case of Vokaribe, which is one of the five community radio stations participating, the core team expressed satisfaction with the "process-oriented counselling" and the practical technical input.[108]

Partner	Aim of the cooperation (e.g., transformation of state broadcaster, technical support, capacity building, etc.)	Methods applied	Main results/progress/ problems
DW Akademie in cooperation with GIZ (Project Ondas en Red, Bolivia)	From 2010 to 2013 DW Akademie supported the ERBOL network seeking to strengthen the quality of local reporting. The Pio XII network with its three radio stations was one of the eight cooperation partners. Focus is on journalistic formats, online journalism, and improvement of the processes in the editorial office.	Horizontal learning and professional exchange between different cooperation partners, practice-oriented training, input from international experts and personalized coaching, and organizational counseling.	Programs of Pio XII have improved with regard to background reporting, new formats have been developed and the national network ERBOL is now a much stronger ally for Pio XII in capacity development. The webpage of Radio Pio XII has been transformed into a journalistic platform and the use of social media was introduced.
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (transnational programme C3)	The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, a non-profit German political foundation, is working on the longstanding transnational project Media Development and Communication Consulting (in Spanish: C3, Centro de Competencia en Comunicación) with three main working areas: political and legal frameworks for press and radio, social participation through local and community media, and dialogue between media professionals and political and civil society.[109]	Legal advice, research, expert discussions, panel with representatives and journalists, seminars, national and international conferences.	C3 is a kind of think tank and has been publicly positioning key issues related to the transformation of the Latin American media landscape and the use of new technologies. It is a solid source of information on Latin American tendencies and has a good network with policy makers, media organizations and journalists with several publications related to community radio.

[106] *Ernesto Lamas, Founding Member of Radio Tribu, Buenos Aires, Germany.*

[107] *Mónica Valdes, Responsible for Capacity Development, AMARC, Colombia.*

[108] *Patricia Rendón, Project Manager, Vokaribe.*

[109] *Medienförderung und Kommunikationsberatung in Lateinamerika: Das Projekt C3, http://www.fes.de/lateinamerika/in_la/medien.htm*

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13
Organizational Development: Approaching Change Processes Towards Public Service Broadcasting

Achim Toennes

Organizational Development: Approaching Change Processes Towards Public Service Broadcasting

Introduction

The aim of this final chapter is to provide a description of an ideal-type consultancy operation as part of a change process transforming a state broadcasting station into a public service media organization (PSM). In this, the focus is on practical implementation of the required consultancy as a targeted reorganization process. Therefore, the matter of transformation in terms of a change process is treated primarily from the organizational perspective, while (media) policy, legal and economic aspects are merely of indirect significance. Nonetheless, it is to be emphasised here that these factors are critical for a successful transformation process. Thus, to a certain extent they have to be seen as prerequisites for such a process. The preconditions of such a transformation process are rather difficult. Concerning content, the station program often has the form of a kind of "court circular" reporting on a country's government and presidency, which is not only due to political influence but at times also due to the respective journalists' conception of themselves.[1] Badly-trained journalists or the loss of qualified ones to private broadcasters often contribute towards an old-fashioned program and a general lack of credibility.

At the broadcasters' structural level, the situation is not any better in many cases. The absence or lack of a regulatory framework makes the broadcasters vulnerable to all kinds of political influence and instrumentalization. At the same time, preferential treatment of private broadcasters on the part of policy makers can be observed frequently. Additionally, one tends to find the usual excesses of bad management: lack of funding, overstaffing, and corruption. And floating above all of this may also be the aura of an authoritarian and repressive organization culture which throttles any remaining self-initiative, motivation, and creativity.

To address these challenges appropriately, no mere collection of methods shall be presented here, but rather a conceptual framework in which the organizational aspects described above can be dealt with. Yet even by means of such a conceptual framework, not all items of such a transformation process can be explained. The claim here is therefore not to provide a complete solution. Instead, by focusing on the structure and procedure of such an endeavor, a blueprint shall be created which can be of use for future transformation processes in the sense of a change process. Broadcasting managers and consultants are invited to use the resources provided for their own consultancy processes. Also experts in media development who are involved in similar processes can make use of this overview as an orientation guide. Whether an overall process is to be defined by this or a "change nest" is to be initiated at first is of little relevance, as long as in the latter case the "complete package" is considered and the intersections with the activities of other parts of the organization are managed well.

Although the focus of this essay is on practical application, this does not mean that such practical application takes place without being connected to theoretical (and normative) hypotheses. In order to make these transparent, the matter to be addressed at the beginning of this essay will be fundamental principles. What will be explained are the theoretical reference frame as well as the forms of consultancy which are to be employed in this blueprint for making change processes productive.

In the further course of this chapter the most important aspects of a transformation process from an organizational point of view will be described: the process operation and process architecture as well as the actors and their steering responsibilities. To describe the process as concretely as possible, individual aspects will be demonstrated using the example of a fictitious broadcasting station. In conclusion, some central items of such a transformation process will be considered separately: interface management, resistance, and typical pitfalls.

In the great majority of publications on transformation processes from state broadcasters to public service media (PSM) the actual organizational change process plays a merely implicit part at best.[2] On its web site, the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development (AIBD) provides a few more details.[3] For that reason one depends on the insights and experiences of colleagues who are engaged in these real transformation processes.[4]

Fundamental Principles

Although this presentation is to a great extent practice-oriented, a certain degree of theoretical foundation is still required. The basis of any kind of consultation for organizations is the organizational theory or theories a consultant refers to when finding an approach to the respective organization. In the relevant literature on organization theory, the historically grown organization theories are represented more or less coherently.

1 *Wakili (2013), 167ff.*

2 *e.g. UNDP (2004); Banerjee/Seneviratne (2005); Jakubowicz (2007); Backovic (2011); Milutinović (2011); Wakili (2013).*

3 *http://www.aibd.org.my*

4 *At this point, I wish to thank Erik Albrecht, Lina Hartwieg, Astrid Karg, Eva Mehl and Laura Schneider, whose experiences and observations have provided me with important references on the organizational aspects of a transformation process.*

Thus, the range spans from the physiological technical approach via Max Weber's bureaucratic-administrative approach to the system theoretical (e.g., Amitai Etzioni) and interaction-oriented approach by Edgar Schein.[5]

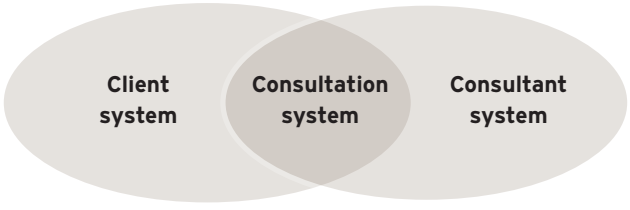
None of the approaches of organization theory can cover the complexity of the concept in its entirety, and even less the reality of an actual organization. Rather, the significance of a multitude of approaches is based on the idea of being able to draw upon all available knowledge to find solutions to complex organizational problems, no matter what theoretical approach such knowledge stems from. Such an eclectic attitude may be one of the reasons for the vast multitude of consultancy approaches in use nowadays.

On Theoretical Access Paths, Approaches and Attitudes

The matter of a clear definition of organization development on the one hand and organization *consultancy* on the other appears above all to be a theoretical question. In practice, both terms are mostly used as synonyms and in connection with various adjectives such as "process-oriented," "systemic" or even "holistic." It is rarely possible at first glance to find a clear reference back to the theoretical approaches behind them.
The fact that the term "systemic approach" tends to be used rather gratuitously should – with a proper understanding – not keep us from approaching changes to organizations with a systemic attitude.[6]

Thus, what is of relevance to the practice of consultancy is less the terminology, but rather a system of values that prevents conflict between human being and organization and has the obligatory purpose of making change possible according to defined objectives and by means of participation of the people involved.

From such a foundation, *three systems*, or expressed a little less loftily, references emerge for the consultancy process: a client system, a consultant system, and something both create together: the consultation system. In the course of a change process, all three references must, firstly, be consistently separated from one another, and secondly, must be subject to continuous (self-)reflection.



A further important element which is part of a change process such as the transformation of a state broadcasting station into a PSB is the competent *combination of business-/industry-specific consultation and organizational consultation*. Such an approach, termed "Komplementärberatung" in (German) literature ("complementary consultancy"),[7] reacts on the one hand to the necessity of quickly bringing together scattered knowledge from a consultation context characterized by disintegration, simultaneity, and differentiation, and on the other hand to the clients' realization that they will not be able to solve their dilemmas (e.g., in the case of a PSB the contradiction between the short-term interests of changing political trends and long-term organizational interests) in a sustainable manner by means of the duality of strictly industry-related consultation on one track and soft systemic organizational consultation on another track.

Within the complementary model, consultants work in teams with both industry-specific expert knowledge and organizational or process know-how, and with a systemic attitude support the client system on the technical/material, content-related level as well as on the process-related, emotional level. In this, it must be determined in reflection loops at which of the client system's levels there is a need for compensation (knowledge and experience as input from the consultant system). For this kind of oscillation between industry-specific and process consultation to become possible, the dually-composed team of consultants must develop a new attitude which is more than just a meeting of two "world views" and "faiths," but which in a synthesis of both approaches develops something completely new, for example, on the basis of the requirements of the client system to create a constructive relationship of tension between efficiency and "slowing down" as opposites.

And in conclusion, on the matter of attitudes, keeping in mind the approach of "complementary consultancy," we can take a quick glance at the principles and values in a consultation process is given. In an organization, the change can be stimulated, demanded, or even extorted from the bottom. Nevertheless, the formal starting signal for a change process must always come from the top. And also, "the top" is the key position for the steering of such a process. To reconcile this fact with the values and principles of transparency, participation, and self-responsibility and to creatively use the contradictions resulting from this situation for the change process is a great challenge. This challenge is not infrequently joined by a second one: "the top" acts according to a different set of values and partially or completely ignores its responsibility for being the "switchboard" in the process. In the course of the entire process, both these challenges should be taken into consideration as undercurrents.

Sample Broadcaster

Our station to be used as an example is located in Happyland and is called National Happyland Broadcasting (NHB). With one television channel and two radio stations (info and youth), NHB reaches the entire territory of Happyland with its population of about 15 million. On the one hand, NHB is not really popular and is increasingly losing viewers/listeners to the new private stations, but on the other hand, it still represents a point of reference in the public perception as well as in

the surveys of viewing and listening figures. With a total of approx. 1,100 employees, the station is completely overstaffed. In the past decades it has been used as a place to push people aside, especially individuals who were punished or rewarded as part of the political business. Within the corporation, this traditional practice is reflected in the numerous networks and cliques within the organization, cooperating and working against one another in varying constellations. Due to this situation, not only has further development of the organization and the program come to a standstill, but also matters such as digitalization, convergence, etc., have been handled with little success.

For our ideal-type consultation process, we shall assume that all necessary parameters for starting a transformation have been addressed, such as the legal basis, the regulatory framework, funding, and willingness of the management. The project is run by the media development organization "Media for the People," it is part of a long-term strategy and funded appropriately. A Memorandum of Understanding has been signed, providing a basis for agreement between both parties to cooperate.

The Transformation Process

Looking at NHB from the outside, the key question arises in which areas of the organization and in what order the change process is to be implemented. Both qualitatively and quantitatively, the program is in serious need of reform, the technology is partially outdated, management has little experience and is rather naive concerning new management and leadership models. Additionally, the station's administration is distinctive to a great extent only by its size and inefficiency. As no organization would be able to cope with a situation where all of its structures and processes are crowbarred open simultaneously – and thus would refuse to accept it – the fundamental question is now: What should be tackled first? The functional units, such as editorial staff, management, administration? The segments radio and television? Or start with one participatory process for everybody: draw up a mission statement? And who plays or is to play what part?

Actors

Let us first take a look at who needs to be actively involved and has to play what part. Within the organization, the central actors in the change process are, besides the General Director, the TV and radio directors as well as the directors of the horizontal and support functions (Executive Board), such as finance, technology, HR, etc. In addition, at least one Governing Board representative and one from the Broadcasting Commission (if possible the respective chairpersons) should be involved. On the part of Media for the People the key figure is the Project Manager (PM). In our case, he/she enters the scene together with an organizational consultant and an expert consultant for program development.

In the course of the process, the constellation actors will change, but it is absolutely necessary for the entire process that at least one person from upper management, the project manager (PM) and the organizational and expert consultants cooperate continuously. Although this circle is part of a steering committee (see below) to be established, as the "strategy group" in its function as the hub for the power centers of the organizations involved, it is situated above the steering committee.

It is important that the parts to be played are defined at an early point:

– Thus, *the managers* are the ones to pave the way for the change process into the organization. They are also responsible outwardly for the process, towards the public, the political system and the ministries of Happyland. Further, they are officially in charge of content.

– The *project manager (PM)* must implement overall logistic management of the process. At a meta-level, he/she has to reflect the consultant, client and consultation system and take care of coherence of consultation results with Media for Development's policy (e.g., implementation of fundamental ideas of public service media).

– *The organizational consultant* steers the transformation process by means of reflection loops (diagnosis – formation of hypotheses – intervention – evaluation), and together with the expert consultant supervises the process operation. He/she is officially in charge of the process. As long as the required capacities are available locally, this function should be assigned there (on possible pitfalls, see Chapter 4.2).

– *The expert consultant* focuses on the change tasks in his/her field and thus also lends an ear to the practical side in the consultation process. From this perspective, he/she complements the reflection on the transformation process.

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[5] *More recent fundamental literature complements these descriptions with variations such as the decision-oriented and situative approaches, the transaction cost theory, the games theory as well as constructivist and structuration theory approaches. The system-oriented approaches alone are subdivided into organization sociological, system theoretical cybernetic and contingency theoretical approaches.*

[6] *On the basis of contingency, autopoiesis, reduction of complexity and partial autonomy, such an attitude may include (according to Krämer-Stürzel 2006): Complexity and selection,; principle of self-organization; creation of meaning; creation of relations; creation of contexts and environments; principle of the learning organization; principle of 'continuous feedback'.*

[7] *Königswieser et al (2006); Königswieser/Lang (2008).*

In the steering committee mentioned above, apart from representatives from middle and upper management from the different areas of operation, there are also staff members and – to the extent that they exist – representatives of in-house interest bodies and of employee groups (women, trainees, disabled, etc.). When selecting staff members, what should be of particular importance apart from professional competence is whether they have a positive attitude towards the process and can assume the function of promoter.
In the further course of the process, the different occupation groups of NHB are to be included in temporary project and working groups.

Process Operation

For the systematization of an organizational development process, there are various models.[8] For the work with NHB, we have agreed upon a fairly clear and simple model.

Preparation	– Analysis (system diagnosis) – Formulation of objectives – Design of the process architecture – Resource and communication planning
Change	– Start – Implementation of Part Projects – Crisis management – Reflection loops
Securing	– Evaluation – Adjustment – Securing – Completion

Preparation

Just as in any consultancy process, our transformation process at NHB also begins with an analysis of the organizational realities. Preliminarily, the management has informed the staff about the imminent process and announced that the consultants want to get to know the organization. The team of consultants talks with all members of upper and middle management at NHB. For this purpose, a semi-structured interview guideline is employed. The questions refer to the program, the market, resources, visions and objectives, and to consequences of change or failure to change. Classic sets of questions for first interviews are used here. It is important at this point – just as for the entire analysis – to ask not only deficiency-oriented questions, but also resource-oriented ones. This is also a way of expressing appreciation for the old style and the past on the part of the consultant system. Such appreciation is vital for the process to be accepted.

After the interviews we carry out short workshops with selected elements of the organization: the TV news editorial team, the youth radio presenter and producer team, the personnel department, etc. The function of these short workshops (approx. 2 h) is, on the one hand, to survey the actual and target condition from the point of view of the staff. On the other hand, they are intended to make the consultant system visible and build trust.

Only afterwards, a questionnaire is used. The questions focus on contentment with the employees own work situation and the perception of the organization culture as well as possible suggestions for improvements. In any case, a very high level of feedback must not necessarily be the case (possible reasons are reservations, anxiety, lack of staff motivation).

The consultant team analyzes the results from the interviews, workshops and questionnaires and draws up hypotheses on the state of the organization. A report on all this is passed on to the general director, upper management and the chairpersons of the supervisory bodies, with a request for comments. An abridged form is distributed throughout the house as a first result of the change process.

The response rate of comments from the NHB management levels is relatively modest, both in quantity and quality. The relatively new general director, who is highly committed to beginning the transformation process, wants to convince the consultant team that the lack of comments on the part of the supervisory body representatives is not a problem. The consultant team points out that without such comments, the process cannot continue. The problem emerging here of involvement of the hierarchy as power sponsors for the transformation process is a central one and will be addressed once more in Chapter 4.

On the basis of the analysis, the consultant team together with the general director *formulates the objectives*, i.e., the system of goals for the transformation process. These can – for compatibility purposes in regard to international cooperation – be structured as overall goals, project purpose, results and activities, or respectively in "impact analysis terms," as impact, outcomes, outputs, and inputs. NHB's general director is temporarily represented by an upper management colleague. Since the feedback works well, this does not cause a problem.

The system of goals describes the desired state of NHB at the end of the consultation process at the level of project objectives. At the level of results, the desired state of partial areas of the organization is described, i.e., television, radio, administration, bodies, etc.

Overall goals: The people of Happyland have access to information from a broad range of sources, they participate in public discourse and make their voices heard.

Project purpose: NHB works as a public service broadcaster for its audience.

Result I: NHB-TV delivers balanced and objective news and programs in good quality for social and political participation, cultural expression, education and entertainment.

Result II: Radio 1 (info channel) delivers balanced and objective news programs and educational formats in good quality. All regions and languages are covered and forums for local and national dialogue are offered.

Result III: Radio 2 (youth channel) delivers balanced and objective news and social and cultural orientation for its specific audience. Young citizens are integrated not only as the audience but also as editors and reporters.
Result IV: Administration works efficiently supporting the staff and work flow.

The goal system is fed into the organization in the same way as the report on hypotheses. Once it has been passed – by authority of the General Director – it represents the compass for the transformation process. Only after this basis has been established, is the process architecture is drawn up accordingly.

For the purpose of project management, the *process architecture* combines the individual interventions within the framework of the part projects of the transformation process. This also means that a number of strategic decisions – what shall we start with and in what sequence? – are expressed here.

For NHB, on the basis of the analysis and in accordance with the formulation of goals, decides to employ the following model:

A lighthouse project in the program segment (Part Project 1).

A campaign to communicate the transformation process internally and externally (marketing and distribution/sales department (Part Project 2).

Restructuring of administration (Part Project 3).

An overview shows what a flow chronology – depending on passage of the goal system – could look like.

Flow Overview

Year I	Year II	Year III	Year IV	Year V
Preparation	Part Project 1	Part Project 3	Part Project 3	Part Project 3
Part Project 1	Part Project 2	Part Project Youth Radio	Part Project Youth Radio	Part Project Info Radio
Part Project 3	Part Project 3	Part Project Digitalization	Part Project Info Radio	Part Project Digitalization
Working group (WG) Financing	WG Interior Construction	Part Project Mission Statement	Part Project Digitalization	WG Convergence
WG Technology		WG Personnel Development	WG Personnel Development	
		WG Convergence	WG Convergence	

The change process is intended to start out where the core reasoning context is to be found – in the program department. Concretely, the news editorial team is supposed to design and produce new formats for the various news programs. This Part Project 1 is supposed to radiate "change energy" inwardly, and outwardly is intended to convince the public and political decision makers of the necessity and added value of the transformation process by means of the campaign "NHB – our new PSB" (Part Project 2).

An accompanying restructuring process for administration is also initiated (Part Project 3). Here, in a first step, superfluous administrative procedures are to be cleared out. This can be done relatively quickly and generally has the effect that the staff begins to feel less burdened. This is a welcome quick win every long-term change project should score in order to create motivation for change right at the beginning of the process.
Parallel to this, two working groups are established with a focus on the matters of technology and finances. The task here is to draw up inventories, target/actual comparisons, and implementation concepts. These working groups are composed cross-departmentally and are separate from the WGs to be established for the part projects.

Each of the part projects is supervised by an expert consultant. These consultants, together with the project participants, design the roll-out for the respective part projects. The final decision which interventions (expert consultation, training, coaching) are to be implemented when is also taken here. Also, a certain degree of flexibility must be maintained, so that requirements emerging unexpectedly can also be handled. (See tables 1 and 2 for examples on how such processes (Part Projects 1 and 3) can be set up.)

Process Architecture

Part Project 1: Lighthouse Project in the Program Segment: New News Formats

Priority	Subject	Goal	Milestones	Days
1st	Overview of news production processes	Assessment made of all news production processes, roles and staff involved.	– Initial visits/observation in the newsroom List of people to be interviewed – Interview questions developed Interviews conducted and analyzed	10 days
2nd	Newsrooms standards and concepts	Feedback on current news programs discussed, journalistic standards, values and newsroom-specific concepts described, new ideas collected	– First audience research results on news programs and expectations available – Workshops with newsroom staff on audience research, NHB's news programs and international examples conducted and documented (feedback and discussion on news sources, writing style, formats, etc., ethics) – Editorial guidelines discussed and improved – Possible new format ideas discussed in workshop	20 days
3rd	Development of new formats, and preparation of program reform	New programming schedule and formats developed and tested, general editorial principles and criteria established.	– Pilot production team assembled – Target audience defined and analyzed – Development and definition of news formats and profiles (audience, claim, forms of presentation, editorial rules etc.) – Production of first pilot programs, feedback – Plan for program formats and newsroom organization finalized – Directors and top management amend/accept the plan and set start dates for the transition/relaunch	20 days
4th	Realization of program reform	News programs in new format and new production processes are operational	– Training for trainers/leading editors within the newsroom – Training of staff and new colleagues for new formats and production processes – Development of new shift-plan, visual/acoustic design, studio, newsroom roles, style guide, etc. – One week of transition: parallel production of new formats (which are not broadcast yet) – Production and broadcasting formats according to new schedule – Feedback on the new work processes	30 days

Part Project 3: Restructuring of NHB's Administration

Priority	Subject	Goal	Milestones	Days
1st	Elimination of superfluous administrative procedures	Efficient administration procedures are set up, guaranteeing accountability and flexibility in equal measure	– List of identified procedures – Definition of alternatives – Approval – Forms, instructions up to date	20
2nd	Determine personnel requirements	NHB has a personnel level in accordance with the broadcasting mandate and the financial resources	– Personnel review – Target/actual comparison – Implementation plan – Severance plan	90
3rd	Appointment scheme and descriptions	NHB has an instrument for intelligent personnel requirement planning	– Appointment scheme is completed – job and task descriptions are completed	60
4th	Definition of contribution margins and cost centers	NHB has an efficient instrument for financial control of the organization	– Cost center plan – Training staff - new IT system	200
5th	Drawing up of HR concepts		– Concept PD – Concept Leadership – Personnel selection	40

Members of the project group:
- Expert consultant
- Head of administration (periodically)
- Department heads in administration
- One staff member each per department
- Temporarily: resource persons

Steering:
- Meetings of project group: weekly
- Reporting to steering committee: Head and expert consultant
- Head is member of the steering committee
- WGs as required

And concerning the last important items which are part of preparation: the management is in charge of drawing up a *resource and communication plan* (if required with support from the consultants).

In the third year, new part projects are defined (among them a part project "Mission Statement" to reflect the broadcaster's changed identity).

Change

For the official start of the transformation process, we carry out a kick-off workshop at NHB. The top of the organization, the consultants and the representatives of the supervisory bodies present the change project to the entire staff. This workshop has a duration of no more than two hours. Important is that a) the employees realize that the process is invested with power and that b) the overall process, but especially the part projects, take shape.

During the kick-off workshop

The implementation of the part projects is presented with starting point, goals, major contents, and milestones as well as the people involved.

The consultant system introduces itself, explains the interior dynamics of the transformation process, and sets forth the steering and decision structures. As part of crisis management, the consultants point out the tension field between participation and decisive power, in order to give possibly emerging conflicts concerning creative leeway a direction already at this point.

Further, it is emphasized that the changes do not take place automatically. Only after various reflection loops and in consideration of the old ways, are the new ways implemented.

Securing
In the course of the transformation process, the securing cycle for part projects, working groups, ad-hoc groups, etc. becomes necessary to ensure fixation of the change.
This cycle applies to the main activities within the transformation process, but also to the process in its entirety. This means that in conclusion, the core results of the transformation process are subject to an evaluation. Where necessary, an adjustment needs to be done (last few settings). As part of securing, it must be examined whether the results are appropriately documented in handbooks, procedures, processes, regulations, etc. Only then can the transformation process can reach its completion. One part of securing should be an annual review within the organization for the first three years. This serves the purpose of later improvement, but above all of continuation and stabilization of the changes.[9]

[9] *One might remark ironically that if the process was successful, NHB will soon start the next major change process anyway.*

Steering

The complexity of the process architecture clearly demonstrates that steering of the transformation process is a critical success factor. This is why at this point, the entire steering structure should be outlined.

The OD consultant and expert consultants monitor the transformation process and in coordination with the Steering Committee adjust the planning as required. The OD consultant focuses less on the plausibility of contents, but rather on overall communication within the process and its coherence with the intended goal. The OD consultant has to reflect such communication at a meta-level and form hypotheses in reference to the change process. Where, how and when do changed communication patterns indicate (intended and unintentional) change? Such hypotheses must be verified together with those involved. In abstract words: the OD consultant has to analyze the client system, the consultation system, and his/her own consultant system – in close cooperation with the expert consultant.

	Who?	**Max. participants**	**Meetings**	**What?**	**Reports to whom?**
Strategy Group	General director or deputy, consultant team, project managers	4	1x monthly	Highly strategic, critical, pressing decisions	Executive board, supervisory bodies
Steering Committee	Strategy group plus representatives from executive board, one representative from governing board and broadcasting commission, in-house staff representation	If possible no more than 15	2x monthly	Overall process	Supervisory bodies & executive board and staff
Part project groups	Expert consultants, heads of departments involved, staff, periodically OD consultant	No more than 12	weekly	Detail work	Steering committee
Working groups	Staff, head and periodically expert consultants	As required, keep them small	As required	Core work	Part Project group
Ad-hoc groups	Staff, expert consultants when required	As required	As required	Detail matters	Part Project group, working group

What Needs to be Paid Attention to?

As part of the consultants' steering capacity, one main task is control of the interfaces within the consultation process. The term interfaces here means those areas in the organization which are not in direct contact with the changes, but are indirectly connected, e.g., via internal services provided. For example, many of these interfaces can be found between program production and administration. Also, new interfaces can develop, such as at NHB due to the so-called lighthouse project "Innovative News Formats." What emerges in the course of work on that part project is that there are several new interfaces between the radio editorial teams and a "New Media" unit which so far only exists as a working group. These interfaces require specific interface management, as they are decisive positions from where the effect of the transformation process is broadened. This means that as part of complementary consultancy, the consultant system organizes targeted support to avoid mutual recriminations about why, when and where something goes wrong, and who is responsible. Proper "mediation" at these interfaces can generate "change energy" and provide a serious contribution to the lasting success of the transformation process.

This is also the reason why in NHB's transformation process, administration is constantly included as a part project. A broadcaster's administration not only has a profound effect in general via its procedural operations, but also on the house's innovation capacity as part of its organization culture. If the head of the editorial team has to ask the general director about every little release, this does not exactly encourage autonomous and forward-looking work. Even if the perception is sometimes different: every administration does not function according to its own interior dynamics alone, but also in accordance with the rules of the organization which are recognized as "correct." And even if this appears insane from the outside, there is an inner meaning to the matter. To understand such contextual meanings and to change them in a subtle manner is a central task of complementary consultancy.

Interference and Resistance

Any change process has its ups and downs. There are numerous models which address these emotional phases. In general, after an initial shock once the change process has been announced come phases of annoyance and misery, until finally the new way becomes acceptable. In the course of these phases, there will be active and passive resistance against the changes.

What is important is to decipher the messages transported by means of such resistance. Though "to decipher" should not be mistaken for "to give way." The messages contained in resistant behavior provide the consultant system with significant indicators for understanding the organization and for further shaping of the change process.

Passive resistance is more difficult to interpret than active forms. Is it arising due to lack of motivation, due to fear or depression? In this, the consultant system is challenged to support the process with a high degree of analytical alertness. Closely connected to resistance is the situation where in key units of the organization, no or hardly any "change energy" can be found. At NHB, the new general director has committed himself to the transformation process with a lot of passion. This source of "change energy" initially does not have a counterpart in the reactions of the TV editorial team. What emerges after careful questioning is that there is actually no passive resistance, but that interested circles have intimated that the new general director is in his position only temporarily, preparatory to his launch into a post as secretary of state.
Also, any existing networks or cliques represent a form of passive resistance. Of course they can do lasting damage to a change process, but it is nevertheless necessary to find out what exactly the functions are that they actually perform. How can the paths of such networks be identified? What can the consultant system offer to dissolve these networks? When and where does the organization's power need to be brought to bear in order to break up networks or cliques?

Pitfalls

Finally, a number of typical pitfalls on the path of such a transformation process will be looked at:

The pressure to produce results quickly: Indeed, the consultant system is under pressure from the clients, or at least appears to be. In such a situation, there is the tendency to produce first-order results. This means that what takes place is not in-depth work, but merely a treatment of the symptoms – which then may even be labeled as a quick win. In such cases, consultants may tend to quickly invent new organigrams or briskly initiate a mission statement process (which can then also be sold as a participatory element of the process...).

– *Middle management is at fault*: In the consultancy business, a few years ago, middle management was discovered as the ultimate obstacle to change. It has even been nicknamed the "layer of clay," preventing the "water of change" from reaching all levels. Accordingly, entire management strata were bulldozed, middle management were hassled with executive personnel development training and forced in their entirety to newly apply for their own jobs, etc. Nowadays, the tendency goes more towards a realization that in many cases, middle management is a mainstay of change processes, and therefore, needs to be included constructively in the process.

– *Instrumentalization of consultation:* When consultants are commissioned, the respective organization wishes to signal to the outside world: We are active, we want things to change, etc. Unfortunately, consultation

often also serves the purpose of ensuring that nothing actually does change, according to the motto: Let's change everything so everything stays the same.

– Or the result is that instead of being permanently overloaded, the organization turns out to be constantly underchallenged. In any case, a change process will hardly be sustainable that way. As a test of motivation, expecting an appropriate own share should contribute towards hedging in such tendencies. Another strategy for the instrumentalization of consultation is the assimilation of the consultant system into the client system. The borders of the two systems begin to merge, and instead of maintaining the outside perspective, the consultant's eyes get used to the comforting view from inside.

– Sometimes the consultants are simply put under pressure. Especially local consultants can be affected by this, because in a structure where everybody knows everybody, it may be of essence to actually "irritate" the client system.

– *Fund outflow pressure*: If the transformation process is financed with public funding, two fields of gravitation overlap: the consultant system on the one hand, whose intention it is to draw up the transformation process as clearly as possible from the beginning in the form of a structured assignment clarification. On the other hand, there is the project manager of the funding organization, who wishes to get a clear, binding overview of the activities in order to assign the appropriate financial resources. As a consequence, the assignment clarification may be formulated unclearly, increasingly obscuring what the client system's own responsibilities should be. Concomitantly, no exit strategy is agreed upon. It is important as part of the assignment clarification to define working packages which each constitute a passage, a gate, to the next working package. Both sides thus have the option in case of non-performance or general dissatisfaction with the situation in the change process to back out of it.

– *Avoidance of dependencies*: The client system has a tendency to become dependent on consultation (avoidance of responsibility, the consultant is the one doing the nasty things, etc.). This does not only mean that the consultant system needs to keep an eye out so it can avoid becoming increasingly monopolized. Rather, this also means that it must work towards becoming successively superfluous. This also includes that internal, and if required, external consultancy authority needs to be built up. Such a build-up can take place by means of method transfer such as advice to colleagues, mentoring programs or an internal orientation unit or coaching unit. As part of a larger publically funded project, a build-up of external capacities in cooperation with a university can be considered.

– *Lobbying work for the transformation process*: Every change process is a construct which is as complex as it is fragile, subject to a multitude of influences and disruptions. This applies to an even greater extent to a transformation process, as both the general political level and the level of media policy are stretched across it in two layers. In the case of NHB, we have therefore defined the campaign "NHB - our new PSB" as a part project. In any case, lobbying work should be a fixed element of planning.

Prospects

No matter how comprehensively a transformation process is defined at the start, it must be clear to everyone involved that such a process costs a lot of time and money. Besides this, political incalculability and financial restrictions remain. As a result the prospects for success are less favorable than for conventional change processes. This is why all those involved should be well aware of what responsibilities they are assuming. This applies in particular to top management also and especially when the consultancy service is provided more or less for free by an international organization for media development.

Appendix

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Conclusions and Recommendations

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Public service media systems in their various forms are complex, and the attempt to seriously support transformation from state media is ambitious. It requires – in every single case – a detailed and broad understanding of characteristics, processes and possible solutions to be able to decide where and how an intervention should be carried out. The first and most important result of this study, therefore, is the wealth of information provided above, in the individual reports on media outlets in various countries of different regions in the world, their specific environments, and the changes they undergo. In a final step we now look at all our case studies together and draw some general conclusions. In doing so we are aware that we may be neglecting some relevant peripheral aspects and context-related questions. So the following analysis is tentative. And yet there are some general lessons to be learned.

RQ 1: Which public service functions can be provided today by (former) state broadcasters?

In the following we assess our findings with the theoretical approach proposed in chapter 2.1 as a basis. Here we had identified a number of public service functions and differentiated between the two general functions *creating a public sphere* and *supporting integration*.

The three broadcasters in our study that are still officially state broadcasters – RTA in Afghanistan, NBC in Namibia, and MRTV in Myanmar – do not fulfill the function of creating a public sphere. They offer in general one-sided information, and they do not let the opposition speak, or at best to a limited extent only. Critical voices are generally not heard in the programs. The state media do not facilitate open public debate, nor do they offer independent orientation and thus fail in their responsibility to create a public sphere.

A little more surprising is the fact that these state broadcasters do much better with respect to the general function of supporting integration: They offer services in a range of languages to include minorities, and programming in culture, education, and entertainment. And these less prominent programs in minority languages will also sometimes include critical voices, as the case of Namibia shows.

So the state media have something to offer even though they do not deliver the functions related to the creation of a public sphere. And in the cases analyzed here, they are the only media in their country that offer services to the whole population, even in remote areas. Therefore, they need to be taken into consideration by development actors.

An open question here is whether these integrative services delivered countrywide by state media really meet the needs of the population. More detailed analyses are needed here, focussing among other things on the extent to which state propaganda is distributed in minority languages.

Compared to the three cases above, the Mongolian broadcaster MNB and OTRK in Kyrgyzstan are quite advanced. Not only are they officially called Public Service Broadcasters (PSB) or Public Service Media (PSM), they perform much better than the aforementioned outlets in creating a public sphere for the country: All political parties have opportunities to speak and be heard. While MNB also offers a wide range of programs to enhance public debate, OTRK at least rebroadcasts the popular political talk show "Inconvenient Questions" produced by Radio Azattyk (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty).

There are nonetheless also shortcomings in these media outlets. The quality of the news still has a lot of room for improvement, the ruling party and the government are not criticized by journalists, there is a strong tendency to self-censorship, and very little agenda setting and in-depth research by the journalists of the former state media. The news reporting on regional issues is rather limited.

Meanwhile, the general function of supporting integration is fulfilled in many ways in these PSM: MNB, for example, offers a high share of domestically produced content on traditional culture and values. OTRK, too, has moved in that direction. Yet, both broadcasters could do more to include their regional audiences.

The highest performance with respect to public service functions is delivered by the two broadcasters TRM in Moldova and RTA in Serbia. In our sample they are the only ones that generally offer balanced and objective news, democratic debate, and social orientation and criticism. However, they still seem to find it difficult to criticize the government and its administration. And again, agenda setting and serious journalistic research are rare. Both broadcasters fulfill overall the general function of supporting integration although they are not the most innovative media outlets.

To sum up, we have seen so far that there are a number of functions that are provided by public service media which are in the process of transformation. And a small number of media outlets in our sample have even come a comparatively long way in their reform process and deliver an important contribution to the creation of a public sphere through basic journalism and forums for dialogue. They have reliable, comparatively objective news services which inform and orientate citizens on current affairs. And all these media organizations, whether state or public service, contribute with their programming to the integration of their society through cultural expression, participation, education, and entertainment. This is of particular importance as these media are in most cases the only ones providing universal access in their countries.

It should also be mentioned at this point that we have identified private or community-based media outlets which have developed and expanded their services so that they also fulfill broader public service functions. As we will go on to discuss below in RQ3, these can be called *Alternative Public Service Media (APSM)*.

Based on these considerations we differentiate between various state and public service media types (See the box below): *media that remain state media, PSM in initial transformation, PSM in advanced transformation and Alternative Public Service Media (APSM).*

Related to the general functions is the question of whether the populace value these services and actively support their public service media: Do people use and trust their state media or public service media? And do the organizations that work on behalf of citizens, the civil society, act in support of public service media?

Our case studies overall show rather different relationships between the public and the media outlets. The three state broadcasters in Afghanistan, Myanmar, and Namibia are accepted by the population to some extent because they stand for national unity and the respect for minorities. At the same time these broadcasters have little credibility among the population. They know that these broadcasters have a government bias and accordingly their support for them is somewhat limited. Civil society is in these cases not involved in the governance of these state broadcasters and not very active in demanding changes.

In Mongolia and Moldova civil society is officially part of the governing body of the PSM. Both PSM enjoy a good reputation among citizens, particularly in the rural areas. But in Mongolia the government has recently made the nomination process more and more non-transparent, and in Moldova party politics have a strong influence on the nomination of candidates.

RTS in Serbia is more advanced in this respect. It enjoys a good reputation with audiences, despite its history as a propaganda broadcaster. Today independent actors from civil society are represented in the governing body. In Kyrgyzstan the civil society organizations are particularly active on behalf of OTRK. Its supervisory board is one of the success stories of this transformation.

Initial and advanced transformation – When can a media outlet be considered public service media (PSM)?

Based on our case studies of media that have a history as state broadcasters we differentiate three types of media outlets:

Media that remain state media: Their contribution to the general function of *creating a public sphere* is generally poor. Nevertheless they may support the integration of a society through strengthening of cultural cohesion and expression. They may also offer educational and entertaining content. These latter functions are important as these media often are the only ones that can reach the whole population. (See the case studies of Afghanistan and Namibia.)

PSM in initial transformation: More independent contributions to the public sphere are made by these media. They offer basic information services and forums for public debate. They let the opposition speak, and they offer some societal criticism and orientation. And they support the integration of a society through various functions: Education, entertainment and strengthening of identity, cultural cohesion and expression. They have a legal basis including a public service remit and an independent governing body in which civil society is represented.
(See case studies of Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia)

PSM in advanced transformation: These media offer objective and independent news journalism in acceptable professional quality, forums for public debate, societal orientation, and criticism. However, criticism of the government and its administration as well as agenda setting and in-depth journalism may be rare. These media fulfill many functions relevant to the integration of society, such as education, entertainment, and strengthening of identity, cultural cohesion and expression. But they may not be particularly innovative with respect to technology or programming. They have a legal basis including a public service remit and an independent governing body in which civil society is represented.
(See case studies of Moldova and Serbia)

In addition to this, we have also assessed cases of exceptional media that differ in origin and purpose, organizational structure and content from state media and PSM:
Alternative Public Service Media (APSM). These private or community-based media have developed and expanded their services to also fulfill broader public service functions. Some of them are comparable in their fulfillment of key functions with "PSM in advanced transformation." On the other hand, most of the APSM offer their services only to a selected part of the country or community. And they usually do not have a governing board which represents different parts of society. Yet, they have a clear and institutional commitment to professional journalism standards and to servicing a broader public. They may take over roles as neutral and independent actors in society while still pursuing specific community radio agendas or commercial interests in other parts.
(See the case studies from Nigeria (Freedom Radio), Nepal (Radio Sagarmatha), Serbia (B92), and Bolivia (Radio Pio XII).)

RQ 2: Which changes in former state broadcasters proved achievable through media development in the past and what were the challenges and limitations of this work?

One aim of media development certainly is to achieve measurable and sustainable changes through interventions. But besides this, media development should be seen as part of a broader and more complex process where all the factors contributing to this process should be analyzed and evaluated. So next we summarize information from our case studies where changes in the media took place and where, at the same time, media development organizations were active in one way or another. And we do this in accordance with the areas of strategic action of the DW Akademie approach (See chapter 2.4).

Political and legal frameworks:

Media development actors have in some of our cases helped to advance legal reform processes: In Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, Serbia, and Myanmar they have cooperated with civil society groups and other political actors and thus made more or less direct contributions to lawmaking processes and the establishment of more independent governing bodies controlling the media outlets. Kyrgyzstan is a particularly promising best practice case in this respect. Civil society here has achieved a lot, the president of OTRK managed to advance reform and in all of this, consultancy with Internews certainly played a role.

In many other cases this kind of work has been neglected or not done systematically enough. Continuous efforts to support civil society and the lobbying for the improvement of legal frameworks are still rare in media development efforts related to PSM.

One reason for this is probably that the challenges and limitations of this work are considerable. It is difficult to continuously advocate freedom of expression and public service media amidst shifting political agendas and power games. In many cases media development actors in the past did not to attempt to tackle these important long-term processes.

To achieve anything in this area, media development needs strong partners and a general political climate that is in favor of PSM. In the countries mentioned above, this was the case and important opportunities were seized. But if the conditions are less favorable only small steps can be made. Media development is faced here with challenges in the area of governance that, on the one hand, are not unknown to development in general. But on the other hand, the issue of liberating media from state control is an issue that requires media development actors to build their capacity.

Capacity building

Media development actors are traditionally very strong in this area. But most of their activities in the past were short-term training events, and it is uncertain what was eventually achieved through them. One exception was the engagement of BBC Media Action with Serbia's RTS. This was an extensive capacity-building intervention conducted over more than two years. The whole project, which was not simply a series of training sessions but a broad capacity-building effort within the organization, also had a long-term effect on the organizational structures and eventually the quality of the content produced.

The key to success here seems to have been that before the intervention, the groundwork had been laid for reform through a new legal framework and also the will within the media outlet to change the way it operated. During the intervention itself, it was important that several consultants and experts worked and lived in Belgrade for long periods of time. They became mentors and could help to improve the whole production process. They received full support in this from the senior management of RTA.

In several of the country reports the need for a continued capacity-building process is stressed, even in those cases where good progress has already been achieved. Capacity building in journalism, media management, and the related areas should be developed so that they can be offered continuously. This should not be the only area of work, but it is one with which transformation can be made sustainable.

In the past, however, most of the capacity building was provided by the media development organizations themselves. Only in a few cases did they attempt to build sustainable structures in the country for journalism capacity building. In the case of Kyrgyzstan, the broadcaster was encouraged to set up its own training center, and in Moldova the management is at least planning to establish such a department. In Mongolia the NGO "Press Institute" has been offered support in its capacity-building efforts in journalism by Western organizations. In Myanmar an independent journalism school is currently being built with the help of several international partners. So overall the key to sustainable success for media development in this domain is to establish mechanisms for staff capacity building, in cooperation with the media organizations, early on in the intervention programs.

Professionalism and economic sustainability of the media sector

In several cases the work of media development actors focussed on new journalistic formats and on organizational and management reform. In Kyrgyzstan, Serbia, and Mongolia, technical support was granted.

In most cases new programs and formats were developed and with them new teams and departments. Dedicated radio channels for minorities were established (Mongolia and Myanmar), news and current affairs departments were restructured (Serbia and Moldova), networks of regional correspondents were set up or revitalized (Myanmar and Serbia), youth radio and children's programs and new multimedia departments were set up (Moldova and Namibia).

In Mongolia and Serbia structural reform was achieved within the media organization, mostly based on new concepts in programming or ideas for professional capacity building. In

Namibia the state broadcaster undertook its management reform to a large extent on its own, while the Swedish and German support focused on the reform or build-up of selected content-related departments.

But generally in organizations of this size it takes time to develop and establish new ideas or technologies. Some of them struggle with the provision of elementary equipment like computers just as with the introduction of new work flows. And they are completely at a loss with regard to big challenges like the upcoming digital switchover in the TV sector. The cases of the multimedia department in Moldova and the internet and mobile services in Kyrgyzstan and Serbia show however that some innovative approaches have been realized. Media development actors overall can do more here, it seems, by integrating innovation, technological support, and sustainable media development into broader PSM strategies.

The question of financing was generally not in the focus of the media development work, although it is a crucial issue. In one case, Kyrgyzstan, financial audits were held to make better use of the budget and identify new ways of funding. And in some cases the media organizations and their governing bodies initiated a process of financial restructuring, independently of any support, as in the cases of Namibia and Mongolia.

General human resources management in the PSM has also so far been a smaller issue in the interventions overall. This finding is a surprise given the fact that the large size of the staff and the usually rather limited financial means is one of the major problems of many (former) state broadcasters.

Needless to say, this issue is one of the difficult ones in the transformation process. Even if it is legally or socially impossible to dismiss a large number of the staff, other paths need to be identified. For example, the staff's ownership of change processes in these organizations has, for the most part, not been dealt with adequately. As elaborated in chapter 13, people working in a large organization need to be given the occasion to understand and actively take part in reform. Overall there are as yet very few cases in which media development has managed to support processes of organizational development. But it can now build upon the experience garnered in Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Mongolia, and Serbia.

Social participation

In the cases we assessed here some PSM have made efforts to advance the participation of citizens. We can differentiate two areas here: Firstly, the participation of citizens from different population groups in the organization and its programming; and secondly, the appearance and participation of civil society therein.

In our case studies a number of new participatory formats for minorities, and also for the public at large, were developed with the support of media development organizations. The aforementioned cases of Moldova and Namibia show that new channels and formats for children and young people can be developed, as well as new multimedia departments that allow for new forms of interaction. Overall, however, the journalistic skill of including ordinary people in the reporting and giving them a voice, for example through sound bites, storytelling or discussion formats, remains a challenge. A lot more can be done in this domain, not only through journalistic training, but also through capacity building of staff with respect to PSM and its obligations.

In some cases the media development organizations have turned away from the objective of transformation but continued their work with the state broadcaster, focusing on certain areas. In Afghanistan BBC Media Action has limited its engagement to establishing national dialogue formats at RTA. This concept, which has also been applied in several other countries, has proven to be very successful. The dialogues attract the population and encourage it to participate. At the same time, these new formats are intended as lighthouse projects within the state broadcaster that have influence on other departments.

In spite of their immediate and impressive success, these dialogue concepts remain somewhat limited with respect to the question of sustainability. Once the project is over, it remains uncertain if the media outlet will be able to continue producing these special formats or to advance the reform process in other domains.

As far as the strengthening of civil society is concerned, our analyses overall do not show much progress. There are only a few positive examples in which civil society was seriously and successfully integrated in transformation processes. Kyrgyzstan is one of them. In Moldova civil society was active on the governing board but was disappointed overall by the slow transformation process. Here again, more fundamental work by media development actors is called for. After all, a transformation without the active involvement of civil society seems hardly possible. And media development needs to take the time for such long-term processes.

In sum, media development actors have in the past been able to support journalists and technical staff in state broadcasters and PSM through training activities. They were involved in the restructuring of the related newsrooms and other departments, and this has also successfully helped to develop new formats for journalistic content. But all in all the international media experts have provided the training and consultancy themselves, instead of supporting capacity building and human resources structures in or near the supported media outlets.

Generally, it seems that a large part of the more complex processes were pursued and advanced by the partners in the countries themselves, such as the legal reforms and the various activities related to the governing board, as well as the structural change within the broadcaster. In a small number of cases media development actors managed to successfully play their role as catalysts and moderators of these processes, but in many others it seems they never got this far. Overall many limitations of the transformation processes are related

to lack of political will and to the difficult situations within and around the PSM: bureaucratic structures, limited engagement for change by the staff, and a want of leadership by the managers. But scarcity of funds to advance change processes, both on the part of the media outlets as well as media development actors, is also a decisive factor.

In many cases there was also a lack of long-term planning and coordination among international actors. Only very limited monitoring and evaluation systems were in place. Instead of carrying out needs assessments, identifying local partners, and building the required expertise and sustainable structures, media development actors limited themselves to doing what they were good at, mostly capacity building in short term interventions. They missed the opportunity to take a structured and more complex methodological approach towards organizational development.

RQ 3: Which public service functions can be provided by community and private media?

To answer this question we assess our findings from the case studies according to the public service functions, with the differentiation between the two general functions, creating a public sphere and supporting integration, as developed in chapter 2.1. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the objectives of community and private media are not necessarily to fulfill these functions in the way a PSM would be required to.

The two private media outlets in our study – Freedom Radio in Nigeria and B92 in Serbia – both fulfill a large number of these functions. Freedom Radio is strong with respect to facilitation of debate, balanced election reporting, criticism, and social orientation. It broadcasts regular news programs several times a day which offer both national and international news items. Nonetheless, in some journalistic fields such as regional news, in-depth research, and agenda setting there is room for improvement. But in the context of the Nigerian media landscape, this performance is already extraordinary. The broadcaster also supports integration with programming in 13 languages, cultural programming, entertainment, and education – just as a PSM should. From a PSM one would possibly expect more service in the latter areas, but given the fact that Freedom Radio only has one channel in each region it covers, its performance here is still admirable.

B92 generally performs well in all aspects of journalism – from debate to investigative journalism. In the 1990s under the Milošević regime it was one of the few media outlets that offered Serbian citizens independent and well-researched information. It also gave a voice to disadvantaged sectors of society, enabled cultural expression and cohesion and provided education.

But since new owners took over following the financial crisis in 2007/2008, the quality of the news has deteriorated and integrative functions have been reduced. B92 has given up on some of its public service ideals and become a commercial broadcaster – in a time when the transformation of RTS, the new PSM, was ongoing. Nevertheless, B92 still provides an important and comprehensive service to the public, certainly in comparison to its competitors.

Universal, national coverage is not fully provided in these cases: Freedom Radio only broadcasts in some regions in the north of Nigeria. It offers internet streaming but of course this is not available to all.[1] Until 1996 B92 was a local community radio station which could only be heard in Belgrade. After that the program was rebroadcast by numerous stations in almost all parts of the country. It wasn't until 2006 that this media outlet received nationwide licences for radio and TV.

Another issue is that these media outlets have no governing bodies representing different elements of society to assure the diversity, distinctiveness, and independence of the programming. The contribution Freedom Radio makes to the public sphere and to social integration depends upon the decisions of a board of directors which mainly belong to one family. So there's always a risk that the public service functions of this station could suffer if this family were to choose other priorities or if the ownership structure changed.

At B92 it was always the founders who assured the public service ideals. They are still active in the B92 Trust which assures the editorial independence and viability of the media outlet. Nonetheless, it is now the main investor who has the strongest influence on the company.

Both B92 and Freedom Radio have always been very innovative as far as programming and the use of modern digital technology are concerned. B92 was first present on the internet as early as 1996. Freedom Radio was one of the first in Nigeria to offer live streaming and apps for smartphones as well as social media. It is clear that in this respect they have always performed better than the state media and public service media. These special private media outlets are close to their audiences and enrich their media landscapes.

According to the approach of the "public service ethos" (Chapter 2.2), these exceptional organizations deliver an important contribution to their media landscape. They advance the ideas of media in service of the public and create a healthy quality-oriented competition towards a public service system of media. We therefore call them Alternative Public Service Media (APSM) (see also Box p. 280).

APSM offer objective and independent news journalism in professional quality, forums for public debate, societal orientation, and criticism. However the criticism of the government and its administration as well as agenda setting and in-depth journalism may be limited, depending on the general journalism culture and situation in the media landscape. These media are, in contrast to most former state broadcasters, particularly innovative with respect to technology or programming. They fulfill at least some of the functions relevant to the integration of society, such as education, entertainment, and strength-

[1] *Only 38% of all Nigerians used the internet in 2013. Source: http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Pages/stat/default.aspx*

ening of identity, cultural cohesion and expression. But they may offer their services to citizens in just one part of a country. They do not usually have a governing board, as would a PSM, which represents different parts of society. But they have a clear and institutional commitment to professional journalism standards and to servicing a broader public. They may take over roles as neutral and independent actors in society while still pursuing specific community radio agendas or commercial interests in other parts.

Especially in countries with no public service tradition the APSM deliver a major contribution to society. They create a public sphere and support integration. Because they are often driven by idealism and a sense of responsibility for the population, especially in times of crisis, they certainly deserve international support.

How do community media fit into this picture? They differ in origin and purpose, organizational structure and content from PSM and private commercial media (See Box p. 16, Chapter 1.3). In chapter 12 we have already discussed the importance and potential of this third media sector for the good of civil society, minorities, and the public discussion of pressing problems.

But beyond this our research shows that it is possible that community media also fulfill broader public service functions. Among our case studies are community media outlets which deliver, in the absence of PSM, a broad spectrum of services.

Radio Sagarmatha in Nepal is one of these exceptional community radio stations, and it is instructive to look at it from a public service perspective. Its strong points with regard to the general function of *creating a public sphere* are that the broadcaster is independent and it facilitates debate, it lets all political parties speak and yet it dares to voice critique. It occasionally even sets the agenda with cases of investigative reporting. On the other hand, Radio Sagamartha primarily serves the population in the Kathmandu Valley and its news content is focused on the events and the people in this region. Regarding the general function of supporting integration the situation is similar. Radio Sagamartha offers services in three languages and enables cultural expression and education and it is innovative in using Facebook to distribute its content to a wider audience. Nevertheless, the outlet's contribution to strengthening identity and cohesion is limited to the people in the Kathmandu Valley.

To explore this issue further, it might be useful here to look at the cases from Latin America.

Radio Pio XII, which is officially a private station but operates as a community outlet, has some similarities with Radio Sagamartha. It fulfills most of the PSM functions: It facilitates debate and offers a good spectrum of orientation on local issues. It broadcasts national news from the Erbol network, of which it is a member. It runs a well-established internet platform with numerous sections, including social media. The range of journalistic forms, however, is somewhat limited and the in-depth research could be improved. An indicator for the professional character of this organization is the fact that it is involved in the vocational training for young journalists offered by the Erbol network.

Meanwhile the young urban community radio station Vokaribe (Colombia) and the community- and environment-oriented Radio Intag (Ecuador) chiefly pursue specific agendas and exchanges within their communities. Comprehensive or objective news are not necessarily among the first priorities. Nor are neutral facilitation of public debate and a broad social orientation of their listeners as important to them as they are to PSM. All three Latin American community radio stations are strong on the integration of society – in their specific region or community.

So overall we can see a certain overlap here between the services community media can deliver and what is expected of a PSM. Radio Sagarmatha and Radio Pio XII are first of all community media – but they can also be called APSM. A large portion of their content could have been broadcast by a PSM, too. In certain parts of their programming they take over roles as neutral and independent actors in society (while still pursuing specific community radio agendas in other parts). They have professionalized their work and the structure of their organization. Their main difference to PSM is that they may offer services with respect to public sphere and integration only to a small segment of the population of their country. And while PSM are controlled through multi-stakeholder governing boards, Radio Sagarmatha is run by an NGO and Radio Pio XII is controlled by representatives of the Catholic church. So, like the private stations B92 and Freedom Radio discussed above, they are only controlled by a small group and not by representatives from different parts of society.

In a nutshell, APSM – i.e., exceptional private commercial media as well as exceptional community media – deliver considerable public services to the broader public. They do this along with their primary objectives, namely, competing successfully on the commercial media markets (private media) and offering their specific forms of social participation and advocacy to smaller sectors of the population (community media).

APSM are able to fulfill a large portion – but not all – of the public service functions in question here. The capacity and the more cost-intensive forms of journalism are often particularly difficult for them, as is the combination of diversity and distinction. The private commercial organizations may emphasize the integrative functions a little less while the community outlets address a specific part of the population only. But many PSM and former state media have difficulty delivering these functions, too.

For media development the support of APSM is certainly of particular importance. Depending on the situation of a particular media landscape, APSM can be considered as an alternative to state broadcaster transformation.

Two general cases can be differentiated here: Firstly, if there is no political will for a reform of state media or even an authoritarian regime is in place, it may be a good choice to

strengthen community radio and selected private stations to take over more public service functions. And secondly, in cases where the transformation of state media is ongoing and supported, it can be helpful to work with community and private media at the same time. By strengthening different selected media a dynamic landscape and healthy competition can be created that help build a public service ethos.

If the goal for media development is to strengthen the unique public service ideas – universal, diverse and distinctive media services of good quality for citizens – its perspective should be extended beyond state broadcaster transformation. With APSM, too, a lot can be achieved on behalf of the public.

To sum up: Ideally a media landscape has both types, PSM and APSM – in fruitful competition with the PSM offering a broader set of services, and the APSM being more innovative and adapting better to the needs of specific communities and audiences. Meanwhile, in countries where the reform towards PSM is not realistic, APSM can step in and take over important functions, even if some considerable limitations will remain.

So if, in a given country, there is no political will for the transformation of a state broadcaster, media development should limit its engagement and focus on strengthening APSM. On the other hand, if both media types show potential for progress, a strategic decision is needed based on the particular situation in the particular media landscape in question.

RQ 4: Which changes in private and community media were achieved through media development in the past and what were the challenges and limitations of this work?

We can answer this question based on the information assessed in a small number of case studies only. As with the PSM above, we describe the changes in the media which can be related to the involvement of media development actors. We do this again in correspondence with the areas of strategic action of the DW Akademie model (See chapter 2.4).

Political and legal frameworks

Our case studies show that media development actors seem to prefer to focus on training and newsroom-related consultancies only. But there can be no doubt that more long-term engagement for the improvement of political and legal frameworks is necessary to advance private and community media and to establish coherence between the two sectors.

Community and private media often struggle with non-transparent and bureaucratic licensing processes, difficult or absent frameworks, and political restrictions. In spite of this, most media development actors invested their resources in other areas.

But there are exceptions. The AMARC network for community radio has helped to structure this third media sector through lobbying, dialogue, and supply of knowledge, especially in Latin America. The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung has also provided and assembled legal expertise in different forms in this region. In Nepal, the Dutch organization Free Press Unlimited supported the growth of community radio through a broad approach which included a support center as well as advocacy and lobbying.

In Colombia, DW Akademie has worked with a well-chosen selection of community media and supported the licensing processes, as in the case of Radio Vocaribe. Here the licencing processes were used to consolidate and strengthen the teams involved. In their course, goals for the community radio project were defined and ethics and newsroom guidelines developed.

The exceptional case of B92 in Serbia in the 1990s shows, however, that even without any leverage in regulatory questions, successes in other strategy fields can raise the pressure on the authorities to amend the political and legal framework. Here the international media actually worked against the political and legal framework in Serbia to support the news outlet. When the broadcaster was banned by the government the international media rebroadcast its program. This helped to increase its popularity, and in the end the government preferred to bring the station back on air again in the country.

Qualifications

A large part of international support for private and community media is training of journalists, technical staff, and trainers. In our cases this was an important element of support, especially for the younger and smaller news outlets which could not afford to invest in staff capacity building. And yet this type of intervention remains limited and unsustainable, unless structures for continuous qualification are built.

Radio Sagamartha (Nepal) and Radio Pio XII (Bolovia) are cases where basic structures for the training of staff within the organization were successfully developed with support from DW Akademie. Furthermore, a system of vocational journalism training was established at the Erbol network, of which Radio Pio XII is a member. Especially in the latter case a comparatively broad and sustainable structure of qualification was initiated.

Professionalism and economic sustainability of the media sector

Media development actors have, in some cases, helped small, nascent news outlets on a very basic level. Radio Sagamartha, for example, received initial start-up support from UNESCO: hardware, but also elementary training and consultancy.

In the stages that followed, the media outlets used newsroom consultancies in various forms to reorganize production processes and improve the programming. A general professionalization could be achieved by developing new formats and presenting improved content. Through the production of soap operas, for example, which dealt with the problems of people in the villages and cities of Nepal, the team involved at Radio Sagamartha and with them the entire organization learned to operate in new ways.

In most of our cases the use of new digital technology played an important role for the operation of the news outlets. The

support for Radio Pio XII in Bolivia included the strategic use of an internet platform and social media but also radio broadcasting on different bands. Vocaribe in Colombia is a project which brings a community together with the help of the internet, radio, and sometimes live events. And the program of Serbian radio station B92 was already available on the internet as early as 1996, thanks to the help of a Dutch provider.

Another important factor in the development of these small media organizations is team building and human resources. Here media development organizations supported the community radio stations in dealing better with the high level of fluctuation among their staff by building teams that develop a working culture of shared responsibility. They have established practices of internal training by senior staff and routines of quality improvement through deliberation within the teams. – And yet these efforts are often limited by high fluctuation of the staff.

Equally the issue of economic sustainability of community and private media is an area in which media development organizations have recently tried to increase support. But in many cases this is a major challenge both for the media outlets and the consultants. It is a complex task to professionalize a media outlet that first started out as a non-professional organization.

One possible path towards sustainability is the building of community radio networks, as in the case of Bolivia. Professional exchange not only of experience but also of broadcasting content can help these stations to improve. The aforementioned support centers in the country can also be valuable, providing practical help, as well as know-how with reference materials and consultancy. Certainly more work beyond these piloting projects needs to be done.

Social participation

It goes without saying that social participation is the most important strategic area for community media. So all the support given to them is there to include the people from the communities, local initiatives, and civil society groups, not only as audience or interviewees but as those responsible for the content and its broadcasting. But occasionally communities also show signs of fatigue, as in the case of Radio Intag in Ecuador, and become less active.

The work of DW Akademie in Latin America encompasses promising cases where care was taken to first identify local initiatives that looked auspicious, to assess their needs and then to support them through a broad approach. In doing so, various participative mechanisms of consultation and reflection within civil society were established. Besides radio broadcasting, webpages, Twitter, and Facebook are used as additional channels of communication for specific parts of a community.

Overall we find that more strategic and long-term commitments by media development actors for community media and private media are needed. Too often development agencies simply perceive them as a vehicle or tool to spread their messages. Instead they should recognize and support these media as actors in their own right.

For coherent development strategies these media need to be taken more seriously. They can close gaps in the mainstream media landscape, they can inform and empower local communities, they can help to resolve conflicts and they can even be professionalized and deliver a number of PSM functions. But to do so, they must be helped to operate independently and sustainably.

At the same time, community and private media should not be expected to entirely replace PSM. Although they can and should provide some public service functions, they cannot fulfill all the varied and yet distinctive PSM tasks. Nevertheless, development actors need to help to consolidate community and small private media as a third, distinctive, and important media sector.

To do this, media development has in the past developed technical, journalistic, and management capacity. Change processes in the organization were also supported. Innovative ways have been found to improve the quality of the products, and advance the human resources and financial sustainability of community media. But these results will remain limited unless there is also advancement with respect to political and legal frameworks. Therefore, media development actors need to further explore ways to build networks of media outlets, assemble expertise, search for ways to work with the licensing bodies, and strengthen lobbying work. Only on the basis of fair and supportive licensing processes can community media do their work well and empower minorities, put their issues on the agenda, strengthen human rights, and thus, advance societies as a whole.

RQ 5: Which approaches and methods of media development were taken in our case studies?

The most successful approaches in our case studies were those with broad strategies that included activities in several areas of the DW Akademie model (See chapter 2.4). In the case of Mongolia, intensive work in the field of qualifications was combined with work in the area of professionalism and economic sustainability of the media sector. Additionally in Serbia and Moldova, some headway in social participation was made. The same can be said, in a general sense, about the DW Akademie work with community media in Bolivia and Columbia.

In all these cases the political and legal frameworks were supportive of or at least not a hindrance to a PSM transformation process or, respectively the operation of community media, at the time when the media development actors came in.

In Kyrgyzstan special emphasis was placed on advancing political and legal frameworks. The success in this strategic area, in particular brought about by an active civil society, made the overall progress possible. Meanwhile in Afghanistan the intervention was halted because no progress with respect to the regulatory frameworks could be made.

So overall progress in the area of political and legal frameworks seems fundamental for a broad transformation. But if this is not possible there are still other paths that can be taken. It always seems worthwhile to further the fourth strategic area of social participation, even in situations where the frameworks cannot be advanced. Because individual citizens as well as civil society organizations hold the potential for long-term change in the media system – through public service, community media, or both.

In our case studies we could see that media development actors had applied a number of methods. The most important are:

Assessments and studies: organizational needs assessments, financial audits, audience surveys, etc., but also systematic assessments and selection of partners,

Documentation and supply of information, data bases, e.g., on legal frameworks and legal advice,

Political dialogue events,

Political lobbying and support of advocacy, human rights alerts,

Capacity building of journalists, managers, technicians in various forms, e.g., basic professional training, training of special skills, capacity building in project teams, mentoring,

Initial technical support,

Consultancy on human resources/capacity building/vocational training within organizations or networks of organizations,

Professional exchange, "horizontal learning" between cooperation partners, study trips,

Expert discussions, panels, conferences,

Help desk for community radios,

Provision of *reference material,*

Co-productions of programming content between different media outlets,

Consultancies with specialized expertise, e.g., financial management, broadcasting law, ethics standards and guidelines,

Consultancies related to the work in the newsroom: processes in the newsroom, formats, live production, call-in, online journalism, etc.,

Consultancies related to the development and introduction of new programming formats: lighthouse programming projects, in particular audience orientation, participation, innovative formats,

Consultancies related to special public events: election reporting, multi-stakeholder dialogues, town-hall meetings,

Consultancies related to the strengthening of selected departments of the PSM, e.g., training centers or regional offices.

The suggestions made by the experts who were interviewed for our case studies mostly focussed pn the solution of concrete problems for the media outlets. Many of the following suggestions identify not only a need but at the same time point to missed opportunities in the past. Relating to the frameworks, governance and finance, the following were mentioned:

- Develop and advocate models for the financing of the media outlet
- Strengthen the capacities of governing board members and NGOs representatives
- Generate support for the civil society sector that is of relevance to PSM
- Integrate universities into the case of the PSM
- Advocate independent commissioning bodies and transparent licensing processes
- Advocate legislative reforms on behalf of community media
- Advocate against impunity and legislation that criminalizes journalists unnecessarily

Other suggestions they made were related to journalists and to the work in the media organization:

- Consultancy in newsroom and studio management
- Consultancy in revenue and budget planning
- Consultancy in human resources management
- Consultancy of team building processes within the broadcaster
- Consultancy in website management
- Raising awareness and understanding of PSM on all levels of the organization
- Support for professional associations

Further suggestions are related to the audiences of the different media:

- Establish platforms for public debate and interactive formats on PSM
- Combine institutional reform with visible changes
- Find ways to safeguard editorial independence, credibility and accountability – in order to gain the public's trust.
- Build up and improve audience and market research

This list of possible solutions and interventions should in any case be integrated into a holistic methodological approach accompanying transformation processes. Many of the projects so far seem to have been piecemeal approaches only. It has to be taken into account that organizational change can be better achieved through adequate methods which use a wide range and a combination of result-oriented interventions. At the same time the interventions need to be synchronized as much as possible between the different (media development) actors. The ambition to transform a media outlet – or the whole media system – is often voiced but then not always consistently carried out. What is needed here is an overall strategy for change processes.

RQ 6: Which recommendations can be made for future media development projects supporting public service functions?

Transformed state media that have been successfully turned into PSM are able to fulfill a number of important public service functions. With this study we have been able to showcase a few examples where this has been made possible. But these media outlets are not the only ones that deliver public service functions. As we have seen, special community media and APSM (alternative public service media) can also deliver some public service functions.

The strategic question now is under what conditions is a broad transformation process towards PSM a worthy endeavor, and when is it better to limit the engagement with former state broadcasters? When should more attention be given to community media and aspiring APSM? And how can all this be put into practice? We shall try to answer these questions, based on the results and considerations above.

If, in a given country, there is a general will by political and civil society actors for a change process towards a public service media system, a broad effort seems justified. An agenda of cooperation and a strategic plan for reform needs to be developed. To achieve this a number of **basic processes** should be started that are fundamental to development in many sectors:

- *An inclusion of a maximum of local expertise*, not only at the onset,
- An effort by international actors to *understand local contexts and cultural settings,*
- *The integration and synchronization/coordination of all stakeholders*, on different levels,
- *A continuous coordination of donors and development actors,*
- *General assessments of the media sector and its actors*, including not only media outlets but also universities, press councils, networks of journalists, unions, legal experts, etc.
- *Specific assessments of the (former) state media and other (potential) PSMs* in several areas, e.g., financial, organizational, content,
- *A long-term involvement and approach.* Many processes here take time and are subject to backlashes,
- *A holistic methodological approach* considering interventions on different levels and areas.

Early on in the process **legal frameworks and their application** need to be on the agenda. They are an important basis for working in the media sector. In an ideal situation, improvements in legislation and regulation are made at the outset of a change process. But often this is only done partially or never gets beyond the planning stage. As a consequence, media outlets as well as media development struggle with adverse and unclear situations. So long-term work is needed here from several actors towards special laws that guarantee freedom of information and expression, the independence of PSM and their governing bodies, laws for community media, fair and transparent licensing procedures, etc. For media development it is important here to

- *Build their own legal expertise and contacts to political actors,*
- *Cooperate with national and international organizations with expertise in the governance sector,*
- *Support networks of experts for media law* with actors from journalism, law, academia and civil society,
- *Develop or support projects, networks and coalitions for advocacy, lobbying and communications,* including specific strategies for reaching out to selected individuals and target groups by using different channels of communication from face-to-face communications to social media,
- Develop a process for the *supply of legal knowledge and advice*, e.g., through competence centers.

In the consultation of any media outlet the question of economic sustainability should be made an issue from the outset. And it should be part of the overall process. Financial questions as well as issues related to human resources need to be dealt with, in conjunction with technical support and the strengthening of journalistic quality. Media development has advanced in this direction over the past years but more work needs to be done.

For the transformation processes related to large media outlets, such as former state media, a broad **organizational development** approach has to be planned and carried out systematically. As described in chapter 13, a number of elements need to be fed into the overall process. The most important are:

- The establishment and continuous work of a *strategy group* (consisting of a person from the upper management, the project manager, the organizational consultant and an expert consultant)
- The establishment and continuous work of a *steering committee* with representatives from different levels and

divisions of the organization. The middle management but also the general staff need to be included here.
- A full process operation which includes the three main phases of 1) preparation, 2) the change process itself, and 3) securing of the results.
- Intelligent interface management to broaden the transformation process within the organization
- Part projects which advance the concrete reforms in the organization in different areas. Depending on the specific situation and strategy, the following should be taken into consideration:
  - *Administrative reform* projects. In the past, media development actors have often either underestimated the importance of administrative reforms for the overall change process or they have shied away from them.
  - Strategic projects related *to communication and lobbying for the transformation inside and outside the organization:* because very often the PSM staff themselves are not aware of the new public service ideas. And in many cases the political actors and the public at large do not support their PSM, because they do not see and appreciate the changes that have taken place.
  - *Reform and innovation projects in journalistic departments, newsrooms, regional offices, etc.*
  - *A framework for monitoring and evaluation of this process.* This should be established right at the outset.

As for the latter **content-related projects in newsrooms**, the question often arises in which area to invest the available resources. This question is also relevant in smaller interventions where an entire transformation is not the objective. Especially in past years, "lighthouse" projects have been created that yield some impressive results and, ideally, show the other departments the way.

Careful consideration is needed here, on the part of all partners, as to whether it really is a good idea to change TV news departments first of all. The fact that many media development experts began their own careers in these environments does not mean that these are the best choice for their intervention. In many former state broadcasters, the TV news department is a highly political and thus difficult section of the media to work in.

If one nevertheless chooses to work with the news departments, small steps are important: The appearance of sound bites from both the opposition and government is a major step. Criticism of the government is difficult even in comparatively advanced PSM. Media development actors should moderate the discussions on what is possible and what can be done to improve the news.

In many cases, major progress has been achieved with departments that produce other formats such as public debate or educational soap operas. Working with economic, health or environment programs may also be a good choice. And, last but not least, the strengthening of regional offices and minority programs is often also a good possibility.

The latter suggestions may also be an option if a media development organization decides to **work with state media** that will most probably remain state media for some years to come. Here it is certainly sensible to seriously consider who is likely to benefit from an intervention. In many countries, programming for minority groups or populations in remote areas can only be provided by state media, so in such a case cooperation may make sense.

If small private and community media exist in the regions along with the state media, they deserve support. This can create healthy competition and hopefully improved content on behalf of the people.

The support for well-selected **community media** is always an additional option. They are an alternative sector within a media landscape, through them people are given a new voice, and civil society can put their issues on the public agenda.

In situations where PSM are weak, however, community media can achieve even more for their audiences. They can be professionalized and supported to deliver important public service functions. The same holds true for those small private media that show a genuine interest in the people from their region. These **existing and aspiring APSM** deserve support. But this support should not be blind. An important part of the media development work here is to identify those media outlets that really have potential for this process, and to consider adequate and different methodological approaches.

Smaller media outlets generally face numerous limitations, problems and obstacles. Media development actors can help as consultants here – and strengthen the teams in what they want to achieve.

Capacity building needs to be revisited. Although this is the area in which media development traditionally has a lot of experience and expertise, capacity building must be understood in a much broader sense than so far. Firstly, it should go beyond training. Secondly, it should go beyond journalism capacity building to other areas such as, in particular, management capacity in media outlets, legal and advocacy capacity in civil society organizations. Thirdly, capacity building should be part of a human resources strategy that is part of the organizational development process.

- In all media outlets continuous processes of capacity building and a culture of learning are needed.
- Larger media need to be supported in building and sustaining their own departments for capacity building.
- Smaller organizations need to be supported in establishing simple and basic forms of capacity building on the job. This is especially true for community radio stations that have to accommodate for frequent staff changes.
- On top of this, outside structures can be used, e.g., cooperation with universities or other media. Networks for joint capacity building and vocational training can be built.

In sum, media development actors should not be there to build capacities only, but also to enable structures for capacity building as a fundamental part of a professional organizational setting.

New ways need to be explored to **bring PSM and their audiences** closer together. Participation does not only mean being heard in a discussion but also actively shaping the way the interaction takes place. Furthermore, citizens need to be informed and involved in debate, not only on current affairs and issues of relevance to them, but also about the mission, ambitions and opportunities of their PSM. The better the general acceptance, trust and engagement for PSM, the easier it is to advance things in other areas, too.

One way of doing this is to **integrate the younger generation** into new projects, for example, with youth formats and channels including new media. The creativity and innovative force of the young needs to be tapped into. In doing so, however, it needs to be assured that the older generations are fully supportive of such a policy. Such a focus helps to make media outlets more attractive to the population, but also attractive for those interested in a career in the media.

Media development actors need to engage in a broad process of learning themselves. This means, first of all, a broad engagement in monitoring, evaluation, and research. Based on this, they can work towards well-grounded strategic criteria on why they choose a particular process in a given situation.

But in doing so, media developers should insist less on offering only what they are already good at. They should rather seek to provide whatever is required in the particular process in question. For this they need to build their own capacities and bring in new expertise. So a change in perspective is needed. Instead of saying only "This is what we offer," the questions "What is needed here?" and "Who can provide it best?" should be asked more often.

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DW Akademie

About Us

DW Akademie is Germany's leading organization for international media development. It supports the development of free and transparent media systems, quality journalism and expertise. DW Akademie helps countries rebuild their media sector following crises and conflicts, and contributes internationally to the training of media professionals.

In its offices in Bonn and Berlin DW Akademie offers traineeships for future DW journalists as well as intercultural and professional media training workshops.

DW Akademie also runs the "International Media Studies" Master's program which combines the areas of media development, media management, journalism and communications.

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