ENABLE
Enhancing Nigerian Advocacy
for a Better Business Environment

Case Study

MAKING MEDIA WORK FOR THE POOR

THE SPRINGFIELD CENTRE
For Business in Development

Adam Smith International

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ACRONYMS & DEFINITIONS

BE	Business Environment
BER	Business Environment Reform
BMO	Business Membership Organisation
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
ENABLE	Enhancing Nigerian Advocacy for a Better Business Environment
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
LTV	Lagos TV
M4P	Making Markets Work for the Poor
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NAN	News Agency of Nigeria
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
OAP	On Air Personality (term used particularly by Lagos radio stations)
PPD	Public Private Dialogue
SMEDAN	Small and Medium Enterprise Development Agency of Nigeria

Cover Image: Cynthia Onu, presenter at Wazobia FM, interviewing a market vendor who described how she would struggle to pay her children's school fees because of the government closure of the Mile 12 market.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and has the potential to be one of the prime drivers of development in Africa. Nevertheless, the country's development is constrained by the weak environment for broad-based economic growth. Inadequate and unreliable infrastructure, poor policy formulation and implementation, and corruption all negatively impact on the growth of businesses of all sizes, but particularly the smallest.

While specific policy and regulatory changes can improve the environment for economic growth in the short-term, achieving sustainable, long-term change in Nigeria requires a significant strengthening of policy formulation and implementation processes. At the core, this policy process involves the supply of, and demand for, improvements in the Business Environment (BE). This case study looks at work being undertaken by the ENABLE Programme in Nigeria to strengthen one of the key supporters of this policy process – the mass media.

The mass media (newspapers and broadcast) has the potential to support and inform the advocates for BE reform, such as Business Member Organisations (BMOs), and to directly influence policy makers and regulators. This potential has been significantly enhanced in Nigeria over the last 10 years with the increasing pluralism of media and the growth of privately owned media houses. Nevertheless, this potential has not been fully realised. The Nigerian media focuses little on business, and the business coverage that does exist is often dominated by macro-economic, large and international business issues, or is one-sided, representing only the views of government or the elite. The real issues that impact on Nigeria's millions of small businesses and its huge agricultural sector are often neglected, and the poor are denied an effective voice on BE issues.

The ENABLE Approach to Media in BE Reform

Most BE development projects tend to view the media as a tool for delivering specific messages rather than as a principle actor in BE reform. Business advocates such as BMOs are typically supported to 'use' the media in their advocacy, often in the form of financial support to buy media space for advocacy campaigns. In addition, donor programmes often produce their own media content directly, and pay for its distribution on air and in print.

ENABLE has taken a radically different and innovative approach, recognising media as a key driver of change and working to reinforce the incentives and improve the skills around small business and agricultural reporting. This involves developing the media as a major actor in the BE policy process, and working with them to increase the quality and quantity of sustainable (commercially viable) coverage of small business and agricultural issues.

The underlying premise for sustainability in media is simple: media coverage that focuses on the real issues that impact on how the majority of Nigerian's make their living, and which does this in a dynamic and relevant way, will gain significant audience. These popular media products will then attract advertisers and sponsorship. In other words, effective programmes that focus on the livelihoods of the poor can be both popular and profitable for media houses.

Since 2008, ENABLE has embarked on working with media houses to prove this principle and to increase the quality and quantity of small business and agriculture reporting. This work has had proven impact at a number of levels:

ENABLE's Results in Changing the Media Industry

- ENABLE worked initially with eleven media houses. From these eleven media partners, four emerged as "star partners" from which greater impact and replication could be leveraged. These include the second largest circulating newspaper in Nigeria (Daily Trust), the first and second most listened to radio stations (Freedom Radio in Kano and Wazobia in Lagos) and the main state TV broadcaster in Lagos (LTV).
- The products emerging from these star partnerships have proven the popularity and profitability of investigative, issue-based small business content, and have resulted in replication of the concept both within the partner media houses themselves and by their competitors. At least eight stations and publications have been identified as having changed practices as a result of the work done with these four star partners.

- The ENABLE work has changed media owners' and practitioners' perspectives of small business and agriculture coverage. Such coverage is now perceived in partner media houses as popular and profitable, and star partners in particular are devoting considerable resources to sustaining and expanding their small business and agriculture coverage (without any direct financial inducements from ENABLE).

ENABLE's Impact on Advocacy and Dialogue Through Media

The new and improved media products launched by ENABLE partners (and their imitators) have investigated a wide number of advocacy issues. Some of these are national campaigns while others are local issues. All are issues that impact on the lives, incomes and employment of poor people in small business and agriculture. Examples include:

- The Daily Trust running an ongoing series of penetrating reports on the reality of government subsidy and distribution of fertiliser. Lack of access to fertiliser is one of the major constraints to improved agricultural productivity and rural incomes in Nigeria.
- Exploring issues facing market traders, including highlighting the cost to traders of Lagos State Government's unannounced and forced temporary closure of the huge Mile 12 market in Lagos.
- Broadcast media exposing multiple and illegal taxation in Kano State.
- Broadcast media providing a platform for debate on the introduction of the "Cashless Economy" and its implications for small traders.
- Supporting the advocacy of Okada drivers (motorcycle taxi drivers) in their drive to reduce the impact on their business of new Lagos Traffic Laws.

By opening up the media space in this way, ENABLE has given a sustainable voice to organisations and people that previously lacked access to the policy making process, such as smallholder farmers and Okada drivers.

ENABLE's Impact on Business Environment Reform Through Media

The improved business reporting has contributed to and had a direct impact on incomes and employment. The impacts highlighted in this case study include:

- Contributing to the new policy of fertiliser distribution which so far has improved access to fertiliser for over 600,000 smallholder farmers. The Daily Trust in particular continues to monitor this new policy using a newly established network of farmers and associations as sources of information, which should lead to further improvements in government fertiliser policy and even greater impact.
- Contributing to changes in CBN's cashless economy policy, which has spared many thousands of small businesses from charges on cash withdrawals and deposits.
- Contributing to the ongoing refinement of the Lagos Traffic Law which is likely to save the livelihoods of a significant proportion of the 100,000 Okada drivers in Lagos, and help preserve affordable transportation options for poor Lagosians.
- Directly supporting small traders to expose multiple and illegal taxation, which prompted a government review of multiple tax in Kano state. This has the potential to impact significantly on the 870,000 micro businesses in Kano State[1].

The Future

These examples highlight the potential impact of media on the policy process. The ENABLE approach to sustainability ensures that these are not one off advocacy activities, but form the ongoing activities of a media industry that is now playing a more effective, sustainable role in policy and advocacy processes. The work of ENABLE has significant potential to be built upon; not only in increased replication of small business and agricultural reporting but also in new advocacy areas such as health, education and governance.

1. Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and Small and Medium Enterprise Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN), National MSME Survey, 2010.

BOX 1: About ENABLE

ENABLE is a 4.5 year, £11m DFID-funded business advocacy programme implemented by Adam Smith International and The Springfield Centre. ENABLE is unique in that it is the first donor programme to apply the principles of M4P and systems thinking to Business Environment Reform. ENABLE operates at the federal level and in three focal states: Lagos, Kaduna, and Kano.

ENABLE works to leave behind a stronger Business Environment Reform (BER) system that will, of itself, generate a better business environment. To create systemic pro-poor change in the BER system, ENABLE works to:

- Strengthen private sector demand for reform by supporting Business Membership Organisations to engage in effective advocacy on behalf of the private sector;
- Increase the quality and quantity of reform by building the ability and willingness of Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies to dialogue with the private sector;
- Strengthen the role of the Nigerian media as a driver and supporter of business environment reform, a channel for information, and a platform for debate and discussion;
- Improve access to, and supply of, legal, policy and regulatory information and other services that serve to stimulate and inform dialogue;
- Create change that is self-replicating and reinforcing (sustainability); and
- Promote wide-spread replication of innovations and new practices (scale)

PART 1:

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN IMPROVING THE BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

The overall objective of ENABLE is to improve the business environment for poor men and women in Nigeria by improving consultation and dialogue on business issues. Part 1 explains the role media can play in driving pro-poor business environment reform and explores some of the reasons why the Nigerian media had previously failed to contribute in any meaningful way to this objective.

The Business Environment in Nigeria

There are many constraints and obstacles to establishing and running a business in Nigeria. Nigeria is ranked 131 out of 185 countries in the World Bank ease of doing business ranking[2] and in some key indicators is one of the worst performing economies in the world (e.g. access to electricity (178th), registering property (182nd), and paying taxes (154th)). Nigeria is also perceived to be among the most corrupt countries in the world, ranked 143 out of 182 in the Global Corruption Perceptions Index[3].

These constraints in the Business Environment impact heavily on all sectors of business, but often weigh heaviest on the smallest enterprises that have neither the resources nor the clout to overcome hurdles such as access to basic infrastructure and services, and corruption and graft.

Micro and Small Enterprises in Nigeria

The Nigerian micro and small business sector is crucially important to both the economic and social structure of the country. Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) account for over 46% of GDP. 99% of all businesses operating in Nigeria are micro (employing less than 5 people and with assets under 5 Million Naira, approximately £20,000)[4]. The MSME sector is predominantly informal, with 95.3% of micro enterprises un-registered, but is the major employer of and source of livelihoods for, the poor. 77% of micro enterprises have a monthly average turnover below 50,000 Naira (approximately £200).

For the poor, informal and micro businesses are a vital source of livelihood. This is particularly important in Nigeria where poverty is a major and growing issue. The poverty incidence grew from 27.2% in 1980 to 69% in 2010[5]. 61% of Nigeria's population live on less than US$1 a day[6]. Improving the business environment for the informal sector is therefore of direct importance to poverty reduction in Nigeria.

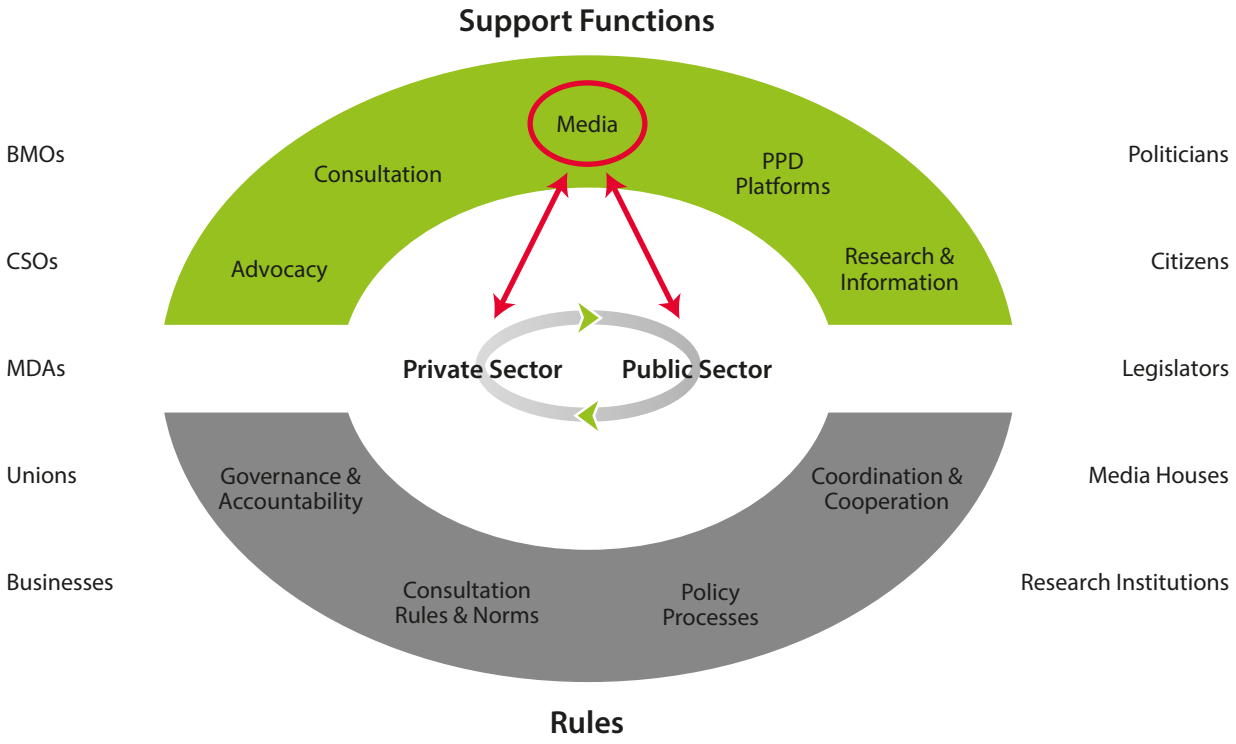
Business Environment Reform and the Mass Media

The laws, policies, and regulations that shape a country's business environment can be seen as the outcome of a negotiation (or contestation) between the public and private sector. Where the private sector lacks effective voice, the prevailing laws, policies, and regulations tend to be ill-conceived and act as a brake on enterprise and wealth creation. This core "exchange" between the public and private sector is shaped by a set of "support functions" and "rules" *(see Figure 1)*. The mass media – television, radio and newspapers – plays a potentially critical role in supporting and catalysing BE reform. When working effectively, the mass media performs a number of key roles:

- Providing platforms for debate on BE issues,
- breaking and investigating issues that impact on the business sector,
- acting as a watchdog by monitoring policy implementation by government and following-up on promises made,
- providing a voice for small business people and associations that otherwise lack effective representation, and
- increasing understanding and awareness of policies and regulations.

2. Source: Doing Business, World Bank, 2012
3. Source: Corruption Perceptions Index, Transparency International, 2011
4. Source: NBS and SMEDAN, National MSME Survey, 2010
5. Source: NBS Harmonised Nigeria Living Standards Survey, 2010
6. Source: Nigeria poverty profile, NBS, 2010

Figure 1: Business Environment Reform System



The media can potentially play an important role in voicing the issues of micro businesses who are either not represented by a BMO or are members of small groups with little power and ability to gain high level and public attention. This is particularly important in Nigeria where 86.5% of all micro enterprises are not members of any BMO[7].

Media should therefore be understood not just as a supporter of the advocacy of others (such as BMOs) but also a key driver of change in its own right. As both a supporter of drivers of change and as a driver of change in itself, it is important to recognise the need for media to act as an impartial and independent actor in the BE reform system.

7. Source: NBS and SMEDAN, National MSME Survey, 2010

BOX 2: The Media Industry in Nigeria

Nigeria has a diverse and growing media industry. Since 1999, with the return to civilian rule, the media industry has been increasingly liberalised (although the country still lags behind leading African countries such as Uganda). The industry is comprised of a mixture of private and public media houses. In recent years some public media houses have become increasingly commercialised as government allocations have been squeezed.

Newspapers	There are approximately 10 national newspapers in Nigeria, and many more local newspapers (published in both English and vernacular languages). There are also two dedicated business papers. The leading newspaper in Nigeria has approximately 4 million regular readers. Newspaper readership stood at 57% of the adult population (over 7 years of age) in 2011. Prices tend to be high (most national newspapers cost around $1), limiting their appeal among the poor, especially in the North where English proficiency is lower. On average, 40% of readers are from the two lowest social classes (D and E).
Radio	Radio has been gradually liberalised over the last few years, leading to an increasingly vibrant radio sector. There are over 150 radio stations in Nigeria, with 25 new stations opening in 2011 alone (mostly privately owned). Listenership stood at 98% of the adult population in 2011, making radio the most popular medium. The most popular radio station has approximately 6 million regular listeners. The Federal Government operates an extensive radio network (FRCN); many state governments also operate radio stations. Radio is particularly popular among the poor given that it is cheap to access and does not require any literacy skills. On average, 51% of listeners are from the two lowest social classes.
Television	Like radio, TV has been liberalised over the last few years. However, although private stations are gaining popularity, the landscape is still dominated by NTA (a federally-owned TV station) and smaller state-owned TV stations. Viewership is high at 96% of the adult population in 2011. The most popular channel has approximately 3 million regular viewers. On average, 46% of viewers are from the two lowest social classes.

Source: Africa Media & Product Survey, 2012

The Performance of Mass Media in Supporting Business Environment Reform in Nigeria

To play an effective and sustained role in BE reform, the mass media needs to:

Focus on Real BE Issues:

Media needs to cover business issues not only in the news, but within specific segments and programmes that can explore issues in greater depth and detail. To generate pro-poor impact, and to attain popularity, media needs to focus on the real issues facing micro-entrepreneurs (not just stock-market reports and coverage of big business).

Effectively Investigate and Report on BE Issues:

Business issues featured in the media need to be effectively investigated and researched and presented in a way which is interesting and compelling to audiences and stakeholders. To have pro-poor impact, and to attain popularity, media needs to investigate how BE issues affect ordinary people on-the-ground (e.g. through field-based reporting).

Be Impartial and Balanced in Reporting BE Issues:

To have credibility, business reporting has to be balanced, investigate issues from a variety of angles, and give the 'right to reply' to all sides. Media companies also need to ensure that un-informed opinion is countered by informed opinion and facts.

Recognise the Commercial Potential of BE Coverage:

For media houses operating in the commercial sphere (which includes private media houses as well as the majority of state and federal media houses in Nigeria), there needs to be recognition that covering issues that have relevance to the lives of their audience and the nation as a whole can be both popular and profitable. It is essential that senior management, editorial staff, and marketing managers recognise the link between meaningful content and the 'double bottom line' of media, namely audience (ratings) and revenue.

At the start of ENABLE, the effectiveness of the media industry in driving pro-poor BE reform was limited:

- News coverage in Nigeria tended to be top-down, reflecting the view of government or the elite; some coverage was little more than the parroting of government press releases. This privileging of the

powerful and wealthy denied the poor a voice and prevented the media from holding government to account.

- Coverage was often not balanced – only one side of the debate was presented (typically that of the government). This limited the space for dialogue and debate.
- Where the private sector was represented it was often in the form of soft-profiling (promoting a particular successful business or entrepreneur) rather than addressing the real issues facing poor business people in Nigeria.
- There was very little investigative journalism. If substantive issues facing the business community were raised, they were not explored in-depth. Field-based reporting was rare, again limiting the opportunity for poor businesspeople to express their views or raise issues of concern.

BOX 3: Example of Single Sourced, Top-Down Reporting in the Nigerian Media

The article below was published in 2011 in one of the leading national newspapers in Nigeria. It is a good example of the top-down, unbalanced, and superficial reporting of business issues that is common among newspapers in Nigeria.

Katsina Distributes 340 Tractors to Farmers

Katsina State Governor, Alhaji Ibrahim Shema, has disclosed that 340 tractors have been distributed to the farmers in the state for this year's farming season. The Governor said his administration has prioritised farming as one of the major backbones in the state economy and will not even contemplate treating it lightly or politicising it.

A release made available to [this newspaper] signed by Chief Press Secretary to the Governor, debunked the report that eight people shared one bag of fertiliser in the state as alleged in a national daily. The chief press secretary said the transparent sharing formula adopted by the state government was also commended by even some opposition party members.

He said government adopts policies that are as transparent as possible, especially as it affects fertiliser distribution. The Governor added that there was a fair distribution of fertiliser products across the State.

This underperformance was caused by a number of underlying constraints in the Nigerian media industry:

Lack of in-depth focus in business reporting, particularly the MSME sector: The Nigerian media industry is a vibrant and growing industry which is increasingly competitive over listeners, viewers and readers. This growing commercialisation has often resulted in a focus on entertainment over factual content and variety over depth. Broadcasters in particular seldom focus on business or run dedicated BE programmes since they do not perceive such programmes as capable of driving up ratings (audience) or advertising revenues.

Prevalence of 'pay to play': As in many countries, the mass media is often willing to sacrifice impartiality, balance and editorial control (choice of topics) for advertising revenue. Advertisers can often dictate content as part of their sponsorship package. In Nigeria this is known as 'pay to play'[8]. This significantly undermines both the credibility of the media house and the content (information) it provides. Under a pay-to-play business model, journalists are reluctant to undertake field-based reporting, because poor people are unable to pay to be featured in the media. This helps to explain the preponderance of top-down reporting, reflecting only the views of the elite or government.

Weak capacity of journalists: Many of the journalists working in Nigerian media houses lack the skills necessary to produce high-quality investigative business content (e.g. field-based reporting techniques). Journalists are also often chronically under-resourced: even if they have the necessary skills, they lack the time and equipment to produce investigative, balanced, field-based reports (which takes more time and effort than simply regurgitating a government press release).

A focus on studio based programming revolving around personalities rather than issues: Much of the success of the leading broadcast companies is perceived to have been driven by a dynamic format of light studio based chat and music programming driven by on air personalities and phone ins. These formats are cheap and easy to produce and relatively popular among the audience and have dominated radio programming in Nigeria (see Box 4).

8. Commercial advertisers and sponsors, as well as governments and even development projects, have been known to use editorial weaknesses within the media to manipulate content and shift focus to their own agendas.

BOX 4: Wazobia: The Rise in Dominance of the On-Air Personality

Wazobia FM has emerged as one of the most successful broadcasters in Nigeria over the last five years. Wazobia is a pidgin English radio station who broadcast in the street language of Southern Nigeria. Their success has been driven not only by their choice of broadcast language, but also by a dynamic group of what are known as 'OAPs' (On Air Personalities). These OAPs mix humour, studio chat, phone-ins, music and creative sound effects to create an appealing entertainment mix. These programmes (often up to 3 hours in length) occasionally touch on topical social and political issues, but with very little meaningful research, analysis or considered perspective. The result is programmes that highlight issues, but can also propagate misinformation. These entertainment programmes are interspersed with short news bulletins which focus only on the headlines and go into little depth.

Prior to 2011, nowhere within the Wazobia format was there space for programmes which were effectively researched and balanced. Such programmes require a team approach involving researchers and field based recording. These formats were perceived to be expensive and potentially damaging to the 'winning formula' the station had established.

In 2011, ENABLE began working with Wazobia to develop a new type of in-depth, issue-based programme on business. This is perceived as a significant departure from their predominant model of programme production, and by 2013 the potential to significantly influence their broadcasting is being realised (see Part 3).

PART 2:

THE ENABLE STRATEGY AND APPROACH TO MEDIA DEVELOPMENT

Part 2 summarises the ENABLE media strategy. ENABLE places a high premium on scale and sustainability in everything it does. In ENABLE's work with the media, this means working in partnership with local organisations to change the incentives, capacities, and behaviours of journalists, editors, marketing managers, and media owners. The aim is to leave behind a vibrant and successful media industry that will continue to promote pro-poor business environment reform long after the ENABLE programme has closed.

Common Approaches to Media in Development

Development actors have worked with and used mass media within development programmes for decades. This 'media in development' can be categorised into three distinct areas:

- **Public Relations (PR) and Publicity:** Media is used to generate publicity around project events and activities. Programmes employ PR techniques to generate coverage (e.g. media events, press releases and press conferences) and sometimes directly purchase media space.
- **Development Communication:** Media is used as a channel to disseminate messages crafted by the project. This is often done as part of project-led information or communication campaigns, again involving the purchase of media space and airtime.
- **Media Development:** Investment is focused on building the capacity of the media to become a more effective actor in development. This typically involves investments in training, and sometimes equipment and other infrastructure.

Media development is fundamentally different from development communication and PR. While development communications and PR focus on using media as a 'tool', media development recognises media as an actor in its own right which can be supported to play a more effective, and sustainable, role.

Business environment reform projects have often recognised the power of the media, but have primarily viewed it as a tool and only invested limited resources in media development. Media tends to be viewed primarily in a limited supportive role, with BMOs supported to improve PR and media relations and pay for media space in support of BMO-led advocacy campaigns (pay to play).

In relative terms, little investment is focused on real media development in most BE projects.

The ENABLE Focus

In contrast, the ENABLE project has adopted a new and relatively unique approach to media in BE reform and allocated considerable resources to media development.

A Sustainable Vision for Media in BE Reform

ENABLE views media as a key part of the BE reform system and media has become a primary focus alongside support to BMOs, research organisations, and government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs). Media is recognised as both a supporting function to the public-private advocacy process and as a critical actor in its own right. ENABLE aims to catalyse a sustainable improvement in the performance of Nigerian media: the aim is to leave behind a media industry that will continue to drive pro-poor BE reform long after ENABLE has exited.

BOX 5: The 'Quality' Focus:

ENABLE aims to catalyse media coverage of BE issues that is:

- **Issue driven**, rather than event or personality driven
- Primarily **bottom up** rather than top down: identifying issues from the audience themselves rather than being driven by government or elites
- **Investigative:** issues are explored in-depth, from a variety of angles
- **Balanced:** reports are multiple-sourced, representing different views on the issue
- **Interactive** with the audience in as many ways as possible (field based interviews, phone ins, SMS, internet)
- **Accessible:** provides analysis and explanation in plain, accessible language
- **Followed-up:** issues are not covered once and dropped, but followed up
- **Commercially profitable**, but without advertisers and sponsors influencing content

Focusing on Increased Quantity and Improved Quality in Small Business Reporting

ENABLE aims to bring about a sustained increase in the quantity and quality of business journalism. In particular, the ENABLE media component has adopted a specific pro-poor focus, aiming to enhance the coverage of business issues effecting micro-entrepreneurs (including small-holder farmers).

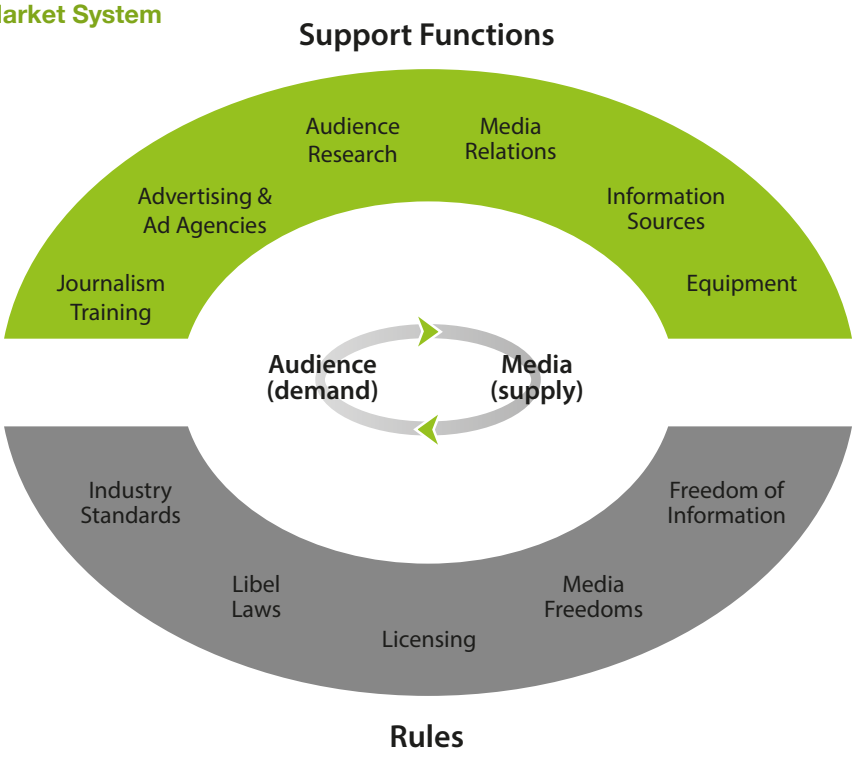
Accepting and Working Within the Commercial Realities of Media

Development practitioners often perceive the commercialisation of media in Africa as being detrimental to development objectives. ENABLE, on the other hand, views the increased competitiveness and diversity of media as a positive opportunity for development. Increased competition drives media houses to compete for audience share and therefore innovate around new formats. Content and programmes in dynamic and popular formats have the potential to not only be run sustainably and profitably, but to take root, grow and spread as popular formats are copied by competitors.

Thinking Systemically - Working Within the Wider Media Market

Like the "BER system" presented in Figure 1, the media industry can also be thought of as a system consisting of a core demand-supply exchange and a set of support functions and rules *(see Figure 2)*. ENABLE recognises the need to work with the wider media system. ENABLE does not just focus only on journalists, nor only on media managers; ENABLE also works to bring about change in the way that advertisers, advertising agents, media researchers and media trainers perceive small business content and journalism. This increases the likelihood that innovations will spread throughout the industry, increasing the scale of impact and the likelihood that innovations and practice change will be sustained after ENABLE exits.

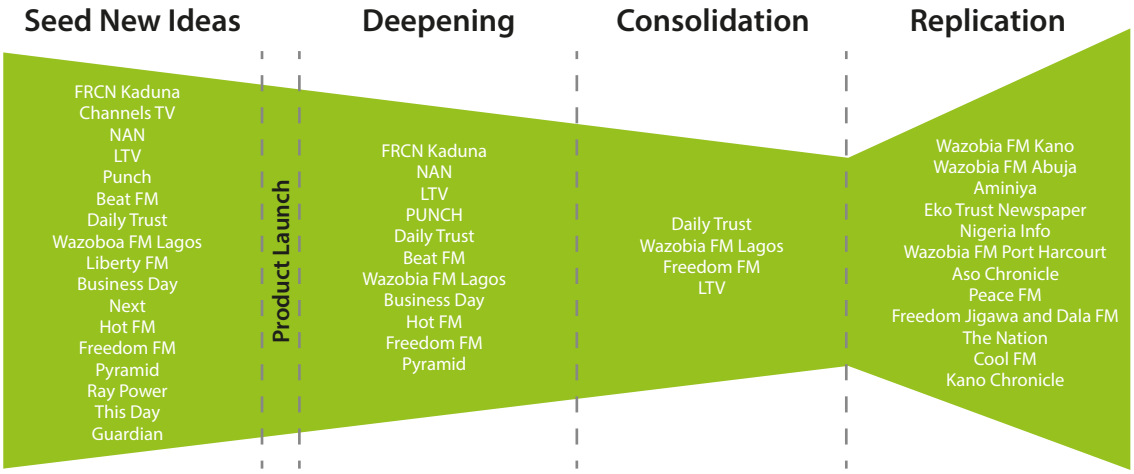
Figure 2: The Media Market System



The ENABLE Strategy

To bring about change, ENABLE has focused on proving and reinforcing the core competitive driving force for a commercially oriented media house, namely that investment in improved content will result in increased audience ratings and increased revenue though advertising. This is applicable not only to privately owned media, but also to state and federal media which is increasingly compelled to seek advertising revenue and compete commercially.

To achieve this ENABLE focuses on the key actors within media houses: media management, and staff in editorial and production (including journalists) and marketing. ENABLE also works with the external supporting functions of media research, and advertisers and advertising agents *(Figure 2)*, to ensure that this core commercial driving force is fully realised for small business programming and content.



ENABLE's core strategy involves four steps:

1. **Seeding new ideas** for small business content with a large number of potential media partners: Through introductory trainings and direct interaction, ENABLE promoted new approaches and formats for the coverage of small business issues, drawing on experience from other African countries[9]. ENABLE also undertook market research to illustrate the potential for small-business content. Support was offered to any media organisations agreeing to test and launch pilot small business products.

2. **Deepening:** More intensive training and mentoring was provided to media partners who successfully launched small business media products. Mentoring focused on improving the ability of production teams to effectively identify BE issues, produce high-quality investigative, balanced, interactive, and accessible content, and to undertake effective follow-up.

3. **Consolidation:** The champion products and partnerships that emerged from this group were given additional support to maximise quality and attract advertising. These products were chosen as those with the greatest potential to act as models for the industry and be the foundation for replication.

4. **Replication:** these champion products are now being used as models to support replication both within the media companies (internal replication) and among competing media companies (external replication).

Central to the ENABLE strategy is the idea of trial-and-error and learning from failure. ENABLE knew that in the first instance it would succeed in creating popular, high-quality small-business products with only a handful of media houses. At the start of the process, however, it was impossible to know with certainty which media houses these would be. ENABLE therefore cast its net wide, seeding ideas with a large number of media houses. Through a process of self-selection by partners and close monitoring and evaluation by ENABLE, ENABLE eventually ended up with four star partners. Having proved the concept with these partners, ENABLE is now in a position to leverage these successes to catalyse wide-spread change. This gives the "egg-cup" shape shown in Figure 3.

Throughout this process, ENABLE also worked with key supporting actors to increase the likelihood of success and wide-spread take-up. This involved working with advertisers, advertising agencies, media researchers, and local trainers.

9. ENABLE utilised Ugandan advisers and trainers in particular. A number of small business radio programmes had been successfully established and were running on private broadcasters in Uganda.

All this work was undertaken in accordance with a number of key principles:

Focus on Technical Assistance Rather than Financial Support

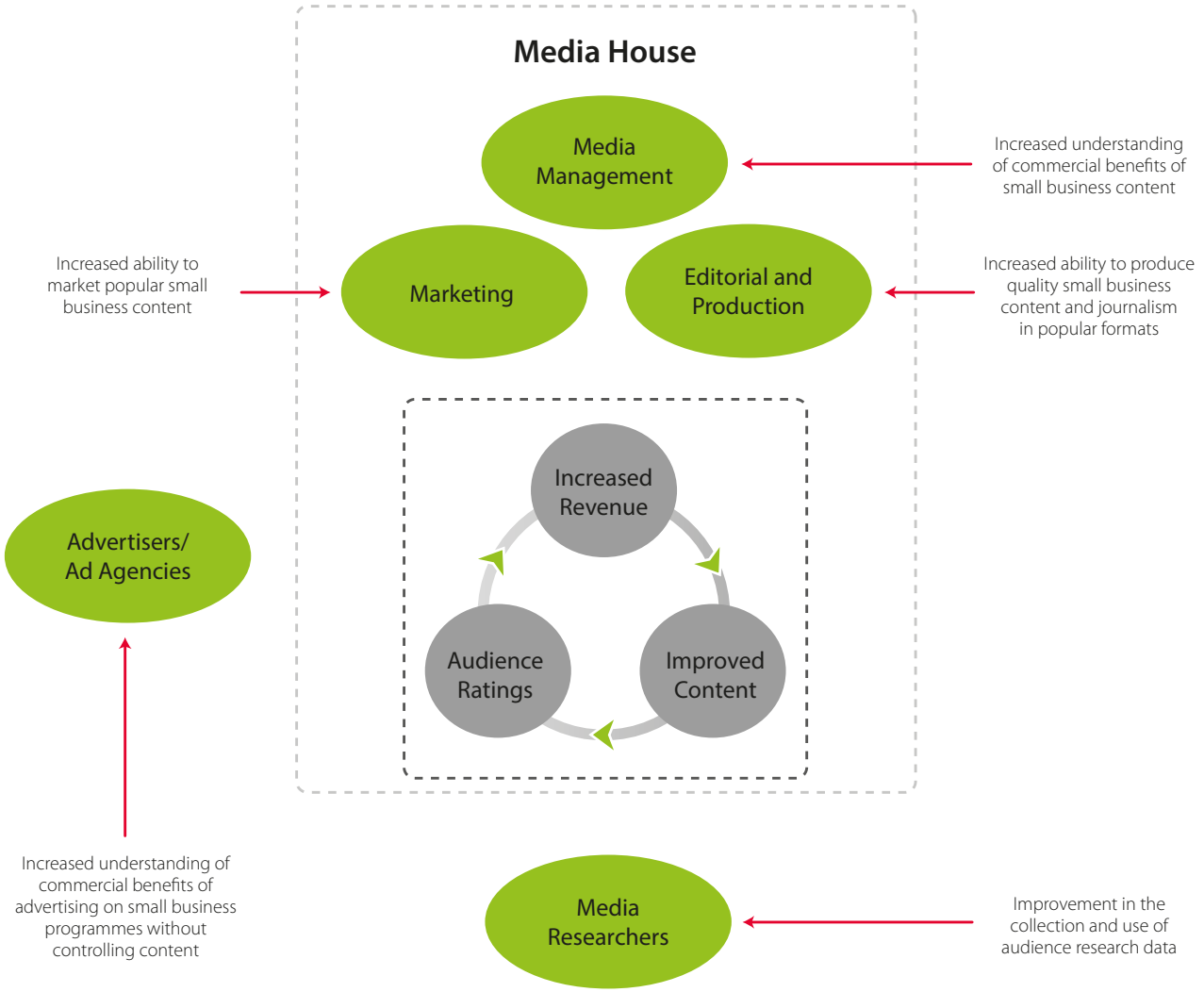
ENABLE did not engage with media companies by offering them financial support but by offering technical inputs, including training, mentoring and quality monitoring, to support a process of product development and testing. This is a rather unorthodox offer to media companies who are more used to development projects offering short term training inputs, equipment and, even more commonly, buying their space and airtime. Entry strategies therefore had to be developed which were attractive and tailor-made to specific partnerships *(see Box 6)*.

Facilitating Change: Acting as a Social Entrepreneur

The role of ENABLE was to partner with media companies to facilitate sustainable change within the media house. In effect, ENABLE acted as a social entrepreneur partnering with a commercially oriented company to work in areas of common interest. Through this process ENABLE formed strong collaborative relationships within the media partners. In some of these partnerships, the facilitation process needed to be particularly focused and dynamic to bring about meaningful change *(see Box 6)*.

Leveraging Change Through Disruptive Innovation:

The ENABLE approach can be described as the promotion of 'disruptive innovation'. By focusing on the development of innovative and highly successful media products within leading media houses, ENABLE aims to change perceptions and practices in media houses to business and pro-poor content more widely within the industry.



BOX 6: Wazobia: Social Entrepreneurship in Practice

Wazobia FM offered one of the best pro-poor opportunities for ENABLE. In 2009, at the start of ENABLE, Wazobia was already a highly successful and growing network of radio stations with the largest audience share in the South of Nigeria, and a high market share among poor men and women. As one of the most popular and profitable radio stations in Nigeria, ENABLE had to find innovative ways to partner with and influence this station. This involved a number of stages:

Working through an in-house Champion: early approaches to Wazobia by ENABLE were generally received sceptically by senior management. Their initial view was that their programming formula was working and there was no need to change a winning formula. Rather than pursuing this entry, ENABLE then began to work closely with one particular middle manager who was more enthusiastic. This insider helped to revise ENABLE's proposal and provide the links to those who would be more supportive.

Focused preliminary offer: The entry offer that ENABLE devised aimed at resolving a concern that existed among some Wazobia managers – that their presenters, who were studio based, could potentially lose touch with the issues and interests of their audience. ENABLE offered to provide training and support to help presenters collect field based materials and in so doing connect with their audiences and real issues more effectively.

Initial pilot testing within existing resources at the station: The small business programme that was launched worked with a radio programme that already existed and revolved around an individual on air presenter. ENABLE was aware that an effective programme focusing on small business needed to involve a team, but decided to take smaller steps towards this objective. A weekly section was launched on Eko- How Una See Am (Lagos – How do you see it?) that focused on small business issues and involved field recordings and investigation.

Hand holding in marketing: The programme segment appeared popular but was starved of resources because it did not have sponsorship. More problematically, the Wazobia marketing department was not prioritising bringing in sponsorship for the programme. ENABLE responded by offering a senior marketing consultant to support Wazobia with making a pitch to advertisers. A major mobile phone company was signed up as a sponsor, highlighting to marketing and station managers the saleability of a quality small business programme.

Audience research to highlight weaknesses: the programme was now perceived by management and staff as a success, although ENABLE continued to have concerns about the lack of research and depth in the programme. Rather than ENABLE highlighting these weaknesses, ENABLE supported Wazobia to organise Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with listeners. Audiences themselves highlighted the weaknesses in research, showing that a new strategy was required.

> *"Thorough research needs to be carried out on any topic that's handled on air in order to pass the right information and avoid leaving it inconclusive. The presenters even get corrected by listeners which shouldn't be so. To avoid this, proper research needs to be done."*
>
> **FGD participant**

Embarking on an intensive product testing period: In response to these weaknesses, ENABLE proposed an intensive product trial period which would test a new resourcing approach to informative programming. This would allow Wazobia to test a team based programming approach in contrast to their staple programming based on single, studio based on-air personalities. This process involves FGDs with audience and management appraisal. The objective is to catalyse a fundamental change in the way management resources programming across the Wazobia network.

This dynamic process has put ENABLE in a strong position to influence the way that Wazobia produces informative programming. This position was strengthened considerably by statistical evidence showing that the audience share of Eko How Una See Am grew from 8% at the start of ENABLE support to over 45% within a year of the partnership.

The entry point was working with Wazobia in Lagos; this work resulted in high management buy-in, with plans to replicate the business section of the Eko How Una See Am programme on Wazobia stations in Port Harcourt, Abuja and Kano. The programming concept has also been picked up on a sister radio station, Info Nigeria, with the launch of an agricultural programme.

PART 3:

RESULTS

Part 3 presents the results of the ENABLE media component. The media component has been running for four years. In that time, ENABLE has produced an impressive set of results. At the system-level, ENABLE has succeeded in embedding highly innovative small business programming in partners across TV, print, and radio. These new products are starting to influence the wider media industry, with growing signs of replication. These changes are driving improved advocacy and dialogue on important BE issues, and contributing to actual improvements in the business environment for poor men and women, such as improved fertiliser distribution for smallholder farmers.

The ENABLE Results Framework

ENABLE's system for monitoring results and impact tracks the impact of media interventions at three levels:

Figure 5: ENABLE Results Framework

System Level Change

ENABLE's impact on the media system has been significant. The objective of catalysing change in the Nigerian media industry through disruptive innovation is being realised, with high-quality BE coverage successfully launched and sustained with multiple ENABLE partners, and growing signs of copying and replication by the wider industry.

Innovative Business Focused Media Products Established

ENABLE initially worked with 11 media houses across print, TV, and radio and successfully tested nine separate products. Six of these products proved successful and continue to be run up to three years after initial launch, with no direct financial support from ENABLE:

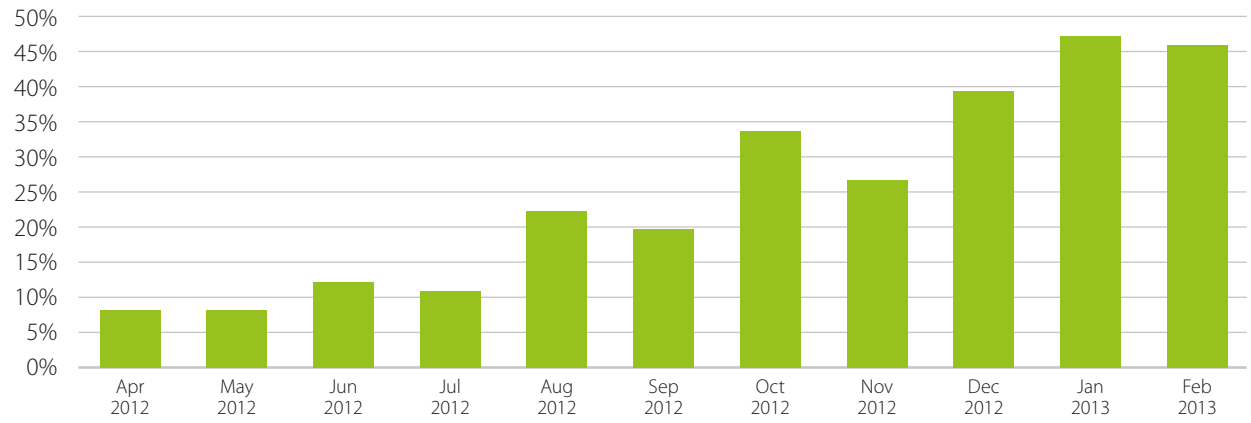
- A business news service operated by the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) which collects and distributes audio and written business news features to its 42 subscribers.
- An improved 'Entrepreneur' section within Nigeria's biggest circulating dedicated business newspaper, Business Day.
- A dedicated weekly small business and agricultural programme, Da Raraffe, on Freedom Radio – the most popular radio station in Nigeria with over 6 million regular listeners[10].
- An interactive weekly radio programme established on the pidgin English radio station, Wazobia FM, the most popular radio station in Southern Nigeria. The combined listenership of Wazobia in Lagos and Port Harcourt is over 6 million[11].
- Agricultural and Women in Business sections within the Daily Trust Newspaper – the largest circulating newspaper in Northern Nigeria and second largest in Nigeria, with a readership of over 3.5 million[12].
- A dedicated weekly small business programme on Lagos TV – the Lagos State television station.

Four Influential Star Media Products

Four or these six media products were assessed by ENABLE as having significant potential to both make substantive contributions to improved advocacy and dialogue and to influence the wider media industry in Nigeria: Daily Trust, Freedom Radio, Wazobia, and LTV. These four partners have become the foundation for the replication phase.

- The Wazobia programme was groundbreaking for the station – it was the first time that presenters had gathered materials in the field and dedicated a one hour programme segment to focus on serous issues. It was also the first time that Wazobia had focused on small business issues specifically. The programme has secured a key private advertiser and gained significant management and staff support. Since the start of intensive ENABLE support, ratings for Eko How Una See Am have increased from 8% in May 2012 to 45% in February 2013. The programme is now one of the station's top performers, with listenership of around 300,000 per show[13].
- The Freedom Radio programme has run since 2009 and has been groundbreaking for the station. It is the first time Freedom has produced a business focused programme and also one of the first field based programmes to be produced by a production team (rather than individuals). In research undertaken by the station, the programme was rated 6th most popular programme run by the station (out of 18, including entertainment programmes in prime time slots). High ratings and a lucrative sponsorship deal has resulted in significant management support for the programme and approach.

Listenership to Wazobia's Eko How Una See Am



10. Source: Media Planning Services 2012
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Source: Media Planning Services, media diaries 2012-13

"Because of this [ENABLE] input, the quality of our products has shot up and we were able to double the time allocated to this programme [Da Raraffe] and the listenership has grown."

Managing Director, Freedom Radio

- The influence of ENABLE on the Daily Trust has been seen both inside and outside the primary focus areas of small business, agriculture, and women in business sections. Daily Trust has significantly increased its focus on small business in its business pages, established an agricultural desk for the first time, and changed editorial practices in researching and following up on issues. Daily Trust directly attribute their increased readership and advertising to improved small business coverage supported by ENABLE.

"We didn't experience something like that before, nobody talks about placing adverts in business. Anywhere you place it, they are indifferent, but nowadays this is the first time we are experiencing such a kind of request which is a new change."

Editorial Team, Daily Trust

- The work with LTV has proven to be very influential with Lagos State Government. LTV is in a powerful position to take small business issues to the very top of government. Their weekly business programme, Oro Aje, has proven to be both influential and popular and LTV has been able to get Lagos government officials to respond to many of the key business issues in Lagos. They have been surprisingly strong in questioning state policy. This is the first time that LTV has run a small business focused programme.

"The state Government commissioned feed milk for poultry in Ikorudu for factory birds. We have to go back to the farmers to assess if they are feeling the impact of the programme and what government has done in the area."

LTV Oro Aje Production Team

Changed Practices in Producing Business Content

Within each of the "star" partners, ENABLE has succeeded in catalysing a marked change in editorial and journalistic practices.

Small Business and Agricultural Content Mainstreamed:

Content focused on small business, the informal sector, and agriculture has now been mainstreamed into the programming and editorial line up of all star partners. In the past, small business was seldom covered and never within dedicated programmes or sections of the newspapers. Small business programmes and segments are now being run and advertisers sought for these important sections. Journalists and editors perceive small business as newsworthy and marketing staff understand the potential to attract advertisers to such content without undermining the quality and impartiality of that content. For example, The Daily Trust, who prior to engaging with ENABLE did not have an agricultural desk or dedicated agriculture section, ran an average of 37 agricultural stories per month between the period of May and December 2012, a total of 297 stories.

"People have started following the paper because of small business [coverage]."

Business Development Team, Daily Trust

Embedding Field Based and Investigative Journalism:

To identify issues of relevance to the audience, and investigate these issues effectively, journalists need to move out of their offices and studios. ENABLE has focused strongly on providing the skills, proving the benefits, and enhancing the incentives for field based reporting. These skills have been embraced within partner media organisations and are now mainstream practice in producing not only the products supported by ENABLE but also in other programmes and departments *(see below)*.

"It was one thing that ENABLE made us know 'it's ok, you guys are doing fine, but you are not doing enough, you need to actually connect better with these people, you need to go out there', and we've started. So any opportunity we have to go out on the field and talk, we don't take it lightly, we maximise it."

Producer, Nigeria Info (sister station to Wazobia)

"It is no longer about sitting in the comfort of the studio and waiting for people to call or send texts. I think it has added spice to what we are doing."

Producer, Eko How Una See Am, Wazobia

Reinforcing Balance in Reporting:

Balanced reporting – not relying on a single source – is not only good journalism practice, but also significantly enriches the content of reporting. Balanced reporting has become the norm in ENABLE star partners. For example, multiply sourced reporting by Daily Trust uncovered numerous problems in government subsidised fertiliser distribution, whereas reports in other newspapers, based entirely on government press releases, propagated a positive (and questionable) picture of government effectively distributing subsidised inputs to grateful farmers. In total Daily Trust ran 30 reports on fertiliser policy between May and December 2012 at an average of 4 reports a month. The analysis and reporting continues today as the government tests new approaches to distributing fertiliser.

BOX 8: Daily Trust – from Press Releases to Investigation

"It is one of the biggest changes with our reporters. They used to get a government press release and then write a story. Now they go and check it out, they find out what is happening on the ground... there is no going back, readers have been telling us that finally you are telling the real story."

Editor, Daily Trust

A fundamental focus of ENABLE support to Daily Trust was to change the way that business reporting was being undertaken. Single sourced reporting, often based on press releases, can lead to media being perceived to propagate PR spin and propaganda. Multiple sourcing and investigation creates reports which reflect the variety of opinion and the reality of the situation.

Single sourced reporting...
Example from a Nigerian newspaper in 2011

Dakingari Threatens Fertiliser Saboteurs

Governor Saidu Dakingari of Kebbi State Saturday launched 45,000 tonnes of fertiliser for the wet season and promised to deal with any government official who diverts the commodity. According to the governor, government was determined to give priority to agriculture so as to enable farmers in the state to produce more... He said his administration distributed over 30,000 metric tonnes of fertiliser to farmers at over 60 per cent subsidy during the rainy season last year.

...To multiple sourcing and investigation:
Extracts from an article on fertiliser distribution published by Daily Trust in 2012

Fertiliser Diversion: Farmers Cry Out

Year-in-year-out the problem of fertiliser diversion remains. The common policy among successive ministers is the ritual of fertiliser distribution. Experts had earlier thought the incumbent minister would be different but so far a whopping N89.3 billion has been spent on 900, 000 metric tons of fertiliser this year.

Bawa Jetta, a local farmer, expressed dismay that fertilisers are not yet distributed to local farmers,

"It is already late... It should have been distributed in the month of May, when most crops are at a stage where they require fertiliser not now, it is late."

Farmers complained that even when the fertilisers are distributed; it does not get to most of them as the government promised because of the persistent problem of fertiliser diversion.

Fertiliser diversion has continued to thrive, says Chief Dan Okafor, President of Potato Farmers Association of Nigeria (POFAN): *"even when the government says it would give you discount, many of the contractors would not sell it to us. They would go and sell it at a higher price to those that are selling in the market, you see we are still not making any progress."*

Reinforcing Interactivity Through New Technology

ENABLE has provided technical support to key media partners to improve their interactivity and information flow with audiences through SMS, web sites and facebook. For example, dedicated websites have been established for: Da Rarrafe (Freedom Radio), agric and small business coverage by the Daily Trust, and Oro Aje (LTV).

Replication Within the Media Industry

The most compelling evidence of the impact of ENABLE's media work has been in the replication that has taken place as a result of the success of the pilot programmes and content. A variety of new programmes and products have emerged as a result of ENABLE's work, based on new practices and approaches to small business reporting.

Internal Replication

All of the ENABLE star partners are media houses that operate multiple stations or publications. The programmes and concepts introduced by ENABLE have rapidly taken root within sister stations and publications.

- The Eko-How Una See Am programme on Wazobia Lagos has been replicated across the Wazobia network. Programmes have been launched on Wazobia Port Harcourt, Wazobia Abuja, and Wazobia Kano. The network has a listenership base of over 8 million regular listeners.
- The concepts of field based business programmes introduced to Wazobia Lagos have been copied by its sister radio station, Nigeria Info. Think Agric, a 30 minute weekly programme, has been launched independently by the station, modelled on the practices introduced by ENABLE.
- Nigeria Info is also closely monitoring the pilot phase of team based broadcasting being tested on Wazobia Lagos (with support from ENABLE). Senior programmers perceive a problem with current models of production promoted by the station and intend to lobby management for additional resources to upgrade key informative programmes on the station.
- Freedom Radio's Da Raraffe is now running on the sister station Freedom Radio Jigawa, and a programme is planned for the stations they are launching in Maiduguri and Kaduna.
- Freedom Radio has also innovated a new field-based food and agricultural programme and has managed to find a sponsor for this programme *(Box 9)*. The new programme is an example of spontaneous innovation.

BOX 9: Internal Innovation of Business Programming

In addition to the business programme Da Raraffe, Freedom Radio has launched a new innovative agricultural programme focusing on food production in Nigeria. The first series is called 'The Journey of the Cattle' and will focus on the cattle value chain, from rearing to transportation to retail. In particular, the programme is looking at ways to reduce the conflict between semi nomadic Fulani cattle rearers and farmers in Northern Nigeria. This programme is the concept of Freedom's Managing Director who now perceives business programming as an integral part of Freedom's programming. The programme has received sponsorship from the Central Bank of Nigeria, which has also provided a vehicle for the fieldwork. There are plans to extend the tracking of other food items across the country, highlighting the challenges faced by small business entrepreneurs across multiple value chains.

- Freedom Radio has adopted the principles of team-produced, field-based, investigative programming in other programmes on their station. For example, Inda Ranka, a political programme, now uses field based recording to deepen their coverage of political issues in Northern Nigeria.
- The approaches introduced to the Daily Trust in Abuja have been adopted by their business desk in Lagos. The Daily Trust has also approached ENABLE to support them to introduce similar approaches in their sister Hausa language newspaper, Aminiya.

External Replication

In addition to internal replication within star ENABLE partners, ENABLE is also seeing evidence of copying by non-ENABLE partners (external replication):

- Following the success of Freedom Radio's programme, Radio Kano also launched a business programme (with a small injection of support from ENABLE). Guntu Gatarinka (depicting self-sufficiency) focuses on business issues in Northern Nigeria and adopts many of the field based, investigative properties of other ENABLE supported programmes.
- From initial work undertaken in Kano, a rural business and agricultural programme was established on Peace FM in Maiduguri in the far North of Nigeria. The business programme Gari Ya Waye (A New Dawn), has run since June 2011.

Participants of a Training of Trainers programme organised by ENABLE

➔ Nation newspaper requested ENABLE support to improve its business coverage as a result of the ENABLE success with Daily Trust. ENABLE has provided support to Nation to improve their small business and agriculture coverage; so far, they have published 232 stories between May and December 2012 at an average of 29 stories a month.

Deepened Sustainability Through Enhanced Quality Control and Training Capacity

A major focus for ENABLE is on sustainability, not just of the media products supported but of the concepts and approaches to business reporting. ENABLE has achieved significant results in this regard, across various dimensions of sustainability:

Financial Sustainability:

ENABLE has proven the profitability of high-quality small business programming and has supported key partners to secure sponsorship with major banks, mobile phone companies, and the Central Bank of Nigeria. Perhaps more importantly, ENABLE has helped media companies to recognise that sponsors can be brought on board without negatively impacting on content and impartiality. This is a fundamental change to the 'pay to play' model prevalent in Nigeria.

Editorial and Management Sustainability:

A major focus has been on winning editorial and management support for small business programming. Without management support, the best programmes and segments can easily be replaced and removed. ENABLE has seen significant change in the way that management perceive and support both small business and wider investigative content. The level of internal replication proves the level of management buy in to quality small business journalism.

Human Resource Sustainability:

ENABLE provided focused and intensive support to key partners to develop and launch new business products. To ensure that these products are not reliant on individuals, ENABLE followed this up with training of trainer programmes to build the internal capacity of partners to train and mentor new staff and new teams. In so doing, ENABLE has increased HR sustainability and the likelihood of internal replication.

Quality and Innovation:

To be sustained, it is essential that media products evolve and change according to changing audience taste and competition. ENABLE has supported media partners to develop and run a quality control procedure which involves affordable but professionally run FGDs. FGDs are also being used to test new products and approaches with the target audience.

Enhanced Advocacy and Dialogue

These changes at the media system level have resulted in a significant change in the way that media is contributing to dialogue and advocacy on BE issues. Large broadcasters such as Freedom and Wazobia, who previously had no dedicated business programmes, are now focusing on BE issues in weekly programmes. Both broadcasters and the Daily Trust newspaper are now focusing on the issues that impact on the livelihoods of millions of poor men and women. Through this increased quality and quantity of business media numerous business issues have come under the public spotlight. Media is now providing platforms that allow small businesspeople and BMOs to engage in advocacy, and that provide space for interaction and debate between government and the private sector.

Some examples of media based dialogue and advocacy include:

Fertiliser Subsidy and Distribution: New Angles on an Ongoing Nigerian Problem

The new agricultural desk and enhanced business focus within Daily Trust has provided smallholder farmers with a platform through which they can highlight significant concerns and problems with the government fertiliser subsidy system. The lead reporter for agriculture, Tina Hassan, has become something of a 'cause journalist' working to expose problems within the agricultural sector. Daily Trust has provided a platform for farmers to challenge government claims that fertiliser subsidy significantly benefits poor farmers. The Daily Trust highlighted the fact that many farmers and their representatives thought that affordability and availability of fertiliser would improve if subsidy was removed. One farmer interviewed in the Daily Trust stated "we do not want subsidy. It is not coming down to the farmers; it is the senators, politicians, Directors of Agriculture benefitting. We do not want it...I have not got any fertilisers from government for the last 30 years." This is the first time smallholder farmers have been given an effective voice in policy debates over fertiliser policy.

> *"Media should keep monitoring the implementations of policies and strategies so that both government and farmers are kept on their toes."*
>
> **Dr Shettima Mustafa, Ex-Minister of Agriculture**

> *"We are now being recognised by people and government. The reporting is excellent...best of all in terms of agriculture reporting."*

> *"This lady [Tina Hassan, Agricultural reporter on Daily Trust] is not partisan. She reports what she sees. Tina is not interested in what she will get, which other [journalists] are doing. She is good, writes without fear. She follows up our farmers, she knows where they are."*
>
> **Dan Okafor, President of the Potato Farmers Association of Nigeria on Tina Hassan**

Supporting Advocacy in Nigeria's Market Places:

Nigeria's market places are a rich source of material for business journalists. The market associations are very local and fragmented; media coverage provides them with a high profile platform through which they can lobby for change.

- **Garki Market – demanding improved services:** the Daily Trust highlighted the plight of Abuja market traders who were in dispute with a private market management company. The company had recently hiked the service charge paid by small traders, with no consultation with traders and against a background of poor service delivery. A series of disputes between the management company and the traders association allegedly resulted in intimidation and the threatened deregistration of the association. The high profile coverage by Daily Trust helped to strengthen the voice of small traders and resulted in reduced intimidation by the authorities. Dayo William, the Secretary of the Garki Market Association commented that "The media can help a lot to bring out what is wrong... The media is the voice of poor people. When we suffer injustice, there is no one we know until the media comes to the rescue."
- **Mile 12 Market Lagos:** The ongoing Lagos State clean up campaign (Kick Against Indiscipline) has many supporters, but the clean up can also impact on the livelihoods of the poor as markets are 'improved'. Lagos TV and Wazobia profiled the impact on the livelihood of market traders following the forced and unannounced closure of Mile 12 market, one of the largest markets in Lagos, for "improvement". The Wazobia report highlighted the plight of traders who had purchased perishable goods and found they had nowhere to sell them. LTV looked at potential solutions to stop similar problems in future improvement exercises.

Multiple Taxation:

A regular complaint of Nigerian business owners and BMOs is the complex array of taxes which they are forced to pay. All of ENABLE's key media partners have investigated accusations of wrongful (corrupt) and onerous tax collection. This has resulted in individual cases coming under scrutiny and in the case of Kano, pressure to rethink tax collecting procedures. The media coverage has also provided traders with information on their rights, allowing them to identify false tax requests.

> *"Listening to Freedom Radio has helped. Look at me, I sell groundnut oil in this market and the tax collectors collect taxes from us like three or four times a month, but since people listened to the radio on multiple taxation and complained bitterly about it, they have stopped for now. Now the state government knows what local government is doing and we also know our rights and why we should pay tax."*
>
> **Maijidda Hassan, Market Trader, Kano**

Cashless Economy: Media in a Supportive Role:

The Central Bank of Nigeria policy to promote cashless banking was exposed by the media as creating confusion among small businesspeople. Field based reporting undertaken in Lagos (by LTV and Wazobia) highlighted that businesspeople did not understand the policy and interaction and discussion exposed much hostility to the move.

Impact of Lagos Traffic Law on Motorcycle Taxis (Okada Drivers):

LTV and Wazobia have provided a platform for discussion on the impact of new laws and legislation passed by Lagos State Government. The revised traffic laws proved a particularly hot topic for discussion with restrictions and new legislation for Okadas (motorcycle taxis) potentially putting many drivers out of business. Such coverage has resulted in government responding to the demand for both better information and revised conditions.

Bank Interest and Access to Finance:

All the media products that have emerged from ENABLE support have covered banking and interest rates from various angles. The difficulties of securing loans and high interest rates have been explored from a human angle. The Daily Trust looked specifically at the difficulties that women in the north face in securing loans.

These examples are just a small number of issues that have been covered by ENABLE media partners over the past 4 years. Many of the issues are topical, national issues; others are local issues which media partners exposed independently. It is the power of the media to be able to pick up on both topical national issues but also smaller local issues, both of which impact on the lives of the poor. Media advocacy therefore supports not only advocacy by apex and national BMOs but also advocacy by small traders associations and informal groups of businesspeople who are not effectively represented in national dialogue and debate.

Female participant at the inaugural Open Business Forum, organised by Daily Trust

Business Environment Reform

Media has an impact on BE reform in two ways. Firstly, media plays a **complimentary** role on BE reform by providing a platform for other advocates for change (e.g. BMOs). Secondly, media can play a more **direct** role in bringing about BE reform by creating pressure for reform and holding government to account.

Media Supporting BE Reform

In a number of areas, the new small business media products have played a complimentary, but nevertheless important, role in supporting BE reform. Many reforms are not achieved by one actor alone but are achieved through pressure being applied by many actors through various channels. ENABLE has identified a number of areas where ENABLE-supported media has played a complimentary role in the reform process. Three examples are provided below:

Improving Small Farmers Access to Fertiliser

As noted above the Daily Trust has been a strong advocate for reform of fertiliser distribution in Nigeria. ENABLE also supported a BMO called Fertiliser Exporters and Producers Association of Nigeria (FEPSAN) to advocate on the issue. In 2013 the work of Daily Trust and FEPSAN paid off: the government decided to pilot a new voucher system in 33 states. Under the pilot scheme, 619,000 smallholder farmers have benefited from improved access to fertiliser, leading to a net income increase of £13.1 million.

The agricultural desk of Daily Trust is monitoring the implementation of these reforms; an example of media not only contributing to on-paper reform but also playing the role of watchdog to monitor policy implementation and performance.

> *"I'm a critic of government when it comes to fertiliser, I'm a strong critic, but in fairness to them I think we have to give it to them this year. They have done a good job even for those people who have not registered [with the new voucher scheme]. They are now distributing the registration form. I keep track with some farmers in Gombe State, and some of them have briefed me on those developments...When someone does something wrong you say it and when they do something good you commend the person."*
>
> **Tina Hassan, Agricultural reporter, Daily Trust**

Reducing Financial Transactions Through Reform to the Central Bank of Nigeria Cashless Policy

The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) drive to introduce a cashless economy was pilot tested in Lagos and drew attention of both LTV and Wazobia. CBN intended to enforce a charge of 10% on all transactions over 150,000 Naira (approximately £600). This policy would have had a particular impact on small businesspeople who have limited access to electronic banking. After lobbying, the policy was revised and the threshold increased to 500,000 Naira with a reduced charge of 3%. As a result, thousands of small businesses will escape the fees.

A number of ENABLE BMO partners participated in lobbying for this reform. The media provided extra support to this lobbying process. The media coverage highlighted both the impact the policy would have on small businesspeople and the lack of awareness and understanding among many small businesspeople. As a result, CBN endeavoured to improve awareness and understanding of the policy, translating materials into Pidgin and participating in on-air discussions. A senior CBN official, Mr. Tubosun Ajala, confirmed that the Wazobia programmes in particular had an impact on improving public awareness and giving a platform for business people to express their views. Before the revised policy a CBN representative appeared on Wazobia to answer complaints and stated that "complaints would be addressed before the policy was implemented nationwide".

Officials being held to task and forced to answer the concerns of poor businesspeople on a dedicated business programme is a first in Lagos. In is particularly noteworthy that this was undertaken on Wazobia in Pidgin English, the language of ordinary people in Lagos.

Supporting Livelihoods of Commercial Motorcycle Drivers Through Reform to the LagosTraffic Law

In 2012, Lagos State implemented a series of revisions to the Lagos Traffic Law. A key focus of the revision was to rationalise and control motorcycle taxis (Okadas) on the streets of Lagos. A number of streets and central areas of Lagos were designated no-go areas for Okadas and a series of controls were placed on the size of the motorcycles. The law was received with criticism by Okada drivers and many of their customers. The Okada drivers lobbied strongly for reform of the policy and used both Wazobia and LTV programmes to air their frustrations.

LTV, being a State station, was in a particularly strong position to act as a platform for dialogue between government and the representatives of Okada drivers. The Lagos State Transport Commissioner, Mr Kayode Opeifa, appeared on LTV's Oro Aje to answer questions and complaints. This dialogue, along with the actions of the

Okada driver being interviewed by LTV about the proposed Lagos Traffic Law

representatives of Okada drivers, has contributed to the Lagos State House of assembly working to revise their list of 475 restricted routes. While it is too early to assess how many jobs will be saved by these revisions, it is estimated that there are at least 100,000 commercial motorcycles in operation in central Lagos and that around 40,000 could have lost their livelihoods as a result of the Lagos Traffic Law (in its original form).

> *"It gave the team the privilege of knowing the government is listening, watching, taking note. We are informed that the Okada issue on Oro Aje programme came up for discussion at the Exco [Executive Council] meeting of the Governor and his commissioners."*
>
> **Oro Aje Team on the news of planned easing of the reforms to the Lagos Traffic Law**

Media partners also followed up on promised support from State Government for displaced Okada drivers . In the face of criticism, the State Governor, Raji Fashola, had made a promise to support Okada drivers with skills training for new jobs and also to provide farmland for those wishing to enter agriculture. The on-going coverage of LTV is ensuring that these commitments are understood by the public, thereby stimulating uptake and increasing the likelihood of promises being kept.

Media Directly Contributing to BE Reform

In some scenarios coverage of issues within the media can have a direct impact on reforms within the business environment as these two examples highlight:

Review of Multiple Taxation in Kano State

Freedom Radio investigated complaints of small businesspeople in Kano about multiple taxation. The complaints related to tax being collected at multiple levels of government and also to illegal taxation (fraud).

The programmes are attributed by traders in Kano to have directly contributed to an improvement in the situation. Kano State has stopped official tax collection while the situation is reviewed and revised. Alhaji Habu Fagge, Director of the Kano State Taxation Board confirmed that they are reviewing tax and have prepared a green paper on multiple taxation.

Multiple taxation affects thousands of small business people in Kano, impacting significantly on their livelihoods. Maijidda Hassan, a groundnut oil trader, commented that *"I used to pay up to 10,000 naira in a month as tax, some will come and ask for three thousand, some for four until it gets to ten, but now I have not paid because we learnt that they have been stopped until things are rectified, I can't tell you how happy I am about it"*.

> *"It was through a programme called Da Rarafe that we were able to air our voices and also get the government to listen... In the past this [multiple taxation] used to get the tax collectors and us quarrelling. The collectors from the state would come, that of the local government will come, the vigilante will come, and that of the State will come for the Federal Government's share and so this gets us furious...the media has helped a lot."*
>
> **Alhaji Mustapha, Chairman of Kano Ground Oil Sellers Association**

Bringing Light to an Abuja Community

A local example of direct media impact is the coverage by Daily Trust of the electrification problems within part of a highly populated, low income Abuja suburb of Dutse-Alhaji. The community had been without electricity since early 2011 despite the residents having raised 138,000 Naira (£550) as a contribution to a new transformer.

Daily Trust's reports involved interviews with residents, the community's Association of Landlords and Tenants, and government officials at the Ministry of Power. The media coverage highlighted the plight of the community and the impact of this lack of power. It also highlighted the fact that the collection of money by Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) staff to repair or replace transformers was illegal (a form of corruption). The coverage and subsequent pressure on PHCN resulted in the rapid restoration of power within the suburb.

The reports undertaken by the Daily Trust exposed a problem with electricity supply and repair that is prevalent among millions of businesses and residents across Nigeria. It solved the immediate problems for one community comprising of 460 residential and commercial properties. There is also evidence that other communities were empowered to approach the Ministry of Power with demands for improved services from PHCN.

> *"The reporter did marvellous work. He did investigation, talked to all the sides, not biased, well balanced... I bought 8 copies [of the newspaper]. I informed people to go and buy their own copies."*
>
> **Engineer M.O Omojuni, Association of Landlords and Tenants, Dutse-Alhaji Suburb**

Into the Future: Prospects for Further Impact

As highlighted earlier in this paper, the media products that have emerged following ENABLE support not only show positive signs of being sustainable individually, but are stimulating internal and external replication. The examples of impact profiled above will therefore increase over time, significantly increasing both impact and value for money (VfM). New products are emerging, such as Freedom Radio's 'Journey of the Cattle', which look at new issues in new and innovative ways. Programmes emerging on the Wazobia network will put BE issues in focus not only for Lagos audiences but for audiences in Abuja, Port Harcourt, and Kano. This will also increase competition for Freedom Radio in Kano, among others, spurring further innovation and upgrading.

BOX 10: Value for Money

ENABLE believes that its approach to media development delivers not only superior results, but also superior VFM, to alternative approaches such as directly paying for media coverage. The ENABLE approach is designed to maximise VFM in three ways:

Delivering sustainable impact. All partnerships and interventions are designed and implemented to deliver sustainable impact. ENABLE aims to leave behind a more functional media system: by catalysing the creation of sustainable media products that are able to survive and thrive beyond the end of programme support, the media industry will continue to generate better BE outcomes long after ENABLE has exited, delivering superior VFM compared to approaches that deliver only short-term impact.

Leveraging local resources. ENABLE works in partnership with local actors. Partners are expected to contribute their own resources to achieve jointly agreed objectives. Indeed, if partners do not show the requisite commitment ENABLE will put the partnership on hold or even exit. ENABLE also works to address the underlying financial constraints facing partners (e.g. helping a media house to attract sponsorship for a new small-business programme), delivering superior VFM to alternative approaches such as grant funds.

Delivering impact at scale. All interventions are designed and implemented to deliver impact at scale. ENABLE aims to catalyse system-wide change. In media, the focus has been encouraging copying of successful innovations (both internal and external). Replication increases the scale of impact, and gives the programme more "bang for its buck" compared to standard approaches.

As an illustration of the VFM the ENABLE approach is delivering, consider the case of Wazobia. ENABLE spent £39,000 to support Wazobia Lagos to launch a sustainable BE programme. Wazobia devotes 1 hour of prime-time airtime to the programme every week. The Wazobia programme is now fully sustainable, and has attracted sponsorship from MTN for £120,000 per year. If ENABLE had directly produced its own BE programme, and bought the airtime from Wazobia Lagos, ENABLE estimates that it would have cost an extra **£175,000** in direct costs. As replication takes off within the Wazobia network, these cost savings will multiply.

PART 4:

LESSONS LEARNED AND WAY FORWARD

ENABLE has taken an innovative approach to working with media, one that recognises media as a key actor in advocacy and dialogue and places sustainable change at the core of its work. DFID's independent annual review in 2012 stated that: "All the African advocacy funds have a media component. We believe that ENABLE is probably implementing this component most successfully". Part 4 presents the key lessons underlying this success, and discusses options for building on this success, in Nigeria and elsewhere.

Key Lessons

Focus on Sustainability From the Start: An Exit Strategy Which is Your Entry Strategy

It is a truism to say that an effective exit strategy is your entry strategy and it holds true for the ENABLE media work. ENABLE has continuously aimed to minimise dependence, avoiding direct financial support to media houses, and has moved from direct support to building internal capacity (e.g. training of trainers and setting up quality control systems). ENABLE has always focused on maximising partners' ownership over the media products being developed by finding the balance between maintaining the project's momentum and over-driving the process. Sustainability is not an add-on for ENABLE; it is the fundamental ethos of the project.

Adopt an Entrepreneurial Approach to Facilitation Based on Flexibility, Responsiveness and Opportunism

To find effective entry points with partners and to leverage effective institutional and system change, ENABLE has had to adopt a socially entrepreneurial approach. Partner support is adapted to each partner; where partnerships have worked best support has been highly flexible and responsive to emerging opportunities. Pre-developed menus of support would not have worked in a media industry where each partner has vastly different capacities, interests and constraints. Entry points involved identifying in-house champions and leveraging wider influence through them. The offer of support also evolves over time in response to changing levels of partner commitment and buy-in.

Ensure you Have the Right Human Resources

Undertaking this type of facilitation is a world away from managing the procedures of a grant giver that vets applications. Early experiences within ENABLE highlighted that to undertake a socially entrepreneurial, facilitative approach requires entrepreneurial staff, and it took some time to establish the right component manager and supporting consultants to undertake this work effectively. With the wrong staff and management style, opportunities can be lost and fledgling relationships destroyed.

Leverage Change Through 'Industry Leaders'

At the start, ENABLE cast its net quite wide to support any credible media partner which showed interest. An internal mid-programme review revealed that often more time and resources were being devoted to poor performing partnerships while the potential to leverage from successful partnerships was being ignored. In the latter stages, the programme focused greater effort on successful partners who had the greatest influence within the industry. This refocusing of resources has proven highly successful in bringing about internal replication and increasing interest within the wider Nigerian media industry. It is the industry leaders who are the ones that others copy and therefore are the greatest influencers.

Private Media Provides a More Promising Avenue for Pro-Poor Impact

At the start of the programme ENABLE partnered with a whole range of different media houses, both public and private, across TV, radio, and print. During the piloting and consolidation phases, ENABLE honed in on a smaller and smaller number of "star" partnerships that offered the best chance of creating high-quality, sustainable BE products that could serve as a platform for influencing the wider media industry. This process created some interesting learning regarding the types of media houses that are most willing and able to adopt the kind of investigative, balanced, and bottom-up media practices promoted by ENABLE.

The ENABLE experience suggests that format matters little: ENABLE has achieved success in TV, radio, and print. What matters more is ownership: ENABLE has been much more successful with private media houses. ENABLE encountered a number of challenges in working with public media houses:

- In Nigeria at least, public media houses are generally less willing to be seen as criticising or questioning government. Some public media houses even told ENABLE that they explicitly see their role as promoting government agendas. This makes it very difficult to embed an investigative, balanced approach to BE issues.
- Public media houses in Nigeria are typically less well resourced than private media houses. Public houses are increasingly expected to raise their own revenues, but marketing capacity tends to be very weak (partly because of weak incentive structures, with staff receiving fixed civil service salaries rather than performance related pay or commissions). Consequently there are less resources available to devote to investigative, field-based journalism (which is a more resource-intensive form of journalism). Because of the weak marketing capacity, it is also harder to move public houses away from a pay-to-play business model, which in turn makes it harder to promote field-based, bottom-up, journalism practices.

These findings were also found in Uganda, where the FIT-SIMA media development programme derived all its success from private commercial radio stations. Although one must be cautious in extrapolating from just two country cases, these findings offer an interesting counterpoint to those in media development who advocate for working exclusively with public media houses (often strongly influenced by the experience of the BBC in the UK).

Understand the Impact of Media

When interviewing media, audience, businesspeople, government officials, and BMOs there is almost unanimous agreement about the power of the media. Sometimes, this is articulated as a negative, for example when the Daily Trust was harangued by a State Governor's office for questioning the efficacy of government fertiliser policy. Nevertheless, the role of the media is complex and ENABLE's impact assessment work has shown that media can play a strongly complimentary role in BE reform. This is natural, since change is complex and depends on a range of influences from various actors. Much of ENABLE's impact tracking highlights media's complimentary but highly influential role of:

- Informing and mobilising other advocates;
- Supporting existing advocates for change by giving them a powerful, influential, and public platform;
- Providing platforms through which public and private advocacy actors can dialogue;
- Acting as a watchdog on policy implementation

...But Media Can Also Bring About Direct Change

Despite media playing a strongly complimentary role, ENABLE has also identified many examples where media has contributed directly to change in the Business Environment. By its nature, these tend to be more local and less complex issues and relate to policy implementation rather than radical policy reformulation. Nevertheless, the impact of these issues on large numbers of people should not be underestimated. For example, communities of residents and businesspeople becoming aware of their rights when faced with fraudulent requests for cash to repair electricity supply equipment. This empowers communities across Nigeria to stand up against misapplication of regulations and policy.

Way Forward

The ENABLE media work in many ways has only begun to achieve its full potential. This potential is in two areas. The first is in leveraging from the work that has been achieved to create greater internal and external replication of small business and agricultural reporting; the second is to widen the scope of this work to other relevant social and developmental areas.

Increasing Replication and Leveraging Wider Systemic Change

It has been in the last 12 months of the ENABLE project that the greatest number of replications has occurred. This is due to the fact that pilot media products take time to become established and proven and to influence wider change. ENABLE has had limited time to build momentum behind replication and to leverage wider change within the media industry.

ENABLE has started to document and promote successful BE media products in a way that can influence more media owners and managers in Nigeria and potentially in other African countries. Experience also suggests that as replications increase quality issues will arise requiring strategic and targeted support to ensure impact and sustainability. This deepening of the replication phase is the next and logical step within the ENABLE media work.

Widening the Scope to Other Areas of Social and Developmental Reporting

ENABLE's work has changed perceptions of media business owners, managers and staff to the potential popularity and profitability of running informative and investigative programmes. This provides a foundation to influence the media in other areas which are relevant to poverty reduction and development in Nigeria, for example, content on health, education and wider governance (including conflict). In many ways this is already beginning, for example with Inda Ranka (a political programme) on Freedom Radio.

With many development projects in Nigeria focused on using the media for development communication and public relations purposes, there is scope for work which focuses on opening the media space (airtime and print media space) for development issues through media development. New sustainable media products on health, education or governance look for relevant and popular content and issues and can link to development projects as informed content providers.

Nevertheless, this opportunity also requires some degree of caution since too strong a push or wrong entry and implementation strategies from development actors can close down entry points and alienate media partners. An overly enthusiastic or badly formulated strategy has the potential to make media partners change from feeling that they are being supported to feeling they are being pushed and coerced into taking on the agendas of others. The success of the ENABLE project has been in partnering with media companies so that the commercial agendas of the media company and the social objectives of the project clearly overlap in a transparent and mutually beneficial way. ENABLE endeavours never to promote agendas and approaches with media partners unless there is a clear commercial rationale for the media partner.

ENABLE
Enhancing Nigerian Advocacy
for a Better Business Environment

Contact information

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