



Training Journalists to Report on HIV/AIDS: Final Evaluation of a Global Program

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Final Evaluation of a Global Program

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Preface

AIDS challenged journalists in the developed world from the moment the epidemic surfaced in June 1981.

First, it was a mystery, a disease that seemingly came from nowhere, favored gay men, and had no known cause. Most media ignored it. Then speculation stories thrived: maybe it was drug use, the supernatural, a fungus, or a well known virus like herpes running amok. Stigma and discrimination confronted the afflicted from the outset, and the media time and again stoked the fire, whether it was directed at gay men, hemophiliacs attending schools, or doctors and nurses who cared for ailing people. When scientists in 1984 proved that HIV caused AIDS, it forced journalists to learn about such foreign concepts as retroviruses, reverse transcriptase, CD4 cells, and mutation. Fear of infection led to overblown and sometimes unfounded stories in leading U.S. publications and broadcast stations about the possibility of catching the virus from mosquitoes, toilet seats, and vaccines. Epidemiologists clarified that HIV particularly threatened sex workers, injecting drug users, migrants and other marginalized groups, which contributed mightily to the political inaction and downright hostility that greeted the disease. It took journalists far too long to recognize that HIV had made serious inroads in African heterosexuals, and that it was not a gay disease at all. With the lack of effective treatments, stories about quack medicines thrived, as did articles promoting the delusion that HIV did not even cause the disease. The advent in the mid 1990s of powerful drug cocktails against HIV led to unwarranted triumphalism, replete with hyped talk of cures and premature declarations about the End of AIDS.

Journalists from developed countries have learned many lessons, some painful, about how best to address the complicated, confusing, and constantly changing epidemic. Although some African and Asian media outlets provide excellent coverage of HIV/AIDS, far too many struggle with the same challenges. Many developing countries also have severe constraints on freedom of the press and outright censorship, as well as influential government-owned media that crowd out independent perspectives, which leads to coverage that rarely strays beyond official pronouncements and sanctioned events. Add to this the reality that journalism remains a low-paying, low-status job in many countries, and the media outlets have meager resources to help their reporters gather and present information. And People Living with HIV (PLHIV) frequently have little, if any, voice in these stories.

Against this backdrop, the U.S.-based Internews Network in 2002 launched the Local Voices project to train journalists in developing countries how to improve and expand their coverage of HIV/AIDS. A sister organization, Internews Europe, two years later began a similar project called Turnaround Time. Each project grew in unique ways, in part dictated by different funders and different locales. Internews Network has focused on three African countries and India, and received backing from the U.S. Agency for International Development and also the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). In contrast, Internews Europe with support from the

U.K.'s Department for International Development (DFID), launched a regional program in the Mekong that primarily trained Vietnamese and Cambodian journalists.

Conducting an evaluation like this requires a tremendous amount of cooperation from the people who run and participate in the programs being evaluated, and we owe a great deal of thanks to everyone who generously shared their time and thoughts with us. We especially want to thank Internews Europe and Internews Network for inviting us to conduct the evaluation, and the many people who went out of their way to answer our every question and request—and made us feel welcome at every turn. In particular, Lyndal Barry, Turnaround Time's Project Director, graciously traveled with us from country to country and, with the help of the ever-capable Sumalee Santardkornkarn, made sure that everything ran smoothly from travel and interviews to lodging and meals. Many, many thanks also to Kathleen O'Keefe, Cheath Socheath, Siv Cheng and Lon Nara in Cambodia, Dr. Bach Thi Minh in Vietnam, and Soe Soe, and Aye Pwint in Thailand, who coordinated our visits within each country. We much appreciate the insights of Sandy Barron, too, who has led the media monitoring and content analysis work of Turnaround Time. The Local Voices team in Kenya was equally helpful. Many thanks are due to the Resident Adviser, Ida Jooste, and her staff, including Ann Mikia, Sandra Ndongye, Dolphine Imali, and Benjamin Kiplagat. We also much appreciated the help of the Resident Advisers Josephine Kamara (Nigeria), Sonya DeMasi (Ethiopia), and Dr. Jaya Shreedhar (India) for sharing their thoughts and arranging interviews. Thanks to Meron Seyoum in Ethiopia for staying late to help with translation and to Irene Chang for help with the graphics. Sara Barret proofed this document.

Executive Summary

Internews Network, a U.S.-based organization that for more than two decades has trained journalists around the world, in 2002 received funding from the United States Agency for International Development to launch a project in Africa to help media improve their coverage of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Called “Local Voices,” the project expanded to Ethiopia in 2005 and India in 2006. In 2004, Internews Europe started a similar project in the Mekong region of Southeast Asia, “Turnaround Time,” with funds from the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development. That project evolved to do trainings in Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam.

This report evaluates Local Voices and Turnaround Time and aims to help strengthen the continuing training programs. The three-person evaluation team spoke with a wide variety of stakeholders during site visits and telephone interviews, reviewed reports written for funders, and assessed monitoring and evaluation data from the sites. Different locales face different challenges, and the team attempted to keep those in mind throughout the evaluation. The evaluation process was participatory, allowing some staff to comment on the findings and recommendations, although they had no direct say over the content of the final report. In addition to this report, two team members wrote a separate evaluation of Turnaround Time to fulfill a DFID requirement.

Both projects had a similar, overarching goal: To increase the quality and quantity of HIV/AIDS coverage, improving the environment for prevention, treatment and care. Although we have no way of assessing whether the projects had an impact on a societal level, over 1000 journalists went through carefully designed workshops, subsequently printing or broadcasting more than 5600 HIV/AIDS-related stories that Internews mentors often helped produce. Journalists clearly benefited from the trainings at each site, and many praised the program for fundamentally altering how they approach their jobs. We met with several enthusiastic trainees at each site who were grateful to have been selected, appreciated the participatory approach, and said the trainings had a significant impact on their careers.

I’m glad I did this training. It changed me from the lazy, I don’t care type of journalist, into the journalist who’s willing to take challenges. I’m now a changed person. The training from Local Voices made me what I am today. I’ve attended workshops that have changed my life. It has made me take up challenges and given me the opportunity to sustain my interests.

—Trainee, Nigeria

Stories particularly improved in accuracy, depth, sensitivity to PLHIV, and in the quality of presentation. The number of HIV/AIDS stories also increased, as did the breadth of topics covered.

These projects in several ways stood out from journalism trainings done by other groups. Internews emphasizes participatory learning, and trainings had a hands-on approach, with work-

shops routinely taking journalists into the field to report and produce stories. Most importantly, the projects also strived to develop longterm, mentoring relationships with trainees, and to provide resources—such as equipment loans or free access to the internet--that would help them do their jobs.

But both Turnaround Time and Local Voices had different levels of success at different sites, and the one in Kenya particularly stood out as a gold standard. This report uses the Kenya site as a model, and when the components of the other sites deviate from what worked in Kenya, analyzes why those decisions were made and whether they made sense. Yet Kenya has its challenges, too, and each site has something to teach others, which the report also explores. We hope that the report will reach beyond Internews, helping to guide similar projects now underway that attempt to address this all too often ignored aspect of public health development.

After describing a background to Internews and the two projects, this report offers the following findings and recommendations:

Findings and Recommendations

Training

Approach

- **Recommendation #1:** Strive in each country to replicate the Kenya model, and only deviate from it after carefully considering the downsides.
- **Recommendation #2:** View modifications of the model as experiments, and critically evaluate whether they achieve their intended goals.

Trainee Selection and Participation

- **Recommendation #3:** Attempt to have as much input as possible in selecting trainees.
- **Recommendation #4:** Aggressively use a suite of proven strategies to attract high quality, committed trainees, and consider using an application process.
- **Recommendation #5:** Anticipate suspicion about funders and issues of control, and explicitly address these concerns from the outset.

Curricula

- **Recommendation #6:** Design curricula with clear learning objectives that connect the first training to subsequent trainings and explicitly attempt to minimize redundancy.
- **Recommendation #7:** Provide journalism and content trainers time to interact and prepare workshops together.
- **Recommendation #8:** Conduct post-mortems with trainers to analyze how they might improve curricula.
- **Recommendation #9:** If possible, compensate HIV/AIDS experts.

Skills and Knowledge

- **Recommendation #10:** Continue to separate the more experienced trainees, and hold special sessions for radio, print and television journalists that offer more sophisticated reporting and production skills.
- **Recommendation #11:** More systematically share techniques that work at different sites, such as swapping roles, incorporating PLHIV into trainings, and mind-mapping exercises.
- **Recommendation #12:** Continue to include field trips that produce stories in the context of training.
- **Recommendation #13:** Where appropriate, offer training in online journalism.
- **Recommendation #14:** More carefully select HIV/AIDS expert trainers from a broader pool of candidates. Coach experts on presentation skills, as necessary, and stress making sessions as interactive as possible.

Topics

- **Recommendation #15:** Cover HIV/AIDS as broadly as possible.
- **Recommendation #16:** Target senior journalists for advanced trainings that focus on the more complex HIV/AIDS issues.
- **Recommendation #17:** As programs mature, attempt to link the HIV/AIDS

training to other related health and social issues.

- **Recommendation #18:** Remain flexible and responsive to topical stories that eclipse HIV/AIDS coverage, and seek ways to tie one to the other.

Mentoring

- **Recommendation #19:** If budgets allow, have Internews staff at each site who can have frequent contact with trainees.
- **Recommendation #20:** If budgets allow, establish a Media Resource Center at each site that offers free use of recording studios, internet and phones, a library, and expert technical and editorial support.
- **Recommendation #21:** If governments refuse to allow Internews to establish an office in country, revisit the issue as frequently as possible, emphasizing to the authorities that this would create long-term mentoring opportunities.
- **Recommendation #22:** Continue to pursue development of websites for each site and tie them together under a central Internews website designed to help journalists everywhere better cover HIV/AIDS.

Incentives

- **Recommendation #23:** Consider offering incentives to media outlets as well as individuals to increase HIV/AIDS coverage.
- **Recommendation #24:** Carefully select incentives that attract top performers and help them do their jobs, and use stringent requirements to protect the integrity of the effort.
- **Recommendation #25:** Offer more travel grants to encourage geographically diverse HIV/AIDS coverage.
- **Recommendation #26:** Consider working with a manufacturer to design an inexpensive laptop specifically for journalists.

Interactions with NGOs, CBOs, and PLHIV

- **Recommendation #27:** Continue to train non-journalists who are involved with HIV/AIDS issues, but strive to work with individuals from organizations.
- **Recommendation #28:** Encourage trainees to teach the skills and knowledge they learn to others in their organizations.
- **Recommendation #29:** Trainings geared for PLHIV, NGOs and CBOs should always be a secondary goal that never compromises the primary one of training journalists.
- **Recommendation #30:** Retain journalistic distance from advocacy groups, and never join them in their campaigns.

Editor/Management/Government Engagement

- **Recommendation #31:** Prepare a promotional brochure for decision makers that describes the training program and includes a CD with print, radio and TV stories produced by trainees.
- **Recommendation #32:** Continue to hold executive lunches and dinners with editors and media managers to encourage them to send journalists to workshops and to see the value of more regular and diverse HIV/AIDS coverage.
- **Recommendation #33:** Strive to develop close ties to government officials who advocate increased HIV/AIDS coverage, and encourage them to influence editors to take advantage of the trainings offered.
- **Recommendation #34:** Visit media outlets to assess their constraints, and possibly offer such critical support as equipment or equipment repair that would encourage decision makers to see the value of establishing long-term relationships with Internews.

Monitoring and Evaluation

- **Recommendation #35:** Conduct a baseline of frequency and quality of programming on the specific topics to be covered at the outset of every project.
- **Recommendation #36:** Include monitoring and evaluation capacity on project

teams to ensure data collection, management and analysis meets international standards.

- **Recommendation #37:** Continue to refine and use monitoring and evaluation tools that apply quantitative and qualitative indicators to measure impact for journalism training programs.

Management

- **Recommendation #38:** Strive to hire project leaders who have both journalism and HIV/AIDS experience.
- **Recommendation #39:** Use experienced HIV/AIDS reporters on Internews staff to interview potential project leaders, and make sure the interviewer has real-world experience in the media (typically radio) that will receive the most emphasis at the site.
- **Recommendation #40:** Provide more support to staff opening new sites.
- **Recommendation #41:** Provide more office assistance to resident advisers.
- **Recommendation #42:** Strive to move away from “start-up mentality” as quickly as possible.
- **Recommendation #43:** Improve coordination and communication between Internews Network and Internews Europe.
- **Recommendation #44:** More methodically and regularly share expertise between experts at Internews headquarters and the field sites.

Sustainability

- **Recommendation #45:** Internews needs to reevaluate the goal of transferring ownership of HIV/AIDS training programs to locals, examining what allowed for similar transitions in other settings.

Introduction

Internews Network, based in Arcata, California, formed in 1982 to help journalists in the former Soviet Union improve their skills and better inform those societies. When the Cold War ended, Internews began to broaden its scope and geographic reach, and has since worked in 70 countries, developing special programs on health, governance and transparency, and the environment. A sister organization based in Paris, Internews Europe, formed in 1995. Internews Network and Internews Europe both receive funding from a wide array of sources, including foundations, corporations, governments, multilateral organizations, and individuals.

In 2001, Internews Network did a “needs assessment,” visiting Kenya, Nigeria and Ethiopia and interviewing journalists and other stakeholders about HIV/AIDS coverage. From the start, many questions surfaced.

There are a lot of information campaigns and health communications in Africa, so people asked, Why train journalists when all these people are already doing it? We realized fairly quickly that the journalists were not benefiting in any way from the investments in health communication. There were real problems in the way they covered HIV/AIDS. They were covering personality and events, and there was not enough background and context to these stories. An HIV/AIDS story typically was when someone in the government or someone of renown did something--open a wing at hospital or make a statement. If you were lucky, you'd get the press release from their office and then you could read it on the air verbatim.

—Internews staff

For decades, development investments in the media had relied on paid messaging and serialized dramas to convey health information and promote positive attitude and behavior change.

The main problem was that the little training that did exist was ad hoc. It was usually done by health communication organizations, not journalists. They'd train journalists on the issue itself--the language of HIV/AIDS, the problems of stigma-- but in a lot of cases these journalists needed more than that.

—Internews staff

Internews' proposition that local and national news media could be a powerful addition found broad based political support in Washington, and beginning in 2001 congressional language directed USAID to support Internews' Local Voices media development program in Africa and India. In 2002 Internews launched Local Voices with pilot projects in Kenya and Nigeria.

In addition to reducing stigma and discrimination and helping improve HIV/AIDS terminology, the project aimed to increase:

- the frequency and quality of local broadcast media coverage of HIV/AIDS

- citizen discussion and debate of HIV/AIDS issues through interactive broadcast programming
- citizen access to unbiased, accurate information about HIV/AIDS
- the discussion of HIV/AIDS in the entertainment media reaching young people
- After conducting extensive interviews in Nigeria and Kenya, Internews decided to focus on radio because it reached the broadest audience. In addition to training radio journalists, the project planned to improve the HIV/AIDS knowledge and production skills of radio personalities like disc jockeys and talk show hosts. From the outset, it wanted to distinguish itself from “one-off” journalism training programs that offer a short seminar and then disappear.

To that end, resident journalist advisers would live in-country, and media resource centers in Abuja and Nairobi would offer HIV/AIDS libraries, computers with internet access and digital radio production studios with technical experts at their disposal. The projects also would attempt to build strong relationships with editors and media managers, local journalism organizations, and NGOs. Trainees would receive travel grants and awards as incentives. An independent media monitoring firm, InterMedia, would evaluate their progress.

Internews Europe, backed by DFID, launched Turnaround Time in 2004 “to harness the power of the mass media in the Mekong region to help create a more supportive social environment for AIDS prevention, care, and treatment efforts.” The explicit objectives, which overlapped with Local Voices in several areas, included:

- Motivate and equip journalists to create and sustain HIV/AIDS reporting that is accurate, regionally informed, and locally relevant.
- Help diverse community voices emerge, and enhance the images in media of people living with HIV/AIDS, intravenous drug users, migrant and mobile populations, and other vulnerable groups.
- Raise awareness of regional HIV/AIDS issues among media managers, editors, and the other decision-makers who determine what goes on the air and into the presses.
- Support the development of a Mekong regional network of journalism experts whose leadership and expertise can promote an increase in the quality and quantity of reportage on HIV/AIDS, and may support local and regional efforts to increase information exchange between policy makers, governments, NGOs and the public.

The original vision differed from Local Voices in key ways. Turnaround Time began with both print and radio journalists, hoping to add TV (a more expensive medium to work with) as the project matured and was better funded. Unlike Local Voices, it had a regional structure: the project would have headquarters in Bangkok, and planned to use international expert journalists to visit different sites and provide tailor-made training programs for Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and

Laos. Media resource centers, resident advisers in each locale, and incentives—central components of the Local Voices model from the outset--were not mentioned in the initial proposal to DFID, and neither were the requested resources sufficient to support this kind of infrastructure in each site. The explicit objective to “enhance the image” of PLHIV and marginalized groups would prove to be another unique aspect of Turnaround Time.

The projects changed shape as they matured, found additional funding, and streamlined efforts. Local Voices, which at the time of this evaluation had received a total of \$10,402,433, expanded to Ethiopia and India, and today does training for radio and print journalists in all locations and TV in Kenya and India. Local Voices also offered more incentives than originally planned, rewarding high-performing trainees with digital recorders, digital cameras, flash drives, and lavalier microphones. Local Voices has funding to continue these projects through September 2008, though at this writing on-going funding for all countries except India looks likely.

Turnaround Time, which had a more modest total budget of roughly \$2 million (£1.3 million), ended up dropping the training of Thai and Laotian journalists at the request of DFID. But it did set up a resident adviser in Cambodia, and offered limited incentives like travel grants. Turnaround Time’s funding runs out in September 2008, although it actively is seeking funding to keep the project alive.

The evaluation team, which conducted its interviews from January to May 2008, consisted of two journalists and one development specialist. Two of us work for Internews Network, while the team leader, journalist Jon Cohen, did the job on contract and has no other affiliation with Internews.

Cohen has covered the HIV/AIDS epidemic since its early years and is a correspondent with *Science* magazine. He also is the author of *Shots in the Dark: The Wayward Search for an AIDS Vaccine*. A documentary based on the book, “Ending AIDS,” was broadcast widely. His HIV/AIDS stories, related book reviews, and opinion pieces have appeared in the *New Yorker*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *New York Times Magazine*, *Washington Post*, *Technology Review*, the online magazine *Slate*, and on *National Public Radio*.

Dr. Laurie Zivetz, Global Health Director for Internews Network, has conducted evaluations of development projects for more than two decades. She earned a master’s in international health and a PhD in social economics, and has designed and directed a wide variety of programs in reproductive health, community health, gender, microenterprise, and forestry.

Mia Malan, Senior Health Journalism Adviser for Internews Network, covered HIV/AIDS for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, specializing in both radio and TV. Malan joined Internews in 2003 to launch Local Voices in Kenya, where she worked as the Resident Adviser for four years. She then moved to Internews Network headquarters in Washington, DC.

Cohen, Zivetz, and Malan collectively had extensive experience working in Asia and Africa prior to the evaluation.

Evaluation Methodology

We conducted the bulk of the interviews for this evaluation between March 21 and April 29 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia; Hanoi, Vietnam; Bangkok and Chiang Mai, Thailand; and Nairobi, Kenya. Some interviews took place at Turnaround Time and Local Voices offices in Nairobi, Phnom Penh and Bangkok, while we conducted many others in hotels, government buildings, restaurants, and NGO meeting places. We also visited several reporters and editors in their newsrooms and government officials at their places of work. In one instance, Jon Cohen joined a trainee as she covered a story in Nairobi's Kibera slum. We assured everyone interviewed that we would not quote them by name and encouraged them to speak candidly about the strengths and weaknesses of the program.

In each locale we visited, we strived to interview a broad range of people who intersected with the program, including journalist trainees, trainers, government officials, HIV/AIDS experts, NGO representatives, PLHIV, funders, and Internews staff. We also carefully reviewed data collected by Turnaround Time and Local Voices about the trainings and the output of the journalists who attended as well as reports and proposals submitted to DFID and USAID.

We did not visit Nigeria, Ethiopia or India for this evaluation. For those countries, we relied solely on telephone interviews, and again attempted to speak with a broad range of stakeholders. (Malan and Zivetz have visited each of those programs at different times.)

Many of the people we interviewed spoke fluent English, but when necessary we used translators both during site visits and telephone interviews.

Although the Turnaround Time and Local Voices teams have participated in the evaluation and we have incorporated input from them, we had no constraints about offering our criticisms in our debriefings with staff or in this final report. Jon Cohen is an independent journalist who did the job on a onetime contract paid by general Internews funds and in no way was influenced by DFID or USAID concerns. The evaluation team members also were free to disagree with each other in their conclusions.

Several factors limited the scope of this evaluation. We only spent three to five days at the sites we visited, which means we could only provide a snapshot of each project's accomplishments and shortcomings. For the sites where we relied on telephone interviews, we obviously had a much narrower view of the people, the places, the politics, and the culture. Most of the people we interviewed were selected by Turnaround Time and Local Voices, though we did seek input from several sources who we contacted on our own. We did not observe trainings anywhere. At several sites, government closely monitors media, and this may also have influenced the openness of some of the people we interviewed.

We worked diligently to avoid conflicts of interest. Cohen by and large conducted interviews with staff alone, so that they did not feel constrained by the presence of Internews employees. Similarly, Malan did not sit in on interviews of Nairobi staff or Kenyan trainees who went through the program while she ran it.

The most problematic aspect of this evaluation has little to do with Internews per se: It is difficult to assess the impact of journalism. Simply increasing coverage of a topic can do more harm than good if the quality does not improve. And assessing quality has a large, subjective component. Just as HIV/AIDS researchers have difficulty assessing the impact of behavior change interventions because of the multitude of variables at play, we found it similarly challenging to mesh the indicators used by funders with the standards that journalists typically use themselves (see sidebar on Different Perspectives.) These difficulties obtaining evidence to validate outcomes are hugely problematic, and may help explain why independent media haven't played a more central role in public health programming.

Each site has a unique political, cultural, economic and media environment, and the nature of the epidemic varied from place to place. We attempted to see each project through the eyes of the people living in the various locales and the journalists who were covering HIV/AIDS and health issues. The different levels of success and the way the program unfolded often were strongly tied to these local factors. Challenges existed everywhere. While the Kenya project stood out for having overcome them most effectively, each site was innovative and adapted to the local situation, which holds many lessons for programming. In this report, we hold up the Kenya site as the gold standard. The next section describes the Kenya model, and our subsequent findings and recommendations repeatedly note when other sites deviate from that model and analyze why those decisions were made and whether they made sense.

Although some of these sites likely will soon run out of funding, some will not. We hope this final evaluation's recommendations will help the ongoing projects build even stronger programs, and provide guidance to other programs that seek to strengthen the media's contribution to improving public health outcomes.

The Model

The Local Voices model introduces journalists to the program through an intensive 5- to 7-day workshop that focuses on their medium (print, radio or TV) and then attempts to build long-term mentoring relationships with trainees by frequently contacting them and inviting them to advanced workshops and roundtables. Seventy percent of the content of the workshops focuses on the development of journalism skills and 30% on HIV/AIDS (or other health-related) knowledge. Training workshops are done in groups of no more than 12 journalists from the same medium and emphasize the practical application of newly learned skills. Radio trainees learn how to write good scripts, edit and record sound, and produce features with a human face. Television journalists learn how to direct camera people, shoot video, edit, and write script to images. The training teaches print journalists how to structure features and write well. Two sites have also done training of photojournalists. Each trainee leaves the workshop with a story or image that is ready to be broadcast or published. Workshops focus on themes such as HIV testing, the prevention-of-mother-to-child-transmission of HIV and anti-retroviral treatment. Each workshop includes a visit to an HIV/AIDS-related site and provides journalists with the opportunity to interview people living with HIV. Local experts from AIDS Commissions or relevant implementing agencies participate in the trainings, providing content and expert contacts.

Local Voices has had much success working with trainees over several years by providing them with Media Resource Centers (MRCs). These “parallel newsrooms” offer free phones and internet, recording studios, equipment loans, and access to production and editing assistance—things many journalists lack or have to stand in line to access at their own stations. In addition, senior international health journalists assist trainees with story development and script writing, much like an editor would. Regular roundtables also serve to update journalists and editors on key HIV/AIDS or other health issues and provide a rich source of story ideas and contacts.

Incentives also form a central component of the Local Voices program, which rewards journalists with equipment such as digital voice recorders and digital cameras if they complete an agreed upon number of HIV/AIDS stories post-training. Many trainees also receive travel grants to cover the epidemic in more remote parts of their countries.

The Turnaround Time program unfolded in a number of ways that differed from Local Voices. The program was less structured and training consisted of hands-on workshops, roundtables and field trips. Experienced foreign journalists traveled to each site and taught writing and equipment-related technical skills such as how to record and edit digital voice for radio and how to improve lighting, sound and camera angles for TV. Although some of the journalist trainers had HIV/AIDS knowledge and led exercises to broaden the scope of trainees, the program relied on HIV/AIDS doctors from the various locales to teach medical and scientific topics. Field trips were often, but not always included in training, and most but not all led to a story that later was broad-

cast or printed.

Each site had a unique political, economic and social environment, which Turnaround Time staff thoroughly assessed in three different reports. Because of country-specific factors, the training approach varied widely between sites. Some had difficulty recruiting journalists to weeklong workshops, while others had high-level government officials actively recruiting trainees and assigning them to the trainings. Only Phnom Penh had an office dedicated to Turnaround Time. While the approach differed from site to site, each one emphasized practice over theory, involved PLHIV in journalism workshops, and attempted to engage with editors, media managers, and owners of publications and broadcast stations to foster on-going commitment to the issue.

Turnaround Time had much more ad hoc long-term mentoring than Local Voices, in part because no site had a full-fledged MRC and only one had a full-time international journalism adviser. Some trainees received small incentives and travel grants, but it was much spottier. Sites routinely mixed journalists from different media. Yet Turnaround Time much more carefully monitored and evaluated HIV/AIDS stories.

A separate evaluation of the Turnaround Time project was carried out for DFID, and the complete results are available in another report.

Kenya

Kenya clicks unlike any other Local Voices or Turnaround Time project.

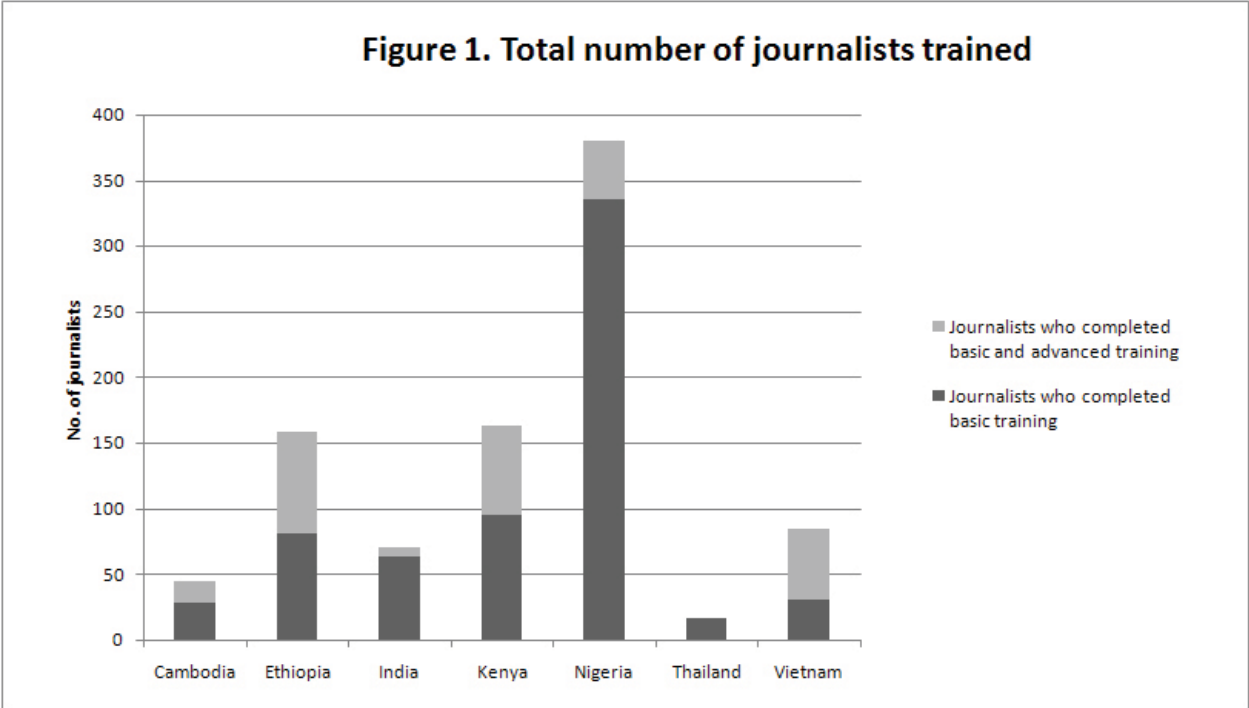
As with other sites, Kenya emphasizes participatory learning and developing long-term relationships with their mentors and the program. All of the other Local Voices sites also have MRCs that offer free internet, phone access, digital sound editing facilities, and recording studios. They also loan equipment to broadcast journalists and have an incentive program that offers travel grants, digital recorders, lapel microphones, digital cameras and flash drives to reward the “star” trainees. But Kenya stands out because of the large number of journalists who go through the training and the long-term relationships they develop with the staff. In particular it has had remarkable success with its MRC, which is a hub of activity almost every day, crowded with journalists who have been through the training.

Kenya in part has made great strides because its first resident adviser (a co-author of this report) and her successor both had a full package of skills when they arrived. Both came from South Africa and had extensive experience covering HIV/AIDS in their home country, which is hard hit and freighted with a complex set of political, economic, and social issues. They also developed excellent rapport with their staff and trainees, and in particular forged close ties to resource-strapped radio stations. Indeed everyone they hired previously worked for the Kenya Broadcast Corporation, which until this day accounts for the bulk of trainees who visit the MRC.

In addition to strong leadership, Kenya has thrived for a host of other favorable factors that some of the other countries do not enjoy. Nairobi is the hub of journalism in the country, and the centrally located MRC is easy for most journalists to reach. In Kenya the location of the office/MRC was decided upon by a journalist - its first Resident Advisor. In other countries, Internews chose locations much more haphazardly, sometimes prior to the arrival of RAs, resulting in MRCs often being located too far away from busy journalists with deadlines. Most Kenyan journalists speak English fluently—making it easier for them to access HIV/AIDS information and to understand the ex-pat resident advisers--and there is a wide variety of media outlets. Although the USAID staff assigned to the Local Voices project initially doubted the need for the program—in particular, because it was part of an earmark to a Foreign Operations bill in the U.S. Congress—they developed a strong belief in the program within a few months of its inception and consistently have supported its attempts to grow and improve.

Findings and Recommendations

The two projects provided intensive, formal training to 1075 journalists. More than a third of those journalists also received formal, advanced training, as shown in Figure 1.



A. Training

Approach

In the Kenya model, the staff attempts to carefully select trainees, who then initially attend a 5-day workshop with no more than 10 people. Workshops try to group journalists by experience and types of media. Trainees subsequently receive mentoring through visits to the MRC, regular follow-up contact with the mentors, and shorter roundtable training sessions. Some also attend advanced, extended workshops. The program rewards the best trainees with incentives. This worked extremely well in Kenya, and the year-old India program has replicated this model from the outset.

The Local Voices projects in Nigeria and Ethiopia both have steadily moved toward this model, but past leadership issues, limited technical capacity, and geopolitical issues (described below) have thwarted efforts to put all the components in place. Specifically, both have MRCs, but usage has been spotty. In Nigeria, the program faced access challenges of a large country with dispersed media houses. This was resolved in part through the establishment of satellite MRCs in two other

sites. Nigeria has had success using incentives, but Ethiopia has not. Workshops also could more carefully separate journalists who have advanced skills with colleagues who need more fundamental training.

With Turnaround Time, each site is missing a major component of the model. Although leadership, technical capacity, and geopolitical issues similarly have prevented efforts to replicate this model, Turnaround Time's design from the proposal stage forward did not include many components of it. This was in part due to funding limitations. Only Cambodia has an MRC, and trainees rarely use the physical office. The Cambodia program further had difficulty recruiting journalists for 5-day workshops, and opted to try shorter, more "informal" one-on-one mentoring instead. Vietnam, in contrast, has excellent attendance at the extended workshops, but the government does not allow the project to have an office in-country and Internews only has limited influence in selecting participants. Too often, workshops mixed journalists from different media with different levels of HIV/AIDS knowledge and technical skills.

Each site faces unique factors that inevitably will lead resident advisers to deviate from the model as they see fit. That makes good sense: An effective program cannot have a one-size-fits-all mandate. But the model developed at different places in the different countries, and could have started more uniformly everywhere.

Recommendation #1: Strive in each country to replicate the Kenya model, and only deviate from it after carefully considering the downsides.

Recommendation #2: View modifications of the model as experiments, and critically evaluate whether they achieve their intended goals.

Trainee Selection and Participation

No strict criteria dictated how trainees were selected. Many sites made attempts to forge relationships with editors and media managers, who then would nominate journalists to attend trainings. In some locales, the Turnaround Time staff had deep ties to the community and selected an excellent group of trainees through their networks; a separate Internews Network project in Thailand for these journalists also referred several trainees to the program. In Kenya, the staff at first approached journalists and editors they knew, and as editors noticed the improved quality of stories from trainees, they approached Local Voices about sending reporters to workshops. Word-of-mouth from trainees to their colleagues led many to approach Internews about slots at workshops. In the case of Vietnam, the government consulted editors to select trainees, but did not involve Turnaround Time in the process. Nigeria, which has a high demand for slots in workshops, uses an application process.

Strong resident advisers attracted trainees at each site, and even won over doubters.

When I went to the interview, I was praying I wouldn't get selected. Then I met the resident adviser, and I was so impressed I thought I must get in this.

—Trainee, India

But the flip scenario occurred, too: In Nigeria and Ethiopia, problems with the past resident advisers dissuaded some from seeking training.

The Nigeria situation revealed the importance of selecting resident advisers who have sufficient expertise in their fields to attract trainees, as well as a personality conducive to running a training program.

They didn't like [the resident adviser's] style and they stayed away from the program. The office had some leadership problems. Journalists felt her style was too high handed for them, so many left our training. Few were going to the center. People were very relieved when [that adviser] left. She scared people.

—Local Voices staff, Nigeria

In Ethiopia, the first resident adviser did not have advanced technical skills with radio reporting and editing, and yet radio was the program's main emphasis. In part, the problem stemmed from a USAID preference that Internews hire an Ethiopian, limiting the pool of candidates. But another problem surfaced because this technical adviser took leave from the U.S.-government run Voice of America radio station, which the Ethiopian government vehemently disliked. After this adviser left, the Ethiopian government charged her and other VOA reporters with treason; the charges were dropped, but they had a profound impact on the program--described in the management section below--and, for a time, it's ability to recruit journalists to workshops.

No journalists wanted to be put in a difficult position. Some of their bosses said if they went to trainings they would be working with VOA, not Internews, and they told them not to go to our office.

—Local Voices staff, Ethiopia

Journalists in some countries also had their own initial political concerns about Internews, particularly because both Local Voices and Turnaround Time relied on government funding. The USAID-funded Local Voices program received the bulk of the scrutiny: not only is the U.S. government generally subject to more distrust than the U.K. leadership in many developing countries, the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief has received intense criticism for pushing a moral agenda that ignores scientific evidence.

It's a huge problem. The USA is not the most favorite of anyone here. And there we are with a huge yellow banner that says USAID. Can you imagine what it was like to put my credibility on the line as a journalist, with money from George Bush's program? We really had to fight to establish our credibility.

—Local Voices staff, India

In a few cases Internews Network indeed faced some challenges from USAID.

Some people at USAID thought we were a PR arm for PEPFAR. We had to straighten them out. This project is about promoting good journalism, not about promoting PEPFAR.

—Internews Network staff

But to the credit of both Local Voices and Turnaround Time, not a single trainee we interviewed or staff member complained of undue influence from any funder.

We're not pushing PEPFAR's goals and objectives. PEPFAR is funding this so journalists can report with a higher capacity. The whole idea is to raise faculties to critically analyze and debate. It's no one's agenda. It's a journalists' project run by journalists for journalists. We make it very clear that we don't expect them to push any agenda.

—Local Voices staff, India

There were suspicious feelings initially among my colleagues, but when we attended the workshop, we saw the direction the project was addressing. We were benefiting from the training. We are not robots. Nobody was controlling me. There was nothing where they were trying to control what we were trying to do. The issue was there was an HIV/AIDS pandemic in the country.

—Trainee, Nigeria

When I first heard about it, I thought it was something I wouldn't want to have dealings with. There's this perception about Western dominance. That was the impression I had. When I interacted with them, I changed my opinion. They're not forcing what they're saying to you. Just that it can be done better this way.

—Trainee, Nigeria

For a hands-on journalism training program like this to succeed, trainees must participate. They cannot sit back and take notes, as though they were attending a college lecture—which is the standard mode of learning in some countries. They have to write stories and listen to feedback from the trainers, develop technical skills with their equipment, mingle with their colleagues, and confront their own biases about PLHIV, their limited knowledge about HIV/AIDS, and their ethical precepts about how to conduct interviews and portray vulnerable people.

We don't just stand there and make long speeches and do debriefing. We have continuous contact with the journalists we work with.

—Internews staff, Nigeria

Trainings, not surprisingly, work best when trainees want to attend and improve their skills and knowledge—and trust Internews. This means that Internews must choose participants carefully, and also establish a solid reputation in each locale as a reliable, honest, longterm enterprise with the straightforward agenda of creating a better informed, more independent media that can better cover the HIV/AIDS epidemic. By and large, Internews achieved this at every site.

As a final consideration to participant selection and participation, Internews has had mixed success attracting journalists to 5-day workshops, which require too demanding a commitment for some outlets. For more senior journalists, a 3-day workshop may be long enough, as they often do not need to spend time learning technical skills like digital editing. But for less experienced journalists, even 5 days can seem rushed. Cambodia in particular had difficulty recruiting journalists to extended, beginning workshops. Even Kenya has had limited success convincing well resourced stations and publications to send reporters to weeklong trainings. In our view, neither of these programs took advantage of all the strategies discussed below to address these shortcomings.

In the end, Internews must work with what each country wants, which may mean staging shorter workshops for some outlets or ceding participant selection to the host governments. But these types of decisions ultimately come at a cost, as they make it more difficult to structure the long-term mentoring relationships that offer trainees the greatest chance to advance their journalism skills and knowledge about HIV/AIDS.

Recommendation #3: Attempt to have as much input as possible in selecting trainees.

Recommendation #4: Aggressively use a suite of proven strategies to attract high quality, committed trainees, and consider using an application process.

Recommendation #5: Anticipate suspicion about funders and issues of control, and explicitly address these concerns from the outset.

Curricula

Agendas for workshops developed in Kenya became the basis for agendas used at some of the other Local Voices sites. Turnaround Time had a core group of journalism trainers that worked at each site, and a regional Project Director, so it, too, had similar agendas everywhere.

In both projects, the staff and consultant trainers prepared material for the workshops, including: presentations from local experts; listening, watching or reading exemplary HIV/AIDS stories (translated if necessary); HIV/AIDS glossaries; and lists of appropriate terminology in local languages. All Local Voices and most Turnaround Time workshops ended with a field trip that had trainees produce a story, which was an excellent, hands-on chance to apply what they had learned in classroom sessions. Journalists roundly liked the pace and the content of the agendas, and the mix of journalism and HIV/AIDS training.

It would have strengthened the program had all sites linked their training agendas into a long-range plan that mapped out how workshops would build on each other and logically move trainees from basic to intermediate to advanced skills and knowledge. Because not all of the sites had this type of broad curricula, some intermediate and advanced trainings covered redundant material.

In the Local Voices sites, advanced trainings typically had a different structure from basic journalism workshops and emphasized more complex HIV subjects and scriptwriting skills. In some sites in both projects “advanced” workshops and roundtables sometimes covered material the trainees already knew. There is a value to reviewing information, yet redundancy at some point wastes time. A clear curriculum, much in the way that colleges strategically move students through a subject over several semesters, would give advance trainees more opportunity to progress.

Each site also could benefit from more coordination between the various trainers: the HIV/AIDS experts and the journalism experts spent too little time discussing the curriculum prior to trainings. In the Turnaround Time program, journalism trainers moved from site to site and worked with different HIV/AIDS experts at each locale; although the two groups of trainers developed relationships with each other over time, they sometimes had little contact prior to the training.

More established relationships existed between the two different types of trainers in Local Voices, but they faced another challenge. Local Voices largely relied on resident advisers and local staff to provide the journalism training, and the HIV/AIDS experts were unpaid, providing help either out of altruism or because they received USAID-funds themselves and were encouraged to participate (USAID also stipulated that they could not be paid). Although the Local Voices staff attempts to guide the HIV/AIDS experts about how to make effective presentations, they receive little, if any, training from trainers and scant criticism about their talks. As a result, some trainees complained that the content experts often were not as effective trainers as the journalism experts.

Recommendation #6: Design curricula with clear learning objectives that connect the first training to subsequent trainings and explicitly attempt to minimize redundancy.

Recommendation #7: Provide journalism and content trainers time to interact and prepare workshops together.

Recommendation #8: Conduct post-mortems with trainers to analyze how they might improve curricula.

Recommendation #9: If possible, compensate HIV/AIDS experts.

Skills and Knowledge

Both Local Voices and Turnaround Time aimed to blend the teaching of journalism skills with HIV/AIDS knowledge. Skill and knowledge levels of the incoming trainees varied widely between and within sites, which allowed some trainings to cover much more sophisticated ground than others. Still, the programs built the same foundation everywhere.

The fundamental principles of journalism apply to every media, and across the board, Internews educated trainees about ethics, accuracy, fairness, and human rights. Journalists learned or reviewed such ethical essentials as making proper introductions before an interview, requesting permission to photograph or tape, and making an extra effort to protect vulnerable people, such as children and those involved in illegal or culturally stigmatized activities. Internews made particularly notable progress teaching trainees how to use appropriate language when discussing HIV/AIDS, which was supplemented by useful documentation, including glossaries of related terminology in local languages.

All the words I used before, I threw them away, like “AIDS container,” “born with AIDS.” It’s not only me who wrote like that. It’s other journalists, too.

—Trainee, Cambodia

Trainings routinely emphasized the value of clear and concise writing, as well as how to improve the presentation of material.

We learned how to write to make our stories more attractive. How to make the title more inviting, draw the attention at the beginning, maintain attention throughout the story, and avoid beating around bush.

—Trainee, Vietnam

And the best trainings taught journalists to think critically, emphasizing the importance of questioning authority, double-sourcing information, and demanding extraordinary evidence to back extraordinary claims.

It doesn’t come to them naturally to question doctors. They suspend all their critical faculties when they meet a doctor. If it’s a political interview, they’ve tracked everything he’s done for the past 20 years: Who he’s going around with, everything. With the doctors, they’re too reverent. We try to breed a healthy irreverence.

—Internews staff, India

Print, radio, and television journalists have distinct skills, and both Local Voices and Turnaround Time recognized this. Print journalists were separated at most every site and did interactive writing exercises to learn how to write strong leads, improve the flow of their text, and move beyond hard news stories and into news features. Radio and TV journalists separately learned about writing shorter sentences, not trying to introduce too many ideas too quickly, and putting a human face or voice in the story.

Radio journalists received intensive training about the value of using natural sound, and how to improve their radio voices, properly place microphones, create sound effects, and make and edit digital recordings. Many trainees said the program also encouraged them to include voices other than their own.

Before the training I was preparing the program with my script only and I wasn't worried about putting in other people. Now I put in experts because I know the audience wants to hear their voices. Before I wasn't worried about it. I wrote my feelings and conclusions. But the audience wants to hear the people's voices and experiences. They'd rather hear the people's voices than our script.

—Trainee, Ethiopia

Very few people use natural sound. And the radio stations are competing on hard news, so it's not very colorful reporting.

—Trainee, Thailand

The training changed the pattern and the style of my reporting. We were focusing on personalities and institutions that make statements. We were used to quoting administrators, the president, the local government, but we never heard from the people. What Internews taught is to give the microphone to the people. It changed a whole lot.

—Trainee, Nigeria

TV journalists especially appreciated the chance to go into the field with the trainers, who taught them to obtain more varied camera angles and showed them how better to capture sound. Trainers also emphasized the importance of writing to images.

Where I came from, we wrote the script first and pasted picture on top. Writing to pictures was the most memorable thing I learned.

—Trainee, Kenya

In a particularly creative exercise, Kenya had the camera operator and the reporter switch roles for a day.

It helped me appreciate what reporters go through and helped my colleague to appreciate what the cameraman goes through. A cameraman can get worked up and can't understand why a reporter would have trouble to sign off with 7 takes. More often than not in the field, a cameraman and a reporter almost come to blows because of various disagreements. When it comes to me I had to empathize with what the reporter goes through. It takes at least two people to go through a meaningful production. We have to consult constantly.

—TV trainee, Kenya

In both Local Voices and Turnaround Time, journalists honed the interviewing skills of PLHIV—including holding mock interviews—again stressing the need to remain sensitive and not use offensive language. In Vietnam, the PLHIV pretended to be journalists for part of the first day of the workshop. After sharing lunch, the trainers told the journalists that they were going to meet PLHIV, and these participants stood up and “outed” themselves. This novel approach struck a deep chord with many trainees.

Before the training, I maybe used some hurtful words or phrases. I'd express stigma and discrimination like the expression that "HIV is the epidemic of the century," something very frightening. Or the description of PLHIV as like ghastly people. And I'd use disgusting figures and show the reader a very negative picture. I'm sure the effects of my stories now are much better than before.

—Trainee, Vietnam

Turnaround Time also conducted “mind-mapping” exercises at several sites that had trainees chart causes and consequences of HIV, providing an analytical framework rich with story ideas.

In Turnaround Time, journalist trainers impressed many participants because they had international experience. But by and large, the trainees we interviewed made no mention of the journalist trainers’ HIV/AIDS knowledge—and while some had covered the epidemic extensively, one had never done an HIV/AIDS story. The HIV/AIDS experts had little, if any, exposure to journalism. That disconnect in itself is not necessarily a drawback, as the two could complement each other well. But too often, the HIV/AIDS experts presented packaged PowerPoints, and they had little idea of what made for a good story. Similarly, the journalist trainers often avoided more complex HIV/AIDS stories either because they did not see that they existed or did not feel sufficiently comfortable with the science and medical details.

Local Voices, in contrast, hired some journalist trainers who had extensive personal experience covering HIV/AIDS. As mentioned earlier, Kenya’s two resident advisers both had reported on HIV/AIDS in their native South Africa, and other staff trainers also had covered the epidemic in Kenya (and indeed had gone through the Local Voices program themselves). In India, the resident adviser has a medical degree and also works as a journalist.

The HIV/AIDS information covered by experts varied widely between sites and specific training efforts. In part, this again reflects the fact that trainees came from diverse backgrounds. Some had extremely limited education and access to HIV/AIDS information, while others had university degrees and had read widely about the epidemic. At a minimum, trainees learned that HIV caused disease by destroying the immune system, and the workshops and roundtables covered the basics of the routes of transmission, treatment with anti-HIV drugs, deciphering official statistics, the role of condoms, and prevention of mother-to-child transmission. Trainings for advanced journalists went into more depth about scientific issues like drug resistance and second-line treatments, opportunistic infections like tuberculosis, and targeting prevention efforts to high-risk groups like sex workers and injecting drug users (particularly relevant in Vietnam).

Journalists especially appreciated sessions led by clinicians who work on the frontlines with PLHIV. For example, one expert was a doctor who runs a clinic on the Thai/Burmese border and another was a Kenyan doctor who cares for sex workers in a clinic located in a Nairobi slum.

Several trainees told us that, aside from the specific skills and knowledge they acquired, the work-

shops and roundtables bolstered their confidence.

Where appropriate, future trainings should focus on online journalism. The Vietnamese reporters, for example, increasingly do online journalism now, and more inevitably will move in that direction at every site. This breaks down the strict divisions between print, TV and radio—many online journalists must do all three—and it also requires special skills to write with hypertext links. Internews trainings should keep this in mind, and attempt to help participants develop these skills.

Recommendation #10: Continue to separate the more experienced trainees, and hold special sessions for radio, print and television journalists that offer more sophisticated reporting and production skills.

Recommendation #11: More systematically share techniques that work at different sites, such as swapping roles, incorporating PLHIV into trainings, and mind-mapping exercises.

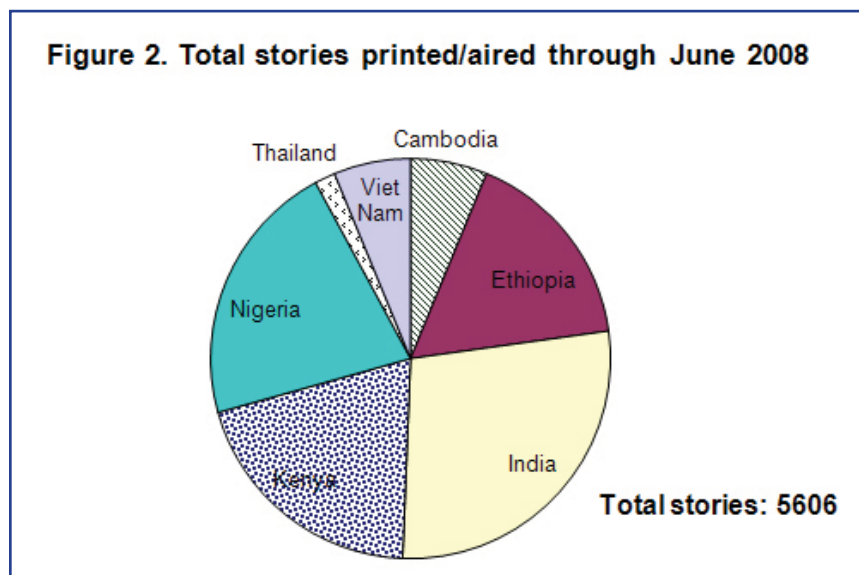
Recommendation #12: Continue to include field trips that produce stories in the context of training.

Recommendation #13: Where appropriate, offer training in online journalism.

Recommendation #14: More carefully select HIV/AIDS expert trainers from a broader pool of candidates. Coach experts on presentation skills, as necessary, and stress making sessions as interactive as possible.

Topics

By the end of June 2008, the two projects combined counted over 5600 stories produced by trainees that were either printed or aired, as shown in Figure 2. Because of the difficulty in tracking all journalists after the training, the actual number likely is higher.



The topics covered by the various sites differed more dramatically than any other single facet of the Internews HIV/AIDS trainings. Several factors led to this variation, including: levels of education of trainees, degree of control by government and media owners, skills of trainers, emphasis of funders, political and historical forces, societal taboos, different epidemiologic characteristics, audience interest, and the creativity of resident advisers.

HIV/AIDS intersects with a vast number of areas beyond the obvious public health, medicine, and science angles. The story is relentlessly political, as the disease affects marginalized populations in many locales, involves such sensitive issues as sex and drugs, and requires significant resources to address. It's a business story, with companies competing with each other to bring drugs to market and battling over patent rights. It's about history, anthropology, psychology, and spirituality. It forces communities to confront poverty, migration, and gender inequalities. It exposes weaknesses in infrastructure, civil society, human rights, and the media itself.

Most every site used stigma and discrimination as an entry topic for beginning workshops. This strategy worked well. Stigma and discrimination provides a relatively easy story to tell with a human face, and the subject has resonance and significance everywhere. Both DFID and USAID also explicitly hoped the trainings would help reduce stigma and discrimination, and this happened on two levels: Journalists themselves began to critically analyze their own attitudes toward PLHIV, and they also began to cover the subject more regularly and with more sensitivity.

I did HIV/AIDS stories before, but we blamed the infected people.

—Trainee, Ethiopia

Trust me, I was that kind of person who if I heard a guy was positive, I wanted to run away. I was among the people who thought, you're infected, that's your problem, man. Now I'm so easy. We sit one and one.

—Trainee, Kenya

I can see the difference when I look back in the past. Before, my articles were not to help the people who are HIV positive. It's only to show that they're HIV positive. I remember the words I used in those articles that I fear made PLHIV angry.

—Trainee, Cambodia

Several sites featured workshops on prevention of mother-to-child transmission, orphans and vulnerable children, and voluntary counseling and testing. More focused trainings still were offered on antiretroviral drugs, nutrition, making sense of statistics (epidemiology), harm reduction for injecting drug users, and tuberculosis. Roundtables that featured expert presentations on specific HIV/AIDS topics also helped keep journalists and editors engaged, and often led to story ideas and new contacts. Over 3000 journalists, editors, NGO representatives and others attended some 100 roundtables in the participating countries.

Overall, Internews covered an impressively broad range of topics. But some sites had too cautious

an approach, rarely veering beyond stigma and discrimination. Others ignored important issues that were deemed too sensitive, and none paid serious attention to research, the major HIV/AIDS funding issues that face each of these countries, or their own government's response to the epidemic. Cambodia in particular had difficulty moving beyond stigma and discrimination. Because the government tightly controls media, Vietnam could not explore a critical debate taking place between the health and drug control ministries about the use of methadone to prevent spread among injecting drug users. Kenya and Nigeria, the most mature programs, never held workshops about donors like PEPFAR and the Global Fund, which have completely rewritten the response to the epidemics in those countries. The subject of men who have sex with men was off limits in Ethiopia for cultural reasons, and India did not explore the injecting drug use epidemic that's a serious problem in the state where the program is based.

Addressing a broader range of topics not only offers more in-depth coverage to audiences, it also creates more interest in the subject from journalists and their editors—and from Internews staff. And diversity increases the likelihood that the program itself will remain vital. HIV/AIDS is but of many pressing health issues faced by these countries, and health issues are but one of many topics competing for column inches or air time. Exploring different topics keeps the training program fresh and compelling, and, in the end, extends its life.

Nigeria and Kenya have wisely incorporated HIV/AIDS into other relevant local issues.

In Nigeria, a change in funder—from USAID's PEPFAR to USAID's "Enabling HIV&AIDS, TB and Social Sector Environment (ENHANSE)"—led to the change. As the ENHANSE name indicates, the focus includes TB and such social sector issues as reproductive health and child survival. ENHANSE also explicitly has an agenda to "improve the national policy environment," which further broadens the Local Voices mandate.

The Kenya Local Voices staff diversified that program to include blood safety and also democracy and governance. The Nairobi offices of USAID and U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention had an interest in blood safety, and the Local Voices staff saw that it meshed well with HIV/AIDS training. The move to hold roundtables on democracy and governance issues came in the wake of post-election violence in late 2007 and early 2008 that forced journalists to do a type of crisis reporting unfamiliar to most. These creative roundtables, widely appreciated by the journalists who attended, gave them a chance to discuss difficult issues about their coverage during one of the country's most trying upheavals. Several also subsequently went to internal displacement camps to do HIV/AIDS stories about the limited supply of antiretroviral medicines and other related issues.

All the reporters involved were assessing themselves not as part of an organization but as a person. What did I do, how did I do it and would I have done it any other way? With that kind of testimony and confessions, three-fourths came out clearly saying I'm to blame or we are to blame or the media took sides. We talked about it very openly. We heard what really

happened on the ground. It was very heavy. Really hearing from the horse's mouth and their trying to explain why they did what they did. It was really reflective.

—Trainee, Kenya

It's really helped us. We'd look very mean if we didn't do it--telling the HIV/AIDS story without touching other stories [about the post-election violence]. It would look like you were assuming nothing was happening. We must be doing something.

—Internews staff, Kenya

I'm totally excited by our branching out. A lot of journalists are not special health reporters or science reporters, and they have to double up. It's very easy to feel like you've put all your eggs into one basket, and it could have negative effects, narrowing them down to a point where they forget there are other areas where they can expand. It's a way of growing them and growing us. If you do one thing for a long time you get professional boredom. You want the challenge.

—Internews staff, Kenya

Recommendation #15: Cover HIV/AIDS as broadly as possible.

Recommendation #16: Target senior journalists for advanced trainings that focus on the more complex HIV/AIDS issues.

Recommendation #17: As programs mature, attempt to find funding that can link the HIV/AIDS training to other related health and social issues.

Recommendation #18: Remain flexible and responsive to topical stories that eclipse HIV/AIDS coverage, and seek ways to tie one to the other.

B. Mentoring

Internews distinguishes itself from other journalism training programs by attempting to create long-term relationships with trainees. Mentoring plays an essential role in that relationship. Each site offered some level of mentoring, though by and large Local Voices has had more success making it an integral component of the program.

I know at the end of the day, Internews it will be like my mom. When I will come for assistance, you're not going to let me go and say, OK, bye bye. You'll still call more for me. Those others one will just come and go come and go. Internews says we'll not stop until we make AIDS go away.

—Trainee, Kenya

In part, Turnaround Time's limited mentoring had to do with the regional nature of the program: Journalism experts typically did not live near the people they trained, and thus were not easy to

access for advice. Politics played a role, too: Vietnam would only allow Internews to establish an office at a government ministry, which the program rightly declined to avoid, compromising journalistic independence. As mentioned earlier, only Cambodia had a Media Resource Center, and even then it had modest facilities that were not heavily used.

In Local Voices, each site had a functioning MRC, and in Kenya and India, they play a central role in mentoring. Kenya's MRC has existed far longer, and attracts far more trainees than any other site: In a 9-month period analyzed for this evaluation, trainees made 499 visits. Trainees come to the MRC to take advantage of free access to the internet, the recording studio and its technicians, equipment loans, the comprehensive HIV/AIDS library, phones, and editing help from onsite TV and radio specialists. The office buzzes with activity, and mentoring happens constantly, much in the way that it naturally does in newsrooms.

Kenya has a distinctive advantage over many other sites: The office is centrally located in downtown Nairobi, and Nairobi is the hub of journalism for the country. Many of the journalists who use the MRC also work for resource-limited media outlets that do not have the technical facilities, digital editing expertise, or easy internet access that Local Voices offers; out of the 499 visits in the 9-month analysis, 318—63%--came from journalists who worked for stations or publications that were run by the government, impoverished communities, or cash-strapped religious groups. This points out an opportunity that other sites have to attract journalists to the MRC, and also a challenge for Kenya to offer features at the MRC that attract more well resourced journalists, who often have large audiences and set the agenda for what receives the most coverage.

India similarly has heavy usage of its MRC in Chennai.

Half the time I spend in the office, I don't have work--I go and hang out, even if I'm just depressed. I love the people. We're all like a family.

—Trainee, India

Widespread access to the internet in Tamil Nadu has also meant that a lot of interface with the MRC is through phone, SMS and e-mail. An initiative to put MRC resources online has been hampered by funding limitations, but the framework is there.

Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, is geographically vast, and the MRC is located in Abuja, far from the major journalism hub of Lagos and many other large cities like Kano, Ibadan, and even “nearby” Jos. Internews has attempted to mitigate this problem by partnering with another group in Lagos that has recording facilities and setting up a small studio in Kano, but it lacks the coherent structure in Kenya that meshes the MRC with mentoring opportunities. (Nigeria, does, notably, track interactions with trainees who contact them and tries to follow up all the way through the production of the story.)

It's too far. If there were something like that in Jos it would be brilliant.

—Trainee, Nigeria

Media is so scattered around Lagos, and mobility can be impossible. You can spend three hours getting to a place that's 10 minutes away on a traffic-free day. If we had more MRCs, I'm sure journalists would be elated.

—Internews staff, Nigeria

You need more mentors in strategic locations. Senior journalists that other journalists respect. It's something that can work. You'll train more people.

—Internews staff, Nigeria

Ethiopia, which because of the political problems described above had to close its office for eight months, similarly had trouble attracting journalists to the MRC. In part, the problem is location: There is no central place in Addis Ababa that is equally accessible to many media outlets. Senior-level management often has little interest in whether their reporters improve their skills. (Recently, the project has started to make traction with a new resident adviser.)

I have used the office, but it's far away. By car, it's 45 minutes. By bus it takes two hours. And I can't afford a taxi, which would cost almost one dollar.

—Trainee, Ethiopia

It's really tough to get journalists to come back and work with us when it's not guided in a workshop.

—Internews staff, Ethiopia

Mentoring of course takes place outside of the MRC settings. Trainees at each Local Voices site - and to a degree in Cambodia - routinely share drafts of their radio and TV scripts with Internews staff for editing advice, often by e-mail. Internews staff in both the Local Voices and Turnaround Time programs frequently help trainees find sources for stories. Kenya, Nigeria and India regularly send trainees clippings of HIV/AIDS stories, and Cambodia had started to explore the possibility of launching a website with similar offerings and a virtual library. Kenya's TV specialist sometimes goes on shoots with trainees to coach them in real world situations. Most every site other than Vietnam has made it a point to check in with trainees to see how they are faring and invite them to upcoming roundtable and field trips. Mentored field trips in all sites have offered powerful opportunities to build skills.

Recommendation #19: If budgets allow, have Internews staff at each site who can have frequent contact with trainees.

Recommendation #20: If budgets allow, establish a Media Resource Center at each site that offers free use of recording studios, internet and phones, a library, and expert technical and editorial support.

Recommendation #21: If governments refuse to allow Internews to establish an office in country, revisit the issue as frequently as possible, emphasizing to the authorities that this would create

longterm mentoring opportunities.

Recommendation #22: Continue to pursue development of websites for each site and tie them together under a central Internews website that's designed to help journalists everywhere better cover HIV/AIDS.

Local Voices/Turnaround Time Training Fundamentals

- Engage editors and media managers to ensure buy-in. When staff had close relations with media outlets that supported the program, the process worked more smoothly.
- Strong relationships with Ministries of Health support media engagement. Government officials in many countries worked closely with Local Voices and Turnaround Time to encourage participation from media outlets.
- Target journalists who cover health. Several sites explicitly approached health reporters, who have a built-in interest in the topic.
- Separate journalists by skill levels and media. When workshops and roundtables reviewed what trainees already knew or focused on topics that didn't apply to a given media, trainees became bored.
- Keep participation high. The more interaction journalists had with trainers and each other, the more they got out of workshops and trainers. Lectures and wordy PowerPoint presentations, even by prominent government or academic experts, left them less engaged.
- Make the role of funders clear from the outset. USAID and DFID certainly have agendas that Internews in part promotes through the content of trainings—like reducing stigma and discrimination--but none of the Internews sites we visited ceded any control to the funders in terms of the stories that trainees produced.
- Strictly limit the number of trainees in workshops and roundtables. Participation and satisfaction began to deteriorate with groups larger than 12 trainees.

C. Incentives

In Local Voices, journalists receive rewards when they complete a five-day workshop and then produce a pre-determined number of HIV/AIDS stories with mentoring from Internews. These incentives include minidisc or flash recorders for radio journalists, digital cameras for print reporters, lapel microphones for TV reporters, and flash drives. About 10% of journalists completed

the required stories and won the prizes (80% of them from Kenya and Nigeria), but the ones who do represent the subset of trainees with the most promise and most interest in the issues. In some countries, the program supports national media awards ceremonies around World AIDS Day. Local Voices also offers travel grants to encourage journalists to cover HIV/AIDS in communities that are far removed from the urban centers that are home to most media.

Turnaround Time did not have a structured incentive program, which could have bolstered its mentoring efforts. The Cambodia team did provide a few travel grants, but feared that providing other incentives would be abused, given the high level of corruption in that country. We understand and share this concern, but note that Local Voices works in corrupt countries, too, that face the same challenge. Perhaps incentives directed at media houses—such as a computer for the newsroom—would help with recruitment in some situations. This is being piloted in Nigeria. In Vietnam the program did not explore the possibility of encouraging coverage in more remote areas by offering to fund the travel. Although the program did offer journalists small prizes for producing the best stories during the workshops, these were relatively minor incentives that likely had no lasting impact on the quality or quantity of their HIV/AIDS coverage, or on their mentoring experiences.

Many journalists we interviewed said the most important tool they are lacking is a laptop. Most journalists visited MRCs to use the computers for research or editing. Other production and recording equipment was also in high demand, being used close to 3000 times by journalists in the Local Voices countries. With the push to develop cheap, simple laptops such as the XO (One Laptop Per Child), Internews should consider working with a manufacturer to develop a machine that would support the basic tools used by journalists, including a word processing program, Adobe, wireless and Ethernet access, and a web browser.

Recommendation #23: Consider offering incentives to media outlets as well as individuals to increase HIV/AIDS coverage.

Recommendation #24: Carefully select incentives that attract top performers and help them do their jobs, and use stringent requirements to protect the integrity of the effort.

Recommendation #25: Offer more travel grants to encourage geographically diverse HIV/AIDS coverage.

Recommendation #26: Consider working with a manufacturer to design an inexpensive laptop specifically for journalists.

D. Training of Non-Governmental Organizations, Community-Based Organizations and People Living with HIV/AIDS

Both Local Voices and Turnaround Time trained non-journalists who work with the media on HIV/AIDS related issues. A total of 440 NGO, CBO, and government representatives attended a formal 5-day, media-liaison training in the Local Voices sites. More than half of these participants were women. Another 1300 people from both projects participated in shorter workshops or briefings. Trainings ranged from teaching the basics of how to write effective press releases and stage press conferences to an exercise that had trainees phone journalists to pitch stories or invite them to an event. One of the more effective exercises used at a few sites videotaped trainees making presentations to help them better communicate their messages. And simply making links between non-journalists and the media helped reduce tensions between them and establish long-term sources in both directions.

Turnaround Time in general had a closer relationship with NGOs, CBOs, and PLHIV, and had much success helping these groups increase their voice in the media.

Before I had the training I was afraid to say anything. They changed my heart and mind. With most things, I have lots of courage now.
—CBO trainee, Cambodia

These programs gave me a lot of energy to talk openly. Most importantly, they built my self confidence and also taught me the best way to communicate with the public.
—PLHIV, Thailand

When we work together with journalists we consolidate our relationship. Stigma and discrimination is no longer an issue. I can see the change. Nowadays a lot of journalists are willing to work with positive people and focus on our needs.
—Representative of PLHIV NGO, Vietnam

Yet Turnaround Time in some instances put too much emphasis on helping individuals who were unaffiliated with organizations, thus limiting the impact of the trainings. Both Turnaround Time and Local Voices made the most impact when they helped organizations improve their skills communicating with media

It has changed a lot of things for my organization. I learned particularly how to make friends with the media, and the training gave me several insights about how we could improve the relationship. One thing I did was make a media list of people who work in different media houses, and I've built continual relationships, with or without a story. The way I went around it in the past wouldn't have been strategic. I would have made some noise, but I didn't know whom we needed to write to, or the specific response I wanted.
—NGO trainee, Nigeria

Both programs further could have instructed trainees how to teach others in their organizations what they had learned.

You get the training and knowledge, but you are not able to transfer the skills. They should facilitate us to be trainers of others. Draw an action plan and say how you are going to transfer this.

—NGO trainee, Kenya

Finally, programs need to carefully consider the amount of training they offer to non-journalists. Cambodia went so far as to evenly weight the number of trainings it held for PLHIV and journalists, and hired PLHIV on staff who were not journalism experts. This clearly benefited the PLHIV in that community, and to some degree the journalists who rely on them as sources, but this ultimately diverted resources away from the core mission of training journalists. And the relationship built with both PLHIV and NGOs by the Cambodia site sometimes blurred the line between advocacy and journalism.

Recommendation #27: Continue to train non-journalists who are involved with HIV/AIDS issues, but strive to work with individuals from organizations.

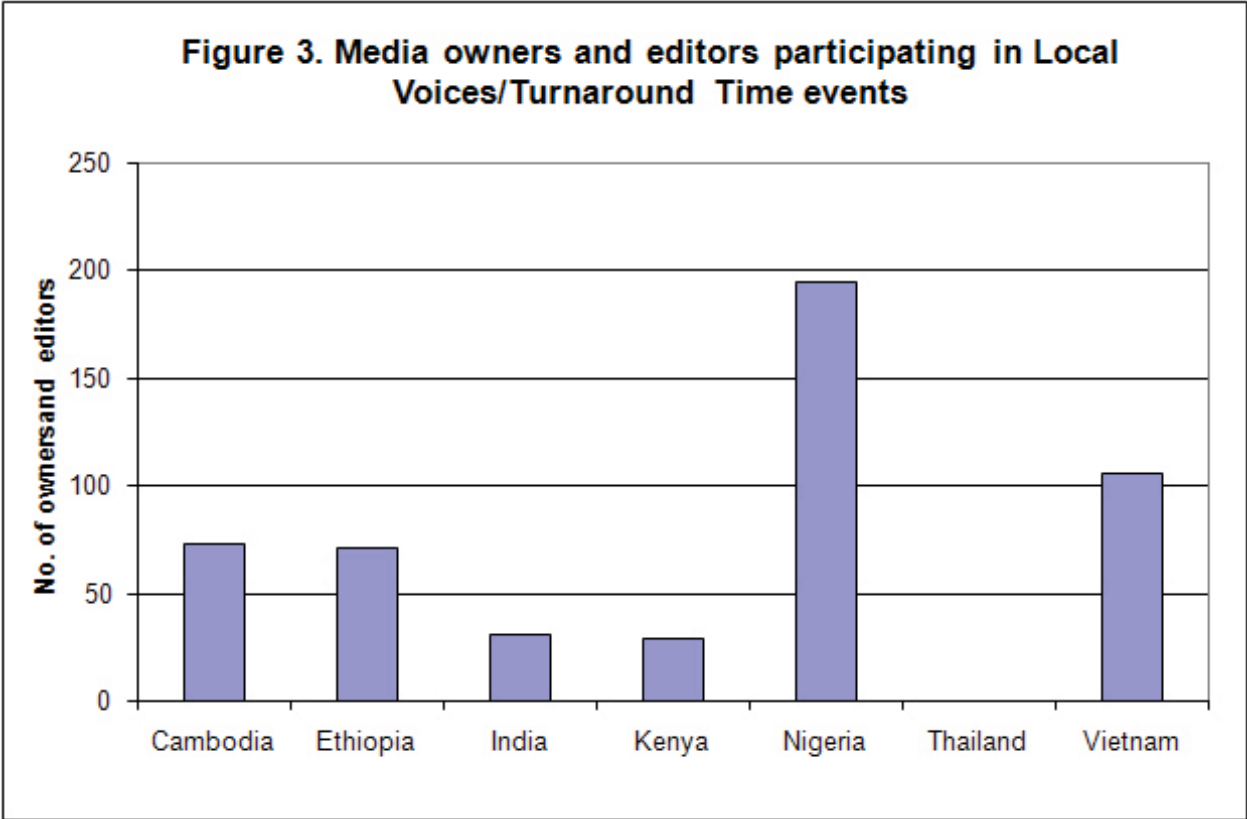
Recommendation #28: Encourage trainees to teach the skills and knowledge they learn to others in their organizations.

Recommendation #29: Providing trainings geared for PLHIV, NGOs and CBOs should always be a secondary goal that never compromises the primary one of training journalists.

Recommendation #30: Retain journalistic distance from advocacy groups, and never join them in their campaigns.

E. Editor/Manager/Government Engagement

A journalism-training program depends heavily on buy-in from editors, managers, and media owners (which in many cases is the government). If these decision makers do not appreciate what the program offers, they won't send reporters to trainings, or they will not embrace the changes that the reporters attempt to introduce in the content and style of their stories. Local Voices and Turnaround Time both recognized this and tried several strategies - to engage these critical stakeholders, as shown in Figure 3.



Strategies to engage these gatekeepers faced different challenges in different contexts. The Vietnamese government controls all media, but formed a close partnership with Turnaround Time. And the only reason the project was welcomed is because of the trust and respect that government representatives there have for the project director and her team. (The introduction of a new law that encourages journalists to improve and expand their HIV/AIDS coverage helped, too, as it fortuitously was enacted shortly after Turnaround Time began.)

[The project director] is very supportive and understands the situation here very well. We don't have any misunderstandings.

—Government representative, Vietnam

[The project director] is active with this program, works hard, and cares a lot about PL-HIV. She's especially very good at picking the trainers for this course. And the team of trainer has very good cooperation with the Vietnamese trainers.

—Government representative, Vietnam

I have been involved in several similar projects, and Turnaround Time is one of the most impressive I've seen. The people involved are enthusiastic and devoted.

—Government representative, Vietnam

The Ethiopian government exerts strict control over media, and Local Voices had difficulty mak-

ing much headway with buy-in from decision makers, especially after the previously described political problems faced by the first resident adviser. The government also recently shut down many private stations and publications, reducing competition and the incentive for journalists to improve their skills. Yet the reception from media outlets markedly improved after the most recent resident adviser developed close relationships with high-ranking officials in the ministries of health and information, hired a staff member from the national broadcasting station, and used local journalists to help with trainings.

There's so much demand, we can't meet it.

—Internews staff, Ethiopia

In Kenya, several of the Local Voices staff previously worked for the government's broadcasting station, and they have close ties with many of the editors there. So rather than going through ministries, they've had much success contacting their former colleagues. Editors at other radio and TV stations also have noticed the improved quality in the work produced by trainees and directly have contacted Local Voices. Yet outside of graduation ceremonies for trainees, editors have little formal interaction with the project.

Cambodia had difficulty engaging decision makers, even though a staffer regularly went to a favorite hangout of editors (under a tamarind tree) to try and strengthen relationships. They attempted to work with the local ministry of health and the National AIDS Authority, both of which have influence over the media, but officials there did not develop long-term relationships with the program. This was especially unfortunate given the government's objective to increase HIV/AIDS coverage.

Nigeria has one of the freest media environments in Africa, making government buy-in less of an issue than elsewhere. The challenge for Nigeria is that the program trains a more diverse array of media spread over a larger geographic area, requiring connections with many decision makers. But by and large, the program has been well received, and editors routinely sign an agreement that they'll use stories that trainees produce. In another innovative strategy, Nigeria invites managers to observe the first two days of workshops, furthering their buy in.

Most of the time we go out to meet media owners and managers, they're very welcoming that we're doing training for their staff.

—Internews staff, Nigeria

Several sites have held executive lunches and dinners geared toward editors and managers to help them understand the project's goals. Staff at most sites also have made it a point to visit broadcast stations and newspapers, where they can both evaluate their specific needs and meet with owners, managers and editors.

Each site faced challenges with these decision makers that ranged from their reluctance to send reporters to workshops because of the time commitment (well resourced private media in Kenya,

all media in Cambodia) or distrust of Internews to resisting the new storytelling approach, story angles, or terminology that trainees brought back to their newsrooms (most everywhere). Many Internews staffers and trainees alike complained that editors often were not qualified to do their jobs.

News editors have their own way of doing things. It's very difficult for journalists to go back and try to implement their skills. Sometimes it's very frustrating....With Nigerian TV journalists, if you tell them to write in simple words, simple language, they say, 'TV is for the elite so you should speak at the level of the elite.' And these are not just coming from the journalists. It's coming from the editors.

--Internews staff, Nigeria

Although Internews has done wonderful workshops for editors and the media organizations, there have been too few. We need to do more for editors and media organization leaders. All the stories in the media have to go through the editors before they can be published. So if the editors do not have good knowledge of HIV/AIDS to approve the new thinking, the editors may either reject the stories or make it worse with their own opinions and ruin the story.

--Government representative, Vietnam

There are no barriers to reporting on HIV. The only thing is the understanding of the editors. They don't have journalism backgrounds. They were appointed by politics and most come from the countryside. They're generals who've never shot bullets.

--Internews trainee, Ethiopia

Recommendation #31: Prepare a promotional brochure for decision makers that describes the training program and includes a CD with print, radio and TV stories produced by trainees.

Recommendation #32: Continue to hold executive lunches and dinners with editors and media managers to encourage them to send journalists to workshops and to see the value of more regular and diverse HIV/AIDS coverage.

Recommendation #33: Strive to develop close ties to government officials who advocate increased HIV/AIDS coverage, and encourage them to influence editors to take advantage of the trainings offered.

Recommendation #34: Visit media outlets to assess their constraints, and possibly offer such critical support as equipment or equipment repair that would encourage decision makers to see the value of establishing long-term relationships with Internews.

F. Monitoring and Evaluation

Measuring the impact of a program of this sort presents a variety of challenges. Unlike traditional behavior change communications approaches, Local Voices does not attempt to control the message. Also, journalists are exposed to a diversity of sources and it's difficult to identify the genesis of a story. Nonetheless, Local Voices and Turnaround Time established objectives and it is important to measure whether they were met. While a central database of indicators was not established until a year before both projects were completed, most of the offices keep records of numbers of trainees, editors, NGOs, PLHIV trained, and other basic data like MRC visits, travel and equipment grants.

Turnaround Time invested considerable resources in regular monitoring of media coverage of HIV/AIDS, using 20 indicators related to journalism and stigma. The results informed training content and strategy in each country, albeit in a rather unstructured way. This tool fell short of being able to measure project impact, but did lay the groundwork for the development of an instrument designed by Local Voices to measure the frequency and quality of reporting on HIV/AIDS.

In the early days of the project, all of the Local Voices offices attempted to outsource analyses of media coverage of HIV/AIDS to establish a baseline. Kenya was most successful with a baseline study on the frequency and quality of HIV/AIDS reporting on 11 radio stations contracted in 2003 and followed up a year later. The third "wave" of data collection floundered because of poor performance by the local research organization. Nigeria gathered information about audience preferences from questions they added to national surveys in 2004 and 2005. Overall, comprehensive monitoring and evaluation efforts were challenged by the lack of a central methodology and also by the uneven quality of the local research groups hired.

No other serious attempts were made to tackle impact until the last year of the project in these countries. In Nigeria, in 2008, stories aired and printed during a one month period on HIV/AIDS (and the other reproductive, maternal and child health issues that Local Voices was covering in Nigeria) were captured. Archive materials available through a major media house made it possible to get a baseline from 2004. Senior radio and print journalists as well as medical content experts then scored each story using a series of journalism and content indicators. The statistical analysis shows a pattern of modest positive change—from the baseline to the endline and between Local Voices trainees and those who did not receive any training, with more than half of the indicators showing statistical significance at the <0.05 level.

Another tool designed to measure the cost/benefit of the Local Voices program was developed and piloted in India. Results are presented below. While both tools will require further testing, refinement, and peer review, they represent a significant step forward in being able to quantitatively measure impact in a journalism training program.

Recommendation #35: Conduct a baseline of frequency and quality of programming on the spe-

cific topics to be covered at the outset of every project.

Recommendation #36: Include monitoring and evaluation capacity on project teams to ensure data collection, management and analysis meets international standards.

Recommendation #37: Continue to refine and use monitoring and evaluation tools that apply quantitative and qualitative indicators to measure impact for journalism training programs.

G. Management

Internews Europe and Internews Network both have committed, passionate, and talented journalists running the programs, and Local Voices in particular has steadily improved its selection of resident advisers in Nigeria and Ethiopia.

Kenya and India stand out for having hired journalists to run the program who also have strong backgrounds in HIV/AIDS. Both get along well with staff, and have received high praise for their management skills.

Nigeria and Ethiopia both have had rocky tenures with resident advisers who either had tense relations with staff or with the local officials. As noted earlier, both of these advisers also had limited technical experience doing radio field reporting. Internews might have averted this problem had it used experienced HIV/AIDS radio journalists to interview potential candidates for the job.

Currently, both programs have well liked, experienced resident advisers who appear to have earned wide respect.

I can see a lot of progress, especially after we have [the latest resident adviser] here. She's the most patient person I've ever seen. She works really hard.... If we can get funding for next year we can do a much better job than we've done in the past three years, and I hope it will work out. It's a very nice team in Addis. Everyone's a professional.

—Internews staff, Ethiopia

It's fantastic now. Internews Nigeria is like a family. Everybody's involved and made to feel like they belong and is important. The atmosphere is good. [The resident adviser] let's you be your own boss, to watch yourself. So people work extra hours and put in extra miles and show everything's OK. It's principally because of her leadership style. We didn't have effective leadership before.

—Internews staff, Nigeria

In Turnaround Time, the regional nature of the project made the project director the key manager (although Cambodia did have its own resident adviser). The project director had extensive experience reporting in the region, a deep understanding of the politics and culture, and speaks both Thai and Burmese. She developed excellent relationships with staff and officials in several countries, and developed a pool of well qualified journalists to conduct trainings. Although she did not

have extensive HIV/AIDS reporting experience, she found first-rate experts to help with trainings. (The Vietnamese supplied the HIV/AIDS experts, and the Cambodia resident adviser made her own connections in country.) The project director also had a strong support staff, including a financial and administrative assistant, and an experienced Thai journalist.

The resident adviser in Cambodia, who was only hired in July 2006, needed similar administrative support, but did not receive it until near the project's end. She also had strong loyalty from the small staff. Yet we think the program made several questionable decisions about how to spend its limited resources, including the overemphasis on PLHIV and NGO training mentioned earlier, a project to build a website again introduced too late into the project, and a special training done for a small community newspaper that had a questionable funding base. The resident adviser also had a background in political reporting, not HIV/AIDS coverage, which meant that she had limited ties to HIV/AIDS experts in the community. The project director further did not offer enough guidance or assistance to help the site train more journalists by leading HIV/AIDS authorities, the ultimate goal.

This raises an issue that Internews as an organization must confront: Too often, Turnaround Time and Local Voices operate like start-up operations, expecting staff to work long hours for modest pay, and making decisions that are pennywise and pound foolish. This is a problem that percolates down from both Internews Network and Internews Europe.

When a new site opens, it is a start-up and requires extra effort to launch it. But the staff that opens offices needs more support. Internews also should plan to move out of start-up mentality as quickly as possible as it burns people out, does not allow for reflection about what can be done better, and often does not exploit the best features of employees.

Kenya, because of its relative success, provides a telling example. When the first resident adviser was sent to Kenya, she received scant assistance with her housing, an essential need, and little direction about how to build the program—even though Internews had been in this business for decades. As the office grew and she went to rent a larger space, budgetary concerns led her to select a location that soon proved too small.

The current resident adviser clearly needs administrative assistance and does not spend enough time with trainees as either she or her staff would like.

If the resident adviser had more of a chance to detach from her desk work to have time to spend with journalists, it would have a bigger impact on the mentorship aspect of the program. The journalists are very comfortable with her as person, but her time is very limited with them. And sometimes you see things when you have time to reach out. It would be good for her, too. I see the glow inside of her at workshops, and it's not the same when you're behind a desk. When you help someone do a story it's like you did the story. And it's really what we're all about-- the individualized attention.

—Internews staff, Kenya

Other resident advisers similarly seemed stretched, with one saying “I’m turning into a terribly boring bureaucrat” and also lamenting her inability to do more trainings, and several describing the job as “overwhelming.”

Some pressure could be relieved if Internews Network and Internews Europe worked together in a more coordinated way. In Thailand, Turnaround Time recruited trainees who essentially had been vetted by Internews Network, which requires them to write applications that explain why they want a spot in the program. In turn, Turnaround Time did specific HIV/AIDS training for the Internews Network program. But this close, reciprocal relationship did not exist elsewhere. An Internews Network project for investigative reporting in Phnom Penh had little interaction with Turnaround Time there. Although some Turnaround Time staff did visit the Local Voices project in Nairobi it was in August 2007, close to the end of the project. Internews Europe also could have sought more assistance from Internews Network even though Turnaround Time had many of the same objectives as the more experienced Local Voices program. As one Internews staffer put it, “Internews is not an organization. It’s a series of projects.”

Both Turnaround Time and Local Voices would have benefited from more inputs from the broader organization, for instance in sites that faced strict media restrictions from governments. In two cases, Turnaround Time did seek and receive advice from Internews staffers who have a history working in Soviet Bloc countries about how to help journalists cover topics that seem off limits. But this could have been a built in component of both projects, as Internews has much expertise in this area. Yes, this is delicate subject, and must be handled discreetly—often through one-on-one mentoring, not group workshops—but it’s a critical issue when it comes to HIV/AIDS because governments frequently stake out positions that do not serve their own goals of slowing spread and helping the infected.

The Local Voices funder, USAID, could have aided management better, too, if its various officers communicated more with each other about the strengths and weaknesses of the programs that they supported. We were surprised that there was no point person at USAID who had a thorough grasp of each site and the program as a whole, and one field officer explained to us that no formal communication occurs between sites. Close relations with the funder, as occurred in Kenya, can have a powerful, positive impact on the program’s sense of direction and can also avoid problems such as gaps in funding (as occurred in Nigeria). This is no fault of Internews Network, but it deserves mention because the funder plays such an important role in shaping the program and the way its management functions.

Recommendation #38: Strive to hire project leaders who have both journalism and HIV/AIDS experience.

Recommendation #39: Use experienced HIV/AIDS reporters on Internews staff to interview potential project leaders, and make sure the interviewer has real-world experience in the media that will receive the most emphasis at the site.

Recommendation #40: Provide more support to staff opening new sites.

Recommendation #41: Provide more office assistance to resident advisers.

Recommendation #42: Strive to move away from “start up mentality” as quickly as possible.

Recommendation #43: Improve coordination and communication between Internews Network and Internews Europe.

Recommendation #44: More methodically and regularly share expertise between experts at Internews headquarters and the field sites.

H. Sustainability

Public health programs have long relied on mass media to inform, educate and motivate the public to adopt positive health behaviors. Public service announcements, serialized dramas, cartoons, posters, flyers and the like are commonly used to deliver messages to targeted audiences. Messages and formats are typically developed based on audience research. Their efficacy can be measured through recall surveys.

The Local Voices/Turnaround time approach represents a departure and a compliment to these more traditional Behavior Change Communications (BCC) approaches: It focuses on building the capacity of journalists and the commitment of editors to cover health issues.

Both types of interventions come at a cost. Donors have typically underwritten air time and print space for PSAs and other types of targeted programming. This cost sometimes represents a significant portion of a BCC project’s budget. And it is short-lived. Many media houses expect payments for running BCC messages, and rely on them as a source of revenue. By contrast, Internews’ invests in training and mentoring journalists, and helping other stakeholders such as PLHIV gain more of a voice by coaching and training them in media relations. This is also a hefty investment. PEPFAR spent \$10 million over four years on Local Voices Programs in four countries. DFID invested more than \$3 million over three years in the regional Turnaround Time program.

Nonetheless, a cost analysis of the program in India reveals a significant value for investment from the Local Voices program in Tamil Nadu. As shown in Table 1, the 70 journalists who were trained and mentored in the first year of the program subsequently produced substantial coverage of HIV/AIDS.

Table 1. Revenue savings from media coverage on HIV/AIDS generated by Local Voices trainees, India April 2007-March 2008

Medium	Amount	USD equivalent value
Radio	4317 minutes	38,027
Television	352 minutes	1,684
Print	112,197 sq cm	1,908,107
Total		1,947,818

The value of media coverage in Table 1 is estimated based on what a USAID project also operating in Tamil Nadu paid for placing health messages in the same, local media. These estimates, of course, assume that the trained journalists would otherwise not have produced stories on HIV/AIDS. They also assume an equivalent impact of BCC programming and independent media stories, as well as similar accuracy of information. Leaving these considerations aside, the estimate suggests that the amount of HIV/AIDS coverage produced by trainees cost significantly less than a BCC program would have spent had it directly purchased an equivalent amount of air and print time. Specifically, the cost of starting and running the Local Voices program in the first year was \$591,363. This comes to more than \$8,000 per journalist trained. Yet when compared to the \$1,947,818 for what it would have cost to purchase that amount of air time and print space, the Local Voices investment in training and related activities had a return of 328%.* Assuming that the journalists continue to produce HIV/AIDS stories at the same rate, this figure increases significantly when projected out a decade, even under circumstances where the cost of paid media and the cost of the Local Voices program increases. With traditional BCC programs, stations are unlikely to replay or reprint PSAs or other stories without further compensation.

Institutional sustainability was more problematic. Turnaround Time and Local Voices ideally hoped to transfer the programs they start to local groups, but to date, no site has made much progress on this front. And most funding expires for Turnaround Time and Local Voices in September 2008. (Nigeria has funding through June 2009.)

In Kenya, early attempts to connect with local journalism organizations proved fruitless because of factionalism, a sense that these groups were “suitcase” NGOs that were created in response to funding opportunities, and the government’s discouragement.

The organizations weren’t strong enough to exist on their own. They didn’t have full time staff. They were working journalists. Nobody was dedicated enough to take the leap and leave their jobs to do this. They refused to coordinate with each other or support each other or collaborate in any way.

—Internews staff

* Analysis done by Dr.Indrani Gupta, Professor, Institute of Economic Growth, New Delhi

Government officials encouraged Local Voices to see if they could bring these groups together. Local Voices sent the head of Nigeria's Journalists Against AIDS (JAAIDS), a successful NGO there, to Kenya to see if he could unite the disparate groups. He conducted workshops with them for four days. It did not go well.

He came back from Kenya shaking his head, saying these 4 groups will never work together.
—Internews staff

Local Voices in Kenya has yet to create a long-term relationship with a local partner that potentially could take over the program, and staff worry that if Internews pulled up stakes, the program would disappear.

If we did not have funding tomorrow and some journalists needed to pick this up, I sadly do not think it would stay here because of the confusion and the helter skelter. How do we make sure we don't confuse the point of having this type of organization and not get used by politicians? How do we keep it like it is? I don't think there's a strong enough journalism organization that claims to be pure and focused on the idea that training is what we're doing, and this is why we're here.

—Internews staff, Kenya

In Nigeria, the relationship with JAAIDS ran into difficulties, too. JAAIDS complained that it did not receive funding as promised. The Local Voices resident adviser also clashed with the charismatic leader of JAAIDS, who had trouble delegating authority to others in his group and began to turn the NGO increasingly toward advocacy. There was a sense, too, that Internews was encroaching on JAAIDS turf.

Part of them resented our presence at all in Nigeria: This was their thing, they were the journalists against AIDS. Who was Internews to come in? That's the challenge with Internews. It's very hard to get it right.

—Internews staff

The head of JAAIDS was tragically murdered, and that relationship is not as strong as it once was. Local Voices subsequently teamed up with Development Communications Network, a Nigerian NGO that does media development, but many questions remain about whether DevCom or any other group could run the program.

I can't see any indigenous group that could take over and attract funds for themselves. They don't have the capacity to mobilize quality funds. It has to do with the competence, too. Most groups that do trainings just do seminars and workshops, not really skills building.

—Internews staff, Nigeria

The India site has had success partnering with the local press club for trainings, and this group may have the interest and capacity to one day run the Local Voices program itself. Ethiopia has worked closely with Johns Hopkins University, which has an existing HIV/AIDS resource center

in Addis Ababa when Local Voices started, but Hopkins does not meet the goal of transferring ownership to locals--and there is no local organization that has the capacity to run such a program.

The transfer of Turnaround Time to a local group faces a different set of obstacles. Turnaround Time built sturdy partnerships with the Vietnam government and Cambodian NGOs and PLHIV. But unlike Local Voices, Turnaround Time is a regional project, and it's not clear that any country in the region has the desire or the skills to run such a program for its neighbors. It's conceivable that a journalism group in Cambodia could adopt the model, but none has emerged-- and it's hard to imagine these financially strapped journalists could risk taking the time to run a training program, especially one that required them to raise their own funding. In Vietnam, the local journalists do not have the freedom to run such a training program, and certainly could not promote Internews' goals of an independent media best informing a society.

Internews has succeeded in transferring training programs to locals in several countries, and it would help to analyze the components that worked in those settings that are not present in Turnaround Time or Local Voices. It could be that the focus on HIV/AIDS does not provide a sturdy enough platform to sustain a journalism training program run by locals, and that only by broadening the agenda can such an effort attract high caliber local talent and sufficient funding. Internews also should explore more carefully the possibility of partnering with local universities that have existing journalism schools. Both India and Ethiopia have made steps in this direction.

Recommendation #45: Internews needs to re-evaluate the goal of transferring ownership of HIV/AIDS training programs to locals, examining what allowed for similar transitions in other settings.

Conclusion

Covering the HIV/AIDS epidemic has proved challenging to journalists everywhere, and it's especially difficult in developing countries that have cash-strapped media outlets, governments that exercise a heavy hand with the press, weak education systems, widespread corruption, shaky infrastructure, and little available information in local languages that is authoritative and current. Internews Network and Internews Europe, each of which has extensive experience working with journalists in trying environments, believed that they could help, so they launched programs in Africa and Asia to improve HIV/AIDS coverage. They met many obstacles. But they overcame enough of them to improve the journalism skills and HIV/AIDS knowledge of hundreds of reporters who went through their hands-on training programs. The programs had even more of an impact when they developed long-term mentoring relationships with trainees, several of whom advanced in their careers and won awards for their HIV/AIDS coverage.

USAID and DFID, the funders of Local Voices and Turnaround Time, require numbers to assess whether the programs have produced what they promised. Impressive numbers exist: 1075 journalists participated in more than 100 workshops and nearly that many roundtables held by the two programs during the past six years. The journalists produced more than 5600 HIV/AIDS-related stories. But what's more impressive—and more difficult to document—is the progress that individuals made as journalists. Through our interviews with a sampling of trainees from each site and a review of some of their work, it's clear that both programs succeeded in teaching reporters how to cover HIV/AIDS more thoughtfully and with more sensitivity. Both programs at the very least reduced stigma and discrimination that reporters themselves felt toward PLHIV, and there's abundant evidence that this translated into more empathetic—and often more accurate—stories. At the very best, trainees improved their journalism skills across the board and came to see HIV/AIDS as a rich and complex topic that deserved close, careful attention.

The Kenya site developed more long-term relationships with trainees than any other, in part because it developed the most vibrant media resource center and because it had resident advisers who were experienced HIV/AIDS reporters. The much younger program in India appears on a similar track, and Nigeria has several trainees who have remained close with the program for years. The Vietnamese project, given the confines of the government restrictions, worked well, too.

The sites in Ethiopia, Nigeria, Cambodia each made progress, but on the whole, they had more trouble attracting trainees and connecting with them. Each faced unique constraints. Political and personal issues surfaced about resident advisers that hampered Ethiopia and Nigeria. Cambodia, which has recently emerged from genocide and then an occupation, has a wobbly media environment with a dearth of talented, older editors.

That said, the project as a whole could have benefited from a closer relationship between the sites, as well as more coordination between Internews Network and Internews Europe. A great deal of expertise exists in the organization that goes untapped because of geographic isolation, an over-worked staff, and factionalism. Each site also could have taken a more ambitious approach to the topics it covered, moving trainees more systematically from basic to complex subjects. And Internews as an organization needs to offer its key staffers more assistance.

Internews attempted to monitor and evaluate the sites, but it had trouble finding outside firms that adequately could do the job. It wisely began an internal project at Turnaround Time to do a qualitative assessment of the work produced by trainees, but this nascent project did not have enough time to mature. A project now underway at Local Voices will try to build on this and deserves support.

Did Internews help slow the spread of HIV and help those who have been harmed by the virus? Who knows. There's no way to gauge that. These are not treatment or prevention programs that can point to number of pills or condoms distributed, lives prolonged, or drops in incidence and prevalence. But Internews helped journalists improve their coverage of HIV/AIDS. We know this because of what went into the programs and what came out. Most everywhere provided trainees with experienced journalists who were talented teachers, and, in the best situations, equally qualified HIV/AIDS experts. Internews also created meaningful, participatory workshops that included worthwhile field trips to HIV-related projects in the local communities. Dozens of reporters we interviewed told us how the training had led them to become not just better HIV/AIDS reporters, but better journalists. And sites that offered incentives to trainees further developed a core of top-notch HIV/AIDS reporters whose coverage has become as sophisticated, diverse, and complex as that found anywhere.

As reporting on HIV/AIDS became more thorough, accurate and fair in developed countries, it contributed to several critical changes: PLHIV were treated more humanely, wild claims began to die out sooner, the public became more capable of intelligently discussing the issues, and policy makers responded more rationally and promptly to the challenges. Developing countries, which account for the vast majority of HIV infections in the world, badly need to make the same progress. Internews alone can't catalyze the change. But Local Voices and Turnaround Time amply demonstrate that Internews can help.

Addendum

Different Perspectives

Journalism is a relentlessly self-critical profession. Editors comb through copy repeatedly before it's released for public consumption. Newspapers decide every day which stories deserve front-page slots, and radio and TV stations carefully choose how to lead their news broadcasts. Editors pit stories against each other to decide how to allocate space or air time. Press critics have become a veritable sub-species in the trade. And many journalism awards exist, most of which have other journalists as judges. So journalists, myself included, often have strong opinions about how to evaluate journalism.

When a development project invests in journalism, it rightly wants to know whether the money made a difference. But how do you best judge the impact of a journalism training program? What do you measure? Who says what's positive, negative or neutral in HIV/AIDS coverage?

Internews has assessed the impact of its programs by collecting data about 28 "indicators," which range from tracking the number of people who have attended trainings to tallying the number of HIV/AIDS stories they've produced, the visits a site had to its Media Resource Center, mentoring exchanges, and incentives given. Turnaround Time also did content analyses of stories produced by trainees compared to the general media. I think it's a worthwhile exercise to gather these data, but in the end, they meant more to my co-authors than they did to me.

This may in part reflect our different backgrounds. Laurie Zivetz has a long history working in development. Mia Malan has both worked as a journalist and in development. I am a journalist with no development experience—and, frankly, words like "indicators," "implementation," and "outputs" hurt my ears. I understand that funders want concrete evidence of bang for their bucks, but journalism does not easily fit into the development arena, and I remain concerned that the funders want to judge these training projects with metrics that are an awkward fit for a journalism training program. Internews, to its credit, has tried to push beyond the standard evidence of achievement, like the number of people trained, and into the more complex topic of content analyses, but that's fraught with problems, too.

At the end of the day, I'm not sure what the numbers mean, and even the content analyses leave me scratching my head. The fundamental problem I have is that the funders--and Internews, in turn—do not judge journalists the way we judge our

own. A journalism school or an editor would ask whether an individual improved, which I think makes more sense than pitting the performance of trainees against non-trainees, as these metrics do. (Internews trainers do this to a degree in their reports, but not in a qualitative way.)

Internews plans do careful content analyses in the future, and the tool they are developing is thoughtfully designed and builds on what Turnaround Time has pioneered. But that attempt at content analysis also will have serious limitations to my mind.

Internews plans to measure the quality of journalism with a four-point scale that looks at different parameters. This inherently will have a serious shortcoming: subjectivity. Structure, content, engaging, balance—four parameters they’re gauging—are ultimately in the eyes of the beholder. A study can reduce this bias by having multiple, accomplished journalists assessing stories, but how many do you need? The choice of parameters, too, is subjective. Their current tool, for example, does not assess three important considerations that I use to judge quality: originality, resourcefulness, and style. And I suspect other journalists would have their own favorite metrics.

Our interviews, as well as reviewing stories produced by trainees, left me thoroughly convinced that many improved their fundamental journalism skills and their technical abilities, learned the fundamentals about treatment and prevention, changed their attitudes toward PLHIV, and became more interested in the subject. Can I prove it? No. Just like a journalism professor who gives out grades or an editor who rates performance, it’s an opinion. The opinion is based on facts, but there are no hard numbers to back them. And I’m not convinced that comparing the scores given to stories produced by trainees and non-trainees, using the new tool that Internews is designing, would have had much influence on my conclusions.

The process we used to produce this report itself, of course, may provide yet another useful way to assess the impact of a journalism training program. But that’s for others to judge--by whatever metrics they choose.

Jon Cohen

Additional copies of this publication are available on the Internews Network website at www.internews.org

Internews is an international media development organization whose mission is to empower people worldwide with the news and information they need, the ability to connect, and the means to make their voices heard.

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