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Introduction

Feminist approaches to foreign and development policy are increasing internationally, with at least ten countries worldwide now having adopted policies that place women at the center of their external relations. Since March 2023, Germany has pursued both a feminist foreign policy and a feminist development policy.

Women and marginalized groups are at the core of this concept. Inspired by a framework first introduced by Sweden on achieving gender equality, Germany focuses on strengthening the 3 Rs: the rights, resources, and representation of women and marginalized groups.

Feminist approaches are particularly timely and relevant for the media development sector, as the international media development community has been working with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on the "Principles on Relevant and Effective Support to Media and the Information Environment", which highlight the importance of gender-sensitive and gender-transformative approaches in media development.

With this study, DW Akademie aims to explore how media development contributes to the goals of feminist development approaches. The study combines qualitative and quantitative methods and, while not exhaustive, encompasses perspectives from all world regions. Findings are based on data collected through 16 in-depth interviews with DW Akademie program managers and project partners, and an online survey among 85 media development actors. For semantic clarity, the following text distinguishes between interviewees and survey respondents. For a detailed description of the methodological approach, see Chapter 6 on research design.

After briefly outlining the theoretical framework of feminist development policy, the subsequent chapter compiles and discusses the findings obtained in the interviews and the online survey pertaining to the research question. The study then outlines recommendations for donor organizations on how to improve their support for media development projects that address the needs of women and marginalized groups.

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Feminist development policy and media development

Since Sweden adopted the first feminist foreign policy ten years ago, many countries have followed suit. Although a feminist approach emerged originally from foreign policy, it has since expanded into development cooperation as well. In Germany, the Federal Foreign Office (FFO) presented its guidelines for shaping feminist foreign policy in March 2023 (FFO, 2023). At the same time, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) released its strategy on feminist development policy (BMZ, 2023).

Achieving equal rights for all people

Strengthening the rights, resources, and representation of women and marginalized groups is a core pillar of both the FFO's guidelines and the BMZ's strategy. In the 'rights' area, this includes measures such as addressing discriminatory laws and norms and empowering people to exercise their human rights, including the right to freedom of opinion and expression. 'Resources' concerns access to income, property, and knowledge, including education and information. Lastly, 'representation' is about increasing participation in social, political, and economic decision-making processes, including national and international advocacy groups and networks.

While the focus of policies is on gender equality, they are not confined to women. According to the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, its strategy is aimed at eliminating discriminatory structures and creating conditions in which everyone, regardless of gender, ethnicity, disability status, or other characteristics, can enjoy their full human rights. Hence, it is intended to benefit all groups in society.





Lack of research on how media development contributes to feminist approaches

While there is already substantial conceptual groundwork for certain sectors such as peacemaking (Nilsson, 2012; CFR, 2024) or water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) (Fisher et al., 2017; MacArthur et al., 2023), no overarching expertise exists for media development. In fact, a 2021 literature review found a striking absence of feminist and gender approaches in media development (Schönbächler, 2021). At the same time, various media development organizations, such as Free Press Unlimited, International Media Support, the International Women's Media Foundation, and DW Akademie already have gender strategies or programs in place.

It is noteworthy that the international media development community is currently cooperating with the OECD to publish the "Principles on Relevant and Effective Support to Media and the Information Environment" with the DAC Network on Governance over the course of 2024 (DAC Network on Governance, 2023). This document emphasizes the importance of gender-sensitive and gender-transformative approaches in media development and calls for further progress towards gender equality in media, which equally applies to other marginalized groups.

So, while a substantial amount of work is already being done in media development practice, what is lacking is a conceptual underpinning of how exactly media development activities work towards the goals of feminist development policy. It starts from a key assumption that the goals of media development and feminist approaches are closely aligned. Both approaches work towards societies in which everyone can fully exercise their rights. Media development focuses on strengthening the right to freedom of expression and information (Article 19, 2023). As an enabling right, freedom of expression and information also helps protect all other rights.

Research findings

This chapter first outlines the direct and indirect target groups of the projects that were the subjects of this survey. As feminist development policy documents often refer to women and "marginalized groups" without further elaboration, this chapter sheds light on who exactly the beneficiaries are—particularly in the work of DW Akademie and its partners. Second, it examines whether and to what extent the relevant target groups are involved in the design of the respective projects, based on the assumption that meaningful participation and co-creation are the basis for feminist development policy. Third, this chapter summarizes how the projects promote the 3 Rs (rights, resources, and representation) of these target groups in support of feminist development policy. This is central to assessing the role of media development in implementing feminist policy on the ground. Finally, this chapter presents participant views on whether 'feminist' is a useful term for their work and discusses alternative terminology. With this, the study aims to contribute to a better understanding of the benefits and risks involved in using the term 'feminist development policy' in project work.

Target groups and project design

Talking about women and marginalized groups, it is important to define which groups are meant specifically in order to develop and implement target group-oriented measures. For this reason, one research interest of this study was to discover which groups media development projects address in practice.

Direct target groups

Figure 1 shows the survey results on the question of which target groups the survey respondents consider in their projects. Survey respondents additionally listed elderly people and low-income communities as target groups.

The list of marginalized groups discussed in this chapter is not exhaustive; there are many other equally relevant groups that are not reflected here.

Moreover, the different target groups partly overlap and thus face multiple forms of discrimination. An intersectional view is, therefore, fundamental when working with women and marginalized groups.

The following list was drawn from the interviews and then used in the survey as a multiple-answer question to find out which target groups the survey respondents address in their work. In addition, this chapter outlines examples of projects designed for these target groups that were mentioned by interviewees. It thus combines findings from the qualitative interviews and quantitative survey outcomes.

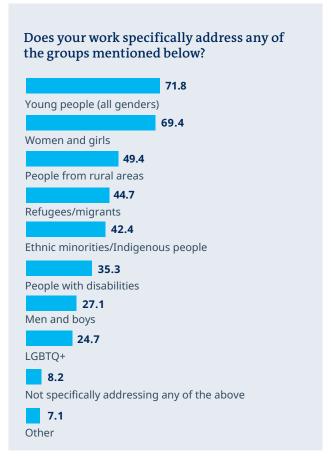


Figure 1 Multiple answers possible. Numbers in percent

Young people

Almost 72 percent of the survey respondents focus on young people in their projects.

66 For me, it is important to empower people to speak up, especially the young generation.

DW Akademie program director for Western Balkans

An explanation for the majority focusing on young people could be that there are structures that make it easier to reach them, such as schools. One interviewee reported from projects in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, where young female journalists and media practitioners get leadership training. Another interviewee from the MENA region described a project at a local radio station, where young female

journalists who have just graduated from university acquire entrepreneurial skills and relevant soft skills they need in the job market. These project lines aim to improve job opportunities, especially for young women.

Another path for working with young people is networking activities. One interviewee from Southeast Europe talked about cooperation between young media and a national youth council, where young people give input on topics relevant to them that are being covered in media. This enables young people to increase their voice and visibility. One DW Akademie program director from the Western Balkans noted that young people would often raise issues — such as gender inequality and the climate crisis — that also affect other marginalized groups. This may indicate that young people tend to have an intersectional view of societal issues.

Girls and women

In the survey, girls and women were the second most frequently named target group (69 percent).

This confirms the insights gained in the interviews. Nearly all interviewees said they focus on women: women journalists, entrepreneurs, or single mothers, to name but a few. Interestingly enough, more than a quarter of survey respondents indicated they specifically target boys and men. Yet, closer inspection reveals that all those who ticked the survey option for boys and men also ticked the option for girls and women. This illustrates that projects often aim to reach entire communities, which many of the interviewees confirmed.

We are working for gender equality: combating violence against women, supporting women to practice their rights and advocate for their rights.

Interviewee from the MENA region

Interviewees pointed out that there are gender-specific barriers in media development that require special consideration. They mentioned challenges and threats for women that relate both to the role of women in society more generally and the media landscape specifically, such as sexual harassment that takes place in both the public sphere and in newsrooms.

When asked about projects that address women, interviewees described a variety of activities, from advocacy efforts for women's rights to digital skills training and training for managerial positions. Creating safe digital spaces is one important goal pursued by media organizations promoting women. A transnational project from the East African region empowering women in the digital sphere aims to close the gender digital divide through greater participation of women in the digital space. The chairwoman of a Southeast European youth media organization reported about the organization's efforts to implement measures against gender-based violence to sensitize all involved in the projects. For example, corresponding provisions were written into the contracts to be signed by trainers working with project participants.



Rural population

Almost half of the survey respondents (49 percent) stated that people from rural areas are among their specific target groups. Asked about whether their activities are implemented in rural or urban areas, four-fifths answered they cover both.

We try to enhance the chances for young women, especially coming from remote areas.

Interviewee from the MENA region

Interviewees explained that the rural population is often especially disadvantaged due to poor infrastructure. Examples that interviewees mentioned include insufficient internet access or limited transport options. One project from the MENA region focuses on young women from remote areas to provide them with media and information literacy training, and constructive journalism training. Another project from West Africa, which deals with combating disinformation, expanded its target group to another hard-to-reach area, namely local markets, where rumors spread particularly quickly.



Refugees and migrants

According to the survey results, almost 45 percent of survey respondents address refugees and migrants in their projects.

They now have local acceptance and are very much integrated into the local community and society.

Interviewee from South Asia

The interviewees yielded more detailed information on project activities that are tailored to the needs of refugees and migrants. For instance, when talking about the experience of working with Afghan refugees in South Asia, one interviewee

highlighted the potential of providing journalism training for this group. He argued that journalistic training increases job opportunities for refugees and contributes to media coverage of underrepresented issues, which helps raise awareness about the lives of refugees. Additionally, the interviewee referenced media projects where refugees and migrants work together with the local population, which the interviewee described as remarkably successful. Another interviewee from South Asia endorsed this observation when discussing collaboration between Rohingya refugees and the host community producing journalistic content together.

Ethnic minorities and Indigenous people

Over 42 percent of survey respondents named Indigenous people and ethnic minorities as target groups.

Indigenous people don't exist. In the discourse, the narrative, there are no Indigenous people. Even though it is a lie because they obviously exist.

Interviewee from Latin America

This group includes, for example, linguistic minorities or racialized people. Interviewees cited Afro-descendant people in South America, Indigenous people in Central America, Rohingya people in South Asia, and Romani people in the MENA region. Furthermore, the interviews revealed that Indigenous people and ethnic minorities are often exposed to multiple forms of discrimination, be it as refugee women or queer Indigenous people. Media development projects are deemed to make these groups visible, covering their struggles and changing the narratives about them in media and society.

People with disabilities

Over 35 percent of survey respondents focus on people with disabilities in their project work.

We want to equip these groups to participate in public dialogue.

DW Akademie project manager for Africa

Interviewees stated that their projects address people with varying degrees of vision and hearing loss. Projects include creating sign language learning materials for training on media and information literacy in schools, offering training on fact-checking to tackle the spread of mis- and disinformation, or training on how to navigate safely online and how to use online platforms to address relevant issues.

LGBTQ+ community

Nearly 25 percent of the survey participants address the LGBTQ+ community with their projects.

66 For LGBTQ+ people, it's really, really hard to have a place in the media environment.

Interviewee from Latin America

Given the fact that in many countries, there are laws in place criminalizing people from the LGBTQ+ community, working with this group was said to be particularly difficult there. Where working with this target group is possible, it involves promoting LGBTQ+ rights, providing group members with journalistic training, or inviting them to speak on radio shows. According to the interviewees, such projects often employ a feminist approach that has a broader target group, including people from the LGBTQ+ community alongside, for example, women or sex workers.

Indirect target groups

Apart from the primary goal of protecting and empowering marginalized groups, media development projects also aim to bring about social change by reaching broader groups of society. This is why this study also aims at identifying indirect target groups.

66 We cannot reach everyone. So, we try to reach multipliers.

Interviewee from the MENA region



Indirect target groups of media development specifically mentioned during the research for this study include civil society organizations working towards similar goals, media users, families, and other private contacts of the direct target groups. In this context, interviewees repeatedly emphasized that social change can only be achieved if entire communities are considered. "We hope to reach out even wider — to their families, their communities," one DW Akademie project manager for Africa said.

Interviewees often mentioned the 'train the trainers' concept as a way of reaching indirect target groups, whereby individuals are trained to pass on their knowledge to larger communities. Also, according to the interviewees, media is essential for reaching indirect target groups. Which indirect target groups can be influential depends on the respective context. One interviewee from West Africa said that it depends on who is seen "as opinion leaders within the community."



Participatory approach in project design

The BMZ strategy underlines the importance of cooperation with civil society organizations in devising, shaping, and adapting development cooperation programming to the local context. This reflects earlier findings from a consultation process conducted by the BMZ, which also confirmed that feminist development policy should be based on meaningful participation and co-creation (BMZ, 2022). Interviewees were therefore asked to what extent their project design followed a participatory approach.

Marginalized groups, isolated communities — they are at the center of our thinking when we conceive projects.

Interviewee from the MENA region

The majority of interviewees reported that their respective target groups are involved in designing projects. Based on statements in the interviews, three different approaches can be identified that can complement each other:

Needs assessment: Some interviewees stated they carried out a needs assessment in advance to determine how to approach their target group. One DW Akademie project manager for Africa said, "The direct target groups were directly involved in the shaping of the projects, objectives, and strategies because we wanted to ensure that the project's goals were resonating with them." One interviewee from South Asia reported they held face-to-face talks with the target group in advance. Another interviewee from East Africa underlined the importance of co-creation: "We've tried to incorporate co-creation as a process into every project that we do because we don't want to have a top-down solution imposed on communities or beneficiaries." In contrast, others stated that a needs assessment was not possible due to limited resources. As one interviewee from West Africa illustrated, "Our donor has limited resources to do an initial needs assessment."

Expert knowledge: Several interviewees have been working with specific target groups for years or decades and could benefit from previous experience and expertise in working with them. Where projects were built on previous ones, survey respondents said they integrated lessons learned into follow-up projects. The importance of local partner organizations, who have valuable knowledge about the target groups in the local context, was highlighted frequently. One DW Akademie project manager for Africa added that expert knowledge was backed up by scientific research studies. A DW Akademie program director covering the MENA region said in an interview that local organizations sometimes come forward with direct requests for project support based on needs already identified.

Course correction: In cases where DW Akademie developed projects with local partner organizations, project inception meetings with the target groups were used to review the project design whilst implementing it. One DW Akademie project officer for Latin America described that some needs can only be recognized during project implementation: "Because we're doing this participatory approach, we are taking the time to consider and reflect." One vivid example of the benefits of adapting learning content came from a DW Akademie project manager for Africa, working with teachers in schools aimed at students with hearing loss: "They realized that some words, especially on social media, are not available in sign language. So they came up with new signs. For example, there was no sign for TikTok, so they just invented one." This shows that participatory approaches are crucial in every project management phase.



Rights, resources, and representation

How does the media development work of DW Akademie and other organizations contribute to strengthening rights, resources, and representation of women and marginalized groups? This section offers some initial ideas. Figure 2 shows the three most frequent responses to how media development empowers women and marginalized people in general, followed by a detailed discussion of how media development explicitly strengthens each of the 3 Rs. This research shows that in media development, rights and representation aspects can apply to journalists as well as reporting topics, while training and the provision of information through media can be understood as resources.

How can media development activities best contribute to strengthening women and marginalized groups?

1ST RANK

Challenging traditional stereotypes or clichés about women or other marginalized groups

2 ND RANK

Providing spaces for discussion and debate

3 RD RANK

Offering professional training

Figure 2 Ranking question

Rights

According to the findings, strengthening and realizing rights in media development falls broadly into three categories. First, reporting about the lives of women and marginalized groups as a means of awareness raising and empowerment. Second, creating safer spaces where people feel free to express their opinions. And third, advocating for the rights of women journalists, including in the workplace. Furthermore, violence against women continues to be a fundamental problem that prevents the fulfillment of various human rights. This was brought up by interviewees from all world regions, though it was not an interview question.

Reporting on the lives of women and marginalized groups

When asked about activities undertaken to strengthen the rights of women and marginalized groups, 68 percent of survey respondents answered that they raise awareness through media reporting on their lives and perspectives. This pertains specifically to societal groups that do not receive frequent coverage. It is also clear that gender disparities persist: a recent DW Akademie study on Niger found that the average speaking time of women in local radio programming is only half that of men (Drefs and Souleymane, 2023).

As a representative from a media organization in MENA put it:

66 By pointing out the lack of balance in media coverage, the disrespect of human rights, the disrespect of equal representation, of balanced representation and of balanced division of resources, we are indirectly contributing to adjusting the situation.

Hence, while media reporting about the perspectives of women and marginalized groups does not directly lead to these groups having more rights, it is an essential requirement for fostering societal debate. This was echoed by a DW Akademie project manager working in the Balkans, who noted, "Concerning rights, we're not really fighting for rights — just raising the issues is enough."

Awareness is also viewed as a precondition for claiming one's rights: in order to advocate for their rights, people need to be aware of what those rights are. 54 percent of survey respondents were involved in **making information about rights available to their direct target audiences** in one way or another, with formats as diverse as individualized training (Middle East), radio programming (South Asia), online guidebooks (East Africa) or social media content (Latin America).

In a more direct way, media development can support the rights of women and marginalized groups by **imparting information about existing legislation**, such as freedom of information laws. This point speaks particularly to freedom of expression as an enabling right. Many interviewees noted that, while strong legislation exists in the country they are working in, this knowledge is not widely available to the public.

One interviewee from West Africa said:

Once people know what their rights are, they know that they need to participate in governance processes.



Figure 3 Multiple answers possible. Numbers in percent

Creating safer spaces

64 percent of survey respondents stated that they **support women and marginalized groups in expressing their opinions**, including through training activities. This relates most directly to initiatives that provide safer spaces where people feel comfortable in raising their voices — not only as budding journalists but also as individuals or as members of a community. In polarized or structurally conservative societies in particular, speaking one's mind without fear of reprisals can be a powerful experience.

One example of this is a community media project in South Asia which trains participants to produce local radio programs for refugees and the surrounding host community. One interviewee working on the project described how initially shy participants grew more empowered during the training course, and opined that the training had contributed to participants' personal and professional development — they felt more confident in raising their voices and were able to inspire others to do the same.

Advocating for the rights of women in the media sector

This category focuses on the rights of female journalists and those from marginalized communities. 64 percent of survey respondents said they **support the development of standards** in media organizations, for example in relation to sexism in

the workplace in media houses. Other rights-related activities include carrying out studies on the equal and meaningful participation of women and girls in media or providing training for women journalists on how to protect themselves on- and offline.

Combating violence against women

It is noteworthy that interviewees from all regions mentioned gender-based violence without being prompted by the interviewers. Child marriage, domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape, and femicide were mentioned as examples of gender-based violence in the interviewees' respective countries. Another recurrent topic was online gender-based violence aimed at silencing women's voices and pushing them out of the public space.

Interviewees working on physical gender-based violence outlined numerous approaches in their projects, including legal aid (Africa), constructive journalism geared towards preventing revictimization (Latin America), and standards for the behavior of trainers working with project participants. In relation to online gender-based violence, one interviewee (Africa) noted their project offers psychosocial support through a 24-hour helpline run by volunteer therapists and psychologists.

Resources

In media development work, the promotion of access to resources tends to fall into one of three categories: networking opportunities, training, and information.

As one interview partner working in the Middle East noted:

What we are doing is building capacity, transferring knowledge. So yes, resources through knowledge. We try to empower people to be able to have a better life through knowledge.

Providing networking opportunities

The highest number (68 percent) of survey respondents engage in **opportunities for networking and community building** as a resource-oriented activity (see figure 4, page 16). It is possible that this is because such networks emerge as part of training or as part of structured networking activities, but the survey did not include this distinction.

Interviewees noted that community building not only strengthens project participants in their professional development, but also in their personal development. Along the same lines, an

interviewee working in the Middle East mentioned that, in addition to formal training courses, they had facilitated a mentorship program between senior and junior women journalists, thus creating opportunities for support and the exchange of expertise. Another interviewee working in the Balkans noted an annual forum for youth media as instrumental in fostering exchange, dialogue, and a sense of community among participants. Especially when organized over a longer period of time, such formats create bonds and networks that project participants can benefit from in their further professional careers.

Conducting training

Journalistic training for women and marginalized groups is a resource that 67 percent of survey respondents provide. Many trainings relate directly to the journalistic profession, including solution-based journalism, and radio and podcast training. For example, one interviewee working in the Middle East stated that their project provides data journalism training for women. Given that this specialization is not very common in the region, the training is intended to give participants a competitive edge over their (mostly) male colleagues and help them better establish themselves professionally.

It is also noteworthy that several survey respondents mentioned that they conduct digital safety trainings for women journalists.

Making information available

There is wide agreement among survey respondents and interviewees that information itself is a vital resource. As information scarcity tends to affect marginalized parts of the population more than others — for example, Indigenous groups or people in rural areas — some projects specifically target these groups. One interviewee has worked on meeting the information needs of people with hearing loss in East Africa, noting that this group is particularly difficult to reach due to the lack of sign translation capacities in the area.

62 percent of survey respondents noted that they are engaged in **providing information that women and marginalized groups can use in their daily lives.** Media and information literacy and countering gendered disinformation were mentioned several times as examples of this type of activity. This information may itself be distributed through media, for example, in a South Asian radio show that supports women in developing basic skills to earn a livelihood. Other initiatives produce information in digital formats for broader audiences.

One interviewee gave another example of a media organization in Latin America that has developed guidebooks for online safety and digital resilience which are available online. The interviewee underlined the connection between information and empowerment:

Are we able to give [our readers] the right resources to become more empowered, to be more educated and informed even after the project intervention? What resources are we able to deliver for them to use? You know, to be able to demand their rights, to be able to reorient themselves regularly so that they don't forget what has been taught, so that they can engage.

A further 60 percent of survey respondents stated that, in their work, they provide women and marginalized groups with information about services in their community. Activities range from pro bono legal support and research for civil society organizations to translating documents or disseminating information about community services to a wider audience.

27 percent of organizations stated that they are involved in providing direct financial assistance. Activities mentioned by survey respondents include the provision of grants to civil society organizations and emergency funds for women journalists in danger or affected by crises. Direct financial assistance can also take the form of providing equipment, housing, or mental health support.

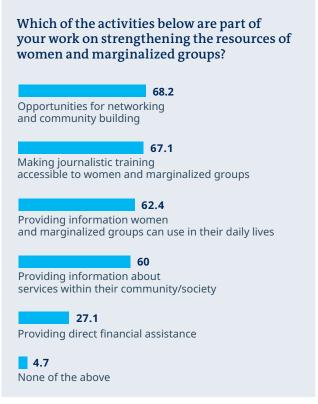


Figure 4 Multiple answers possible. Numbers in percent

Representation

Strengthening representation — the third focus area of feminist foreign policy — takes two shapes in media development. First, increasing the number of women journalists and members of marginalized groups in media outlets directly, and thereby contributing to greater diversity in the journalistic profession. And second, addressing gaps in reporting and overcoming stereotypical and biased portrayals of women and marginalized groups in media coverage.

Increasing the number of women and marginalized groups in journalism

When asked how their work contributes to increasing the representation of women and marginalized groups, 77 percent of survey respondents pointed to activities that support people from these groups as producers of journalistic content. These activities are multi-faceted and can take the form of training, mentoring, and fellowships.

To gain insights into the information needs of the groups addressed by the project and ensure that those needs are met in training design and content production, survey respondents who offer training opportunities use a range of methods, including internships, surveys, and needs assessments. Several also noted that they aim to increase representation by systematically including women and marginalized groups in all their project activities or by having at least an equal gender balance.

54 percent of survey respondents said they also work to increase the number of women and people from marginalized groups in journalistic leadership professions. Activities in this field appear to be most advanced for women journalists and are mostly geared towards capacity-building, for example, by training individuals to take up leadership roles. Some projects also engage with newsrooms and editors-in-chief to overcome bias against female journalists.

Interviewees also drew a clear connection between the composition of newsrooms and the stories that get published. One area where this is particularly stark is reporting about violence against women. For example, one interviewee working on a project in East Africa noted that editors-in-chief often push stories concerning violence against women to the gossip section, with reporting being sensational rather than factual or educational. Their project aims to address this by building capacity for women to take up editorial leadership positions, while at the same time working with newsrooms to realize existing gender policies.

Overcoming stereotypical reporting

More broadly, 66 percent of the interviewees highlighted the need to increase reporting about women and marginalized groups. Several interviewees noted that, in doing so, they also worked to challenge traditional stereotypes or clichés about women and marginalized groups that persist in media reporting. A strong motivation for this is to set positive examples that can feed into broader societal change, for example, providing images and stories of women who are successful in their chosen careers. Another angle is to go beyond the surface in reporting about gender inequalities, including violence against women, and to highlight the structural causes of such inequalities.

Stereotyped reporting is, of course, not confined to women but is also common in relation to other groups. One interviewee from Latin America noted that in their country, people from Indigenous groups are often portrayed as "backwards" by local media, while Western media tends to portray them as "noble savages." Neither way, they concluded, takes into account how individuals from this group wish to be portrayed themselves. To counter this tendency, their media outlet has developed methods to ascertain that the journalistic product does not feed into negative stereotyping. This can mean having stories discussed by the editorial team prior to publishing or engaging with protagonists on how they want to be portrayed in pictures.

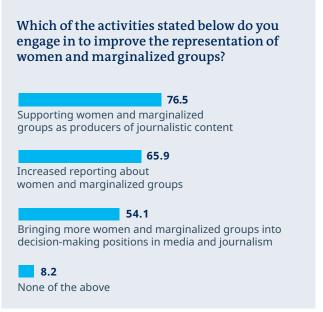


Figure 5 Multiple answers possible. Numbers in percent

The term 'feminist'

When confronted with the term 'feminist foreign and development policy' during the interviews or the survey, the study participants' views varied greatly. Asked whether they would describe their own work as feminist, 36 percent embraced the term, while 42 percent rejected it. It is also significant that 21 percent of survey respondents declined to answer this question.

Reasons not to use the term 'feminist'

A sizeable number of survey participants did not wish to describe their work as 'feminist', arguing that the term is either counter-productive (13 percent) or not an accurate description of what they do (29 percent).

According to the responses in the interviews and survey, the overwhelming reason for the reluctance to embrace the term 'feminist' is that it carries strong negative connotations in the societies that participants work in. One survey respondent noted that in their context, women identifying as feminists are seen as "troublemakers." Several participants underlined 'feminism' is often regarded as alien to their local culture, an imported concept that promotes "foreign agendas" or "Western values."

Against this background, it is easy to see how explicit commitment to feminist values would decrease a civil society group's domestic credibility and ability to work, particularly in structurally conservative societies. Some interviewees also mentioned that in their countries, the term is misunderstood as referring to LGBTQ+ communities, which paints a wrong picture of their work and can even be dangerous in contexts where homosexual activities are criminalized. Many interviewees have therefore chosen to avoid the term, opting for less contentious language. As one survey respondent noted, "Labelling things is excluding. Working for better inclusion and equality is working for the whole society, and women's rights should be addressed like any human right."

Another recurring criticism was that the term 'feminist' is too narrow to capture the breadth of societal groups addressed. In this understanding, feminism only pertains to empowering women and girls, but not other marginalized groups. As one interviewee noted, "With reference to other groups, a person with disability and refugees... I didn't have this idea that they're also included in feminist cooperation."

When asked directly about their work, many interviewees described approaches that are very much in line with feminist thought and values but preferred not to use the term. One example from the Middle East: "We advocate for the democratization of relations between men and women within the family. Cooking, cleaning, raising the kids. These tasks should be divid-



ed equally by both partners for the woman to be able to thrive professionally."

In other words, a sizeable number of survey respondents align with the goal of empowering women and marginalized groups — arguably one of the most important objectives of the feminist movement. However, they are also acutely aware of the negative connotations of the term and do not wish to associate with it.

Reasons to use the term 'feminist'

At the other end of the spectrum, 24 percent of survey respondents said that the term 'feminist' is both suitable and helpful for their work. Of these, many provided additional comments pointing out the importance of intersectional approaches in empowering marginalized communities. Some chose to use 'feminism' as a way to spark debate and to challenge misconceptions.

One such misconception, a respondent noted, is that feminism is inherently against men: "I am not anti-men, but anti-male chauvinism." Another interviewee echoed this thought, reflect-

ing on "a need to educate society as a whole on the true meaning and history of feminist thought."

A further 13 percent agreed that 'feminist' is suitable to describe their activities but were more nuanced in using the term. While more sympathetic than those who rejected it outright, this group also highlighted the term's negative connotations: "It is an accurate portrayal, but I don't really use this framing."

Interviewees from this group noted that language needs to be carefully considered in different contexts. One project manager stated that using the term 'feminism' may be useful in talking with donors, but not in project countries.

To conclude, those who use the term 'feminist' and those who do not are guided by the same assumption — that associating with feminist concepts carries risks as well as benefits. The main risks include being labeled as difficult, troublemakers, or associated with Western values that are alien to the local culture.

Those who use it are well aware of these risks, but they ranked the benefits higher. Among these is a more nuanced understanding, perhaps even a reappropriation of the term 'feminism', which in turn could spark new debates about persisting power imbalances. Other identified benefits include better communication with feminist-oriented donors, as well as the possibility to pressure governments in project countries to pursue a more feminist agenda.



Figure 6 Numbers in percent

Alternative terms

When asked to suggest alternative terms, almost 25 percent of survey respondents opted for 'inclusive' or 'social inclusion' as more appropriate descriptions of their work, mainly because they see these as more all-encompassing and comprehensive. Many noted that their work is not confined to women but extends to other issues like religion or sexual orientation. 'Inclusion' seems to be widely regarded as having a more positive connotation to which many social groups can feel connected.

Interestingly, 22 percent favor the term 'gender equality', which appears to be regarded as more neutral than feminism. At the same time, the term is narrower in scope in that it is commonly understood to apply only to relations between men and women, not covering other groups such as people with disabilities, LGBTQ+, or linguistic minorities.

'Human rights-based' is another alternative (preferred by 18 percent). One survey respondent remarked that this term is useful as it can be linked to established international human rights tools and standards. Several interviewees made a similar point, noting that a human rights-based approach should be the basis of all development assistance activities. Lastly, many survey respondents also stated that the various terms are not mutually exclusive, but part of a broader agenda that strives to empower all people to realize their full rights.



Figure 7 Numbers in percent

Recommendations

When asked what support from donor organizations is needed to scale impact of project work and empower women and marginalized groups, most of the survey respondents weighted core funding as the most important form of support (see figure 8). Survey respondents also stressed the importance of establishing regional platforms for networking and promoting research to better understand the needs of and opportunities for women and marginalized groups.

How can donors best support media development activities for empowering women and marginalized groups?

1ST RANK

Provide core funding to organizations working to support women and marginalized groups

2 ND RANK

Support media development organizations working with women and marginalized groups

3 RD RANK

Support civil society organizations working with women and marginalized groups

Figure 8 Ranking question

The above figure shows the results of the online survey. In the qualitative interviews, interviewees provided more details and insight into what aspects donor organizations should consider to facilitate and improve project work.

If we want to produce change, it does not happen overnight. It takes time. It needs more long-term involvement within these communities and marginalized groups.

Interviewee from the MENA region

The interviewees stated that in their work, they deal with difficulties that have been known to development cooperation for a long time. Recommendations for solving these difficulties include streamlining bureaucratic requirements, recognizing the qualitative impact of projects over time, and promoting strategic multistakeholder partnerships.

Furthermore, the interviewees made it particularly clear that there is a large gap between a project's needs and the existing funds they have for supporting women and marginalized groups. They name several fundamental difficulties that are characteristic of working with these target groups in their societies and make recommendations:

Considering cultural diversity in the project countries

Media development cooperation should consult implementing partners regarding the project countries' cultural characteristics and local realities. This should derive from a general power-critical and post-colonial approach aiming for an equal partnership between the donor organizations and the implementing partners within genuinely participatory processes.

Intensifying efforts for advocacy toward governments

In some countries, project work is restricted by government oppression and repressive laws impeding the empowerment of women and marginalized groups. Constraints resulting from legal frameworks prevent media development from flourishing. Donor organizations should, therefore, devote more resources to advocacy work in order to contribute to improving the political framework.

Establishing care structures in projects on the ground

Especially for women and marginalized groups, the project design should factor in practical requirements for the participants. This includes removing structural barriers to create equal opportunities through improved framework conditions, such as childcare.

Allocating more resources to those most left behind

Different target groups require different amounts of resources. Donor organizations should budget additional resources for projects with hard-to-reach communities to cover the extra work involved in reaching and working with them. This applies to time and financial resources.

Providing continuous support to forgotten crises

Countries with ongoing humanitarian crises risk being neglected by the media and donors. These countries should remain on the agenda of donor organizations, and there must be continuous investment in media development as an integral part of development cooperation.





Conclusions

A key assumption of this study was that media development and feminist development policy approaches pursue similar goals and are, therefore, closely aligned. The findings indicate that this indeed appears to be the case. Interview partners specifically often framed their activities in terms of participation and dialogue for everyone, with a diverse media landscape helping all parts of the population to make their voices heard. This is very much in line with the strategy of feminist development policy employed by the BMZ, which aims to empower all people in society to enjoy their human rights. Media development projects can contribute to these goals by increasing the share of women and marginalized group voices in media reporting, since the media landscapes in the countries surveyed often do not reflect their perspectives.

Media development projects directly address the needs of and empower marginalized groups

Most of the projects mentioned in the study concern aspects of the journalistic profession. The present findings indicate that journalists need skills and approaches not covered by standard journalistic training, such as constructive or gender-sensitive reporting. This is where media development can make a positive contribution. It is also noteworthy that the projects surveyed address a wide range of communities, from women to rural populations, ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities. Information and journalistic reporting are the primary means of empowering these groups, which speaks to the enabling nature of the right to freedom of expression.

Media development contributes to strengthening the 3 Rs

The findings show that the realization of rights, the promotion of access to resources, and the strengthening of representation (3 Rs) are closely intertwined in media development. The projects mentioned by interviewees and survey respondents can be seen as contributing to all three of these aspects simultaneously: reporting about women and marginalized groups can highlight disparities in rights, but also increase their representation in journalistic products. At the same time, providing journalists from underrepresented groups with training and reporting opportunities both speaks to representation and resources, as much as it increases the number of journalists from these groups and their means of generating income.

Resources can be directly connected to skills and knowledge gained as part of journalism or media-related training. However, interviewees also point out that information itself is a resource, especially for underserved parts of the population that may otherwise not have access to it. There is also a clear con-

nection to rights here, as being aware of and informed about one's rights is an important precondition for claiming them.

Representation in and by media is a vital aspect of media development and is closely connected with rights. Reporting on women and marginalized groups in a non-stereotypical way can set positive examples and inspire audiences who belong to the same groups or feel connected to them. Raising awareness can, in turn, lead marginalized groups to feel more empowered and able to claim their rights. At the same time, it can also dispel stereotypes and lead to a more accurate portrayal of these groups in society as a whole.

To conclude, media development activities often relate to more than one 'R' depending on the target audience and scope of the project. Media development is most closely related to rights and awareness but can make important contributions to resources and representation as well.

Taking a gender-sensitive and gender-transformative approach

Many of the recommendations in this study speak to aspects of media development programming that fall outside the scope of individual projects. Civil society partners are often underfunded and struggle to incorporate advocacy, childcare, psychosocial support, or capacity-building into budget lines within their own organizations. In this regard, more flexible allocations and core funding could go a long way towards ensuring the long-term impact of media development activities beyond an individual project.

At the same time, taking a more targeted and strategic approach is crucial for increasing the impact of media development activities for women and marginalized groups. To achieve this, media development organizations must consistently consider a gender-sensitive and gender-transformative angle throughout their projects.

Brief outlook for further research

This study has yielded important first insights into how media development works towards implementing feminist development policy on the ground. Hopefully these findings will inform future activities and research on potential synergies between media development approaches and feminist policy.

Given the small size of this study, there is scope for further research on the interdependencies between the 3 Rs in media development. There are also still many open questions on the individual 'Rs' that are of relevance to media development practice.

Here are just a few suggestions:

For the rights aspect, it could be interesting to explore how the generated awareness and the engagement in advocacy projects on the right to freedom of expression and access to information translate into legislative initiatives or amendments that improve the situation for women and other disadvantaged groups.

In terms of resources, further research could investigate whether equal access to journalistic training strengthens women and marginalized groups in the labor market in the long term, thus increasing their economic participation.

Similarly, an analysis of the connections between media representation and the empowerment of women and marginalized groups could examine if women and marginalized groups obtaining leadership positions lead to diversification of the product range in the media sector.

Research design

The study is based on mixed methods research combining qualitative in-depth interviews and a quantitative online survey. It was carried out by DW Akademie staff. The data and information collected were anonymized to ensure trust during interviews and to increase the likelihood of honest survey responses.

Between August and October 2023, DW Akademie conducted 16 qualitative interviews with 18 people in total — among them, eight staff members of DW Akademie's media development department and ten representatives of DW Akademie's partner organizations. The interviews were conducted via video call, lasted for one hour on average, and were based on a semi-structured interview guide.

Among the eight interviewees from DW Akademie were program directors, project managers, and project officers responsible for media development projects in Asia and Europe, Africa, the MENA region, Latin America, and the Western Balkans. The ten interviewees from DW Akademie's partner organizations work in Asia (Pakistan), Europe (Serbia), the MENA region (Jordan, the Palestinian territories), Africa (Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda), and Latin America (Bolivia, El Salvador). In two of the interviews, two people participated simultaneously as they collaborated on the same projects.

The semi-structured interview technique not only allowed DW Akademie staff to obtain detailed answers from the participants but to capture personal experience as well as information on the respective country's legal framework or social and cultural context. The results of the interviews with DW Akademie staff on the one hand, and the local partner organizations on the other, did not reveal any noticeable differences. The findings of all interviews have, therefore, been aggregated. For transparency, each reference to interview statements indicates whether the quote stems from DW Akademie staff or local partner organizations.

Supplementary to qualitative data through in-depth interviewing, DW Akademie collected quantitative data in an online survey. It was designed considering the most frequent answers gathered from the previously conducted interviews. Besides closed-ended questions, the survey also contained open-ended questions to provide more details and deliver new insights.

The answers were collected over 20 days in November and December 2023. 85 survey respondents completed the survey form. Almost three-quarters of survey respondents belong to media development organizations, non-governmental organizations, or media outlets, while women's organizations only accounted for less than three percent of survey respondents.

All world regions were represented in the survey. Results from the survey complement information gathered during the interviews and offer additional insights from organizations outside of DW Akademie's network of partner organizations.

The study neither claims to be exhaustive nor representative. The findings cannot be extrapolated to the entire media development community. Nevertheless, the study yields valuable information and provides initial answers to the research question of how media development strengthens women and marginalized groups through promoting their rights, resources, and representation.



Figure 9 Numbers in percent



Annex

Interview guideline Questions for qualitative interviews

The project(s)

General questions

- What is the project about?
- What is the desired social change?

Topic of the project

Some media development projects specifically address women and marginalized groups. Is this the case with your project?

- Does your project address the concerns of women and marginalized groups? If so, in what ways?
- What is the change that the project will contribute to?

Direct target groups/participants

Please tell us something about the direct target groups of the project. For now, we are only talking about people who are directly participating in the project.

- Who are the participants in your project?
- Which social groups do they belong to?
- Are there project participants from marginalized groups?
 If so, which ones?
- What is the ratio of men to women?
- What kind of change do you want their participation in the project to bring about?

Indirect target groups

In addition to direct participants, media development is also aimed at indirect target groups. In other words, parts of society that are to be reached through changed reporting. What does this look like in your project?

- Who should be reached by the reporting?
- Which social groups do they belong to?
- To what extent is the project aimed at marginalized groups? If so, which ones?

Project design

Thinking back to the project development, how did it go? Who was involved?

To what extent were women and marginalized groups involved in creating the project? If so, in what ways?

The 3 Rs (rights, resources, and representation)

Situation of women and marginalized groups in the country context

- In terms of society as a whole, what do you think are the greatest difficulties for women and marginalized groups in your country's context?
- What are the biggest difficulties for these groups in terms of the media landscape?
- How exactly can media development help address these problems?
- What are some concrete examples of this?

Rights

Which rights does the project strengthen, and in what ways? Examples could be:

- Rights related to combating gender-based violence
- Rights related to gaining access to justice
- Sexual and reproductive rights and health
- Discriminatory legislation

What results has the project achieved in this regard so far?

Resources

How would you say the project contributes to strengthening the resources of women and marginalized groups? In what ways? Examples could be:

- Enabling vocational training
- Opening access to the labor market
- Making information available on important issues (e.g., gender, wage gap)
- Opening up opportunities for action and decision-making

What results has the project achieved in this regard so far?

Representation

Does the project contribute to increasing the representation of women and marginalized groups? In what ways? Examples could be:

- Increasing the percentage of journalists from such groups
- More experts interviewed in news coverage
- More coverage of marginalized groups

What results has the project achieved in this regard so far?

The term 'feminist development cooperation'

There are different assessments of the term 'feminist foreign and development policy', as used, for example, by the German government. Some find it useful, others problematic. What about you?

- Would you agree to consider your project as part of 'feminist development cooperation'?
- Is this beneficial for your work on the project? Or does it make things more difficult?
- Are there terms you would prefer to use instead?
- If you could make a recommendation to the German government, in what ways could media development as a whole — that is, beyond the individual project contribute?

Is there anything else you would like to say or add?

Online survey questions and results for quantitative survey

Population	(Media) Development workers
Method	Online survey
Survey period	16 November - 5 December 2023
Sample	n=85

The questionnaire also contained open-ended questions. The answers to those questions are not shown here.

Sociodemographic questions

What kind of organization do you work for?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Media development or- ganization (supporting the establishment of independent media)	32	37.6
Media support NGO (promoting a safe envi- ronment for journalists)	20	23.5
Media outlet (engaging in media production)	11	12.9
Women's organization (supporting women and gender equality)	2	2.4
Other (please specify)	20	23.5
O1: Kind of organization		

Q1: Kind of organization

Which region(s) is your organization active in?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Global (working in two or more regions)	23	27.1
Asia, Pacific, and Oceania	19	22.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	18	21.2
Middle East and North Africa	8	9.4
Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia	6	7.1
Europe (Central, Northern, Southern, Western)	6	7.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	4	4.7
North America	1	1.2

Q2: Region(s)

Does your organization focus its activities on rural or urban areas?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
We address rural and urban settings alike	68	80.0
We focus on urban settings	8	9.4
We focus on rural settings	5	5.9
I don't know/no answer	4	4.7

Q3: Urban/rural

Approximately how many employees does your organization have?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1-5	17	20.0
6-20	31	36.5
21-50	9	10.6
More than 50	27	31.8
I don't know/no answer	1	1.2

Q4: Size of organization

Does your work specifically address any of the groups mentioned below?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Young people (all genders)	61	71.8
Women and girls	59	69.4
People from rural areas	42	49.4
Refugees/migrants	38	44.7
Ethnic minorities/ Indigenous people	36	42.4
People with disabilities	30	35.3
Men and boys	23	27.1
LGBTQ+	21	24.7
Not specifically addressing any of the above	7	8.2
Other (please specify)	6	7.1

Q5: Target group(s) Multiple answers possible

The 3 Rs: rights, resources, and representation

Which of the listed activities are part of your work to strengthen the rights of women and marginalized groups?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Raising awareness through media report- ing on the lives and per- spectives of women and marginalized groups	58	68.2
Supporting women and marginalized groups in expressing their opinions, for example, through training activities	54	63.5
Developing standards for the journalistic pro- fession, for example, in relation to sexism in the workplace or how to fight gender-based violence against female journalists online	54	63.5
Informing women and marginalized groups about their rights	46	54.1
None of the above	2	2.4

Q6: Rights Multiple answers possible

Are there any other activities you engage in to strengthen the rights of women and marginalized groups as part of your work?

Which of the activities below are part of your work on strengthening the resources of women and marginalized groups?

Which of the activities stated below do you engage in to improve the representation of women and marginalized groups?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Opportunities for networking and community building	58	68.2
Making journalistic training accessible to women and marginalized groups	57	67.1
Providing information women and margin- alized groups can use in their daily lives, for example, on how to generate an income, how to use social media, or navigate the internet safely	53	62.4
Providing information about services within their community/so- ciety that may be ben- eficial to women and marginalized groups	51	60.0
Providing direct financial assistance (grants, scholarships, etc.) to women and marginalized groups	23	27.1
None of the above	4	4.7

Q7: Resources Multiple answers possible

Are there any other activities you engage in to make resources accessible to women and marginalized groups as part of your work?

Open-ended question

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Supporting women and marginalized groups as producers of journalistic content, including as professional journalists or community reporters	65	76.5
Increased reporting about women and marginalized groups	56	65.9
Bringing more wom- en and marginalized groups into deci- sion-making positions in media and journalism	46	54.1
None of the above	7	8.2

Q8: Representation Multiple answers possible

Are there any other activities you engage in to improve the representation of women and marginalized groups as part of your work?

Media development and the empowerment of women and marginalized groups

How can media development activities best contribute to strengthening women and marginalized groups?

1ST RANK

Challenging traditional stereotypes or clichés about women or other marginalized groups

2ND RANK

Providing spaces for discussion and debate

3 RD RANK

Offering professional training

Q9: Media development Ranking question

	1	2	3	4	5	6	M
Providing spaces for discussion	17.3	24.7	12.3	24.7	7.4	13.6	3.21
and debate (n=81)	(14)	(20)	(10)	(20)	(6)	(11)	
Reporting about under-represented	21.3	8.8	16.3	10.0	30.0	13.8	3.60
topics and communities (n=80)	(17)	(7)	(13)	(8)	(24)	(11)	
Informing audiences about	15.0	18.8	18.8	16.3	15.0	16.3	3.46
their rights (n=80)	(12)	(15)	(15)	(13)	(12)	(13)	
Challenging traditional stereotypes or clichés about	21.3	23.8	18.8	11.3	15.0	10.0	3.05
women or other marginalized groups (n=80)	(17)	(19)	(15)	(9)	(12)	(8)	
Reporting by under-represented	9.1	19.5	19.5	14.3	16.9	20.8	3.73
communities, e.g., Indigenous groups (n=77)	(7)	(15)	(15)	(11)	(13)	(16)	
Offering professional	23.4	7.8	18.2	22.1	11.7	16.9	3.42
training (n=77)	(18)	(6)	(14)	(17)	(9)	(13)	

 $The \ values \ in \ the \ table \ represent \ percentages, \ and \ the \ numbers \ in \ brackets \ represent \ frequencies.$

Are there any other aspects you find important when it comes to strengthening women and marginalized groups as part of media development?

How can donors best support media development activities for empowering women and marginalized groups?

1ST RANK

Provide core funding to organizations working to support women and marginalized groups

2ND RANK

Support media development organizations working with women and marginalized groups

3 RD RANK

Support civil society organizations working with women and marginalized groups

Q10: Recommendations Ranking question

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M
Provide core funding to organizations working to support women and marginalized groups (n=81)	33.3 (27)	12.3 (10)	27.2 (22)	11.1 (9)	7.4 (6)	7.4 (6)	1.2 (1)	2.74
Support civil society organizations working with women and marginalized groups (n=80)	15 (12)	21.3 (17)	20 (16)	17.5 (14)	12.5 (10)	11.3 (9)	2.5 (2)	3.35
Make grant application processes more accessible for grassroots organizations (n=78)	19.2 (15)	20.5 (16)	9 (7)	21.8 (17)	20.5 (16)	3.8 (3)	5.1 (4)	3.36
Support media development organizations working with women and marginalized groups (n=77)	16.9 (13)	29.9 (23)	15.6 (12)	11.7 (9)	18.2 (14)	3.9 (3)	3.9 (3)	3.12
Mainstream gender and inclusion within their own processes (n=76)	7.9 (6)	11.8 (9)	13.2 (10)	14.5 (11)	13.2 (10)	25 (19)	14.5 (11)	4.46
Provide clear information about their own policy goals and funding priorities (n=74)	8.1 (6)	5.4 (4)	13.5 (10)	10.8 (8)	20.3 (15)	23 (17)	18.9 (14)	4.74
Exert political pressure on project country governments (n=73)	8.2 (6)	5.5 (4)	4.1 (3)	12.3 (9)	6.8 (5)	19.2 (14)	43.8 (32)	5.37

 $The \ values \ in \ the \ table \ represent \ percentages, \ and \ the \ numbers \ in \ brackets \ represent \ frequencies.$

Are there any other measures you think donors should take when it comes to strengthening women and marginalized groups as part of media development?

The term 'feminist development policy'

Some people refer to an emphasis on women and marginalized groups as a feminist approach. How about your own work?

Please complete: Describing my work as 'feminist' to others...

Is there an expression you prefer using to 'feminist' when describing your approach?

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	
Does not capture what I do	25	29.4	
Is both suitable and helpful for what I do	20	23.5	
None of the above	18	21.2	
Is counter-productive	11	12.9	
Is a suitable term for what I do	11 12.9		
O11. The terms (female in let)			

Q11: The term 'feminist'

Why did you choose this answer? Please explain.

Open-ended question

Comments

Q13: Further comments

Is there anything else you would like to share with us?

Open-ended question

FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	
21	24.7	
19 22.4		
15	17.6	
11	12.9	
10 11.8		
7	8.2	
2	2.4	
	21 19 15 11 10 7	

Q12: Alternative terms to 'feminist'

Why did you choose this answer? Please explain.

Open-ended question

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