Towards an Integrated Media Support Strategy for (English-Speaking) Sub-Saharan Africa

Preface

There is no doubt that media and democracy are inextricably linked. Democracy is a political system with institutional components that make it a state system. But democracy also has an individual element that concerns the citizen, making it a way of life as well.

The media today comprises print media, radio and television broadcasting as well as the new electronic media, all of which convey events, conflicts, opinions, developments, trends and political ideas. At the same time, the idea of democracy – the concept and content of this political system – needs dissemination via the media. The role and function of the media in terms of democracy will therefore always be relevant.

Even if it is primarily a political system, democracy still comprises a distinct way of life: both elements belong together. It is only in this way that democracy can function. The institutional elements of democracy must provide the solid structure, but the structure alone is not sufficient. Democracy can only function when this structure is inhabited by a sufficient number of democrats. Democracy is therefore not only a way of life for the individual citizen but also a particular civil and social way of life for a society.

Above all, democracy needs the consent of citizens. This consent includes the values, which are socially binding, as well as the necessity to achieve agreement and acceptance with regard to the required regulation of man's social existence and the rule of law. All this leads to a culture of democracy that produces an ethos of democracy. Ethos and politics are therefore integral to democracy.

What matters regarding stability and the legitimacy of democracy in cases of crisis is ultimately not the institutions, but a lively political culture – the democratic ethos on the part of the citizens and the office bearers. Democracy depends on prerequisites it cannot guarantee by itself: only the citizens can provide these.

The media plays an important part in any democratic society. It constitutes an interface, which guarantees that democracy is strengthened. At the same time, the media commands power and this power is used to influence politically. While transmitting news, ideas and patterns of behaviour, the media exerts political influence. Media and politics are interlinked, since the media reports and informs about political actors. In this way, the media creates an image of politics that is disseminated to the citizens. The media therefore has comprehensive power of information at its disposal.

The media assesses and grades the ideas, events, values and patterns it is transmitting. This applies to the actors as well as to the recipients. Due to this power of assessment, the public takes the media as a model for its own dissent or consent; this can even result in the approval or rejection of the democratic system. In this way the media holds considerable power with regard to political assessments.

The media is furthermore a powerful mediator passing on letters-to-the-editor, opinions, advertisements and guest comments in a selective way. What has been selected and disseminated can be influential in a certain way, intentionally or not. Newsgathering and transmitting is a selective process, hardly ever giving the full picture. Media diversity may finally complete this picture, provided that diversity of opinion exists.

The media is powerful: the permanent presence of its products exerts an enduring influence. Letters, pictures and sounds are the three elements exercising this influence. It is essential to use these elements in a way that strengthens a democratic style of communicating. The one who exerts power in a democracy must do so in a responsible way and this applies specifically and increasingly to the media.

Freedom of speech and media freedom are fundamental to a democratic society, and the basic right to information and freedom of speech must be constitutionally guaranteed. In a democracy, the media can only perform according to its public function when those basic prerequisites are assured.

Josef Thesing
Sankt Augustin, Germany

Editor's Note

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF) is in the process of restructuring its media support programmes in sub-Saharan Africa. In November 2000, Frank Priess (KAF, Buenos Aires) and I presented the concept for a revised media support strategy. Based on a critical revision of the political framework and ongoing programmes, this study suggested an integrated regional approach in order to refocus media support work and to transfer its broad basic approach to an advanced concept of specialised training and networking.

This study was not commissioned as an academic venture, centred on empiric research and data collection. Its qualitative approach was based on an integrated analysis of the media sector and its political framework in two East African and two Southern African countries. The main source for this analysis – besides visits to media houses, universities and training centres – was a series of roundtables and interviews with almost 100 media professionals, academics, lecturers and politicians in Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa, in July and August 2000, focusing on four main areas:

- Political framework conditions and the legal status, mission, programme, programme dissemination, staff, infrastructure, finances and economic viability of media houses and institutions.
- Job opportunities for, and working conditions of, media personnel with special emphasis on political, legal, economic and professional difficulties.
- Educational and training background and further training of media professionals.
- Character and performance of professional associations in the media sector.

The focal point of the resulting study is the proposed 'vertical shift' from broader basic training and scholarships in individual countries, to regionally organised, advanced and specialised training and networking.

Chapter 1 comprises an English translation of key parts of the study. The analysis provided here is not sugar-coated.

The core features of the integrated strategy – regional approach, vertical shift and networking – were transferred into a media questionnaire, comprising 17 questions, which was made available to selected media professionals, trainers and scholars, this time in Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, as well as Nigeria and Ghana, between December 2000 and February 2001. The returned questionnaires provided the basis for an evaluated feedback on the suggested strategy by African media professionals, presented in chapter 2.

KAF is proud to present the key study results (chapter 1) and the professional feedback by African journalists, media trainers and scholars (chapter 2), which clearly show support for the direction taken: that is, advanced and specialised training for African journalists and the development of professional

network structures that will help to maintain and further enhance professional standards and a democratic political and legal framework.

Media freedom and access to information are prerequisites for further democratisation. Throughout the world, democracy itself is a process, not a final stage of politics. In Africa, this process is still largely in its infant stage, sincerely threatened by economic constraints and political calamities. African journalists and the African media contributed greatly to getting this process started on the continent: let us continue with our refocused assistance so that the African media can maintain its momentum.

I would like to thank all the journalists, media trainers, scholars, editors, publishers and other professionals who participated in roundtables and interviews during the fieldwork. I offer a special thank you to those who participated in the questionnaire, giving of their time and sharing their thoughts and experience. This publication will hopefully provide a useful service in return.

The study and questionnaire enable and encourage KAF to go a step further with its African media support programme; its approval by almost 100 African media professionals is significant. Their additional comments and suggestions (*see page 34 of this volume*) are also valuable.

Rolf Freier
Marburg, Germany

Table of Contents

1. The Integrated Media Support Strategy[1]

1.1 POLITICAL AND PROFESSIONAL ASPECTS OF THE MEDIA IN EAST (UGANDA, KENYA) AND SOUTHERN (ZIMBABWE, SOUTH AFRICA) AFRICA

1.1.1 Media and politics

General aspects

The engagement of German political foundations in sub-Saharan Africa's media sector dates back more than 20 years. This engagement was never of a technical nature, but aimed at socio-political change – at sustainable democratic development. Media support and the training of journalists were therefore always politically motivated, even when individual project concepts or parts therein did not always reveal this motivation. The external framework for this socio-political agenda has, however, changed considerably over the years.

At the end of the 1970s and well into the 1980s, the notion of nation building in sub-Saharan Africa was a priority. Plurality of opinion and of policies had to take second place behind a national consensus forged by the central institutions of the state. Criticism and diverging opinion were tolerated merely as internal suggestions, at best. They were supposed to blend finally into the inevitable one-party consensus. Well-meaning Western observers saw in Africa nothing but a legitimate expression of the collective *ubuntu* and the prevailing integrative group politics. Only severe dictatorial atrocities, for example, in Uganda under Idi Amin, were strongly criticised.

In spite of extended international political aid, several corrupt *de jure* or *de facto* one-party dynasties survived on the continent up until the end of the 1980s. They were characterised by economic incompetence, political intolerance, nepotism and the inability to reform. When the Cold War with its bipolar world order ended, these systems finally became unstable. Now even formerly affirmative observers have questioned Africa's ability to democratise and have demanded fundamental reforms. That foreign aid – more than once – gave African dictators renewed legitimacy and credit, was largely left unsaid. At the beginning of the 1990s, donors held up high their policy of political conditionality and reshaped their aid programmes to reinforce the democratisation process. Yet it was the people on the ground in Africa, predominantly city-dwellers, who fought for concrete political reforms with a courage born out of despair.

The influence of the media in this political development in the early 1990s was substantial, even with radio and television still almost completely in the hands of the state. During that decade there was a surge of liberalisation and deregulation, especially in the print media but also in radio broadcasting and, though far less, television. Complete state control through Ministries of Information or other state departments could no longer be kept up. Changes of government, changes in policies and constitutional amendments led to a political and legal framework in which journalists were provided with improved working conditions and less (direct) censorship in a number of African countries.

This development has in no way come to an end, although today it faces problematic countermovements and new risks. These risks consist of a re-ideologisation as is evident, for example, in parts of the Africa Renaissance Movement – of over-commercialisation, ownership concentration and monopolies. All these risks pose severe threats to press freedom and diversity of opinion, which is so badly needed to promote further economic and political development on the continent.

In all African countries, public radio and television stations, for example, could play an

important education and information role, with a focus on development issues and capacity building. The history of most state-controlled or state-owned radio and television stations in Africa is unfortunately characterised by political intolerance, single-party dominance and economic and organisational incompetence. The regimes had filled management and editorial positions exclusively with politically trusted buddies, thereby nipping in the bud journalistic quality and managerial efficiency. Consequently, public broadcasting, so desperately needed in Africa, will stay behind and remain discredited for years to come. The few remaining qualified journalists in the state-owned or state-run institutions are waiting for their chance to enter the ever-expanding private media sector. Even in South Africa, with its comparatively well-functioning public radio and television broadcasting sector, there is evidence that African media mistakes of the past will be repeated. Centralism, strong party influence and non-merit appointments have already shown their de-motivating and crippling effects at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

South Africa and Zimbabwe
South Africa, with its new constitution, its differentiated civil society and its modern infrastructure, provides ideal prerequisites for advanced political pluralism and freedom and diversity of opinion. In reality, a highly polarised society is again moving towards dominance and control by a power monopoly, and there are signs of growing intolerance in politics and towards the media. This development is not caused by insufficient media laws (with the exception of the highly problematic protection of informants law) or by other legal regulations, but rather by the specific history and its current political consequences, which touch almost every aspect of life and work in the South African transitional society.

The fast-growing number of young black journalists see themselves stuck between loyalty towards the liberation movement and black solidarity on the one hand, and the requirements of professional and ethically responsible journalism on the other.[2] The address of Vice-President Jacob Zuma at the South African National Editors' Forum in Johannesburg, July 2000, was a remarkable example regarding the new and old African manner of dealing with the

media. Zuma's charming, but clearly disciplinary, rhetoric was asking for increased political correctness on the part of South African newspapers. Facing the political *Gleichschaltung* already achieved at the SABC – Africa's biggest public radio and television broadcasting corporation – even well meaning listeners were hardly amused. This address once again gave evidence of a continuously problematic understanding of media freedom. It may even give evidence of an elementary misunderstanding: even in the difficult contexts of transition and development, the media are not the business of politicians or the ruling party, but an essential corrective through unbiased information and necessary criticism. Centralism and control-mania have in the meantime seized wide parts of the new South African political mainstream. This does not leave much hope for the advancement of a pluralistic media sector, despite a conducive legal framework and a still active civil society.

Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF government in Zimbabwe has never been known to be a vanguard of media freedom. Its blunt hindrance of Zimbabwe's opposition parties with regard to access to the electronic media during the last election campaign therefore came as no surprise. The situation in Zimbabwe is shaped through state control and restricting regulations. Though a prospect of deregulation was given at the end of the 1990s, the ruling party will hesitate to give up its broadcasting media monopoly in the face of a real political threat by a powerful opposition movement. Future development will probably resemble that of the Zimbabwean press. There might be alternatives to the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation, but editorial independence or even opposition will, similar to the *Daily News* in the press, have to be fought for with great personal courage and risk-taking. Further liberalisation of media law could be of particular importance, as the Zimbabwean courts have repeatedly revoked unlawful advances of the Zanu-PF government in the past. The current political setbacks in the country have, however, put an abrupt halt to political and media democratisation for the time being.

Kenya and Uganda
The legal and political situation of the media in East Africa is more homogeneous than the still

heterogeneous conditions that prevail in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Here again it is not necessarily restrictive constitutions or undemocratic media laws that hinder or weaken the freedom of broadcasting and the press. In both countries restrictions and censorship are politically subtler and legally more differentiated. High licence fees, administrative delays of licence applications and the state monopoly on cable and transmitting facilities still guarantee extensive control of the electronic media, even though private television and radio stations have been set up. These new stations usually do not reach the rural areas and they take steps not to endanger their medium-term investment in studios and staff development through politically offensive reporting. The alternative community radio movement has not taken off in Kenya and Uganda because of, among other reasons, high radio licence fees charged in these countries.

Government interference with the press occurs both openly and secretly in Kenya as well as in Uganda. Besides the state-owned or government-friendly newspapers there are a couple of independent and oppositional daily and weekly papers, and – especially in Kenya – several tabloid and short-lived yellow press products. Opposition(-al) newspapers are often pursued by libel suits or other civil law measures. At the same time, licensing authorities try to keep unwanted scandal papers away from the market by forcing increased security deposit payments. In both countries there is political debate on reforming media law with special consideration being given to new self-regulatory control instruments, i.e. media councils. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF) could contribute substantially here through training and consulting measures aimed at enhancing the functional and democratic character of a new self-regulatory media council. The current official endeavour to establish media councils has the bitter taste of reintroducing or maintaining censorship through the backdoor, using these agencies.

1.1.2 The economic state of the media
General aspects
When assessing the economic state of the media in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda, one has to consider the dichotomy between South Africa, the economic giant with

a developed civil society on the one hand, and the three other African countries with their comparably weak economies and civil structures on the other.

South Africa is one of the few African countries with recognisable international ownership in the media sector. The important newspaper holding Independent Papers is, for example, owned by the British O'Railly group. In contrast to the other three countries, South Africa calls a diverse print media sector its own, with a substantial number of regional and local newspapers and myriad special interest newspapers and magazines. Especially in this latter sector, international press is being sold that is not available in other countries.

In all four countries there is a general trend away from print media towards radio and television and, though with varying intensity, towards the new media. With the exception of the special interest press, print media readership is declining. South Africa is also the only country in which a countrywide private television station (M-Net) has expanded successfully into neighbouring countries, selling its entertainment programmes via satellites and cable networks.

With liberalisation starting by the end of the 1980s, government independent and private media appeared in countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania as well as Uganda. The independent newspapers have been the pioneers of this development. In the meantime, private radio and television stations could gain ground as the necessary investments in infrastructure are reduced through technical advances.

Print media
There is generally a strong decline in readership from the densely populated urban centres to the extended rural areas in all four countries. Daily newspapers, with the exception of South Africa, often reach economic centres in rural areas with considerable delay and in limited numbers only. The still large percentage of illiterates in rural areas also contributes to the limited circulation of print media. In addition, the price of a daily newspaper in countries such as Zimbabwe, Kenya or Uganda is not necessarily affordable to the average villager. These factors as well as the urbanisation in many African countries, combined with the urban socialisa-

tion of many journalists, contribute to the continuing under-representation of rural areas in the African newsprint.

With the limited number of local newspapers in all countries (with the partial exception of South Africa), journalism is concentrated in the urban metropolitan areas. The economic situation of the print media in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda seems to be rather bad. State-owned newspapers are usually subsidised, while private newspapers work with minimal profits and are constantly under economic threat by governments that withhold official advertisements in retaliation for critical reporting.

In all four countries, the economic situation of newspaper journalists is worse than that of radio or television journalists. Especially in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda, newspaper journalist are poorly paid. Editors have to work with a relatively large number of young reporters, and there is a high staff turnover as most of these reporters do not have the benefit of a labour contract.

South Africa, again the exception, faces a different problem: with a growing black middle-class there is a burgeoning black readership for the most popular English-speaking black readership paper, the *Sowetan*. At the same time, circulation of traditional daily newspapers in English or Afrikaans is increasingly limited.

On the grounds of tight economic conditions (e.g. no correspondents) and limited demand on the part of the readership, regional and international reporting in most daily and weekly newspapers in Southern and East Africa (exception: the *East African*) is meagre. This is true even for the economically stronger South African print media sector.

Community newspapers reflect on the situation in townships, small towns or rural areas. South Africa is again well ahead in quality and quantity of such newspapers, although there is a noticeable trend towards electronic media, even in local reporting. The experiences with community newspapers in Zimbabwe are symptomatic for many African countries: brought to life with international financial aid at the beginning of the 1980s and kept alive with such subsidies, community newspapers in Zimbabwe (five papers currently, partly English, partly vernaculars) are in a poor state. Unfortunately even in Zimbabwe – a country with one of the

highest literacy rates in the region – the concept of community newspapers has not proven to be viable. This failure is linked to three basic causes: first, the Zimbabwean community newspaper group was not able to loosen the grip of the state in order to gain sufficient liberty in terms of editorial and political issues. Second, due to bad logistics, distribution remained insufficient in terms of location and number; and third, the purchasing power of the readership and the number of copies sold remained insufficient in order to make larger and persistent earnings from advertisements possible. Consequently, community newspapers remain at the level of politically correct, rather unattractive provincial gazettes, reliant on international and state subsidies. The Latin American model of small, profitable local information and advertisement newspapers seems not to work in most African countries, which still lack sufficient readership, as well as the economic infrastructure and thus the advertisement potential. The censorship legacy in long lasting one-party countries such as Zimbabwe, Kenya or Uganda further impedes such endeavours.

The negative aspects sketched above should not detract from the immense political importance of the print media throughout the liberalisation period. Critical newspapers, which emerged with early liberalisation at the end of the 1980s, carried enormous political weight. Economically hardly sustainable at the beginning, they offered a platform for investigative journalism and opposition voices. These newspapers still play a significant role in many African countries. Fred Mmembe's *Post* in Lusaka, a pioneer in this function, the *New Vision* in Uganda and the *Daily News* in Zimbabwe, among others, belong to this important group of newspapers, offering new political ideas and uncensored, or at least alternative, information.

Radio and television
In the area of electronic media one has to distinguish between state-owned and private broadcasting on the one hand, and geographically between South Africa as an African exception and countries such as Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda, on the other. The electronic media in South Africa has advanced means of production in the state-controlled, as well as in the private, sector. Although the financing of state-owned broadcasting is increasingly prob-

lematic, in South Africa it is economically far better off due to earnings from advertising, state subsidies and sales of licences, than the state-owned bankrupt broadcasting corporations of its neighbouring country Zimbabwe, or those in the East African countries of Kenya and Uganda. Although there has been political strife and turbulences in the upper echelons of management, the SABC is still competent in the fields of newsgathering and reporting and offers a continuing, differentiated programme structure in the radio and television sectors.

Private competitors in South Africa, especially M-Net with its attractive international movie repertoire, have a strong market position. M-Net has for several years been expanding into the neighbouring countries of Southern and East Africa, successfully marketing its entertainment and information programmes. Wages and thus the social status of radio and television journalists are somewhat higher than in the print media sector. Due to political changes and affirmative action policies, there are still great opportunities for qualified black radio and television journalists in South Africa.

The situation in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda is completely different. State-owned radio and television in these countries are in a thoroughly pitiful state. Studio production systems and mobile production units are mostly outdated and often not in working condition. The stations are completely reliant on the information ministries. Especially in Uganda, memories of the desolate situation of state broadcasting at the beginning of the 1980s have been recalled: scrap-like equipment, cannibalised production technology and daily broadcasting with amateur VHS equipment. The international community has reached the (probably rational) conclusion that it is not sensible to keep these doomed structures alive with international financial aid.

The situation is quite different in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda's emerging private electronic media sector. The less cost-intensive radio sector already shows evidence of diversification in the private field, although most of these new FM stations focus on rock and pop music. Developments in the television sector remain unsatisfactory, if not marginal. In Zimbabwe, the window of media-political opportunities seems to have closed once again. There are private television stations in Kenya

and Uganda, which – with their 'yuppie' appearances – are in sharp contrast to the morbid reality of state television and, though to a lesser degree, state radio. Unfortunately, these private stations are mainly distributors of American, British or South African television productions and series with a small percentage of indigenous information or entertainment production. The investments for a private station are considerable and the profit forecasts for local investors are definitely medium-term (three- to five-years). Such investment needs entrepreneurial courage or good political connections in countries with an insecure legal, and unstable political, framework.

1.1.3 Production, working conditions and programmes
General aspects
Regarding media content there is a fundamental similarity across most African countries. This holds true for the print media as well as for the electronic media. Content is directed at an urban readership and audience. Technical facilities and equipment, such as studios or printing presses, are almost without exception located in urban or regional centres. Consequently, distribution and broadcasting is largely restricted to urban or semi-urban centres. This statement is especially true for newspapers and television. Radio is, to some extent, an exception because it is the radio – especially public radio broadcasting – that reaches beyond the cities into the vast rural areas. Normally only the national FM stations reach (almost) every part of the country and thus every population group.

The journalist in Africa is – even more than his/her colleagues in Europe or America – an urban animal. He/she lives in the city and reports on the city. The dire conditions of his/her poor relatives in remote rural areas are probably not unknown to him/her, but are not the subject of his/her journalistic endeavours. Lack of transport, poor infrastructure and vast distances contribute to this 'black out'. For the marginal and politically correct reporting from the provinces and districts, the district information officers[3] of the state-run news agencies or information ministries of the 1970s and 1980s still partly exist. Radio and TV features and documentaries are left to well equipped production teams from overseas. In consequence, bringing the humble rural realities onto the own

newspaper pages or TV screens appears as an (almost masochistic) imposition on many African journalists.

What is left of the progressive 'media for development' assertions of the early 1980s? Community newspapers and community radio, for example, have been, and still are, alternatives set against the 'ignorance and superficiality' of commercial urban reporting. They want to reflect the social realities and development prospects of the urban and rural poor. But community newspapers, for example in Zimbabwe, are a model to be discontinued, as stated earlier. They never freed themselves from state patronage, are continuously dependent on donor aid and remain politically correct, yesterday's newspapers with limited appeal to young readership.

The community radio movement cannot entirely be judged by now. The character of these stations varies from the radio version of local advertisement papers to progressive grassroots developmental approaches. In Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda, high radio licence fees, political and economic reservations and weak infrastructures hamper the expansion of this form of affordable indigenous local information, communication and entertainment. Of the countries visited, the community radio movement is most advanced in South Africa for reasons such as liberal broadcasting laws, comparatively advanced economic conditions and a strong civil society. About 60 to 70 community radio stations are broadcasting there, and a further 30 to 40 are waiting for licences and/or financial support. Quite a few of these stations will not be able to survive because of management problems, poor economic foundations and programme deficits that may lead to closures. On the other hand, the community radio stations based on modern, affordable radio technology are still a unique and sole opportunity to transmit intelligent and entertaining education programmes and targeted information in different local languages to urban and rural audiences throughout the continent.

Print media
The analysis has to distinguish – as in almost every aspect of this study – between South Africa on the one hand, and Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda on the other. South Africa offers a variety of daily and weekly newspapers for different regional and language target groups.

Regarding paper and print quality, these papers are almost of an international standard. Their content is characterised by a strong regional and urban focus and a clear weakness in international reporting. The majority of these English as well as Afrikaans newspapers show a certain yellow press touch and limited journalistic ambitions. Political correctness again is the disease that has infected even formerly more analytical papers.

Working conditions in the South African daily press are comparatively good for the increasing number of black junior reporters in the newsrooms. On the other hand, this 'juniorisation' of newsrooms places sub-editors under great strain, being forced to correct and change substantial parts of the often unsatisfactory work of juniors. Due to the distinct civil society with its rather European purchasing power structures in the white and increasingly black middle-class, newspaper and magazine retailers stock a vast supply of special interest printed matter, with a high percentage of imports.

In Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda, a number of daily and weekly newspapers are state-owned, for example, through holdings controlled by the respective long-term governments. Unbiased or even government-critical reporting cannot be expected from these media. This direct political influence is often complemented by self-censorship on the part of journalists. Self-censorship is caused by intimidation or fear of dismissal. In the conflict between investigative ambition and loyalty towards black national empowerment in South Africa, the journalistic assessment is often made in favour of the latter.

Working conditions in the print media are obviously more difficult in the countries north of South Africa. Reporting from rural areas here, is noticeably less than in South Africa. Regional and international aspects are rare throughout (exception: the *East African*). International reporting is usually not based on an own network of correspondents, but on (Western) agency reports. The newspapers often seem to be poorly printed on old machines and on cheap newsprint. The newspaper market is obviously stagnating in these countries and distribution into rural areas with a higher number of copies is not possible for economic and logistic reasons and because of the continuing high degree of illiteracy. In South

Africa, however, there is a new market potential for print products due to a growing black middle-class, especially in urban areas.

With the liberalisation that started at the end of the 1980s, the landscape in print media changed dramatically in Southern and East Africa. In addition to the 'politically correct' state-owned or government-controlled few daily and weekly newspapers, an alternative press has emerged. Even today, such opposition newspapers are of substantial political relevance in the formerly one-party settings in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda. These papers offer alternative, though not necessarily unbiased, information and facilitate for the first time a more informed shaping of public opinion. The production conditions for these opposition newspapers have never been easy. The ruling regimes still make the most out of every opportunity for economic or logistic hindrances. Journalists and editors of such newspapers often face massive intimidation and harassments, even today.

An interesting exception in the newspaper sector is the *East African* with editors in Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam. It is a regional newspaper that engages in the fields of politics, economics and culture in the three East African Community (EAC) countries. Unfortunately this laudable regional approach has two decisive downsides: firstly, readership is limited to a small sector of rather intellectual, middle-class people, resulting in a narrow economic base. Secondly, the *East African* does not use its regional weight and credibility for investigative and lively reporting on abortive developments in the EAC countries, but rather pursues an editorial policy of the smallest common denominator of East African political correctness.

Radio and television

In the field of radio and television, the dividing lines run between the state radio and television institutions in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda on the one hand, and the private stations and the state-controlled SABC in South Africa on the other.

The first group suffers from the disease of state-run broadcasting in Africa, namely: management deficiencies, poor motivation and deteriorating production facilities. The peak of this negative scale is represented by Radio and

TV Uganda, with an infrastructure strongly reminiscent of a Hollywood Armageddon B-movie: studios, equipment and vehicles in a desolate state after an alien onslaught. News programming is – as far as is technically possible – usually coverage of government officials, not matter how irrelevant the occasion for their public appearance. Employee motivation differs only marginally from the condition of their equipment. Good journalists have long left for the private sector. The only remaining assets of these state institutions are possibly their monopoly on countrywide radio and television broadcasting transmitters.

The situation of the second group is fundamentally different. The private radio and television stations in Africa usually have modern technology and motivated, well-educated employees at their disposal. On the other hand, the glossy impression of private television stations leaves much to be desired on the programming and distribution side. Limited to metropolitan areas, these private stations often function as mere relay station for CNN, M-Net and American Home Box Office (HBO) movies.[4] Own productions are limited to local news and cheap game shows. Demanding magazine programmes or documentaries exist for the most part because of the strongly expanding South African M-Net group.

In the radio sector most private stations limit their programming to DJ music programmes, news and phone-in programmes. More differentiated and sophisticated programmes are again the domain of South African stations. An example is FM-Classic, which in cooperation with ABC Ulwazi training studios in Johannesburg, allows its trainees to produce more complex radio features. The SABC in South Africa plays a special role as the biggest public radio and television corporation in the region. Production facilities, the number of employees and capacities, especially in the news sector, are of international dimensions. Furthermore, the SABC is one of the few African corporations to produce documentaries and background reports and exports programmes to neighbouring countries. The problem of increasing political influence and intolerance at the SABC has already been mentioned. It remains to be stated that South Africa commands the two dominant media institutions on the continent, with M-Net in the private, and the SABC in the public sector. The

subsequent economic and cultural influence will not remain limited to Southern Africa.

1.1.4 Education and job perspectives

General aspects

The general education of journalists in English-speaking African countries follows the traditional English system of two- to three-year programmes. Diploma courses are offered at technikons and journalism schools. Mass communication faculties and schools of journalism at universities provide BA programmes and more demanding MA programmes. Furthermore, some universities offer additional one-year journalism courses for advanced postgraduate students. The image and status of journalists in Africa has improved during the past ten years, especially in the field of electronic media. The major reason for this is the improved educational background of African media professionals.

All four countries surveyed train more journalists than the state-run or private media can absorb. South Africa is again in a different situation after its political changes in 1994. Due to affirmative action and direct political influence in the industry in order to achieve an equal racial distribution, the South African media accommodates an disproportional amount of black graduates. At the same time the old problem of professional migration of journalists to other sectors prevails. Young black journalists in South Africa with a good education and proven language abilities have above average job opportunities in nearly all corporate and administrative sectors. Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda – which follow with a slower process of privatisation of radio and television as well as smaller economies – cannot offer the same prosperous job opportunities as South Africa. However, serious and qualified sub-editors and editors in the print media and qualified radio and television professionals, still have fair employment opportunities in all Southern African countries as well as in East Africa, since advanced African journalists are still limited in number.

Print media

All basic journalism education is based on the print media. Simply defined, this entails understanding, analysing and writing on a variety of topics using cultural, political, economic and geographical information and insight. Meaningful journalism training requires a good school education, the ability to communicate and an efficient command of language. Computer literacy has become increasingly important since personal computers (PCs) and laptops/notebooks have rapidly replaced pen and paper. E-mail and the Internet serve as the transfer medium as well as the source for information and referencing.

It became obvious that the above-mentioned criteria are not present throughout. On the contrary, basic school education and language qualifications (in all surveyed countries, journalism trainers and editors criticise the decreasing command of the English language on the part of junior reporters) are often insufficient in order to begin a proper journalism education. Technical teaching aids for journalism training are missing or insufficient in quality or in required numbers.

The auditorium of the School of Journalism in Nairobi, for example, once a reputed institution in East Africa, gives a nostalgic and sad impression; the second hand typewriters are hand-me-downs from South Africa and date back to the 1970s. Only South Africa is better equipped and certain institutions, supported by international grants, such as the World Bank Distance Learning Centre in Kampala, have an international standard in their technical infrastructure.

Editors rate the level of education from 'insufficient' to 'just good enough' for an entry level. What is predominantly criticised is a lack of analytical ability and differentiated knowledge in the fields of politics and economics. Furthermore, newspaper editors criticise the lack of good language abilities.

Graduates cannot write even basically acceptable stories; these have to be corrected and rewritten almost entirely – a reality contrasting sharply with the fact that English is the undisputed lingua franca in Southern Africa and East Africa.

Despite constraints on the media sectors, many graduates do, however, find jobs. This is because the initial working agreement is not a contract, but rather a short-term freelance or stringer arrangement. Furthermore, many employees leave after a short time, especially at newspapers, thereby creating space for the short-term employment of new graduates.

Radio and Television

The electronic media require a far more complex technical infrastructure for education and training than the print media. Decent practical training for TV and radio journalists requires a minimum of recording, editing and studio facilities. During the 1980s, apart from South Africa, only the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication and the Zambia Institute of Mass Communication, could offer sufficient infrastructure here, and they used to make their facilities available to other institutions and students from neighbouring countries. The technikons and universities of Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda do not have a sufficient broadcasting training infrastructure. Today, these institutions all seem to have their own financial and infrastructural problems and cannot provide for the increased number of students in the sub-regions.

The assessment shows that none of the visited institutions – apart from a few in South Africa – have a sufficient technical infrastructure for training in broadcasting journalism. This lack of practical training capacities for advanced television and radio reporting reinforces the cultural problems of African journalists. The trainees remain stuck in their urban environment. They are not given sufficient opportunities and means to investigate their country with microphones and cameras. The lack of analytical skills, mobility and equipment, severely hampers advanced training. At the same time it characterises the profession at large.

Advanced and critical African media coverage of pressing African problems, of development obstacles and projects, of successes and failures, remain almost non-existent – a flagrant problem.

The privatisation of television and radio will not solve this problem, though it has to be noted that further education and training in the private media can work differently, as examples in Kampala and Johannesburg show. In TV and radio broadcasting training, a consistent curriculum implemented with the help of expert trainers and supported by modern technical equipment will achieve continuing improvement. This promotes journalists from basic to advanced, specialised production, thereby entering the domain of feature and documentary production.

1.2 TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED MEDIA SUPPORT STRATEGY

1.2.1 KAF's main objectives

In the 1993 assessment of its objective, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF) emphasised the role of the media regarding the introduction and safeguarding of democratic structures, as well as its stimulus for economic and social development in developing countries. At the same time, the Foundation stressed the importance of the media for peaceful international cooperation and the overcoming of global challenges, with specific regard to increasing internationalisation and globalisation, as well as communication and information.

Based on this, the authors of this research paper[5] formulated five main objectives for KAF's media support:

• Promotion of a culture of democracy.
• Support of economic and social development.
• Promotion of cultural identity.
• Dedication to international dialogue and co-operation in the media sector.
• Promotion of research and exchange of experience in the media sector.

Three professional objectives of KAF's media work have been derived from these main objectives. Through education and consultation the Foundation wishes to:

• contribute to a state media policy that guarantees pluralistic structures on the media market, ensures unimpeded journalistic work and also provides citizens with protective rights against the power media
• enable journalists to exercise their responsibilities professionally, to consider the ethical commitment of their job and especially to provide society with qualitatively ambitious products regarding politics and economics
• promote media competence in society in general, as high quality journalism always needs a discriminating and critical audience.

KAF's target groups are journalists as well as publishers, media owners, producers, production groups and politicians. Target groups in the institutional field are journalist associations, educational facilities for journalists in and outside of universities, journalist unions and publisher associations.

Support is offered in the areas of media policy consultation, training and further training, media research, media education, media utilisa-

tion in projects and programmes in other sectors and production aid.

The instruments comprise the promotion of training institutions, the strengthening of associations, the promotion of training, further training and research, the granting of scholarships, the support of individual-focused productions and, last but not least, dialogue between politicians, publishers, media owners and editors.

1.2.2 Needs assessment

The supply of comprehensive, critical and up-to-date information from current political and economic affairs to local reporting is still not guaranteed on the African continent. Generally, a conglomerate of social, political and economic hindrances and deficiencies form the diverse and interlinked reasons for such a lack of information. *De jure* or *de facto* single-party systems with political intolerance, combined with a weak economy and limited buying power are commonly important factors. Additionally, there is the unclear legal situation (media law) in many countries and, finally, the complicated, over-regulated requirements regarding licences and the allocation of frequencies. Furthermore, there are inadequately developed media structures – especially in the area of electronic media – and generally poor organisational structures in terms of media owners and journalists' associations. The democratic control of the media via ombudsmen and media councils is generally not, or only half-heartedly, developed.

The general needs situation in Southern and East Africa is principally characterised through a shift from quantitative aspects to qualitative aspects. The sheer necessity to have young black journalists ready to enter the newsrooms is no longer prominent, though the situation in South Africa is possibly still the exception. Instead, the requirement is marked by increasing qualitative demands that are made at junior levels and similarly on journalists with several years' professional experience.

Correspondingly, fewer quantitative criteria should be given priority in terms of training and further training. Emphasis should rather be placed on qualitative criteria and further qualification.

The basic demands on junior journalists starting out in the profession are universal. The importance that they remain in this line of work and pursue careers within journalism is continuously increasing, as is the need to utilise journalism as a launch pad. Today, journalists are expected to have a thorough knowledge of politics and economics at national, regional and international levels. Additionally, above-average language abilities are required – in Southern and East Africa this means mastering the English language. A more specific prerequisite is the analytical ability to investigate and research a story, which is to be reported or featured. In addition to these skills requirements, a professional work attitude comprises commitment and journalistic ethics. Graduates with true qualifications/abilities on the basis of this profile should have few difficulties finding employment in the print or electronic media sectors.

This profile, which is not peculiar to African needs, does not reflect the specific problems in the region. These include insufficient basic training and the obvious problem of English being the journalistic lingua franca, as editors in Nairobi, Kampala, Harare and Johannesburg report. However, the aggravated shortfall in the journalistic profession in the region lies in the lack of specialised journalism. The alarming lack of specialised, in-depth reporting capacities in Africa – which was already recognised in the 1980s and exists particularly in the areas of international economics and politics, but also in science and technology – still apply.

The above-mentioned specific difficulties have diverse and complex causes. The politicisation in times of decolonisation and liberation is, and was, part of this ('liberation before education'). Another reason is the mostly inadequate and continuously deteriorating levels of teacher training in many African countries and the consequences for school education. Another consideration is the anti-intellectual and intolerant disposition that has been forged by single-party interests and its subsequent disapproval of diversity and dissent.

The cultural and social situation of many African journalists is also relevant. They are usually not well paid, lack transport and research facilities and their reach is limited to urban areas. Additionally, there is often a cultural fixation about the former colonial power, which limits the professional view even further. The journalist sees himself/herself, his/her

country and its problems caught between the African realities on the one hand, and the ex-colonial responsibility regarding politics and the economy on the other. A limiting polarity of 'us here' and 'them in the north' is the consequence. Sub- and interregional exchange does not take place, or at least only to a very restricted and inadequate extent. Neighbouring countries are often viewed as having, and being, impeded by the same problems and are therefore not considered as sources and opportunities for professional exchange or mutual learning. Even worse, the situation in South Africa is dominated by black South African conceit regarding their African neighbours to the north. This is often linked to extensive ignorance regarding the political and economic framework conditions in these countries.

Thus far, further training and exchange programmes existed mainly between industrial and developing nations. Over the past two decades, organisations such as the Deutsche Welle Training Centre, the Commonwealth Press Union, the BBC and Voice of America – to name a few – carried out countless training and further training programmes both at home and in African countries. These programmes have undoubtedly contributed to the qualification of journalists. However, they have generally failed to establish continuing exchange between African journalists and media establishments, although their participants came from different African countries and (sub-)regions. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the EAC could surely offer various frameworks for such an exchange between (further) training institutions and practising journalists. Nonetheless, comparatively little is happening at this sub-regional level. A substantial exchange between journalists from different African countries – in the print media as well as in the radio and television sectors – could contribute considerably towards a constructive African Renaissance. Concrete and deepened knowledge about neighbouring countries, the exchange of resources and the reflection of own professional practice on the basis of the different conditions and procedures in neighbouring countries, could promote and strengthen inter-African media cooperation.[6]

New impulses are currently coming from the industrialised countries again. An exchange programme for university journalism depart-

ments in Southern and East Africa was started by a Scandinavian project initiative. Interregional exchange on the Southern track – admittedly costly, difficult to organise and in terms of the professional language used, only reasonable between certain regions – would be a further instrument for increased professional exchange, avoiding the South-North fixation.

A definite prerequisite for such professional exchange is professional experience. It does not make much sense to nominate recent graduates for programmes such as these. At this point it is necessary to distinguish clearly between academic exchange – which is not relevant in this context – and the focused promotion of journalistic professionalism and international experience and practise.

The most important requirement according to the needs assessment is specialisation in particular sectors, for example, in the areas of economics, finance and international politics. There is an ongoing need for serious, practice-orientated training opportunities for advanced journalists in the print and electronic media. This area of journalistic specialisation features prominently in the strategic considerations under 1.2.4.

1.2.3 Implications of the new media and new technologies

The traditional definition of journalism has changed in the print media and even more so in radio and television due to the digitalisation of media technology. This development has not even spared Africa, with its difficult infrastructural conditions. The old specialisation that arrived with hot-metal composition and conventional film techniques, has gradually subsided in the face of the new common denominator – the digitalisation of pictures and sounds. The composition of words, sounds and images now takes place using only one major tool – the PC. The common medium of presentation will again increasingly be the PC and the Internet, although this may seem far-fetched considering African economic and infrastructural realities. Nevertheless, in the future, the PC and the Internet will be used to access texts, images and sounds for the purposes of entertainment, information and education.

This development changes the shape of professions in journalism forever. The journalist who is active in the print media uses the PC and

the Internet as sources of information and research, as working and storage tools and as an output medium. Regarding the electronic media, the change is even more drastic. Traditional jobs in the production technology of radio and television and the editorial departments are vanishing. So-called one-man reporting teams and the elimination of the usual strict separation between radio and television work in broadcasting corporations has led to a de-specialisation and generalisation in the area of electronic production. At the same time, there is an increasing demand for journalistic abilities and experience. Researching, producing and presenting for various media in a meaningful way requires advanced analytical competence on the one hand, and highly developed media competence on the other. If a journalist or editor does not sufficiently understand the differences between radio and television reportage, between radio and television features, magazine programmes and documentaries, he/she will have to take refuge with the smallest common denominator of modern junk journalism: 'talking heads' everywhere.

An interesting alternative aspect catalysed by digitalisation is again the community radio. The expensive radio studios and broadcasting technology of the past had been reduced and miniaturised considerably. A modern PC and appropriate software combined with new transmission technology make quality FM radio stations even for larger communities possible without a large capital investment. As a result of the high rate of illiteracy, low income and poor distribution of television signals and copies of daily newspapers, the radio remains the most important medium in most African countries. Its resurrection as a result of modern technology and economy of transmission allows for the taking up of one of the greatest African traditions, the verbal memory and the art of narration.

1.2.4 Elements of the integrated media support strategy

The vertical shift: quality instead of quantity
The wide demand and the diverse reasons for the insufficiently developed media sector in large parts of Africa should not tempt KAF to want to work continuously at a broad level. Training measures and scholarship programmes of different international donors, not least the German political foundations, have so far made

substantial progress in the areas of formal and informal media education regarding both quantity and quality of work.

On the basis of these achievements, the Foundation's media support strategy must increase the quality and degree of regional professional networking. KAF is in the favourable position of being able to focus its efforts regarding subjects and personnel in individual countries on the basis of its previous experiences, contacts and networks.
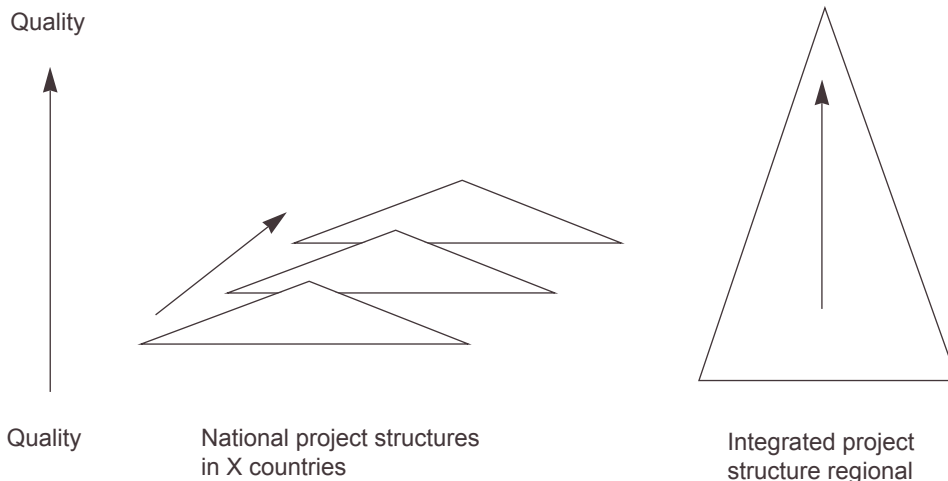
In terms of the objectives of a political foundation, the necessary refocus is on the immediate interface between media and politics, as well as on the area of advanced professional qualification, namely specialised and in-depth reporting. The point at which the media and politics meet is the area of original interest of a political foundation. An appropriate legal and political framework has to be created for a functioning and manifold media. The open dialogue between politicians and media professionals can help to provide and secure these conditions.

The vertical shift describes the two different dimensions of the integrated strategy, namely: the priority of quality (seniority, specialisation, political and professional integrity) over quantity (number of graduates or participants); and the precedence of regional networking over the number of national projects.

Such a vertical approach no longer focuses merely on the number of seminars held or the number of participants or scholarships awarded at the end of the year, but rather informs on the quality, direction and sustainability of measures of dialogue, education and consultation. Located at the top of such a triangle are no longer merely national participants of such events, but rather sub-regional and international participants.

Training measures and scholarship programmes
With its previous training measures and scholarship programmes, KAF offered predominantly basic media education and training. Additionally, training ventures targeted the interface between journalism and politics. In view of changes in the political and professional arenas as well as a certain saturation of the media labour market with graduates from colleges or universities, the Foundation has chosen

Quality

Quality   National project structures
in X countries

Integrated project
structure regional

an appropriate time to revise its programme.

Regarding journalism scholarships, KAF has already gone a step further. With the help of the Media Development Associations (MDA) or the Media Development Foundation (MDF), which comprise young journalists – former KAF scholarship holders – KAF tries to link alumni programmes with an active contribution to the democratic development of the media landscape in the individual countries.

The proposed vertical shift in the field of scholarship programmes and education measures consists of a reduction in number and scope in favour of specialisation and networking. With the MDAs, the Foundation uses an interesting model that has been developed to a certain level of performance and productivity. In order to enhance the professionalism and profile of the MDAs, it is necessary to increasingly move from quantity to quality. It is not the number of journalism scholarships that is relevant, but the quality of the candidates and their successful integration into a functional association. Such an association could facilitate high-level events and international contacts and, with minimum equipment and infrastructure, it could have a revolutionary function in the area of journalistic self-organisation and dialogue between media and politics. Suitable programme elements could be high-profile national and regional MDA events dealing with media politics and media law, a stronger engagement regarding exemplary media productions and the linking of national MDA

activities with the help of a modern, IT-based communication forum.

The supply of new recruits for the MDAs does not depend on quantity, but rather on the quality of the scholarship holders. Similarly, activities and programmes of the MDAs should have a forward-thinking and pilot character in order to stimulate and motivate the media in the individual countries using exemplary products – also of regional production teams.

This vertical shift will result in priority being given to high-quality further education measures and specialisation over basic education and training. Apart from questions of regional cooperation, international politics, economics, science and research are the most important themes for such specialisation. Within the context of new regional activities, KAF could offer such specialised training events. At the same time, senior training in Europe could be offered for a select section of an advanced target group.

National, regional and international dialogue
KAF's political dialogue in the media sector should focus on media politics – e.g. self-regulation of the media and questions of deregulation and the complementary development of public and private broadcasting structures. Here, it is again important to identify suitable participants from national events for higher and highest-ranking regional and international measures to enhance dialogue according to the principle of verticality. The vertical shift of such measures would aim at regional cooperation in

the areas of media politics, media law and deregulation. This orientation aims at intensified liberalisation and regional cooperation in the field of print media and radio and television. Regarding international dialogue, the traditional element of North-South dialogue should not be a priority, but rather interregional professional South-South dialogue events, which have thus far not been sufficiently employed.

*Media and communication advise
and research*

Concerning media and communication advisory programmes, three major themes have been identified:

- The continued deregulation of the media sector, especially of radio and television.
- The democratic self-regulation of the media under liberal media legislation.
- The future role of public broadcasting and its development impact.

Complementary special programmes targeting the press and media personnel of governments can be introduced as sensible, complementary measures designed to build trust. Regarding research, the interface between media, politics and democracy is of special interest. Contributions and studies worthy of support should deal with the:

- role of the media in the election process
- institutional processes in democracy
- work of parliaments and of political parties.

There is an additional shortfall of research regarding recipients. The African media houses seem to know little about their readers and radio and television audiences. Political, economic and professional decisions regarding the media require this knowledge in order to be able to prepare for adequate solutions. An important political aspect regarding such empirical surveys is the area of media and democracy.

A first, basic opinion polling – carried out on behalf of the Helen Suzman Foundation by a South African market research institute in Zimbabwe in 1997 – suggested a growing receptivity to pluralism and political alternatives. In the face of current tendencies towards intolerance and constraint, it seems important to promote more substantial research results regarding questions of political and social plurality.[7]

Interlinking advanced training

As a result of the lack of resources of most training and research institutions in the media sector on the continent as well as the very limited technical infrastructure, networking and cooperation between compatible training institutions seems sensible. A first step towards such cooperation and networking could be a data bank for reference literature. Furthermore desirable is the exchange of training personnel and students, as well as practical cooperation in the areas of costly and rare technical installations and training studios in the form of regional training studio facilities.

But even without regional centres requiring extensive infrastructure, networking and subregional cooperation is possible. The cooperation of journalism schools in Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa, initiated by Scandinavian donors and coordinated by Rhodes University in Grahamstown, is an encouraging attempt here. Furthermore, the development of needs-orientated advanced training modules in the area of journalistic specialisation is desirable. Such modules exist in economic and financial journalism and could be adapted in a sensible way. KAF could carry out such modular advanced training in cooperation with carefully selected training institutions in East Africa and Southern Africa. Combining such a concept with the MDAs could also be considered. The advantage for KAF would be that a subregional network, for example, in the area of economic journalism or in any other professional sector, would gradually emerge. KAF could monitor quality and adequate teaching methods through its sponsorships.

What are the possibilities for vertical networking now? How is it possible for KAF to shift its contribution into the top of the triangle – the level of higher quality? The possibility for a vertical impact apparently does not lie so much in interlinking basic resources, for example, the supply of basic literature and reference texts via a commonly used data bank. The supranational vertical opportunity lies in regional modular, interlinked further training programmes regarding selected specialised topics.

Based on its experience in various countries with scholarship programmes and training measures in the past, KAF could select specially suited candidates and offer them advanced fur-

ther training modules. By means of its sponsorships, KAF would have important monitoring and control capacities. It would decide on the selection of locations and participate in the selection of lecturers and content of these special programmes as well as select at least part of the participants. Successful graduates of such specialised further training could possibly participate at the highest level of this integrated programme approach, namely the events regarding North-South and South-South dialogue and exchange.

Specialised colloquiums and competitions
Further possibilities for the vertical shift are specialised colloquiums and linked competitions. Such specialised colloquiums regarding questions of media and politics (for example 'Press work of organs of state, governments and parties') in specialised journalism sectors such as economic and science journalism, could be carried out at national or regional level. Events such as these can serve the preparation and monitoring of the modular specialised training supported by the Foundation.

There is also the possibility to promote and prepare regional journalistic competitions within these specialised journalism sectors. Successful specialised colloquiums require substantial preparation regarding content, the selection of suitable participants and a strictly result-orientated execution by organisers and participants. KAF's established office structure in East Africa and Southern Africa, as well as its ongoing cooperation with MDAs, means it already has a suitable framework for the preparation of meaningful colloquiums at its disposal.

Real and virtual journalists' and editors' fora
The highest-ranking events and measures – figuratively the top of the quality triangle – must be directed towards chief editors and managers in the media sector. The creation of a forum for chief editors comprising independent media – i.e. predominantly not state owned or under state control – is conceivable. An Africa independent editors' forum (AIEF), that apparently does not exist in the form suggested here, would for practical reasons concentrate on the English-speaking media that exist mainly in East and Southern Africa. What would the tasks of such a forum be regarding framework condition and needs assessment? Three main sectors

arise that could have constitutive character for the work groups of an AIEF:

WG1: Media, politics and media law
WG 2: Media management
WG 3: Specialised training and the new media
WG 4: Regional competitions

A fourth activity of such an editors' forum could be an exclusive annual journalism prize for English-speaking African journalists. It will be imperative to find suitable cooperation partners and prominent participants and supporters for such a forum in order to ensure that well-prepared annual meetings are held as well as effective special area meetings. It is possible to give the three, or rather four, main tasks an Internet-supported study group. By doing so, travel costs and other expenses could be lowered considerably and the practical use for the media institutions and publishing houses involved could be raised.

The above-mentioned virtual work groups could be connected to suitable institutions: universities and journalism schools in the field of media training; management training institutions in the field of management; and professional associations and legal professionals in the field of media legislation and policies.

The feasibility and capacity of such a forum will in the end largely depend on the calibre of the African media professionals involved. A sec-

The vertical structure of the integrated strategy:

Africa Independent Editors' Forum – regional and international

Specialised training and professional dialogue – sub-regional and national

Scholarships, alumni, MDAs, MDFs, individual programmes – national

retaries' office for the forum associated, for example, with a reputable newspaper or media institute in the region based on a rotating scheme, is indispensable. Such a highly regarded forum of independent journalists in Africa would also provide key resources for North-South dialogue as well as for South-South exchange.

1.2.5 Participative elements within an integrated strategy
Accolades and models of partner participation
An integrated strategy with vertical orientation should consider quality-related accolades. Examples of this could be journalism competitions in the different categories of print media, radio and television with regard to the topical areas mentioned, for example, media and politics and specialised journalism. Regarding the preparation, execution and evaluation of such competitions, the higher levels within the quality triangle should participate actively. In this way, an editors' forum could guide journalism competitions as well as serve as jury. Additionally, selected journalists can perform tutor-like tasks within a committee with regard to scholarship holders or young journalists. What is crucial, however, is not merely having a large number of possible competitions, but rather maintaining their quality and reputation in professional circles. A good idea would be to have an invitation in East Africa, one in Southern Africa and a two-year invitation for the entire English-speaking region. On the one hand, seriousness and reliability of the jurors are crucial, while on the other, an attractive prize that enables the winner to rise within the quality triangle himself/herself is also important. A feasible option would be cash or other such prizes combined with attractive exchange and incoming programmes at a regional and international level.

Selection of part-projects and exemplary productions
Active participation of advanced partners and partner structures (e.g. MDAs, AIEF) in the selection and management of junior part-projects should be encouraged. What is suggested here is not aiming at scholarship-granting structures, but at the possibility to select and temporarily assign support to programmes via dependable partner structures in media houses and media institutions. Of course, these part-

projects must serve the main goals of the media support programme, that is, programmes in the areas of media and politics or specialised journalism. Temporary research projects at media institutions or research facilities could be connected here. In addition, suggested pilot projects in the specialised sectors could be encouraged and supported nationally and regionally.

New media and participation
A media support forum would be conceivable for this integrated media project in the form of an Internet forum, in which the different vertical quality sectors in the quality triangle are equipped with different levels of access. The lowest level, for example information for scholarship holders and young journalists, could be an open forum for scholarship holders, MDA members and interested journalists. Background information, suggestions and exchange among young journalists, notes regarding further training and support measures, would mark this level.

A second level with restricted access would provide information for specialised journalists and advanced students in this area – for example, with regard to economic journalism and international politics. With the help of KAF, current relevant reference texts, international contributions and a professional information platform for the participants could be made available. The top of the triangle would be reserved for the proposed AIEF in order to support communication between English-speaking chief editors and media owners in the four suggested working areas on the continent.

1.2.6 Monitoring and evaluation of the integrated strategy
An integrated media project according to the vertical principles outlined is no longer concerned with the optimal project management of individual projects and partners in selected countries. Rather, the project management is concerned with a continuous dynamic development within the entire project region (English-speaking, sub-Saharan Africa) orientated towards quality and seniority. Such a movement from basic support (scholarships, individual measures, series of events in individual countries, etc.) to a partner structure that consists of advanced specialised journalists, editors and chief editors, requires steering which

stands above issues of particular interests of individual projects, individual project countries and individual project managers.

The central task of regional control would be the guarantee of the vertical shift in all project countries of the region, as well as the interlinking of resources at a higher level to the above-mentioned regional and international activities. The project manager's office would ideally be situated in the metropolis of a key country in the region.

At the same time it is crucial that the editorial guidance of important parts of the project, for example the proposed Internet forum, takes place at such a location in the region. Last but not least, reasonable telecommunication and air traffic connections and the infrastructural potential for high-level events with international participation should exist.

The AIEF would ideally grow into an advisory function for this integrated regional media project, thereby closing the quality circle for the further advancement of the media on the African continent.

ENDNOTES

1) An excerpt, revised and translated from *Integrierte Medienstrategie Subsahara-Afrika*, Rolf Freier and Frank Priess, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Sankt Augustin, November 2000.

2) This problem is far more complex and reaches far deeper than the courageous and terse statement by a young black SABC journalist: 'We simply have to move from struggle journalism to professional journalism.' Whoever doubts this is asked to consult the disturbing media and telecommunication chapter in *African Renaissance*, William Makgoba, Thabo Mbeki (Editors), Cape Town (1999), pp. 359–416 where an alarming ideological rehash of accusations and self-excuses is seen to be back with a vengeance.

3) Kenya's state news agency, which is subject to reforms, has more than 100 such 'local correspondents' and is desperately searching for alternative employment opportunities.

4) Exceptions such as Kenya's Citizen-FM, which forced its way even into rural areas by legal action against frequency censorship and dares to transmit critical reports on Kenyan politics and politicians, has faced 'government terror' against its personnel and infrastructure, similar to Zimbabwe's *Daily News*.

5) Baumhauer, Priess, Kaufmann: *Medien und Demokratie*, KAF (1993), p.1.5

6) Zambia and Kenya have decided in favour of cooperation in the media sector. The partially state-controlled radio and television organisations are now drawing up a cooperation and programme exchange agreement.

7) The feasibility of developing the *Mediafocus* in Nairobi into an East African analytical and professional media publication could be considered in order to provide a suitable platform for research and debate.

2. The KAF Media Questionnaire

2.1 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF) Media Questionnaire, East Africa and Southern Africa – 12/2000

Target group: Senior journalists and editors, media lecturers and trainers, and KAF ex-scholars.

Background: International cooperation in the field of media training and education has come a long way from the 1970s and early 1980s, with its emphasis on the craft and on media and development, through the late 1980s and 1990s with the focus on media and democratisation. Today the digital revolution offers its own (pseudo-?)democratisation in terms of availability and compatibility of the media. A midrange FM radio station can be run from a computer in an office, and universal satellite transmissions and cable networks increasingly transgress geographical, political and cultural borders, beaming images and sounds almost everywhere. The modern journalist – a jack of all papers, pictures and airwaves – is largely free of the old affiliation to a specific medium. However, he/she still has to master the ever-increasing complexity of his/her topics.

After two decades of media support and training in the region (e.g. diploma scholarships and basic seminars), KAF intends to shift its focus to specialised training (e.g. economic and science journalism, international politics and media law) for advanced journalists, aiming at specialisation and professional excellence. To achieve this, regional networking for advanced journalists providing specialised media training and exchange in Southern and East Africa, as well as international exchange with a substantial South-South dimension, has been suggested. A dedicated Internet forum edited by seconded journalists could comple-

ment specialised training ventures and support the regional network. As a support component for the top, senior level, an African independent editors' forum for chief and managing editors of the independent (not government-owned) media is discussed in order to promote a platform for leading independent African media professionals. KAF will consider international strategic partnerships with regard to these aims and objectives.

Procedure: Please fill in and return the questionnaire by latest 31 January 2001 by e-mail to freier@scm.de or fax to +49 (642)1 350 672, or return it to your local KAF office.

Confidentiality: The use of the data provided will be strictly confined to KAF in-house purposes helping to identify useful future programme structures and components.

Thank you again for your cooperation.

A. Personal section
Name:

Contact/address:

Profession/employer:

Education:

KAF ex-scholar: yes/no

Your last KAF contact or the KAF venture you participated in (if any):

B. Professional section
Please do not answer with a simple 'yes' or 'no' – we would be grateful for your brief reasoning!

1. Do you think that the proposed 'vertical shift' from basic media education to specialised and advanced training is appropriate and timely in East and Southern Africa/West Africa ?

2. Are the suggested areas of specialisation (e.g. economic journalism, science journalism, international politics) relevant from your professional perspective?

3. Do you consider complementary events dealing with a. media law and ethics and b. the new media, topical and useful?

4. Do you see opportunities to expand media freedom and political freedom in your region through training events dealing with the multifaceted relationship between the media and politics, inviting media professionals, parliamentarians and politicians?

5. Are you aware of any functional regional network providing specialised training, exchange and support for English-speaking African journalists?

6. Do you consider a regional approach (bringing journalists from East Africa and Southern Africa together for specialised training and exchange) appropriate and useful?

7. Would you consider a complementary dedicated Internet forum (e.g. for economic journalism) providing specific information, professional discourse, internationally successful copy and an annual regional competition, a potential source for further qualification and a backbone of functional regional networking?

8. Do you regard South-South exchange (Africa–Latin America, Africa–Asia) between media professionals an interesting and promising professional prospect?

9. Would you consider a distinguished network of independent (not working for state-owned media) African chief and managing editors dealing with media politics, management and working conditions in the media, a politically and professionally useful tool in order to advance the independent media and its democratic functions?

10. Which alternatives to those proposals suggested here do you see to give African journalists enhanced professional and political impact?

11. Do you see political freedom and democratic alternatives further developing in Africa?

12. How do you judge the contribution of journalists and the media herein?

13. Do you see media professionalism advancing in Africa?

14. Do you see media freedom and access to information advancing in Africa?

15. Do you use the Internet frequently and if yes, what for in professional regard?

16. What is your immediate association of ideas regarding the term 'African Renaissance'?

17. What is the topic of the professional training venture or seminar you would definitely participate in even, if you were under tight time constraints?

2.2 EVALUATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Filling in this questionnaire feels 'as if one is writing a dissertation. May I congratulate, in advance, the managers on their patience in wading through the mass of suggestions/comments and being able to make sense of them'. Participant from Nigeria under 'Additional comments and suggestions'.

The questionnaire as shown above under 2.1 was e-mailed, faxed and personally handed over to a select number of media professionals, academics, media trainers and publishers in Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa between December 2000 and February 2001. Out of an estimated 160 questionnaires, 92 have been returned.

A fair number have been arriving from Uganda, Kenya, South Africa and Ghana. Only a few returns have been received from Zimbabwe. This is understandable considering that country's current political turmoil and the violent attacks on the press. Journalists there surely have more important things to do than to fill in questionnaires. Less understandable is the poor response from Namibia. Nigeria, with a substantial number of returns, appears to be somewhat over-represented in the evaluation. This does no harm, however, since the Nigerian answers do not form any own trend in the questionnaire, but rather confirm the general opinions expressed in East Africa, Southern Africa and in Ghana. The exact composition of returns is: Uganda – 12, Kenya – 14, Zimbabwe – 4, South Africa – 14, Namibia – 2, Nigeria – 28 and Ghana – 18.

The majority of those who participated in the

questionnaire are junior to senior journalists between the ages of 25 and 45, male and not ex-KAF scholars. The second largest group are media trainers and academics, followed by editors and publishers.

A slight general majority of respondents know of KAF through its training and/or scholarships programmes.

Based on this feedback, it is clear that respondents generally approve of the proposed vertical shift. They clearly support the move to advanced, specialised training and the regional networking approach. The fact that basic media education is still needed does not necessary cast doubt on the integrated strategy, since KAF's programmes have never focused strongly on basic media training in quantitative terms. KAF has neither the capacity nor the intention to compete with national local institutions or specialised international ones on these grounds.

Sound specialised training (economic journalism and international/African politics) combined with regional networking and exchange programmes form the approved key elements of the new KAF strategy. Accompanying Internet fora might still face the (though decreasing) problem of access. Joint ventures with politicians and parliamentarians was largely approved but need to be well prepared and carefully moderated, according to the feedback.

The study does not claim to be representative, nor does the questionnaire. The evaluation does not differentiate sub-regionally. Sub-regional differences remain largely insignificant with the exception of South Africa, where somewhat increased political scepticism prevails.

Where the diagrams show less than 92 overall answers, some participants have not answered all questions.

Question 1

Do you think that the proposed 'vertical shift' from basic media education to specialised and advanced training is appropriate and timely in East and Southern Africa/West Africa ?
An absolute majority approved of the relevance and topicality of the vertical shift towards specialised training. 'Yes, but ...' answers stated, in addition, the continuing need for basic training – which need not necessarily be KAF's task – in many countries.

Reasons given for the necessary shift stress
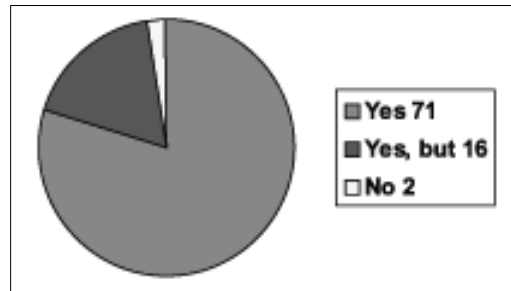
the need for enhanced analytical capacity and specialisation in the top segment of the profession and increased international professional competition.

Question 2

Are the suggested areas of specialisation (e.g. economic journalism, science journalism, international politics) relevant from your professional perspective?
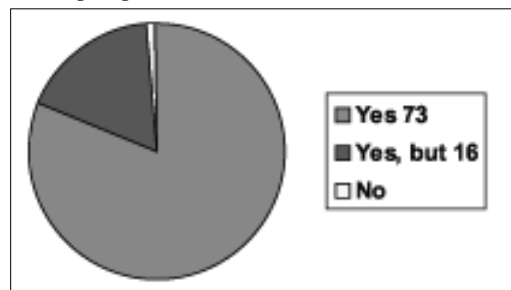
Question 2 received again an animated 'yes' (absolute majority) but the indicated areas of specialisation were re-evaluated and amended. Economic journalism remained an undisputed favourite, while science reporting was questioned – at least to some degree – and a development technology focus was suggested. Interestingly, international politics was understood to some extent as non-African politics and therefore questioned. It seems as long as international politics includes reporting on African politics by African journalists – which, of course, was the intended meaning – a clear majority supports it as an important field of specialisation.

(As diverse and disparate as African countries may be, the term 'international politics' seems to bring a slight notion of 'us and them' [e.g. Europe and Africa, or America and Africa] on to the scene. To what category belongs a Sudan report in a South African newspaper, if not to international politics?)

A variety of important further areas of spe-

cialisation were indicated, the most frequent being health, environment and gender, with investigative reporting being seen as a general advanced skill.

Question 3

Do you consider complementary events dealing with a. media law and ethics and b. the new media, topical and useful?

Yes 61
Yes, but 6
No 0
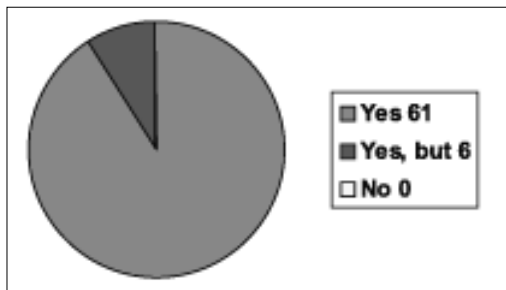
Media law and ethics were both widely accepted as important topics for further training and, to a lesser degree, the new media. Reservations here did not arise from a lack in relevance but from concerns regarding infrastructural shortfalls. Question 3 got no rejections.

Question 4

Do you see opportunities to expand media freedom and political freedom in your region through training events dealing with the multifaceted relationship between the media and politics, inviting media professionals, parliamentarians and politicians?

Yes 69
Yes, but 12
No 4
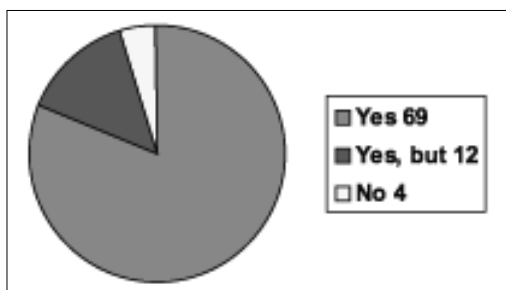
The suggested joint ventures with politicians and parliamentarians were widely accepted, with the expectation to enhance mutual understanding, thereby expanding media freedom and political freedom. A few sceptics, however, referred to the prevailing antagonistic relationship between the media and politics, and its fallout.

Question 5

Are you aware of any functional regional net-

work providing specialised training, exchange and support for English-speaking African journalists?

Roughly half the respondents could not identify any network organisation in their respective sub-regions. The supposed networks or networking efforts mentioned were (in order of frequency):

- *East Africa:* EAMI, World Bank Institute, PANOS (with reference to West Africa), Rhodes University, African Virtual University.
- *Southern Africa:* IAJ, NSJ, MISA, ZAMCOM, Steve Biko Foundation.
- *West Africa:* WAJA, FES, USAID/USIS, Reuters Foundation, CJA, KAS, FNS, IFJ, Thomson Foundation, Goethe Inst, ACCE, ACA, NIMCA, Johns Hopkins University.

Question 6

Do you consider a regional approach (bringing journalists from East Africa and Southern Africa together for specialised training and exchange) appropriate and useful?


Yes 83
Yes, but 9
No 0
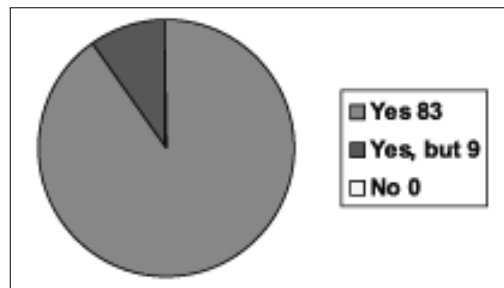
The absolute majority answered with an unreserved 'yes', hoping for a sharing of ideas, experiences, professional insights and concerns among African journalists. At the same time, resource sharing in terms of lecturers and infrastructure appears to be a prospect. Few reservations were articulated regarding costs, nontargeted talk shops and the unsatisfactory professional standards in neighbouring regions.

Question 7

Would you consider a complementary dedicated Internet forum (e.g. for economic journalism) providing specific information, professional discourse, internationally successful copy and an annual regional competition, a potential source for further qualification and a backbone of functional regional networking?

Feedback on the Internet forum concept varies
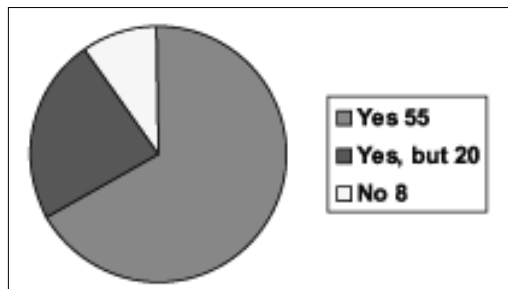
from unreserved support (majority) to a limited number of reservations regarding access problems and suggestions to expand this forum to other professional topics as under questions 2. Those who rejected the proposal did so mainly because of problems of access or of 'Internet literacy'. Some comments stressed the need for complementary activities on the ground, perhaps based on a 'roving instructor'.

Question 8
Do you regard South-South exchange (Africa–Latin America, Africa–Asia) between media professionals an interesting and promising professional prospect?
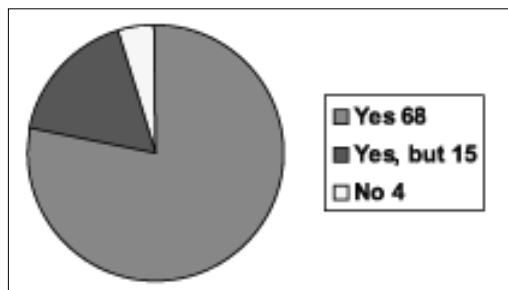

A clear majority supports the idea of professional South-South dialogue and exchange as a complementary measure to regional networking. Few reservations were made with regard to possible language problems. More serious objections stressed the need for functional African networking first. Interestingly, several participants emphasised that a South-South approach should not be misread as a 'ganging-up' against the North.

Question 9
Would you consider a distinguished network of independent (not working for state-owned media) African chief and managing editors dealing with media politics, management and working conditions in the media, a politically and professionally useful tool in order to

advance the independent media and its democratic functions?
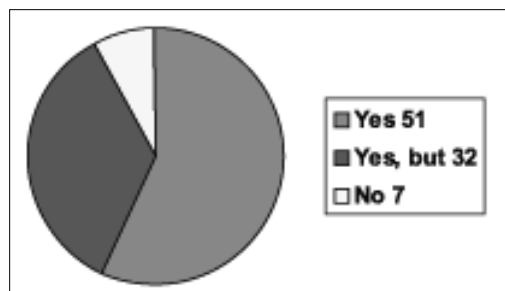
A tricky one, this question led to the intended correction by the participants: private media are not necessarily independent! Media owner influence seems to be as problematic as government influence.

While the majority considered such a forum to be useful, many respondents stressed the need for the inclusion of government media representatives. The reservations brought forward highlighted time constraints, the need for well thought-out agenda setting and the possibly counterproductive prima-donna attitude of this senior target group.

Question 10
Which alternatives to those proposals suggested here do you see to give African journalists enhanced professional and political impact?
The alternatives or complementary measures mentioned were:
- Technical support, IT equipment
- Computer training for journalists
- Strengthen existing training institutions (which would actually be done by involving them in the planning and implementation of specialised training)
- Senior roving tutor scheme as a part of in-house training
- Strengthen and involve journalist associations
- Journalists should have some other professional education before embarking on a career in journalism
- African journalists should have some type of European Union or United States exposure – North-South exchange
- Further training should take place outside Africa to be secure
- Increased remuneration and social welfare for journalists
- International advocacy for African media and journalists

- Network of independent media owners
- More private investment in the African media sector
- Deregulation of the African media sector
- More advanced academic education for journalists
- Language training for journalists
- Include other media professionals in training, e.g. advertising, public relations
- Study grants to study the media in Africa needed
- Target lower ranks in the profession to increase their professional self-definition
- Programmes to keep good journalists in the profession
- Journalism awards
- Part-time and in-house training
- Friendship fora for journalists
- Sabbaticals for journalists
- Practical exchange between national media houses.

Many of these suggestions are actually rather close to the proposals of the integrated strategy.

Question 11

Do you see political freedom and democratic alternatives further developing in Africa?


Yes 65
Yes, but 21
No 5
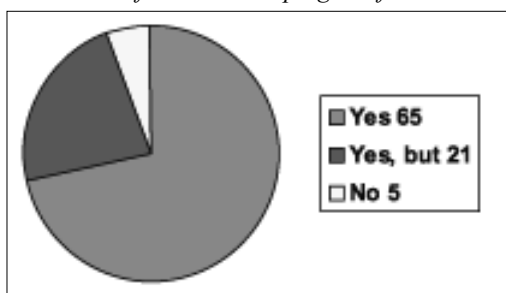
The first in a series of four 'political' questions received a 'yes' majority but with clear reservations. Democratisation is considered to be highly fragile and endangered and setbacks have already occurred.

The long-term assessment seems, however, to be optimistic. The media's role and the role of international support is already emphasised here.

Question 12

How do you judge the contribution of journalists and the media herein?
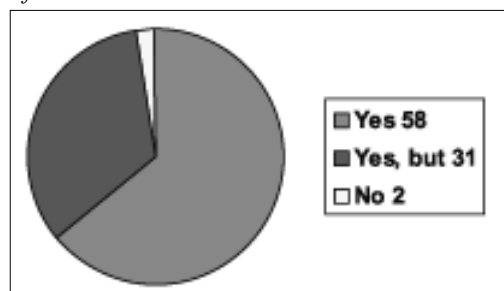The role of the media in the democratisation process is assessed as being vital, even crucial.

Yes 70
Yes, but 15
No 4
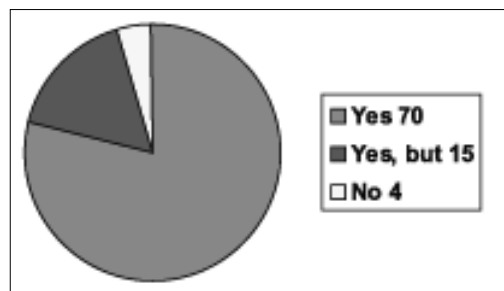
The few reservations point to an overrated role of the media and/or room for improvement.

Question 13

Do you see media professionalism advancing in Africa?

Yes 58
Yes, but 31
No 2

Though answered in the affirmative by the majority, substantial concern was expressed regarding the pace, the still unanswered training needs and the political pitfalls on the continent.
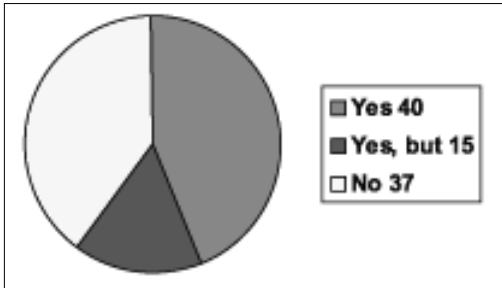
Question 14

Do you see media freedom and access to information advancing in Africa?

Yes 65
Yes, but 25
No 8
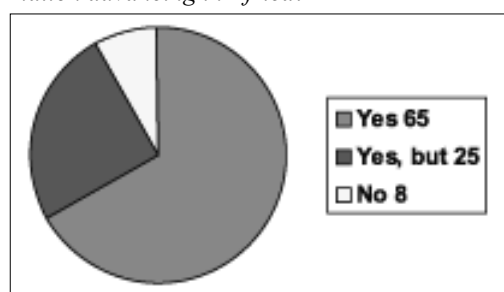
Whereas media freedom seems to be seen as advancing – regardless of the constraints and setbacks experienced in African countries – the improvement of access to information (often referred to as access to new media) is assessed less optimistically. This appears somewhat contradictory because the main reason given for the advancement in media freedom is the border-crossing character of the very new media.

Question 15

Do you use the Internet frequently and if yes, what for in professional regard?

Yes 40
Yes, but 15
No 37

This is the only question to receive a relatively equal amount of 'yes' (regularly) and 'yes, but ...' and 'no' answers, due to the still limited Internet access in many African countries. Besides access limitations there is obviously a second interlinked obstacle, namely, a certain degree of computer and Internet illiteracy. Those who have no, or very limited, access and are therefore not frequent users, and may feel unacquainted with this new technology.

Question 16

What is your immediate association of ideas regarding the term 'African Renaissance'/the Ecowas economic and political integration programme (West Africa)?

This question regarding the notion of an African Renaissance was mistakenly altered in West Africa to a question regarding the regional Ecowas cooperation. Nevertheless, the answers to both topics show that a substantial proportion of the participating media professionals clearly distinguish between political purpose or intentions, and the prevailing economic and political conditions. While the aspirations of both terms are shared widely, political soberness prevails in the current assessments of economic integration in West Africa and the self-healing claim of the African Renaissance.

Question 17

What is the topic of the professional training venture or seminar you would definitely participate in, even if you were under tight time constraints?

The most frequently mentioned here confirmed the topics suggested under questions 2 and 3. New media skills and new media debate topics rated third in terms of frequency. The listing

below follows no specific order. Clear repetitions were omitted and similar suggestions have been listed:
• Investigative reporting
• Transparency
• Health
• New media
• Gender
• Media and democratisation
• Internet use and IT for media professionals
• Media policy
• Economic journalism, advocacy and negotiation skills
• Science reporting and technology reporting
• Media management and start-ups
• Media law
• How to overcome Africa's ruinous obsession with race
• Global economics
• Training the trainers
• Sustainable community broadcasting
• What happened to the socialist discourse after 1994?
• Human rights
• International politics
• Newspaper production (editing and page layout using advanced technology)
• Political reporting
• Science writing, agriculture and environmental journalism
• Computer graphics
• Globalisation and the national media
• Journalism and hi-tech
• Sports reporting
• Media and IT
• Media and regionalism
• Sustainable development and the role of the media
• Media and environment
• Regional reporting
• Press freedom and democracy
• Language exchange programmes
• Economics and development
• Understanding markets and their regulation
• The role of the African journalist in promoting democracy and good governance
• Freedom and responsibility
• Restructuring West African economies for integration: the media perspective
• The meaning of African Renaissance and the role of the press
• Media and ethics
• The media and democratic reform in Africa

- Modern trends in 'newspapering'
- IT application to copy editing
- New national information order: shifting emphasis from urban reporting to rural reporting, from celebrity-oriented journalism to mass-oriented reporting. The wretched of the earth must get adequate coverage to turn around their fortune
- The global village of 2050
- Media and book publishing
- Specialised reporting skills
- Opportunities and challenges for regional cooperation in media research and practice
- Mobilising rural communities for development
- New media breaking down boundaries? The effect of the new media on weakening African dictatorships
- Information technology, the media and the advancement of political freedom in Africa
- Profile writing
- The media and the Internet in Africa, problems and prospects
- Election monitoring
- Communication skills
- Women and children affairs
- Project management.

With the integrated strategy applied, it seems many of these suggestions and demands could be accommodated, not instantly but in a constant process of further qualification and professional networking.

Additional comments and suggestions
- Senior editorial staff must be involved in training to make it useful and adaptable.
- Affiliate, bold black journalists should be honorary members of international media organisations.
- Economic empowerment is needed to make the media accessible and thus legitimise it for the African masses.
- Apply pre-event tests and post-event surveys and include demanding participant activities in programmes.
- Good governance and development issues are very important. Practical aspects and interaction are needed during training.
- Any programme for journalists in West Africa must take into account the language problem. Fluency and skills in three other languages (foreign and local) must be actively encouraged.

- Connect Africa to the global village.
- KAF should widen its training opportunities for journalists in Nigeria.
- More short-term courses at an international standard and advanced training in Nigeria.
- I want to commend KAF for taking time to bother about us in Africa. God bless you.
- Certainly, the field of mass media is bigger than journalism. It is a multidisciplinary area amalgamating knowledge and wisdom from many social sciences, humanities as well as the arts. Many specialists and experts are therefore involved in establishing and growing a free and virile press, free from political, religious, ethnic, military and other constraints, required for sustaining a democratic dispensation in Nigeria. Although news sells a newspaper, advertising sustains it. In other words, a truly free and independent newspaper or any other medium needs to be financially self-reliant so that it can discharge its duties objectively and professionally, without fear or favour. Hence, a free and independent press requires not only journalists but advertising professionals and other specialists too. There is therefore a need to broaden the KAF training programme to include other media practitioners besides journalists.
- The Media Questionnaire is a laudable venture that should not be abandoned.
- There is a great need to help professionals overcome the mediocrity that was thrust upon them as a result of the closed system of the past. KAF should be a catalyst in this regard.
- I hope this is not one of those exercises for which we sacrifice our time in vain.
- Training should also be provided in the areas of media and democracy, and media and the military.
- The current effort is laudable, but it is not sufficient. A more concerted effort on the part of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is required if we are to solve the identified needs of media teachers, journalists and other media professionals. In the process, networking is strongly encouraged. Although we are in the technology age, many African media professionals have not been sufficiently empowered to utilise the Internet's resources. They now need to be empowered for greater efficiency and enlightenment.
- New directions have been well conceived and

consultations are laudable. Perhaps the publication/dissemination of these findings will further encourage necessary participation. Cooperation with other NGOs could prove productive.

• For the growth and development of journalism in Africa, I hope this initiative will be implemented.
• This scheme should be pursued and implemented.