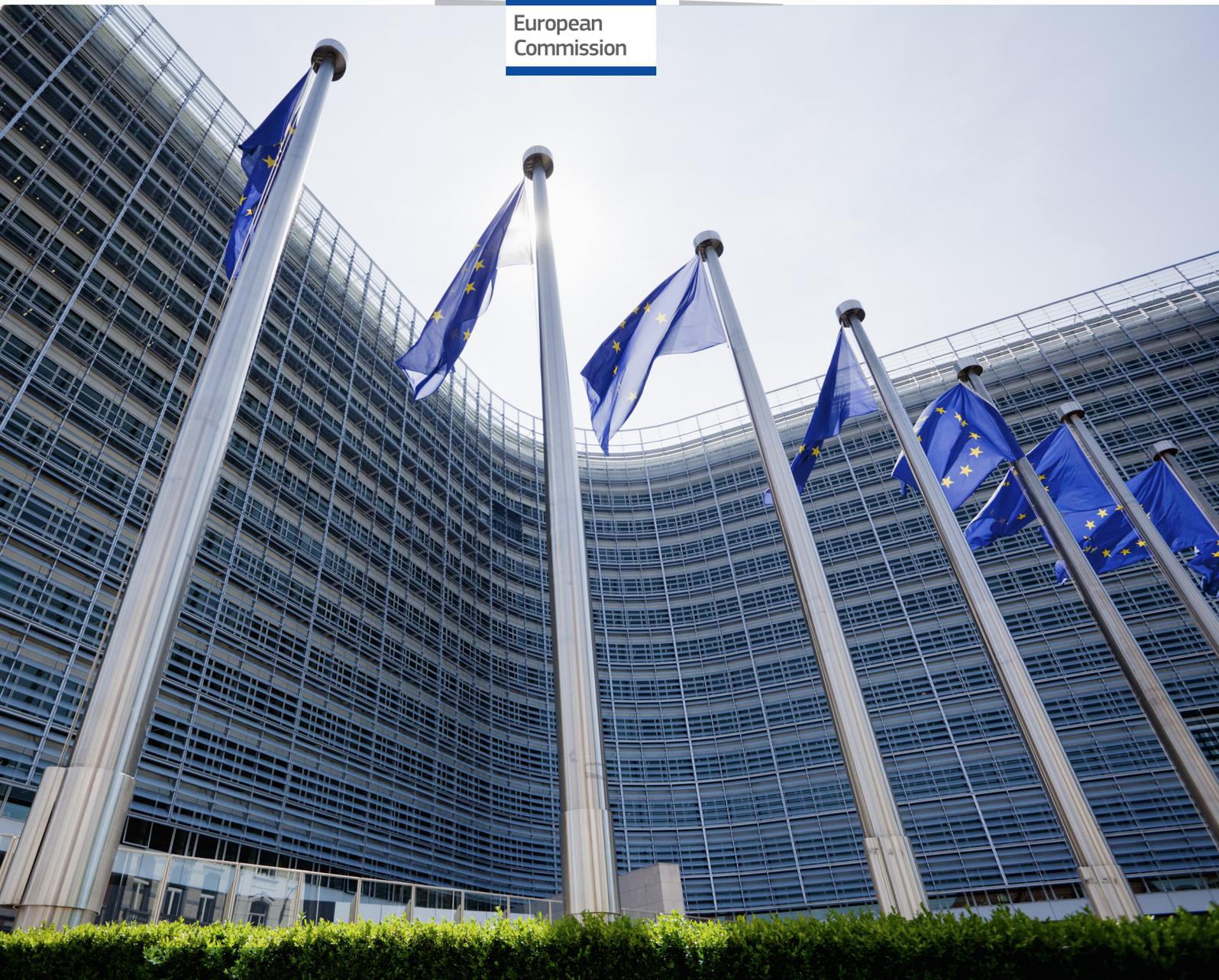




European
Commission



MAPPING EU MEDIA SUPPORT 2000-2010

FRAMEWORK CONTRACT COM 2011 – REINFORCING EC MEDIA DEVELOPMENT CAPACITIES
SERVICE CONTRACT NO. 2011-283166

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List of acronyms

ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Countries
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CARDS	EU Assistance programme to the Western Balkans
CIMA	Center for International Media Assistance
CRIS	Current Research Information System (EU Data Base)
DAC	OECD Development Assistance Committee
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DG Development	Directorate General Development
DG-ENL	Directorate General for Enlargement
DW	Deutsche Welle
EBU	European Broadcasting Union
EC	European Commission
EDF/FED	European Development Fund
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
ENPI	European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument
EQ	Evaluation Questions
EU	European Union
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FOJO	The Media Institute FOJO (part of Linné University, Sweden)
GPB	British Pound
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IFEX	International Freedom of Expression Exchange
IMS	International Media Support
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
IREX	International Research & Exchanges Board (US Based NGO)
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OSI	Open Society Institute
RSF	Reporters Without Borders
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
ToR	Terms of Reference
WAN-IFRA	World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers

1. Executive summary

The overall objective of the present study is to improve the quality the EC and other donors' media support by providing an analyses of the EC's assistance so far and recommendations on future strategies and modalities. This present report focuses on the activities so far, while a separate document will focus on future options.

The specific objectives for this present part of the assignment has been to Map and document EC media support in the period 2000-2010 and to analyse the strategies, approaches, instruments, methods, and interventions developed and used by the EC and some other actors of the international community in the area of media support.

The study primarily covers capacity development of relevant media actors, media legislation reform, space for media and other interventions, which directly target the media sector. General Communication for Development projects, however, are not part of the study. Major health or environment programmes often have communication components where journalists and editors are offered training in reporting about HIV, Global Warming etc., and these projects are not included. Nor are projects, which have as their primary objective to encourage journalists to write about EU issues including the enlargement process.

Generally, data about media development support are not complete and reliable due to insufficient classification categories in the DAC system, so the EC and most other international institutions and organisations share the problem of not having solid knowledge about the scope and size of support in this field. This is also the case in the CRIS data base, which does not distinguish for example between public diplomacy and media support. Please see chapter 3.1 for a detailed description about the weaknesses of the data collection.

As a consequence, the amounts and other figures in this report should not be taken as exact values. But the mapping does show some clear trends and tendencies despite the weakness of the basic data, and the main findings are:

- According to the information available in the CRIS data base and the definition of projects applied for this support, the total amount spent on media development and freedom of expression in the period 2000-2010 has been 148,4 Million Euro.
- More than half of the total amount has been spent in the neighbour countries East and South of the EU. More than 40 % has been spent in the Western Balkans, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine and Turkey, while 12,5 % has been spent in the Middle East and North Africa. 24,3 % of the total funds have been spent in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- The EC support for media development and freedom of expression has been limited compared with the bilateral support from EU Member States and other bilateral donors. For comparison the Swedish budget for media support from SIDA in 2012 is 26 Million Euro and DfiD supports the BBC Media Action with more than 20 Million Euro per year.

- The funding comes from a variety of thematic and geographic instruments with the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights, EIDHR, as the single biggest source, which accounts for 41 % of the total support. Other significant instruments are IPA, CARDS, ENPI and MED.
- The main focus has been on training of journalists and editors in journalistic skills and professional standards. Other initiatives have been support to reform of media related legislation and direct support to endangered journalists and writers.
- The projects supported by the EC have not been different from projects funded by bilateral donors. Very few projects have benefitted from the potential comparative advantages of the EC/EU as a multinational entity. Very few projects have been designed and implemented in cooperation with member states or other donor agencies, and the projects do not reflect on-going internal media developments in the EU. There seems to be more focus on EU visibility than on EU additionality.
- The top ten contract holders have implemented 36 % of the total project value with BBC Media Action as the single biggest partner, which has implemented almost ten percent of the total project value in the period 2000-2010. Internews (with Internews Europe as the biggest entity) comes second with 4,6 % of the total project value followed by the International Federation of Journalists with 3,4 % of the project value.
- The EC is seen as a “difficult” or “bureaucratic” donor agency, which is difficult to approach for smaller organisations because the possible funding does not correspond with the paper work needed to apply for support.

2. Background

2.1. EU involvement in Media Support

Support to freedom of expression and opinion and free, independent and plural media are regarded as key elements in the European Commission's democracy support programmes. The involvement has been in the form of larger self standing and comprehensive media support programmes as well as integration of media support aspects in other governance programmes such as electoral assistance and the issue of media monitoring and access to media for different political candidates or parties. The EC has also supported training and capacity building of journalists in connection with specific themes such as Human Rights.

In addition to capacity building, the EC has also supported the development and implementation of media legislation, which ensures basic legal conditions for independent and free media.

The support has been financed by The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Right (EIDHR) and other facilities such as the Non State Actors & Local Authorities Instrument, the Instrument for Stability and the various geographic instruments. The majority of the projects have been implemented in the EU's Southern and Eastern neighbour countries and in Sub-Saharan Africa.

A study published in April 2010 lists the projects in Africa funded by European donor organisations¹ including the EU but there is no other comprehensive list of EU funded media development activities.

2.2. Scope of the study

The overall objective of the study is to improve the quality the EC and other donors' media support by providing an analyses of the EC's assistance so far and recommendations on future strategies and modalities. This present report focuses on the activities so far, while a separate document will focus on future options.

The specific objectives for this present part of the, as stated in the ToR, are to;

- *Map and document EC media support and analyse the strategies, approaches, instruments, methods, and interventions developed and used by the EC and some other actors of the international community in the area of media support since 2001, document lessons learned and good practices of EC in supporting media development worldwide (with a particular focus on the EIDHR media support). Look at novel ways of mobilising support to media, building synergies within the EU's geographic and thematic programmes.*

The study primarily covers capacity development of relevant media actors, media legislation reform, space for media and other interventions, which directly target the media sector. But the forward looking document will also look at ways to include media support in broader

¹ http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/mediadev_support_study_final_report.pdf

governance programmes and how to create synergies other areas of democratic governance projects and programmes as well as private sector development programmes.

General Communication for Development projects, however, will not be part of the study. Major health or environment programmes often have communication components where journalists and editors are offered training in reporting about HIV, Global Warming etc., and these projects are not included. Nor are projects, which have as their primary objective to encourage journalists to write about EU issues including the enlargement process.

3. Study design

3.1. Data collection

The findings and conclusions for this report are based on:

- Quantitative analyses of all media and communication related projects in the CRIS data base
- A desk review of project documentation of 14 selected EC funded projects across 13 geographic locations in the period between 2000 and 2010;
- Review of media development and press freedom support by other agencies including SIDA, DW, WAN, OSI, RSF and IMS through desk research and interviews with relevant stakeholders;
- Field visit to Zimbabwe:
 - Review of project documents related to projects funded in these countries;
 - Interviews with relevant stakeholders on the ground.

3.1.1. CRIS data collection

The research team has been granted external access to the CRIS data base of all EU projects. The data base does not classify media development projects separately, so these projects are scattered across different sectors and funding instruments. In an attempt to identify media-related projects funded by the EC, the team narrowed down the search by relevant DAC sectors assumed to include most media-related projects²:

DAC 5 CODE	CRS CODE	DESCRIPTION
150		GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY
151		Government and civil society, general
	15110	Public sector policy and administrative management
	15111	Public finance management
	15112	Decentralisation and support to subnational government
	15113	Anti-corruption organisations and institutions
	15130	Legal and judicial development
	15150	Democratic participation and civil society
	15151	Elections
	15152	Legislatures and political parties
	15153	Media and free flow of information
	15160	Human rights
	15170	Women's equality organisations and institutions
152		Conflict prevention and resolution, peace and security
	15210	Security system management and reform
	15220	Civilian peace-building, conflict prevention and resolution
	15230	Participation in international peacekeeping operations
	15240	Reintegration and SALW control
	15250	Removal of land mines and explosive remnants of war
	15261	Child soldiers (Prevention and demobilisation)
(160)	16061	Culture and recreation
220		COMMUNICATIONS

² DAC sector Reconstruction relief and rehabilitation (DAC code 73010) was added to the list as suggested by the Commission, but no media related projects were located under this code.

DAC 5 CODE	CRS CODE	DESCRIPTION
	22010	Communications policy and administrative management
	22020	Telecommunications
	22030	Radio/television/print media
	22040	Information and communication technology (ICT)

This yielded a list of 7517 projects, which was then manually analysed in order to identify media-related projects. This analysis was done by keyword searches reflecting the different aspects of media development:

- Media/ médias
- Press
- Journal-
- Information/ información
- Print
- Radio
- Tele
- Television
- TV
- News
- Internet
- ICT
- Censorship
- Freedom of expression

The principle we followed was that of maximum inclusion – any project including these words was included in the list of media-development projects which narrowed down the list to 1.281 projects. This list was then reviewed manually project by project and cross-referenced with EIDHR-specific list of documents provided by DG-DEV, and the number was narrowed down to **437 media-related projects**, which form the basis of the quantitative analysis in the following chapters.

Like the data bases of other donor organisations the CRIS does not distinguish between support for media development or freedom of expression and EU visibility projects, seminars about the EU enlargement etc. Many projects have been entered under DAC 15153 (Media and Free Flow of Information) only because there has been an element of printing or broadcasting of material. As a general rule these promotional activities are not included in the analyses although informing journalists about EU issues may also include general capacity building. In some countries it has been politically feasible impossible to train journalists in for example critical reporting, but it has been possible to train in reporting about environmental issues and include general journalistic values in this form of training. So it is not possible to draw a completely clear line between which projects should be included and which should be excluded.

There are other projects, which are not clearly definable as media development – for example journalists training in good governance, human rights, anti-corruption etc. These courses have specific objectives in relation the mentioned subjects but they also contribute to general improvement of the capacity of the journalistic communities in the countries

concerned. Writing about these subjects is generally considered as corner-stones of good journalistic work and so is election coverage, so they are included in the list of the remaining 437 projects, although there is not a very distinct difference between reporting about HIV (which according to the ToR for this mapping is excluded) or Human Rights (which is included). Support to training of documentary film makers in the MENA region is also included although the film makers are not working in the traditional news media. Support to organisations advocating against internet censorship is of course also included.

The data base does not in all cases contain all the relevant documents such as project data sheets, progress reports, evaluation and monitoring reports etc. Thus most projects have been judged only by the title. In some cases this has not been problematic: For example it has been easy to eliminate projects such as “Reporting HIV”, which falls clearly outside the scope of this study.

ICT support is another area, which is not clearly definable as “media support”. The EU has allocated substantial funds to ICT infrastructure especially in the neighbouring countries East and South of the EU and in Latin America but also in China. This infrastructure is important because without Internet connectivity it is impossible to talk about freedom of speech and access to information – but on the other hand, these projects cannot be labelled as projects aiming strictly on developing free media and supporting free speech. Especially because the focus during the period studied for this mapping has often been on research and educational institutions. Thus, a list of **32 ICT projects** with a total value of 119 Mio. Euro will be analysed separately below.

It could be argued that support to regulatory bodies or to parliamentary committees, which are dealing with communication regulation, should also be included in the special ICT list. But the Support to regulatory bodies is often broader than the ICT sector, so they are included in the list of the 437 media support projects. So are projects aiming at enabling national Radio and TV stations in the Balkans to broadcast digitally. Although they are ICT projects, they have a direct influence on the media environment.

The classifications in the DAC system are used by most donor organisations including the EU/EC, UNDP, UNESCO, World Bank etc. so they all share the challenge of finding exact knowledge about media support. CIMA, the Center for International Media Assistance and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) in the US has produced one of the best overviews of international support to media and freedom of expression in the report “*Empowering independent Media*”³ – but the figures for EC media support do not correspond well with the findings of the present mapping. This is probably primarily due to the differences in definitions, because the CIMA report includes all public diplomacy (or promotional activities) in the countries East and South of the EU.

The team notes that the lists of projects are not complete, and as a consequence, it was decided to include a qualitative analysis of 20 selected projects. The sampling method was a combination of random and quota sampling. Out of the full list of projects we identified, we

³ <http://issuu.com/cima-publications/docs/cima-empowering-independent-media-2>

divided these into 4 groups and decided on a proportional sample according to the total number:

- Four projects with specific media-related code (DAC 15153 'media and free flow of information')
- Nine projects with specific communications code (DAC codes 220... 'communications')
- Four projects with other government and civil society codes (DAC codes 150..., excluding 'media and free flow of information')
- Three un-coded projects

We then randomly sampled each individual group of projects until we got a fair spread across regions and what seemed to be project activities. In view of data constraints, this spread and diversity of projects was considered to give a fair indication of EC media funding.

Once the list was assembled the next step was accessing relevant project documentation. Only four projects from the list had monitoring reports available on CRIS. The EC delegations provided documentation for another 10 projects⁴. The final list for analysis includes the 14 projects below:

Geographical zone (LEF)	Contract number	Title
ACP Countries	216107	Capacity Building Programme and Community Development in Internet Governance and ICT Policy for Intra-ACP regional and sub-regional institutions
Armenia	131434	Developing the Democratic Electoral Processes and Media Environment
Belarus	159306	Support to Freedom of Expression
Bosnia and Herzegovina	227380	Technical assistance to the Communication Regulatory Agency (CRA) in relations to telecommunications and telecommunications regulatory framework
China	103914	Technical Assistance (TA) for the Information Society Project (PR China)
China	143869	Mid-term evaluation to the EU-China Information Society Project
Egypt	70991	Computer Training for Egyptian Press Syndicate Journalists
Georgia	238837	Development of Media Monitoring Capacities in Georgia
Haiti	228605	Renforcement des capacites des journalistes haitiens - formation initiale et formation continue

⁴ The project documentation provided for project 143869 in China (Mid-term evaluation to the EU-China Information Society Project) was considered part of project documentation for project 103914 (Technical Assistance (TA) for the Information Society Project (PR China))

Indonesia	63776	Media for Democracy in Indonesia
Kazakhstan	203722	The international standards about mass media and national legislation
Latin America Countries	48108	Integrating New Technologies in School: Developing and promoting core competencies In Argentina, Chile and Uruguay
Russia	121007	Eliminating Legal Obstacles to Freedom of Press
Russia	82791	Strengthening the democratic institution of independent media in the regions of Russia
Sudan	189544	NCA - REPORTERS TRAINING TO PROMOTE PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

3.1.2. Stakeholder interviews and field missions

The quantitative and qualitative desk review of available data has been supplemented with semi-structured interviews with a number of different actors in the field of media support and support to freedom of expression. The list of interviewees include representatives of UNESCO, WAN, OSI, IMS, DW, BBC Media Action, EC staffs (ENPI, EIDHR and Enlargement experts), EU Delegation staff, beneficiaries of support etc. A full list of persons interviewed is attached as Annex 1.

In addition to the interviews with selected experts, the team has performed a field mission to Zimbabwe in order to gain more in-depth insight in the project implementation in a selected country.

4. Main findings

4.1. Quantitative findings

4.1.1. Methodology

Despite the weaknesses of the basic data, it is possible to extract some overall trends from the 437 projects, which have been identified as media development and freedom of expression projects and the 32 ICT projects.

In order to extract relevant geographical information the team has grouped the projects as follows:

- Africa: Sub-Saharan Africa
- Asia: North, South and South East Asian countries (including Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan)
- Eastern Neighbours (including the Western Balkans, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine and Turkey)
- Latin America (including the Caribbean)
- MENA (Middle East & North Africa including the Arab states not participation in the ENPI)
- Pacific
- Worldwide

These particular groups have been created because the different EU groupings have changed during the time period, which has been analysed. MEDA and TACIS have been merged into ENPI; support via the CARDS mechanism has been partly replaced by The Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) etc. Thus, the groups above have been created in order to compare the interventions over time.

The present ENPI South Group includes Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Syria and Tunisia, while the ENPI East consists of Armenia Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine and Russia. Geopolitically these countries have many similarities but in terms of media standards, traditions and general conditions there are more similarities between the IPA countries and the Eastern ENPI than between Eastern and Southern ENPI. These are the reasons for using the geographical groupings created by the research team.

4.1.2. Overall distribution of funds – Media Projects

Using this methodology it becomes very visible that the neighbour countries to the East and the South of the EU have received more than half of the total support during the past decade with the African Continent as the second biggest recipient.

Region	Value of Funding (€)	Number of Projects
Eastern Neighbours	59.858.577	187
Africa	36.080.954	90
Asia	21.443.500	66
MENA	18.623.161	66
Latin America	6.741.579	17
Worldwide	5.372.542	9
Pacific	309.334	2
Grand Total	148.429.648	437

Table 1: Distribution of Funding by Region

In visual form the geographical distribution of funding looks as follows:

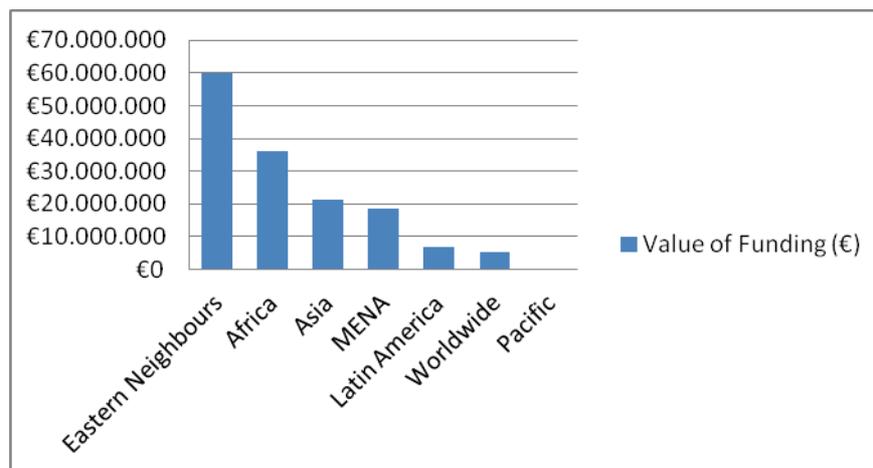


Figure 1: Value of Funding by Region (project value)

The total amount of 148 Million Euro from all funding instruments over the ten year period (or an average annual budget of 14,8 Million Euro) should be seen in the context of the annual budget of the various funding instruments used for media support. The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights, EIDHR, which has financed 41 % of the 437 project sample for this analysis, has an annual budget of approximately 158 Million Euro for each of the years in period 2007-2013⁵. In other words: The media development support accounts for approximately 4 % of the EIDHR annual budget.

⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/how/finance/eidhr_en.htm

For comparison, the study from 2010, which maps media support in Africa funded by European donors, identified a total of 236 projects and programmes, which were ongoing in 2009. These 236 projects had a total value of 146 Million Euro, which shows that the EC presence in Africa is limited compared to the EU member states and other bilateral donors. The total media support to Africa from the EC according to the sample in the present study is 36 Million Euro from 2000-2010 – or an average of 3,6 Million per year.

The average annual amount of 14,8 Million Euro for media support, should also be seen in comparison with the support from the most active EU member states in this sector: Sweden has a budget of 26 Million Euro for media and freedom of expression in 2012 and DfID supports the BBC Media Action annually with more than 20 Million Euro. And the private Thomson Reuters Foundation has an annual budget of approximately 8 Million Euro for media development projects of which half comes from the company's own resources.

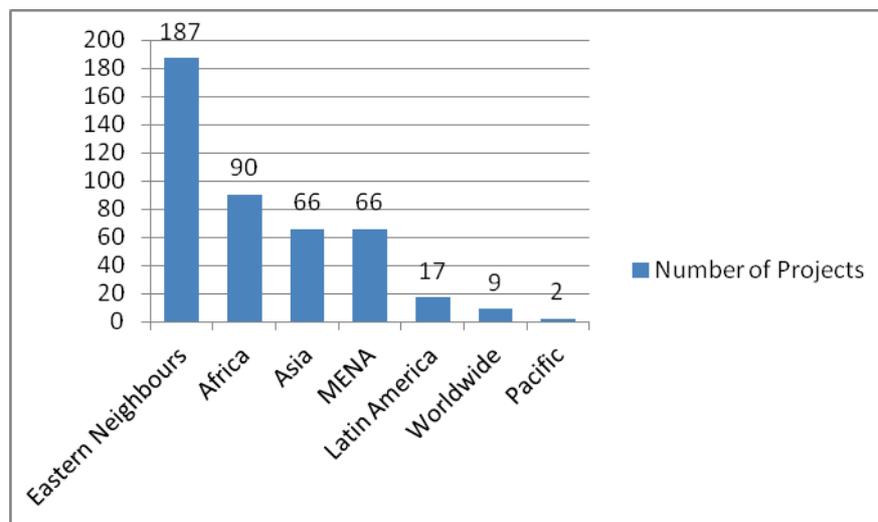


Figure 2: Number of projects by region

When comparing figure 1 and figure 2 it can be concluded that there is not a big difference in average project sizes in the different regions. So although the Eastern Neighbours enjoy a privileged position in comparison with the rest of the World, the value per project is more or less the same globally.

Over time there is a clear tendency to an increase in the amounts allocated to media development and freedom of expression projects. The graph below shows the amount, which has been committed every year, but not the actual annual spending. Funds allocated in one year could be spent over two-three years.

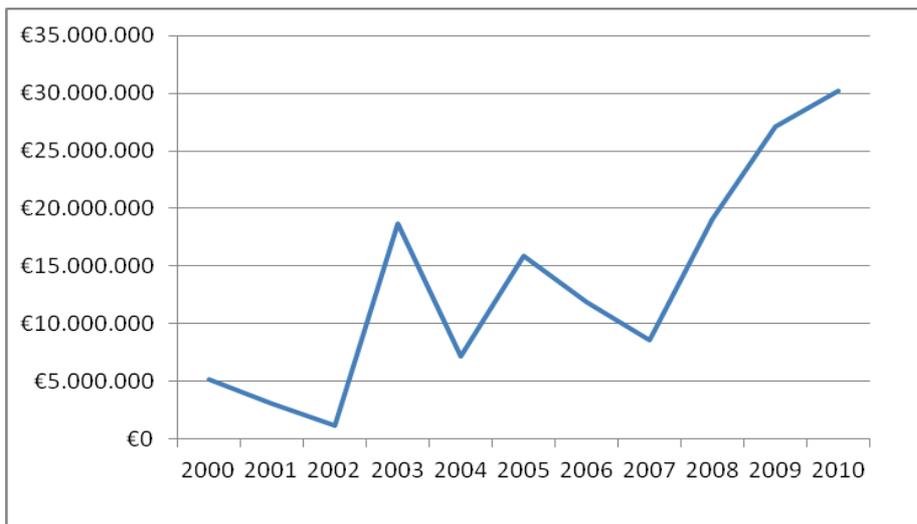


Figure 3: Annual allocation to media projects

While the total funding has increased over the past decade the average project size seems to become smaller. Or phrased differently: There are more but smaller projects funded by the EU. This is not totally consistent with the fact that most international media development organizations talk about a global trend of fewer but bigger and broader media developments worldwide.

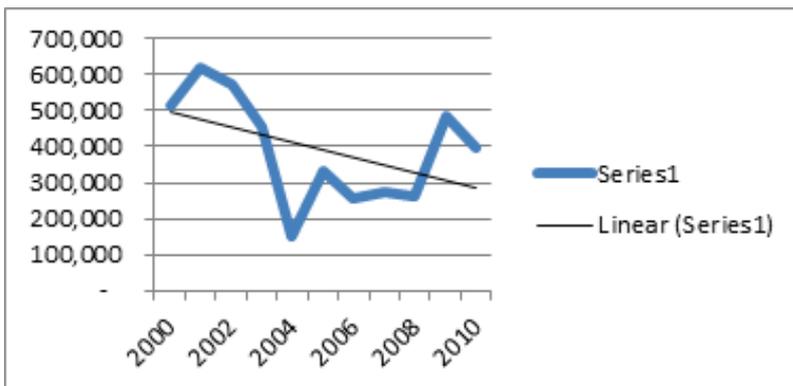


Figure 4: Average project value

The increase in support to the media sector is not spread evenly across the geographical regions. The increased political importance of the enlargement and the Eastern ENPI countries is also reflected in the amounts allocated for this region. Since the Arab spring, there has also been increased focus on the MENA region.

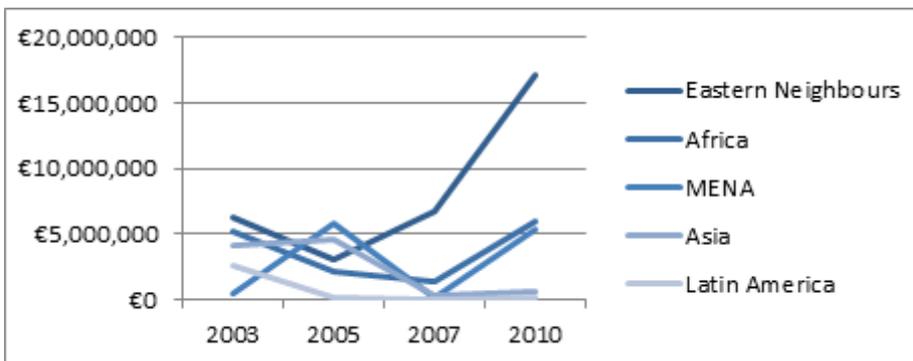


Figure 5: Regional distribution of funds over time

4.1.3. Funding instruments – media projects

The media support has been financed by a multitude of funding programmes and instruments. The variety of modalities is particularly big in the Eastern Neighbourhood region due to the big number of programmes aiming at this region. But globally the EIDHR is by far the biggest single contributor both in terms of project value and number of projects:

Funding Instrument	Value of Funding (€)	Number of Projects
EIDHR/ DDH	60.832.202	185
IPA	17.955.638	40
CARDS	12.848.717	70
ENPI	11.508.670	22
FED	7.963.431	16
MED	6.530.213	20
DCI-ASIE	6.324.209	19
DCI-NSAPVD	5.992.051	16
IFS-RRM	4.739.352	11
ONG-PVD	4.438.350	8
PHARE	3.501.865	8
TACIS	2.796.031	11
DCI-ALA	2.157.131	3
CDC	495.646	7
REH	346.142	1
Grand Total	148.429.648	437

Table 2: Funding by instrument

The same information is here seen graphically:

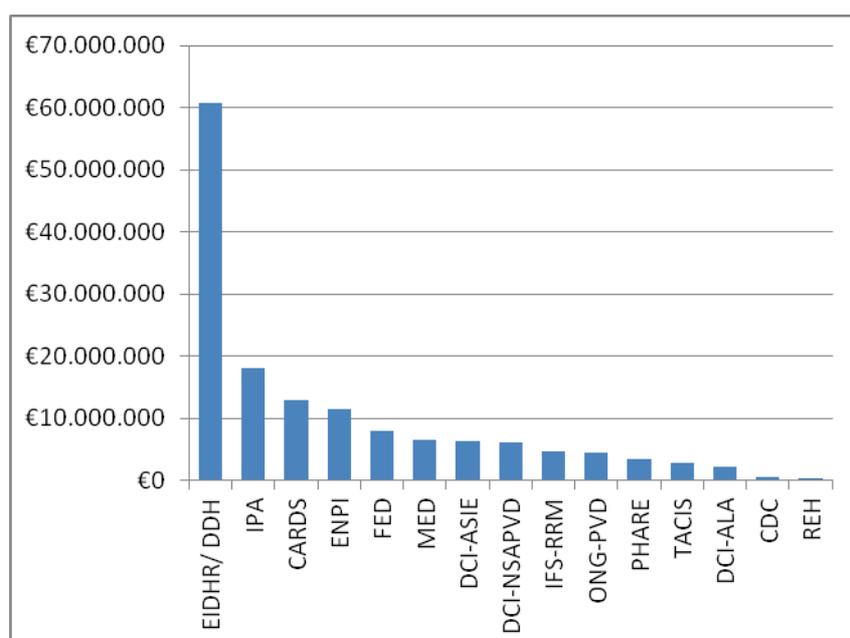


Figure 6: Funding by instrument (project value)

The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights, EIDHR, has been used in most parts of the world including the Eastern Neighbourhood, which is the overall biggest recipient of EC media support. But for the EIDHR, but the biggest region is the African continent:

Region	Value of Funding (€)	Number of Projects
Africa	21.373.316	53
Eastern Neighbours	12.699.763	47
Asia	11.535.926	41
MENA	7.634.640	27
Latin America	4.331.452	8
Worldwide	2.947.770	7
Pacific	309.334	2
Grand Total	60.832.202	185

Table 3: EIDHR spending by region

Graphically the geographical spread of the EIDHR funding looks as follows:

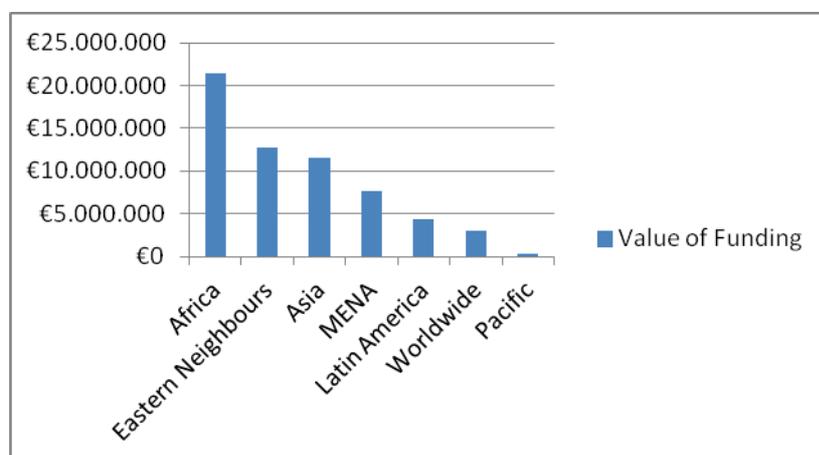


Figure 7: EIDHR funding by region

These figures correspond quite well with the data provided directly from DG-DEV's internal data base about EIDHR except that the internal DG-DEV analysis⁶ has identified a total of 150 EIDHR media projects, while the present report has included a total of 185 EIDHR projects as related to media development and freedom of expression. The DG-DEV internal analysis also shows a distinct trend of an increase in the number of media and freedom of expression projects:

⁶ Elaborated in April 2012 by Mr. Alfonso Medinilla-Aldana

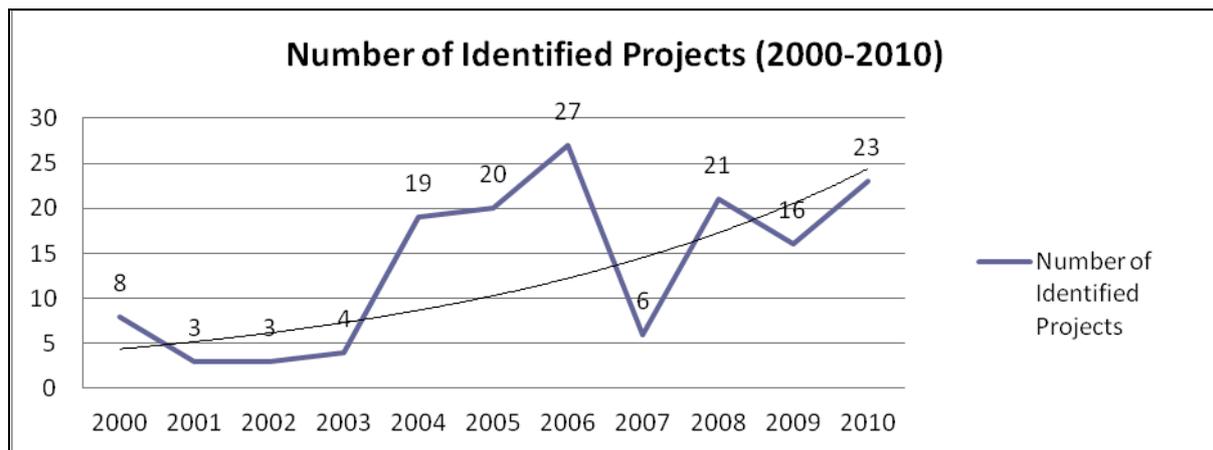


Figure 8: EIDHR Media and Freedom of Expression projects (DG-DEV analysis)

4.1.4. EIDHR project focus

Many projects have more than one objective, but when looking at the main objectives, the following types of projects come out as the most frequent⁷:

Capacity Building for Journalists (21%): These projects focus mainly on increasing professionalism and promoting ethic standards and professional codes of conduct.

Classified Support to Journalists and Media - EIDHR Objective 1 (19%): A total of 29 projects are listed as confidential and the main objective of the majority of these projects is to ensure the security of journalists when exercising their right to freedom of opinion and expression. Some projects involve direct financial and legal support to journalists and their families in exile or to journalists who are in danger in their own countries.

Legal and Regulatory Framework of Media (16%): These projects address the basic legal conditions for media organisations and legal protection of organisations and individuals. There are two main categories: (1) removing legal and technical obstacles to freedom of the press, and (2) legal aid to journalists.

Investigative Journalism and Human Rights Reporting (15%): This category of projects involves direct support to the production of stories with specific subjects such as human rights, governance, corruption etc.

Promoting Pluralism In and Through Media (11%): 16 projects have targeted vulnerable and/or marginalized groups in the media landscape. The identified projects cover a variety of activities, including strengthening the capacity of journalists to address intercultural and interreligious issues in the media, support to minority media, and strategic media coverage to increase visibility and promote tolerance of vulnerable groups and minorities.

Other projects can be labelled as Local Media for Democracy (9%), Media Monitoring (5%) and Media and Elections (5%).

⁷ As classified by DG-DEV

Once again it should be stressed that the total numbers and the percentages should not be seen as exact values, but the overall trends in the findings of other studies are generally consistent with the present findings.

The ENPI office of the European Commission has recently carried out a very detailed mapping of support to the media sector in the ENPI region by all donors⁸, and this study also shows that training and capacity building of journalists and editors is the top category of intervention.

The same picture emerges from a study from 2010 of media support by European donors in Africa.⁹ This study documents that more than one third of all projects have training as the main content. Subjects like good governance, democracy and human rights are topping the list.

What is quite remarkable is the almost total absence of projects in the field of social media, but this should also be seen in the context of the time span of the study. In 2010 nobody had heard about the Arab Spring or the Facebook and Twitter revolutions.

Absent are also projects, which have a primary focus on the business aspects of free media. Most independent media are private businesses owned either by individuals or by foundations of different kinds, and they have to be financially viable in order to maintain their independence. Some projects (EU funded or supported by other donors) address the general legislative environment for media, but very few are tackling the critical issue of access to credit. In most developing countries it is practically impossible for media organisations to obtain commercial bank loans at reasonable conditions, and all production equipment and materials such as news print must be paid cash. Hence access to credit is a fundamental issue, which is not being sufficiently addressed.

4.1.5. Implementing agencies – media projects

The media and freedom of expression projects have been implemented both by a variety of local organisations and by international organisations specialised in this type of projects – with a total of 280 different contract holders. But some organisations seem to be significantly more popular partners than others. In the graph below, the 280 contract holders have been divided in 10 groups of 28 organisations in each group. And this shows that the top ten percent of the contract holders are responsible for implementing 58% of the total project value in the present sample (86,2 Million Euro out of 148,4 Million Euro).

⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/regional-cooperation/journalist/index_fr.htm

⁹ http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/mediadev_support_study_final_report.pdf

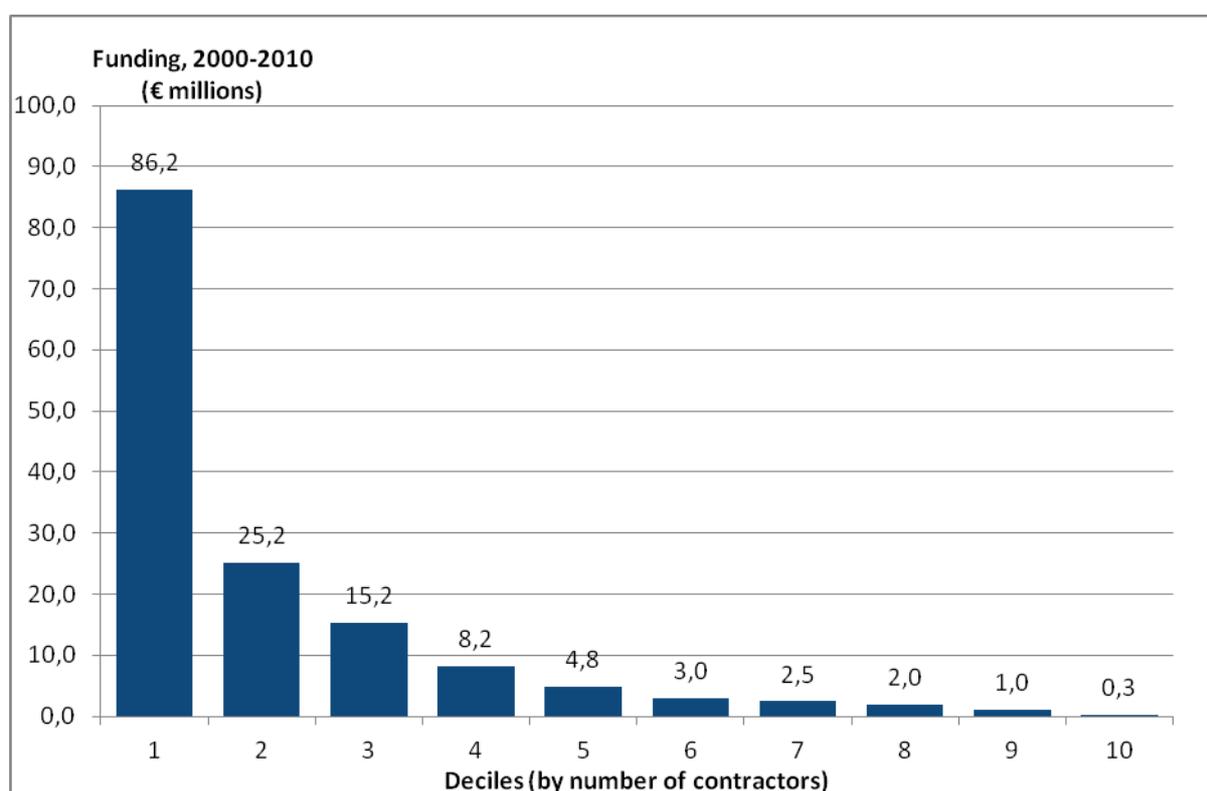


Figure 9: Project value per group of 28 contractors

As shown in the table below, the top ten contract holders have implemented 36 % of the total project value with BBC Media Action as the single biggest partner, which has implemented almost ten percent of the total project value in the period 2000-2010. Internews (which has a European branch) comes second with 4,6 % of the total project value followed by the International Federation of Journalists with 3,4 % of the project value. These figures only include projects where these organisations have been the main contractor. When BBC or IREX are acting as a sub-contractor as in the case of EU/UNDP support to the public service broadcaster in Georgia, this is not included because it does not appear in the CRIS data base.

#	Contractor	Value of Funding (€)
1	BBC	14.513.268
2	INTERNEWS	6.875.954
3	INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS	5.488.619
4	CONSEIL DE L' EUROPE	5.259.311
5	ROHDE & SCHWARZ OSTERREICH GMBH	4.277.874
6	GROUPE DE RECHERCHE ET D'ECHANGES TECHNOLOGIQUES	3.966.914
7	FRONTIER ECONOMICS LIMITED	3.951.363
8	THE THOMSON FOUNDATION TRUST (REUTERS)	3.472.475
9	SAGA (NEW FRONTIER GROUP, SERBIA)	3.073.573
10	FONDATION HIRONDELLE	2.794.368

Table 4: Top ten contract holders

Number five on the list (Rohde & Schwartz) and number nine (New Frontier Group Saga) are both broadcast and ICT companies, who enter the top ten list because of their involvement in the big project of switching from analogue to digital broadcasting in Serbia.

Groupe de Recherche et d'Échanges Technologiques (www.gret.org), which is number six on the top ten, is a French organisation, which is not specialised in media development, but GRET has implemented a major EIDHR media development project in Chad.

Frontier Economics (<http://www.frontier-economics.com>) is a consulting company specialised in the economics of big projects, and it enters number 7 on the top ten list because of a telecommunications policy project in the MENA region.

Reporters Without Borders (RSF) are also among the significant implementers with a total of 2,2 Million Euro (1,5 % of the total EU project value), followed by the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) also with a project value of 2,2 Million Euro and Radio France Internationale with 2 Million Euro.

4.1.6. Funding instruments – administrative issues

The EIDHR and the various geographical instruments have different administrative procedures, but none of them are designed to allow fast reaction to specific problems or situations, which may arise. The latest example is the political changes in the Arab countries, which happened without prior notice. The various instruments are best suited for longer-term strategic interventions.

The EIDHR operates via calls for proposals – it can be via so-called Global Calls for Proposals administered from DG-DEV in Brussels or it could be via local calls initiated and administered by the EU Delegations in the respective countries. These rather time-consuming procedures can, however, as an exception from the general practice be temporarily replaced by more flexible approaches, if a country is declared in crisis. Such a temporary classification allows the Delegations to initiate projects and to contract local or international organizations directly for specific actions without following the standard procurement procedures. The Instrument for Stability can also be used for similar fast reactions by the Delegations in special cases.

The ENPI funds for the Eastern and Southern neighbour countries and the EDF for the ACP countries are subject to joint decisions by the EU and the recipient country, which means that projects tend to focus on support to public institutions and not civil society organisations. And support to media organisations, which are critical towards the governments are most certainly not likely to receive support via these instruments.

4.1.7. Distribution of funds – ICT projects

While there are very few media development projects in Latin America and the Caribbean, substantial funds have been granted for ICT projects in this region, and the projects have been substantially more costly than the average media development initiatives. The total value of the 437 media projects sampled for the present analysis is 148 Million Euro, while the total value of only 32 ICT infrastructure projects amounts to 119 Million Euro.

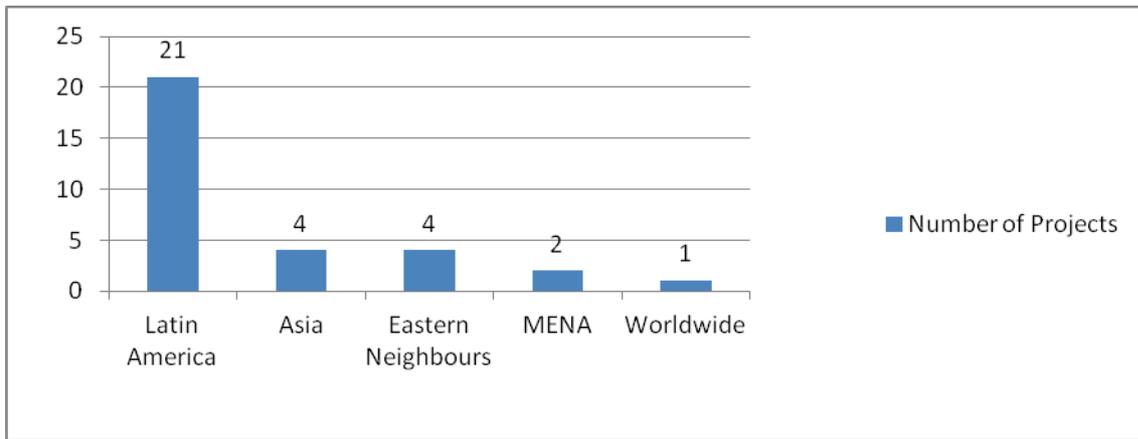


Figure 10: ICT projects by region

21 of the 32 projects (58 % of the total ICT project value) have been implemented in Latin America and the Caribbean. The main project here has been the ALICE project (América Latina Interconectada Con Europa – Latin America Interconnected with Europe) under the @lis programme. But Barbados is also high on the list with a project with a value of 11 Million Euro. These projects primarily focus on connectivity between research and education institutions in Latin America and Europe.

In Asia one major project in China tops the list (12 Mio. Euro) and in Europe Cyprus has received 9,8 Million Euro to upgrade telecommunications infrastructure.

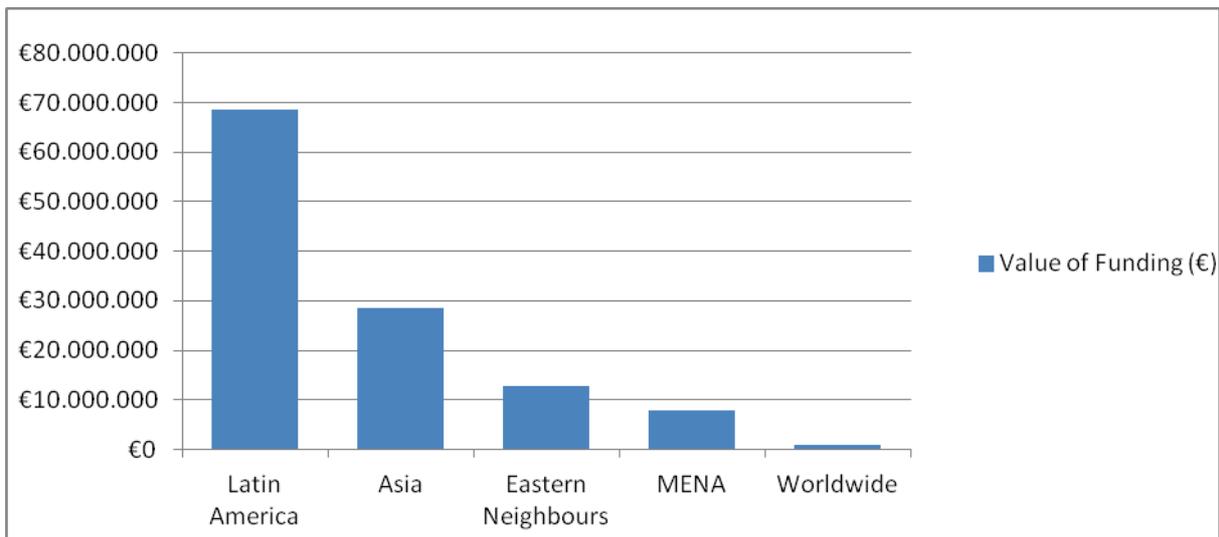


Figure 11: Value of ICT projects by region

4.2. Qualitative findings

As described in Chapter 3.1.1 a total of 14 projects were sampled in order to make a qualitative assessment. A short resume of these projects is found below, but a few general trends emerge from the analyses of the available project documentation.

First of all it seems that most of the projects are quite relevant and also well prepared and implemented, but it has not been possible to find evidence of systematic follow-up on activities and no systematic learning processes.

The real issue for the media development projects analysed below is, however, that none of them are designed to profit from the possible comparative advantages of the EU/EC as a multilateral organisation, which consist of both the European Commission and the 27 member states, of which several are among the most active in the world in the field of media support. The projects are designed as most bilaterally funded projects and with the exception of the project in Belarus there is no co-funding or cooperation with other donor agencies. The project documentation does also not have any references to any of the project being part of any overall strategy for the country or the region.

This does not necessarily mean that the individual projects are not part of a bigger strategy, but these strategies are not spelled out when it concerns media development. And the strategy seems to be EU visibility and not necessarily a media development strategy, and it is difficult to see any direct impact of the projects due to limited monitoring. An example is Serbia, where the EU has supported more than 80 media and communications projects in the period 2000-2010 at a total value of 17,7 Million Euro, but the vast majority have been promotional activities or very costly infrastructure projects but only a handful of projects with a budget of around 4 Million Euro have been dedicated to improving the quality of the Serbian media and the local media legislation.

The ICT projects are generally bigger than the media development interventions, and it seems more common for the ICT projects to apply a sector approach, which aims at addressing general issues. The majority of the ICT projects analysed for this report have been directed towards the education sector, and the most frequent type is projects, which connect universities and other training institutions with similar institutions in Asia and Latin America. An exception is the EU-China Information Society Project (see description below), which was a general policy development project.

Projects, which link up to other initiatives of the EU such as trade, corporate social responsibility etc. are also not seen among the analysed projects.

4.2.1. EU-China Information Society Project (project no. 103914 – ASIE)

The EU-China Information Society Project was an ambitious ICT project with an initial total budget of 15 Million Euro from the EU and 7 Million Euro from the Chinese government for the period 2005-2009 (the total cost for the EU turned out to be 12,05 Million Euro). The overall objective of the project was described as: *“Promoting economic and social reform in China through informatisation”*, or the process of applying appropriate information and

communications technology (ICT) to improve the effectiveness, efficiency and accessibility of economic and social services.

By tackling Information Society regulation, the aim was to lay the foundation for improved infrastructure, access to and use of government services, and a more transparent business environment. It was argued that in the Chinese social and economic context, improved *informatisation* - or the process of applying ICT - of government in particular could provide improved efficiency and quality of services, as well as improve overall transparency and accountability of government in providing services to citizens and businesses.

A mid-term evaluation report from 2007 describes the project as **relevant** with a well defined project purpose. In terms of **efficiency** the report notes that the project seems to be well managed, but it is difficult to measure most of the planned results, and the internal monitoring is too focused on sophisticated scoring system for achievement of results, which seem to be produced for the purpose of reporting only.

With regards to **effectiveness** the evaluation report suggests that more effort should be invested in reaching the intended end beneficiaries: The rural population, migrant workers and citizens seeking information at the e-government portals in the provinces.

The evaluation report notes that it is very difficult to measure to **impact** due to the nature of the nature of the intervention.

4.2.2. Eliminating Legal Obstacles to Freedom of Press (Russia, project no 121007 - EIDHR)

This project was implemented in 2006 by a group called Lawyers for Constitutional Rights and Freedoms (JURIX) in cooperation with the Moscow Lawyers Club. The specific objective of the project was described as follows: *“To foster independent media and broadcasting by eliminating the legal obstacles to the freedom of press, which prevent it from carrying out a watchdog role.”* The support from the EU amounted to 95.000 Euro.

The project targeted judges, journalists, regional ombudsmen, state officials, politicians, press secretaries of courts, deputies of regional legislatures and lawyers, and the main activities included:

- 1) Monitoring of media trials.
- 2) Socio-legal study on application of defamation legislation in Russia and on criminal charges against journalists in Russia.
- 3) Devising and supporting regular e-mail information list and web-page “Media trial news from JURIX”.
- 4) Comparative analysis of the legal framework governing media environment from the Western democracies and the US and draft of recommendations to be implemented in national legislation.
- 5) Publication and dissemination of the book with case-law.
- 6) Two workshops with judges (in Moscow and in Kursk oblast) on due implementation of the standards of the Council of Europe in Russian judicial practice.
- 7) Round-table in Perm for ombudsmen, judges and NGOs on legal obstacles for freedom of expression.
- 8) Awareness campaign through press and Internet on public demand for decriminalization of libel and slander law.
- 9) Promoting dialogue with civil society, media, law enforcement, courts on tolerance to critical publications and media coverage of sensitive issues (club discussions with guest speakers).
- 10) Litigation for journalists.
- 11) Amicus briefs to the ECtHR on Article 10 with a perspective to form a desirable judicial practice for its application in domestic courts.

Unfortunately, there is no available monitoring or evaluation documents regarding this project, but the description of the project indicates that it is highly **relevant** and **effective** if implemented as described in the application, and it could be seen as a model project for the EIDHR. It is also worth mentioning that here in 2012 the website created as part of the project in order to publish violations against journalists is still active: www.jurix.ru.

4.2.3. Strengthening the democratic institution of independent media in the regions of Russia (Project no. 82791 - DDH)

The project aimed to train journalists, press secretaries of regional governing bodies, representatives of non-for-profit sector in five RF regions: Tumenskii, Kaliningrad, Krasnodarskiy, Uliyanovsk and Voronezh. The objective was to support and to enhance freedom of expression, to improve quality and coverage of human rights issues, to empower journalists to take action to defence their rights and be components of institutional framework for the protection of press freedom. The specific objectives were:

- To introduce regional journalists, press secretaries, media managers, representatives of NGO and business community to European, high-standard methods, instruments and approaches to operate media projects in accordance with international standards.
- To strengthen the use of internet technologies in the media and to strengthen their role in the protecting and watching human rights in the concrete regions of Russia.
- To empower regional journalists to cooperate with local authorities, NGOs and business community on the subject of protecting and watching human rights in the concrete regions of Russia.

The main activities included 5 workshops, 5 roundtables, 5 master classes and a publishing programme (2 brochures, publication in the magazine and web-page). Overall over 750 participants were trained through the project activities (up to 45% of them were women). The duration of the project was 12 months, and the total EU contribution was 79.760 Euro (91.000 Euro original budget).

There has been no external evaluation of the activity, but an internal assessment report from the Delegation rates the project implementation and the impact as “Good” and the promotion of EIDHR aims as “Excellent”.

As far as it can be seen from the limited project documentation, the project has been both relevant and efficient. The assessment report, however, notes that *“...it would be appropriate to involve more Russian speaking Western journalists, already working in Russia. Some costs were overestimated – it doesn’t seem that such project needs 100% working time from its co-ordinator.”*

The report also mentions that: *“It is extremely difficult to assess a real tangible impact of this one and similar projects. Taking into consideration that only a few limited in time activities took place in each region, the project is more about general awareness than about in-depth training.”*

4.2.4. Computer Training for Egyptian Press Syndicate Journalists (Project no. 70991 - MED)

This is a minor project with a budget of 8.800 Euro for computer skills training of 40 journalists during four weeks in December 2003 and January 2004. It was implemented by the biggest Egyptian daily newspaper Al Ahram. The primary objective was to train the participants in the use of the different programmes in the Microsoft Office package, but it seems that it was also an objective to promote the cooperation between Egypt and the EU.

There is no evaluation or assessment document but in a final report, Al Ahram writes: *“The training courses have been a good chance to give the Al-Ahram Newspaper and Egyptian Press Syndicate a clear picture of the European Union with special focus on the EU/Egypt Association Agreement.”*

Due to the limited project documentation, it is difficult to assess the relevance and impact of the project.

4.2.5. Media for Democracy in Indonesia (Project no. 63776 - DDH)

This project was implemented from September 2004 to September 2007 by the International Federation of Journalists in cooperation with Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI). The total EU expenditure was 506.000 Euro. The overall objectives of the project included reduction in violent conflict, creation of peace, respect for the rule of law, strengthened civil society and elimination of corruption in the media. The immediate objectives or the Project Purpose was to contribute towards creating and strengthening conditions for independent and professional journalism and a democratic media culture with particular reference to journalists working in regional conflict-prone areas of Indonesia and women journalists.

The main activities were:

- Journalists’ safety, conflict reporting, human rights: a series of workshops around the nation including conflict reporting, human rights and safety training.
- Union development: including a comprehensive review of working conditions of Indonesian journalists and the status of collective bargaining followed by a nationwide program of training in bargaining, union organisational and leadership skills.
- Media freedom: a program aimed at promoting media freedom, with a particular emphasis on the law.
- Professional standards: a countrywide campaign promoting professional and ethical journalism, especially in relation to conflict reporting, election reporting and combating corruption.

The expected Results included:

- strong independent association of journalists
- improved reporting on conflict and human rights issues
- fewer journalists injured or killed
- improved wages and conditions for journalists
- improved awareness of journalists’ industrial rights
- improved climate of media freedom
- corruption in media reduced

- improved reporting of elections
- improved status of women in media and journalists organisations

A monitoring report from October 2005 rates the project as having “serious deficiencies” in the implementation efficiency and with “problems” regarding effectiveness. The main problem was that disbursement of funds was delayed almost six months due to disagreements between IFJ and AJI.

A subsequent monitoring report from May 2006 gives the project the overall rating “b”, which corresponds to “Good”, and the report mentions that *“Overall, the Overall Objective (OO), Project Purpose (PP) and “Expected Results” are clear and logical enough and without doubt, address clearly identified needs.”* The practical problems raised during the first monitoring seem to have been overcome.

4.2.6. The international standards about mass-media and the national legislation (Kazakhstan, project no. 203722 – EIDHR)

The only documentation available for this project is the application from the Kazakhstan Criminology Association, so it is not possible to assess the quality of the project. It was implemented over a two-year period from 2009 with a budget of 68.440 Euro.

According to the application, the main project purpose was to perform a comparative analysis of national and international media legislation in order to produce evidence for a need to change the media laws in Kazakhstan. The main activities were supposed to be:

1. The analysis of the international conventions and contracts in the field of mass media and information distribution.
2. The analysis of the national legislation on mass media.
3. The judiciary practice analysis during the previous 5 years (civil, administrative and criminal procedure) about activity including mass media and journalists.
4. Realization of series of working meetings with journalists in four regions of Kazakhstan: Petropavlovsk, Semey, Shymkent, Oral.
5. Realization of two expert meetings: in Almaty and Astana.
6. The organization of press conference for the purpose of attraction of public attention to the project.
7. The announcement of the republican action among journalists collecting recommendations and offers to change the legislation on mass media, summarizing.
8. Realization on a site www.kazcrim.com interrogation of journalists on the research theme resulting in is summarizing.
9. Publishing of two special issues «The criminality Prevention» with these research materials.
10. Realization of the international conference in Astana after collecting the results of research.

Judged by the application, the project seems highly relevant and perfectly aligned with the purposes of the EIDHR.

4.2.7. Developing the democratic electoral processes and media environment (Armenia, project no. 131434 – DDH/EIDHR)

This project was implemented from December 2006 to June 2008 by the local organisation Women's Public Organisation "Gloria" in cooperation with the Union of Journalists of Armenia and the NGO Women's Rights Center and the TV production company A1+. The EU contribution was 79.946 Euro and the total budget was 116.000 Euro.

The overall objective of the project was the "*Construction of a lawful state, development of democratic institutions and civil society*", and the specific objectives were:

1. The promotion of the civic and voter education and of the voter information TV films and TV programmes.
2. Support of the local Mass Media and Civil Society in compliance with international electoral standards.
3. Promoting political pluralism through legal framework in order to enable political parties and candidates to be formed and to function more freely and effectively.
4. Providing training of journalists, lawyers, judges and parliamentarians in order to enhance quality of reporting, to get to know electoral dispute mechanisms with particular emphasis on appeals procedures and to increase knowledge about technicalities of the electoral processes.
5. Promoting freedom of expression with emphasis on the rapidly developing media environment and support independent broadcasting ("A1+") and Internet.
6. Strengthening the basis for civil society dialogue and democratic discourse through legal framework of the air time for all political and civil forces.
7. Providing a specific support for elected women.

The main activities were production of video films, TV programmes and the website <http://www.a1plus.am/en> (which is still operating), and the above mentioned training of journalists, lawyers, judges and parliamentarians.

A final report from WPO "Gloria" indicates that the activities were implemented as planned despite a very tense period around the elections, where the website was temporarily closed. According to the final report this project succeeded in broadcasting impartial electoral information and information about all candidates at the regional TV network Hamaspur at a time where opposition candidates were boycotted by the government media. During a State of Emergency imposed in March 2008, the project and the A1+ production company were able to provide alternative coverage of the events in Armenia via YouTube and international TV stations.

There is no independent assessment of the project, but if implemented as described in the application and the final report, it seems absolutely relevant, and it is very likely to have had a positive influence on the general situation in the country. In any case, it is very relevant and important to give voice to organisations and individuals, who do not have access to the government controlled media. The training part of the project also seems extremely relevant. Finally it should be noted as positive that the project was implemented by local organisations, which is likely to have secured a strong local ownership and better long-term sustainability of the organisations and direct impact of the activities.

4.2.8. Support to Freedom of Expression in Belarus via independent broadcasting (Project no. 159306 – EIDHR)

The project is funded in Belarus with a total budget from the EC of 946.942 Euro under the global EIDHR call for 2007-2010. An additional budget of 237.000 Euro is provided by the US and Czech governments. The Overall Objective is "Assisting Belarusian realise their right to freedom of expression and information by providing independent broadcasting...".

The project has two main components: one is support to the European Radio for Belarus (ERB), which is based in Warsaw, and the other is support to radio production in Vilnius at the European Humanities University (EHU), a private academic institution ousted from Belarus in 2004 on political grounds.

The specific objectives of the project were:

1. Providing young Belarusians (age 15-35) with up to date, accurate and independent information on Belarusian and European political, social, economic and cultural life;
2. Providing Belarusian civil society and individuals with a means to open discussion and communication on Belarus and its relationship with the European Union and the West;
3. Overcoming censorship and Belarusian authorities' attempts to block independent journalism and access to information;
4. Train ERB media professionals and aspiring Belarusian journalists at the European Humanities University (EHU), providing them an outlet for their work via ERB and maintaining a core of independent media within Belarus despite the government's on-going efforts to crush it.

The contract holder for the project is IREX-Europe, which is a French-based branch of an American NGO, which for many years has been engaged in promoting the democratic change in Belarus. The implementing partners are the BBC World Service Trust (now BBC Media Action) and the ERB. The EHU is involved as Associate Partner, together with BISS (Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies). The project was developed by ERB core staff in close cooperation with IREX-E, which has been supporting ERB since its first steps in 2006.

Since its creation ERB has been supported by USAID, SOROS and the Czech, Dutch, Polish and Canadian governments. EHU also benefits from a huge influx of external assistance, which led to the establishment of the EHU Trust Fund, to which the EU is the main contributor (1 million Euro per year).

A monitoring report from October 2009 gives the project the overall rating "B" equivalent to "Good" and the project design gets the rating "A" equivalent to "Very good". Generally it seems that the ERB component has been the most successful, while the quality of the productions from the students at the EHU has not been impressive. The local ownership is assessed to be significant despite the official ownership of the project by an international organisation. The report does, however, also mention a fundamental weakness of the project, namely that the ERB throughout its existence has had big difficulties in reaching the large audiences in the densely populated areas around the capital Minsk.

What is very special about media support to Belarus is the close coordination on the ground with regular stakeholder meetings in the neighbour countries, where all organisations working with media development in Belarus exchange information and prepare joint strategies and actions. Belarus also benefits of an exceptionally good cooperation between the EU and the US, which meet in Brussels every three months for the EU/US/Belarus coordination. In this respect, the support to Belarus should be mentioned as a best-practice approach.

4.2.9. Capacity Building Programme and Community Development in Internet Governance and ICT Policy for Intra-ACP regional and sub-regional institutions (Project no. 216107 – EDF)

This project was implemented from September 2009 to September by DiploFoundation (www.diplomacy.edu) in cooperation with local organisations in Botswana, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Jamaica, Kenya, St. Lucia and Haiti. The total budget from the @CP-ICT Programme under the 9th European Development Fund was 961.302 Euro.

The objective was to build capacity and support community development in information and communication technology (ICT) policy and Internet governance (IG) within regional and sub-regional institutions in ACP countries (Africa, Caribbean and the Pacific). A total of more than 500 participants were selected to participate in a series of activities both in physical workshops and online. The physical workshops took place in Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Kenya, Ghana, Ethiopia, South Africa, Lithuania, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Cook Islands and Fiji.

The final report from the contractor and an external evaluator put much emphasis on the quantitative reporting with meticulous reporting about the individual activities and not so much attention to the qualitative, but it seems that the participants have been very satisfied with the training and that it has provided them with new knowledge and skills. It also seems that the participants to some extent have formed an informal network, which can assist them in their future work. So judged by the available information the project seems quite successful.

It is worth noting that it is a project, which addresses a global issue in a global way by trying to reach key persons from all the relevant ACP countries.

4.2.10. Integrating New Technologies in School: Developing and promoting core competencies In Argentina, Chile and Uruguay (Project no. 48108 – ALA)

This project, which for short was called INTEGRA, is typical for the EU supported ICT projects in the sense that it is targeting the education sector. So even though it is listed as a communication project, it is primarily an educational project, which aims to build ICT capacity in the schools and the national education authorities in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. The total budget was 2.181.917 Euro and the project period was October 2003 to October 2006. The contract holder was the Italian Instituto Superiore Mario Boella (ISMB – www.ismb.it).

A monitoring report from November 2005 gives the project the overall rating “B” equivalent to “Good” at all parameters, and notes that it is an innovative project in Latin America especially because of the links between the project and the local Innovation Centres.

4.2.11. Renforcement des capacités des journalistes haïtiens en formation initiale et formation continue grâce à la création d’un master en journalisme hébergé par l’Université Quisqueya (Project no 228605 – EIDHR)

The EU has contributed 250.000 Euro to this project, which was implemented in 2010-2011 by the Haitian Quisqueya University in cooperation with the French Centre for Perfection of Journalism. The overall objective was to support the development of responsible quality media, which could give reliable information and in this way support a democratic development. The specific objectives were build capacity of Haitian journalists and to train local journalism trainers.

This was supposed to happen via training of a total of 24 journalists over the two-year period and 12 journalism trainers, who were supposed to train the colleagues at their work places. The available documentation for the quality of the project is a mid-term report from the contract holder, which documents that the planned activities have indeed taken place.

No external or internal evaluation is available, but it seems quite unlikely that the planned activities could fulfil the very ambitious global and specific objectives. Training of a small number of beneficiaries in great detail as is the case for this project is rarely very efficient and the impact is not likely to be significant. The few individuals in this case will most certainly be capacitated and upgraded, but experience from similar projects show that the individuals use the new skills to leave the journalism trade and work for international NGOs or leave the country. Instead of long-term training or education of a few individuals, training of entire news rooms has proven more efficient.

4.2.12. Reporters Training to promote Professional Journalism (Sudan, project no. 189544, EDF)

The reporters’ training program aimed at building professional journalistic capacities in support of the peace and rehabilitation processes in Sudan, encouraging good governance, rule of law, and human rights. The project was implemented by the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) from June 2008 to August 2009 with a total budget of 120.344 Euro.

The training was intended to build accountability structures within the profession, critical review of production and contextualized reporting on economics, governance, and rule of law, research and analysis. Furthermore, the project aimed to establish a Voluntary Code of Conduct for adoption by participating newspapers. A supplementary dimension of the project was an English language course for non-English speakers.

The overall objective was: “The improvement of journalistic standards in Sudan” and the Specific Objective: “Sudanese Journalists gain improved access to knowledge and tools relevant to their work”

The training targeted a total of 22 journalists from nine different newspapers, and according to final report from the implementing organisation an average of 18 reporters attended the lectures and workshops.

It seems quite un-ambitious to work with such a limited group, and the overall project strategy does not seem to have been appropriate for the complex situation of a country in transition. It would have been significantly more cost-effective to have trained entire newsrooms by organising in-house training workshops at the newspapers instead of focusing on a few individual journalists.

The employers of the journalists complained that the participants were so absent from their workplace during the training course that they could not participate in the daily production, and three of the journalists actually left their jobs during the training because they felt that they had to choose between the training and the job. This is a clear indication that the training may have benefitted the individual participants, but not the newspapers and hence the general media picture in the fragmented country.

One positive effect of the project, however, was a voluntary code of ethical conduct, which was signed by a number of the newspaper editors. There is no record of the impact of this agreement.

4.2.13. Technical assistance to the Communication Regulatory Agency (CRA) in Bosnia Herzegovina (Project number 227380 – PAI)

This project is implemented via a service contract of 960.600 Euro with the Austrian company ATC Consultants from February 2010 to August 2011.

The Overall Objective was to achieve the harmonization of BA (Bosnia Herzegovina) regulations with EU requirements related to electronic communications and to assure the effective implementation of the general EU rules and regulations in the field of electronic communications.

The Project Purpose was:

- 1) Strengthen the capacity of the CRA, so that it could more effectively apply the remedies of the EU Regulatory Framework (RF) for telecommunications networks and services;
- 2) Support the process of harmonization of BA law with the EU RF, to accelerate the development of a competitive market environment.

This can be seen as an example of the EU playing an active role in creating a conducive environment in the communications sector in a country by aligning the local legislation with EU standards. Here it is possible to talk about EU additionality: That the EU is undertaking an assignment, which would not be as easy for a bilateral donor agency.

Three external monitoring reports rate the project as relevant, efficient and effective (rating “B”) while the impact are rated “C”. This, however, is not surprising as such as project will only show its real impact in the longer term.

4.2.14. Development of Media Monitoring Capacities in Georgia (project no. 238837 – IFS)

This project is an example of an attempt to tackle the problems of a local media sector in a comprehensive way by addressing several issues simultaneously. The project had a total budget of 745.000 Euro and was implemented by UNDP in cooperation with BBC World Service Trust, IREX Europe, MEMO98, and the Caucasus Research Resource Centre (CRRC).

The project period was envisaged to be 21 months from May 2010 and the project was linked to the on-going EU/UNDP Electoral Support Programme. There are no monitoring or evaluation reports available in the CRIS file system but according to the grant application, the **overall objective** of the project was to contribute to strengthening media independence and professionalism as one of the primary factors for the consolidation of democracy in Georgia. And the **Specific Objectives were to:**

- Provide balanced and neutral information to the public to facilitate informed decision making
- Develop skills and professional competence of the Georgian Public Broadcasting (GPB)
- Enhance watchdog functions of civil society organizations by developing media monitoring capacity

The project had 5 main components:

- Component 1 – Raised Awareness of Media regarding neutral & balanced Coverage: Qualitative, balanced and neutral information provided to media outlets about their own performance to raise their understanding about the problems in the field of media and provide an opportunity to improve
- Component 2 – Improved GPB Capacity for Professional Media Coverage: Enhanced capacity of the Georgian Public Broadcasting (GPB) for professional coverage including objectivity and neutrality
- Component 3 – Developed CSO capacities for Media Monitoring: Build media monitoring capacities of civil society organizations in the country and promoting fair, independent and balanced media coverage;
- Component 4 - Independent and Transparent Media for the Fair Elections: The set of the amendments in the election-related legislation are elaborated and advocated for the adoption to ensure fair and efficient media coverage of the upcoming 2012 Parliamentary and 2013 presidential elections at the national and local levels.
- Component 5 – Enhanced capacity of the Regional TV Companies for ensuring professional coverage: Strengthen skills of the regional media outlets for professional coverage including objectivity and neutrality as well as increase of qualification for academia with regard to the standards of journalism

As mentioned above, no monitoring or evaluation reports are available, so it is not possible to assess the success of the project. In its design, however, it seems very relevant and timely,

and it is noteworthy, that the project applies a holistic approach to the problems of the sector. It is also worth remarking that the project is linked to election support to Georgia and that it aims to create synergies with this support.

4.3. General trends from other stakeholders

Semi-structured interviews and discussions about media development in general with representatives of SIDA, DW-, WAN, OSI, RSF, IMS, BBC Media Action, UNESCO and other individual media experts reveal a number of general trends:

- Media projects are generally becoming bigger and more sector oriented. Instead of focusing only on skills training of journalists and editors, the projects are tackling issues such as the overall media legislation, regulatory bodies (press councils or press complaints commissions), capacity of trade organisations, business management etc.
- It has become more common to involve private sector actors and to include the business aspects of the media.
- There is a tendency to see an increasing number of projects being implemented by the specialised international organisations, which act as intermediaries between the donor organisations and the end recipients. Few locally based organisations have the capacity to implement the big, all-encompassing projects/programmes.
- Social media, Internet publishing and general Internet freedom are getting increasing attention from donors – to some extent at the expense of traditional media, which are not getting as much support as previously.
- Donors are becoming better at coordinating their support to the effect that there is less duplication of activities and fewer attempts of “double-dipping” as it is called when organisations are trying to get support for the same activities from different donors.
- The reporting requirements from donor organisations are getting increasingly focused on documentation of results and impact.
- The EC is seen as a “difficult” or “bureaucratic” donor agency, which is difficult to approach for smaller organisations because the possible funding does not correspond with the paper work needed to apply for support.

The holistic approach to media support is definitely an advantage for the sector. Millions of Euro and USD have been spent on short training courses for journalists, who have had few chances to implement their acquired skills for a number of reasons: No understanding from their editors, no access to reliable sources, intimidation or harassment of journalists by officials or political groups, criminal libel laws designed to silence critical voices, no legal opportunity to start alternative media etc.

The sector approach requires professional project management skills combined with expertise in media issues and that means that more and more projects are being implemented by the international specialised organization – as it is also the case for the EU, where BBC Media Action and Internews have been implementing no less than ten percent of the total project value during the 2000-2010 period.

The tendency to act via international intermediaries assures (in most cases) a high quality of project implementation, because the specialized organisations are very experienced, and they are familiar with the reporting requirements of the donor organisations. But it also means that it is difficult for locally based organizations to acquire the experience and the capacity to take over. And it means that the actual amounts, which reach the end

beneficiaries, are decreasing dramatically because of the project management and administration fees of the international organisations. It is not unusual that more than half of the allocated amount for a project is paid as fees to the international contract holders.

Social media and Internet based communication initiatives in general (bloggers, Facebook, Twitter, on-line news services etc.) are getting more attention from the media development organisations and the donors, and this has been intensified after the Arab Spring, where the social media have been instrumental for organising demonstrations and protests and for spreading documentation about abuses by oppressing governments. But although enthusiasm is great about these “new media”, which are no longer new, it should not be forgotten that radio is still the most important medium in Sub-Saharan Africa and TV is still much more powerful in terms of reach than the Internet in the Arab world.

Independent publishing of alternative points of view via Internet based services, however, is important, and supporting alternative voices will be a key element in media support in the years to come.

The various stakeholders interviewed for this study generally appreciate the fact that the donor organisations have improved their internal coordination. The increased coordination has in some instances (like in Zimbabwe) led to an increase in the total support to the sector, because the coordination reduces the risk of duplication. Furthermore, sharing of knowledge about the media sector and specific projects simplifies the administrative work in terms of project assessment, justification for support etc.

Pooling resources from different donor agencies also seems to be increasing – especially from the smaller countries. The Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands have a strong tradition for sharing support to projects and programmes, and the usual procedure is that one of the countries takes the lead in the administration and management of the projects, while the others primarily are contributing funds.

According to the interviews the EC and the EU Delegations are not very active participants in this type of coordination. Several interviewees have mentioned the unused possible capacity of the EU to facilitate improved coordination and cooperation.

The increased consciousness about showing specific outcome and impact of development projects should be mentioned as a factor, which may influence the future types of projects, which will be supported. The focus on outcomes and impacts is absolutely necessary because far too many past projects have not given much attention to the practical value of the interventions. But at the same time, the new focus may also discourage support to advocacy campaigns, capacity building of trade organisations etc. because such activities do not necessarily yield immediate, measurable results.

During a consultative meeting with international media development experts at the Global Forum for Media Development in South Africa in September 2012, the issue of the EU as a problematic funding partner was raised as a serious concern. Several of the organisations explained that they would generally refrain from applying for funds from the EC because of the administrative resources involved in the application process and the following reporting requirements. It was raised as a special concern that the requirements for additional funding

from other sources in some of the instruments are putting severe stress on especially the smaller recipients of grants. They spend more time and effort on securing the additional 10 % of funding than on implementing the projects, the experts claim.

5. Field studies

As described in chapter 3.1 the team has visited Zimbabwe in order to get first-hand information from beneficiaries, EU staffs and other stakeholders about the relevance and quality of the EU support. The main beneficiaries of support are the enlargement countries and the Eastern ENPI countries and Sub-Saharan Africa. This is the reason for choosing Zimbabwe as a representative of Africa. A mission was also planned for Albania, but this did not materialise due to unavailability of key stakeholders within the assignment period.

5.1. Zimbabwe

5.1.1. Overall support strategy

The international support to the media in Zimbabwe is rather unique because it has actually been implemented according to two overall principles, which are rarely seen on the ground although they are widely considered as being important: That the support should have a sector approach and that both donors and beneficiaries should coordinate their activities.

The donor coordination in the media sector takes place in the so-called Sub-group on media, where all the main agencies participate in the monthly meetings. The group also includes some of the specialised media support organisations, which are implementing projects and programmes on behalf of the EU, the individual EU member states and other countries. It is noticeable that also USAID participates, as this is not always the case in similar coordination in other countries.

According to both national beneficiaries and international specialised agencies, this donor coordination has been very efficient, and contrary to the fear of civil society, it has increased support to the sector instead of limiting it. Since avoiding duplications and double-funding is one of the objectives of the coordination, the local media organisations originally feared that the total support to the sector would be reduced. But the opposite has happened exactly because the representatives of the donor agencies are not worried about getting cheated or abused. And there are several examples of pooling of resources and of complementarities: Some organisations may not be able to support certain project proposals due to budget or policy constraints, but then others can and do take over.

The sector approach has also been helpful for Zimbabwe. Inspired by IMS, the donor community has targeted practically all aspects of the media sector: Advocacy for legal reforms, capacity building of trade unions and other organisations, training of media professionals, support to individual journalists, who are threatened, support to alternative media etc. This sector-wide support combined with a constant political and diplomatic pressure has led to a certain improvement of the general conditions despite a very problematic political context.

5.1.2. Impact of the support

Hundreds of millions of Euro have been on media support in Zimbabwe and it would be fair to ask: Where are the results? Freedom of expression and access to information is still extremely limited and the media scene is dominated by government media institutions both

in the print sector and the broadcasting. Community Radio stations are not allowed and the first two private, commercial radio stations only started broadcasting in June 2012. They have already been dubbed by media professionals as “ZNBC Radio 5 and 6” because these two stations are also controlled by organizations and individuals linked to the President’s party. Hundreds if not thousands of journalists have been trained in investigative reporting, election coverage, human rights etc., but they still do not have much room to practice their acquired skills and knowledge.

Such limited visible results do not correspond well with the increased focus on Results Oriented Monitoring in practically all donor agencies. The political leadership of all developed countries is demanding more value for money from the development assistance given to developing countries.

In the case of Zimbabwe – and many other countries – it is quite difficult to say that the support has produced many results. At least if results are defined as significant improvements. But it could also be defined as a very positive result that the conditions of the media have not become significantly worse despite a repressive government....One could ask: Is it the objective of the dykes around the Netherlands to keep the ocean out? Or to push the ocean further back? Faced with this question, the media organizations in Zimbabwe say unanimously, that conditions would have been and lot worse and that the country would have disintegrated completely without the external support to the media and other sectors and civil society in general. So civil society has managed to keep the ocean out, even though it has not been pushed further back.

It could be said that a main lesson from Zimbabwe is that both donors and national organizations should set realistic goals, and that the constant pressure from all angles on a repressive regime is necessary in order to achieve long-term results. Even if the short-term results are not very visible.

This does not mean that the donors and the local organizations should just continue doing exactly what they have done during the past decade without re-thinking the strategies. There is definitely a need to constantly review the strategies in order to see, how the problems can be attacked from new angles with new methods and strategies.

5.1.3. Direct government engagement

One of the strategies, which should be carefully analysed, is the question of when to engage directly with a questionable government or government institutions. When can it be useful to go into direct cooperation with a non-democratic government, and when is it better to stay away and keep the hands clean?

All external actors including the EU faced this dilemma, when Zimbabwe’s Government of National Unity was formed in February 2009. It meant that the two opposition parties were included in the government, but the old ruling party ZANU-PF remained the most influential political force. In the media sector, the EU has chosen to continue to support various civil society organizations including the Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe (VMCZ), which is an attempt to create a self-regulating institution for the media sector.

But at the same time, the EU delegation has supported the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC), which is the government body, which is regulating the print media sector – including licensing of newspapers.

The support to ZMC is implemented by UNESCO and it was initially seen as highly controversial by the Zimbabwean civil society media organisations as well as by some of the EU member states – and also by UNESCO headquarters in Paris because the basic principle championed by both UNESCO and most European countries is self-regulation in the media sector. But the rationale for engaging at this level was that the ZMC was part of a bigger package, where Zimbabwe created a Human Rights Commission, an Elections Commission, an Anti-corruption Commission – and the ZMC. The EU delegation wanted to support the other commissions, so the ZMC became part of the deal, but there was also a wish to influence government media policies via the ZMC.

The cooperation has not been without frictions and it would be fair to say that the ZMC has not lived up to the expectations of the EU Delegation. Due to the political context during the design phase of the project, the project document is relative vague with very few specific conditions for the support in terms of milestones for progress. Furthermore, some members of the Commission are now reluctant to implement parts of the agreed activities.

But despite these weaknesses, there seems to be a growing acceptance in the media community of the support to the ZMC. The emerging rationale is that now the Commission is a reality, and then the strategy is to push the institution as far as possible in a democratic direction.

5.1.4. Intermediaries or not

It is global trend in media support (and other civil society support) that the donor agencies are implementing projects and programmes via international intermediaries instead of dealing directly with local organizations. In Zimbabwe, the donor countries are using organizations such as International Media Support, FOJO, HIVOS, PACT, BBC Media Action and others to implement media projects. The biggest EU project at the moment is implemented by the Deutsche Welle Akademie (DW), which is the media development department of the German national broadcaster.

There have been a number of problems in the implementation of the DW project and a recent ROM report has given the project quite poor marks, but it is not the objective of the present study to dig deeper into the details of these issues. There are, however, some general dilemmas in relation to the use of international “middle men”.

The rationale for working through the international organizations is quite simple and convincing: Staffs at the Embassies and the EU delegation are not experts on media development issues and the representations do not have the capacity to micro-manage the projects. Furthermore, there are frequent replacements of staff so the international organizations can provide more continuity than the diplomatic representations, so all in all the quality of the project implantation is improved by the use of intermediaries.

In principle, the local media organizations also appreciate that they are dealing with organizations and individual consultants, who are experts in the field. That makes it easier to communicate and to discuss the real issues. They also acknowledge that the internationals bring in valuable experience from other parts of the world. But there are also serious complaints from the local organisations: They feel that a disproportionate part of the international support to the sector returns to Europe as salaries and administration fees to the intermediaries, and they feel that they could easily have managed the support directly. They argue that the fees to the international organizations could have covered much needed activities in Zimbabwe instead. And the discontent becomes even stronger because most of the international organisations have hired Zimbabwean staff to implement the projects on the ground. Then why should the international organizations get such a big share of the funds, the local organizations ask.

In Zimbabwe the local capacity may be sufficient to implement directly, but this is certainly not the case in countries like Libya, Iraq or Afghanistan, so it cannot be a general rule to minimize the use of intermediaries, but it is an issue which should be carefully considered in each case. And even if other organizations are chosen to be in charge of the implementation, it will be valuable for EU and embassy staffs to have direct contact with the local partners.

5.1.5. Business perspectives

While the support to the media sector in Zimbabwe has been quite broad, there has not been so much focus on the business side of the sector. At the moment a couple of private media houses are publishing independent newspapers, but the independency is seriously threatened not only by the authorities but also by the general financial climate in the country.

Because of the general situation, the media houses have no access to credit facilities – it is practically impossible for a media company to get a bank loan. And even such a vital input as the news print (the paper used for printing newspapers) must be paid cash in advance. In Europe the printing houses can pay for their raw materials 30-60 days after delivery, while the media in Zimbabwe must tie large sums in stocks of working materials such as news print. Hence, access to credit facilities is crucial for the independent media, and the international community could assist by providing guaranties or collateral for the media houses. They should not receive cash subsidies but they should be helped to get credit on normal commercial conditions.

Another area, which has been partly neglected, is the training of media leaders in business management and how to operate in a changing global media environment, where development and spread of new technologies are constantly changing the rules of the game.

On the same note, both media managers and trade organisations stress that skills training of journalists is still important in Zimbabwe despite decades of training projects. The professional standards among the journalists are so poor that this also threatens the independence of the private media because they make too many mistakes, which leave the newspapers vulnerable to legal persecution.

5.1.6. The legal path

The authorities make frequent use of legal measures such as defamation lawsuits to silence the independent voices, but the media community and the international community has not been equally active in using the same strategy towards the government.

Most countries in the world including Zimbabwe have signed the International Declaration of Human Rights, which include Article 19 about the right to freedom of speech, and there are a large number of rulings from the Human Right Court, which flesh out the practical meaning of Article 19. These verdicts would also serve as legal precedence in Zimbabwean courts, and so would media law verdicts from other countries. In fact, the courts in Zimbabwe have referred to a specific ruling from a court in Nepal in order to justify the conviction of a journalist in Zimbabwe. So the principle of legal precedence from international case law does apply to the courts in Zimbabwe.

But neither the Zimbabwean lawyers nor the judges are familiar with international media case law, and this is an area, which would deserve more attention.

5.1.7. Access to expertise

The desk officers at the EU Delegation and the Embassies dealing with media support express a need for access to independent expertise. For the desk officers, media support is important and interesting but it is not their main working area, so they would like to have easy access to experts, who can screen proposals and suggest specific activities. It could be an arrangement with an expert based on one of the Member State embassies or at the EC in Brussels.

6. Summary of findings

This report does not include recommendations based on the findings, because this is part of the other outputs of the present study, namely the “EU Guide to Support to Media Development and Freedom of Expression”, which is published separately. This Guide targets EU staffs and other development professionals, who deals with good governance and human rights issues including free media and freedom of expression, and the recommendations are partially based on the main findings below:

- The project information in the CRIS data base is not complete and not reliable. One of the problems is that there is no clear distinction between actual media development and promotional activities for the EU and the enlargement process in particular. The majority of the projects listed as “Media and free flow of information” and “Radio/television/print media” are promotional activities.
- According to the information available in the CRIS data base and the definition of projects applied for this support, the total amount spent on media development and freedom of expression in the period 2000-2010 has been 148,4 Million Euro.
- More than half of the total amount has been spent in the neighbour countries East and South of the EU. More than 40 % has been spent in the Western Balkans, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine and Turkey, while 12,5 % has been spent in the Middle East and North Africa. 24,3 % of the total funds have been spent in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- The funding comes from a variety of thematic and geographic instrument with the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights, EIDHR, as the single biggest source, which accounts for 41 % of the total support. Other significant instruments are IPA, CARDS, ENPI and MED.
- The budgets allocated for media support have been relatively modest in relation to other focus areas of the EIDHR. The total annual budget of the EIDHR is 158.000 Million Euro and the average annual EIDHR contribution to media support has been 6,1 Million Euro or approximately 4 % of the total EIDHR budget.
- The EC support for media development and freedom of expression has been limited compared with the bilateral support from EU Member States and other bilateral donors. A study from 2010, which maps media support in Africa funded by European donors, identified a total of 236 ongoing projects and programmes with a total value of 146 Million Euro, while the total media support to Africa from the EC according to the sample in the present study is 36 Million Euro from 2000-2010 – or an average of 3,6 Million per year. For comparison the Swedish budget for media support from SIDA in 2012 is 26 Million Euro and DfiD supports the BBC Media Action with more than 20 Million Euro per year.

- The main focus has been on training of journalists and editors in journalistic skills and professional standards. Other initiatives have been support to reform of media related legislation and direct support to endangered journalists and writers.
- The projects supported by the EC have not been different from projects funded by bilateral donors. Very few projects have benefitted from the potential comparative advantages of the EC/EU as a multinational entity. Very few projects have been designed and implemented in cooperation with member states or other donor agencies, and the projects do not reflect on-going internal media developments in the EU. There seems to be more focus on EU visibility than on EU additionality.
- There is a growing tendency to use specialised international organisations as implementers of projects and programmes instead of contracting local organisations. This use of intermediaries minimises the administration and project management in the EC and other donor organisations and increases the quality of project implementation and reporting. But the use of international intermediaries also means that fewer funds reach the end beneficiaries because of the management and administration expenses of the international organisations.
- The top ten contract holders have implemented 36 % of the total project value with BBC Media Action as the single biggest partner, which has implemented almost ten percent of the total project value in the period 2000-2010. Internews (which has a European branch) comes second with 4,6 % of the total project value followed by the International Federation of Journalists with 3,4 % of the project value.
- Donor agencies including the EC seem to be improving the coordination of their activities and in several cases co-funding but the EU Delegations are not seen to be facilitating this coordination.
- The EC is seen as a “difficult” or “bureaucratic” donor agency, which is difficult to approach for smaller organisations because the possible funding does not correspond with the paper work needed to apply for support.
- Desk officers at member state embassies and EU Delegations are suggesting better access to experts in the field of media development, who can screen proposals and suggest specific activities. Either country based or centrally in Brussels.

ANNEX 1: LIST OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED AND CONSULTED

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