Funding for Media Development by Major Donors Outside the United States

A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance

By Mary Myers

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About the Author

Mary Myers

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Abbreviations

AECID	Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation
AMI	African Media Initiative
AUC	African Union Commission
CAD	Canadian Dollar
CAMECO	Catholic Media Council
CAR	Central African Republic
CFP	Co-financing Program (Netherlands)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Aid
CommGAP	Communication for Governance and Accountability Program
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	UK's Department for International Development
DKK	Danish Krone
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EC	European Commission
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GFMD	Global Forum for Media Development
GNI	Gross National Income
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICT4D	ICTs for Development
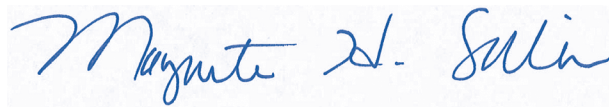
IDRC	International Development Research Center
IFEX	International Freedom of Expression eXchange
IMS	Institute for Media Support
IPDC	International Programme for the Development of Communication
KAF	Konrad Adenaur Foundation
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NOK	Norwegian Krone
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFID	OPEC Fund for International Development
OGC	Oslo Governance Center (UNDP)
OIF	Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PRC	People's Republic of China
SDC	Swiss Development Cooperation
SEK	Swedish Krona
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Preface

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) commissioned this study of media development funding outside the United States. The purpose of this report is to better understand the current situation and trends in non-U.S. donor financing of the media development and media for development sector.

CIMA is grateful to Mary Myers, an expert on international media development with many years of experience in this field, for her research and insights on this topic. Any opinions or views expressed within this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent CIMA or NED. As the report makes clear, reporting standards and definitions vary widely from country to country, making precise comparisons difficult. However, while the numbers in some of the tables may not represent a complete picture, the report provides a valuable resource by pointing out how donors compare in the emphasis they place on media development in general.

We hope that this report will become an important reference for international media assistance efforts and spur further research on the level of funding for media by countries around the world.

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Senior Director
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Introduction

The main guiding questions for this research are:

How much are European and other governments and donors spending on international media development?

Where is the money going, for what sort of development (training, capacity building, infrastructure, legal or physical safety, etc.) and what are the trends in terms of donor priorities and approaches?

The present study is an update of one produced for the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) by the author, with Emma Grant, in 2007 (see Grant and Myers in References). That study was, in one way, more limited in that it dealt only with media support when used by donors to enhance access to information and promote governmental accountability in developing countries. In another way it was broader in that it made recommendations about "what works" and "what are the gaps" in media support in order to guide DFID policy. The present study is less of a discussion document and more of a straight survey.

How much are European and other governments and donors spending on international media development?

It looks at the communication sector more broadly and attempts to include and put a funding figure on all areas where donors are supporting media-related activities— explicitly or not. (For a discussion of what constitutes media support, see following section). Furthermore, it was not within the scope of this study to analyze the successes or failures of donors' media support policies. That has been discussed elsewhere, to some extent,[1] but it still remains an interesting subject for deeper research and evaluation.

The method used involved a combination of e-mail questionnaires, telephone interviews and Internet -research. The author used her professional contacts to generate an initial set of interviewees, which then expanded to others. More than 55 questionnaires were sent out, once the relevant person was thought to have been identified. Replies from 25 individuals were received over a period of about four months. (The main questions asked are in Appendix 1). Where the information is brief and/or anecdotal, either no reply was received or it was not possible to find a contact point (in China, for example) and/or the information available on the Web was insufficient.

Overview

How Do Donors See Media Development?

For purposes of this research, media development was broadly defined as any kind of support that helps foster free and unbiased media in developing countries. Included therein are any initiatives related to capacity building for journalists and technicians; supporting capital or running costs to radio, TV and print media; support to mass media in terms of information and communication technologies (ICTs); broadcast legislation; management of media houses; support for freedom of the press and for rights organizations; and support to community-level participation through the media.

With such a broad set of activities, it is almost impossible not to let the definition of "media development" spill over into the use of "media for development" and thence into the realm of communications for social or behavioral change—or using media for "intended outcomes." Take, for instance, a grant for a women journalist's group, who run their own activities (such as annual general meetings, benevolent fund for members, internal capacity building) and who produce radio programs aimed at educating market women about elections.[2] This is a project that supports media as a sector in itself, and that supports media as a tool for education and development. These are the sorts of overlaps that make it difficult for donor organizations to categorize and quantify their media efforts (and for researchers to sort them out).

The problem of how media projects are classified is compounded by the following:

- Many governance (or other sector) projects will have a small component relating to media (such as training journalists to cover elections), but this will not necessarily show up in a project's title or main aims.

- Many projects that have ICTs in the title may look like a possible candidate for inclusion as a communications project but may not necessarily have anything to do with enhancing communication, information or accountability for citizens (for example, equipping a new airport with computer equipment).

- An ostensible media support project can often simply be a public relations exercise for a donors' own work (grants for developing-country journalists to cover big multilateral events, for instance).[3]

- Most donor agencies differentiate between sums spent on project activities and sums spent on administration, but staff and running costs are often integral and vital to media projects, so estimating what constitutes direct project costs can be problematic.

How donors themselves see media development depends on their outlook on aid: China has a very different motive for

funding a radio station in Africa from, say, the Netherlands. The former is for influence, commercial self-interest and possibly propaganda. The latter is for the sake of more liberal—some would say "enlightened"—goals. On the whole, this survey found that most of the Western European donors have well-articulated, rights-based justifications for supporting media development.

Emerging Issues and Trends

Looking across all the donors and their approaches to media, it is difficult to discern clear trends because media support by donor agencies is extremely diverse. It defies and eludes definition, is multi-faceted, and still, in many cases, experimental. According to Ben Dickinson, the manager of the Conflict and Governance Unit of the Policy Co-Ordination Division at the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD):

> *Looking across all the donors and their approaches to media, it is difficult to discern clear trends because media support by donor agencies is extremely diverse.*

My impression is that media support from donors is often fragmented, ad hoc, and in many cases limited to training journalists. I do not recall hearing about many comprehensive institutional approaches. Our own work on offering donors advice about how better to support accountability issues is just starting … but our hunch is that donors should be far better at providing support which links different accountability institutions together based on substantive themes and priorities.[4]

Where media support is found in one place—if found at all—it is within the governance agenda. The Nordic countries, as well as the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom reflect this trend clearly in their policy documents. In the European Commission (EC), media programs appear in "governance" and in "human rights and democracy" budget lines. Also, it seems that where media support is given particular attention the rationale for its support is being much more clearly articulated, and it is no longer as confused as it was in the past, with either communications as public relations or with communications as a tool for social or behavioral change. The fact that media assistance is now invariably filed under "governance" reflects this change.

Whereas in the past such ideals as gender-inclusion, empowerment, and participation might have been vaguely articulated as part of the general anti-poverty agenda, they have now found their place within a discourse about rights and responsibilities—hence democratic governance. Therefore, media development, as a means to secure such ideals, naturally finds its place in governance, too.

Nevertheless, the point made by the BBC World Service Trust's 2009 survey of policy opinion,[5] that media development still lacks an institutional home, is true, and is reflected in these pages by the fact that media projects are rarely located in one place within each donor organization. It

also explains why it is a very difficult task to separate out media funding across sectors and themes. The fact that countries like Norway can identify exactly what they spend on media is not because Norway has a dedicated department dealing just with media issues but because it has a relatively compact overall aid program and has made a policy decision that it is important to identify cross-cutting areas, such as media, and to disaggregate the relevant data.

Another point made in the BBC report is that media is considered "difficult" or requiring specialist knowledge. This partly explains what the BBC report calls "an 'engagement gap' between the value assigned to [media's] role by policymakers and the practical provision made for it in development planning, thinking and spending."[6] The present survey bears this out, and found that actual media-support activities undertaken are often ad hoc, experimental, and encounter implementation difficulties. A lack of reliable partners is one such difficulty. For example, few donor programs seem to have been able to engage constructively with regulatory bodies at the national level about media legislation, particularly in post-conflict countries and in authoritarian regimes. Often, there is no long-term strategy or commitment for media development and, as a result, more complex media reform programs (for instance legislation, reform of state broadcasters, or establishment of national training structures) are not tackled.

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These implementing challenges have been recognized by the OECD, which has recently issued some guidance to international donors[7] and is starting a new work-stream called the Network on Governance (GOVNET). This will be commissioning guidance documents, case studies, and inventories on various key issues in the governance field, including the media. According to Dickinson, this structure "will monitor donor progress against the advice the donors sign up to and will analyze how different thematic issues (budgets for example) interface with the media and other accountability institutions, as well as offering advice on how donors can better support the media in general."[8] Given that the OECD is a body to which most Western donors pay attention, this is a positive step to help guide donors on media assistance in the future.

Meanwhile, within donor organizations, there may be a trend away from dedicated divisions and/or funds dealing with media or ICTs. Many groups are more interested in the convergence of traditional mass media with new technologies, and many believe that it makes more sense to stay with departments dealing with sectors (such as health, agriculture, or governance) rather than creating new ones focused on technologies or tools.

Another interesting trend seems to be towards media programs that promote cross-cultural understanding, particularly in conflict zones, or, more globally, between

the West and majority Muslim nations and groups. This is exemplified by the large sums spent in places like Central Africa's Great Lakes region (for instance, a study by Marie-Soleil Frère estimated that between 2004 and 2008, international donors spent more than $54.8 million (€40 million) supporting independent media initiatives in the Democratic Republic of the Congo alone[9]). Also, as shown below, large sums are being spent on journalism exchanges to and between Arab countries, such as the Danish Arab Media Initiative, as well as various regular gatherings and exchanges such as those organized by Al Jazeera.

As this survey shows, despite the trend towards liberal, rights-based approaches, in many quarters media support is still done in what some would call the "old-fashioned way," that is straightforward building of infrastructure (transmitters, printing presses, satellite links, etc.). And with China now entering the development scene, subjective media support for reasons of influence and commercial self-interest is once again a significant issue.

In global terms, the largest bilateral donor of official development assistance in 2007, by volume, was the United States, followed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Japan.

Which Donors Are Leading the Field?

In global terms, the largest bilateral donor of official development assistance (ODA) in 2007[10], by volume, was the United States, followed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Japan. Five countries

exceeded the United Nations target of 0.7 percent of Gross National Income (GNI): Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden, but most countries do not reach this goal, including the United States.[11] The European Commission (EC)—a multilateral donor—comes second only after the United States in terms of aid volume. In Appendix 1 some figures are given for communications and media assistance by donors worldwide from the OECD. However, it is inadvisable to rely on these figures for anything other than rough indications of support to media and communications. Certainly, it is interesting to see from these figures that the biggest overall aid donors do not appear to be the biggest donors in communications and media, but beyond that one must look for answers from the donors themselves, because what is reported to the OECD under "media" is likely to be investment in infrastructure projects in radio, TV, and print, and may only reflect a small part of the overall picture. This survey has attempted to do just that, but much information is still imprecise, anecdotal, and revolves around different definitions of the terms media development and media support.

In terms of actual aid disbursements, the EC is likely to be the biggest single funder of media development projects outside the United States. An approximate and conservative guess is that the EC funded perhaps 200 media-related projects in 2008, at an average cost per project of about $411,000 (€300,000), bringing the total to a notional current commitment by

Estimates of 2008 Media Assistance Funding (in Millions USD)
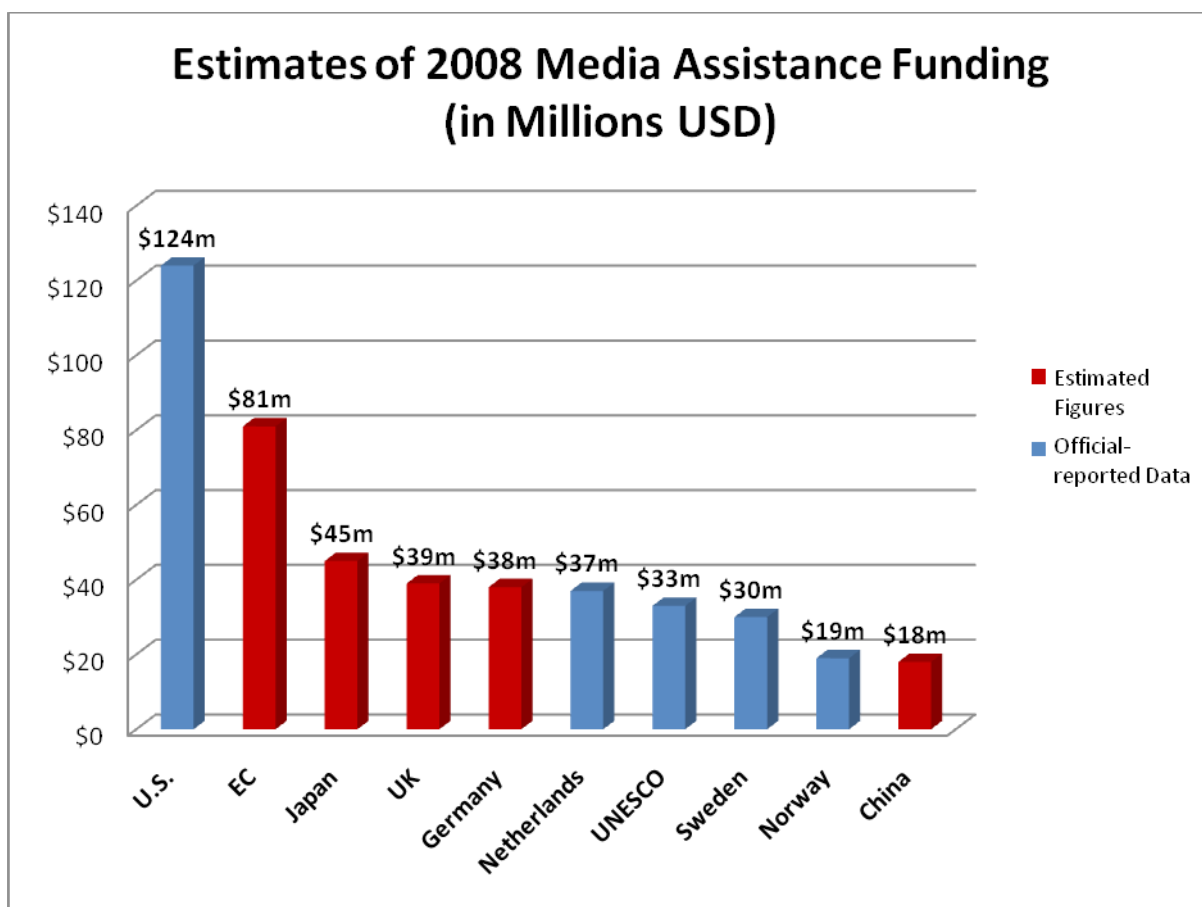
the EC of about $82 million (€60 million) worth of media-related projects (N.B. many of these are multi-year programs)[12]. For comparison, we have more concrete figures from Sweden and Norway—$30 million and $19 million on media support, respectively, in 2008—and a relatively good estimate from the Netherlands and Switzerland of about $37 million and $29 million per year, respectively. We also have a clear figure from UNESCO of $33 million on media support activities—although this is for 2010-11. The United Kingdom and Germany are probably large media donors too, but it is impossible to extract definite figures without doing a meticulous and time-consuming audit of their budget lines. Such is the partial picture for Western Europe. China's international media development efforts remain an enigma as it is impossible to get such information from

the Chinese government. The nature of Japan's investments in media infrastructure, while apparently substantial, is also an open question and would require more research.

Is Media Assistance Increasing or Decreasing?

The OECD notes that aid disbursements globally continued to rise through 2007 (the most recent year cited), but by only small degrees. The increase "was only 2 percent on 2006. This is much too slow if donors are to meet their commitments to increase aid by 2010. In particular, most G8 countries will need to rapidly expand their aid if they are to meet the commitments they undertook at the Gleneagles summit in 2005."[13] However, the OECD says "aid is expected to decrease in 51 countries between 2005 and 2010, mainly in Africa and Asia. Four

of them are states in situations of conflict or fragility, where these programmed decreases could adversely affect their recovery."[14]

"With the current financial crisis and economic slowdown in most donor countries, there is a general fear that aid budgets will be cut—as happened after the recession in the early 1990s."[15] The OECD has issued a statement calling upon the world's major donor countries to stand by their development pledges in order to prevent the "financial crisis from generating an aid crisis, which would have a serious impact on developing countries already struggling with the global food crisis and rising oil prices."

The present study finds that the global economic downturn generally has not yet had an effect on media support. But given the global situation, it would be surprising if media support were to rise while general aid budgets are expected to fall, so it may only be a matter of time before these negative effects are felt. There is also likely a lag in reporting (most figures and reports cited here refer to 2007 and 2008 funding, often the latest numbers available), and the effects of the downturn may still be a few years off.

For example, the UK aid budget has not been cut, but a reduction in public spending is probable after the next election in 2010.

However, for the present, a look across the donors surveyed here tells us that budgetary commitment to media support has risen slightly or at least remained the same over the last three to five years. For instance, donor commitments to UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) remained more or less constant from 2008 to 2009. But as far as future commitments are concerned, this survey received firm indications of positive future commitment to media support from only Norway and Sweden. Most funding agencies were non-committal on future funding numbers. Nonetheless, a very impressionistic assessment of the rest of the donors' positions is that the following donors are likely to increase their commitments to media assistance slightly, or remain constant, over the next two to three years: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, the EC, France, Japan, Netherlands, Switzerland, UNESCO, and the United Kingdom.

Details by Donor Country/Organization

An examination of contributions to the media development and media for development fields by individual countries, regional groups and multilateral organizations revealed wide discrepancies in spending. The information available for each country also varied widely, so the relative length of each section is unrelated to its contribution to the field as a whole.

Arab States

In recent years, development donations by Arab states have declined markedly, mainly due to the fall in oil prices, compared with the heights of the 1980s, when Saudi Arabia's foreign aid was second only to that of the United States.[16] Nevertheless, aid flows from this region are not insignificant: According to OECD DAC figures, in 2006 Arab countries gave $2.5 billion in ODA, which was 0.81 percent of their GNI.

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Most of the Gulf region's aid is disbursed through the following eight specialized multilateral development institutions known as The Coordination Group:

- The Islamic Development Fund (Islamic Bank)

- The Abu Dhabi Fund for Development

- The OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID)

- The Saudi Fund for Development

- The Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development

- The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development

- The Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa

- The Arab Monetary Fund

According to the Coordination Group's secretariat in Kuwait, these Arab institutions extend financing to "various economic sectors ranging from agriculture to transportation and telecommunications and from energy to industry. Significant funding also goes to the social sectors, health and education, and water supply and sewerage. Some of the institutions also provide trade financing, or channel support in the form of loans, lines of credit or equity participation to the private sector in developing countries in an effort to encourage the growth of local enterprises and promote economic growth."[17]

OFID is the most significant donor in the region. It is committed to ICT development—particularly internet access

and telecommunications—among its infrastructure interests, but does not support direct media development.[18] Likewise, the Saudi Fund for Development, which signed 16 loan agreements totaling $311 million during 2008 for projects in 15 countries across Africa and Asia, concentrated on infrastructure and not media.[19]

One notable media initiative in the region is the Al Jazeera satellite TV network, started by the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa in 1996 with a grant of around $150 million.[20] The station has turned into a successful enterprise and is one of the only independent news networks in the Middle East. Al Jazeera has a Media Training and Development Center at its headquarters in Doha, Qatar, where it trains journalists from around the world, often in conjunction with UNESCO and the EC. According to Moussa Nuseibeh, the center's head of projects:

> Al Jazeera changed the Arab world. More people became interested in journalism. It soon forced Al Jazeera to think carefully about its own code of ethics. There was a need for training in journalism without bias, in true journalism. We created our training center to maintain the ethics and high quality of journalism at Al Jazeera. We immediately had an influx of people from the Arab world and beyond.[21]

Between 2004 and 2006, Al Jazeera ran more than 50 media courses and trained more than 3,000 individuals.

Also in Qatar is the newly established Doha Centre for Media Freedom. The center was established in October 2008 by the wife of the Emir of Qatar, Sheikha Mozah,[22] and aims to provide shelter for threatened journalists and fund media organizations in countries ruled by repressive regimes. Journalists are allowed to stay for up to six months, and their medical bills and legal aid are paid for while they decide their future. The center also helps rebuild media outlets destroyed in fighting or natural disasters, gives some support to journalists outside the region (Kyrgyzstan for example) and offers technical assistance to governments wishing to reform their press laws.[23]

On the whole, Arab support to media development is limited to programs taking place within the region. In Kuwait, for example, the government sponsors the Arab Media Forum, under the patronage of the prime minister, Sheikh Nasser Al-Mohammad Al-Sabah. This is an annual media event, attracting some of the best Arab media outlets. The premier has sponsored this forum since 2003, with the goal of "joining Arab media views, in addition to developing Arab media dialogue."[24]

Australia

In 2009-10 Australia will provide $3.8 billion worth of official development assistance through its aid arm, Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID).[25] The ratio of Australia's aid to gross national income for 2009-10 is estimated at 0.34 percent, an increase from 0.32 percent from 2008-09. Most of Australia's aid focuses on the Asia Pacific region, as well as selective assistance to Africa and the Middle East.[26]

The OECD estimates that Australia's contribution to the communications sector in developing countries was $4.35 million in 2007, with contributions to radio, TV, and print amounting to $1.49 million in 2007,

or 0.07 percent of total Australian official development assistance for that year. Australia does not have an explicit media support strategy but includes communications as part of its infrastructure investment, its governance work (in 2009-10 governance-related ODA will total approximately $820 million or 22 percent of total ODA,[27]), and its support to health communications. The impression is, generally, that Australia supports media for development, rather than direct development of the media.

An example of media being used for health-messaging is a multimedia campaign to fight AIDS and promote condom use in Indonesia through a $2.5 million (A$3.15 million) grant during 2006-07 through channels such as the central government-owned Radio Republik Indonesia Jayapura, which carries a weekly radio program called Mari Kitorang Bertanggung Jawab (Let Us Be Responsible).[28]

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Under the heading of Governance, this year AUSAID announced a new budget measure for 2009-10 of $106.8 million (A$138.6 million) over four years "to improve the effectiveness of government and its accountability to citizens," which includes improving "citizens' access to information, particularly through the media, and civic education for school students and civil society organizations" in the Pacific region.[29]

Austria

OECD figures show Austria's spending on media as $0.07 million for 2007, which makes Austria one of the smaller players on the media support scene. However, there are a few signs that interest in media may be increasing. For instance, in its Three Year Program (2008-2010), the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) commits to media development and promotion of independent media in the Africa, Serbia, and the South Caucasus.[30] Austria has also recently funded a media program with Panos London.

Total Austrian official development assistance (ODA) amounted to $1.8 billion in 2007 (OECD figures), which was 0.50 percent of GNI, which is well above the percentages achieved by other European countries (the EU has a target of 0.33 percent of GNI). In its 2008 program the federal government pledged its commitment to an ODA target of 0.51 percent target but states: "in view of limited budgetary funds, however, this target will be difficult to reach."[31] Generally, most of Austria's media development support goes to countries in Southeastern Europe and the Caucasus.

Belgium

Development aid from Belgium comes from several different sources: the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, the Walloon (Francophone) community, the Flemish community, and Belgian Technical Cooperation (the Belgian development agency). Funding for media projects seems to be concentrated in the hands of the ministry and the Walloon community.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs financed the media sector in developing countries in 2008 through seven projects for a total amount of $2.42 million (€1.65 million).[32] The main rationale for media sector support is "building of a democratic society, support to participative processes."[33] The relative share between regions was:

- five projects in Africa for an amount of $2.23 million (€1.52 million) (92.5 percent)

- one project in Israel/Palestine for an amount of $147,000 (€100,000) (6 percent)

- one project in Belarus (Radio Racja) for $36,000 (€25,000) (1.5 percent)

The programs supported include rebroadcasting of Belgian radio in Burundi as well as the UN station, Radio Okapi, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The table below compares 2008 funding with previous years. Media assistance seems to have declined in 2008, but this is not necessarily an indication of a downward trend in the future.

Belgium Foreign Ministry spending on media projects:

2008: $2,425,000 (€1,649,153)
2007: $3,590,000 (€2,619,971)
2006: $4,172,000 (€3,322,368)
2005: $2,133,500 (€1,713,622)

On the question of whether international media assistance is likely to increase or decrease over the coming three to five years, the ministry replied as follows: "Belgium has for 2009 nine proposals in the pipeline for a total amount of [$5,896,000] (€4,272,640). Probably not all of the proposals will be financed for the total amount asked. So, it is too early to speak about an increase. Maybe the Belgian media assistance will increase the next years slightly. For 2009 an amount of [$5,216,000] (€3,780,324) is programmed for Central Africa (88 percent) and [$679,000] (€492,316) for Israel/Palestine (12 percent)."[34]

The governmental body representing the Francophone community, called Wallonie-Bruxelles International (WBI), has a smaller program of media support which concentrates on just Burundi and the DRC. In 2008 it spent $218,000 (€148,000) on support to the DRC regulator (the Haute Autorité des Médias) and to a training newspaper in Burundi. It views these activities as support for governance and civil society.[35]

Canada

Canada is an important donor in the communications sector generally, with, for example, a large ongoing commitment to the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) research on ICTs. But, like most donors, the Canadian government does not give an explicit line to media development in its aid statistics. However, it does list its ODA to "radio/television/print media" and the most up-to-date statistics available show funding to these infrastructures amounted to $1.65 million (CAD$1.87 million)[36] in the fiscal year 2006-7,[37] and

Selected recent IDRC media and communication projects

	Project name	Year	Total funding
1	Homeworkers and Information and Communications Technologies in Southeast Asia	2004-2005	$132,000 ($172,375 CAD)
2	Validation Workshop : Science, Media and Societies Project	2004-2005	$23,000 ($29,806 CAD)
3	Information and Communication Technology and the Media: Closing the Loop	2004-2005	$23,000 ($30,000 CAD)
4	Radio, Convergence and Development in Africa	2009-2012	$976,000 ($1,123,975 CAD)
5	Evaluating Last-Mile Hazard Information Dissemination	2005-2008	$490,000 ($594,200 CAD)
6	Training Program for Volunteers in Community Multimedia Centres (Sénégal)	2005-2007	$18,500 ($22,400 CAD)
7	Effects of Radio on Perception of Agricultural Biotechnology in Africa	2008-2010	$268,000 ($284,500 CAD)
8	Most Effective ICTs for Empowering Women in Asia and the Pacific Region	2008-2009	$270,000 ($286,450 CAD)
9	Mass Media and Oral Health (Kenya)	1989-1991	$39,000 ($45,483 CAD)
10	Agrarian Information System of the Huaral Valley (Peru)	2007-2009	$324,500 ($346,976 CAD)
11	Exchange of Information and Sharing of Experiences among Communities in East and Southern Africa through Electronic Communications	1998-2004	$89,500 ($132,541 CAD)
12	Scoping Study : Psychology and Information and Communication Technology in Asia	2007-2008	$48,500 ($51,956 CAD)
13	Asia Media Summit : Role of Broadcasters in Natural Disasters	2005	$3,300 ($4,000 CAD)
14	Written Press: Mediator of Issues Surrounding the Information Society (West Africa)	2004-2007	$138,000 ($179,790 CAD)
15	FEMPRESS : Internetting Women's Press in Latin America	1997-2001	$122,000 ($168,510 CAD)
16	Killid Media Group Afghanistan: Training in human rights reporting	2007-2009	$105,000 ($113,000 CAD)

another $10.5 million (CAD$11.94 million) went to ICT development. The total ODA spent on "Communications," which, as along with mass media and ICTs, includes "Communications policy and administrative management" and "Telecommunications," came to $20.9 million (CAD$23.69 million) in 2006-7. This funding comes from various parts of the Canadian state, including Industry Canada, different Canadian Provinces, and from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

The region benefiting most from Canada's aid is Africa, although in 2006-07 (the most recent figures available) Afghanistan was the single biggest recipient of Canadian bilateral aid, followed by Sudan, Haiti, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Bangladesh. Like many other countries, Canada seems to be concentrating aid to fewer countries than in the past, while maintaining or slightly increasing its aid budget each year. In 2006-7, CIDA's assistance through country programs was directed to 69 countries, versus 77 countries in 2005-6. The Canadian government has apparently pledged to double international assistance over 2001-2 levels to $4.35 billion (CAD$5 billion) by 2010-11.[38]

CIDA, Canada's main aid organization, has an explicit policy on ICTs, which includes mass media such as radio and television, as well as the Internet and mobile phones. The rationale for support is that these technologies are "tools … for accessing and controlling socio-political and economic information … [that] can contribute to the reduction of poverty by providing individuals and communities with the opportunity to expand their choices and improve their livelihoods.'[39]

CIDA's support for the development of independent media, as a sector, is part of

its support for democratic governance. Its annual disbursements to democratic governance initiatives have grown from $230 million (CAD$355 million) in fiscal year 2001-2002 to $311 million (CAD$376.7 million) in fiscal year 2005-2006.[40]

CIDA also supports mass media as a tool for education and awareness-raising, as exemplified by the organization's support to the Developing Countries Farm Radio Network and a $4.4 million (CAD$5 million) contribution to the Bolivia Human Rights Ombudsman, which includes an anti-discrimination campaign using 129 of the country's radio and TV channels.[41]

Approximately 83 percent of IDRC's 2008-09 revenues came from the parliament; the IDRC's parliamentary revenues were $159.25 million (CAD$168.8 million), representing 3.9 percent of Canada's international assistance.[42] In 2008 the IDRC spent about $25.5 million (CAD$27 million) on its ICT programs.[43] Of this, a small but growing number of projects and research initiatives relate to the older communication technologies such as radio. As convergence of digital technologies increasingly blurs the distinctions between traditional mass media and new ICTs (citizen journalism on the web, digital production techniques, convergence between broadcasting and mobile telephony), one could argue that much of this expenditure on ICTs in fact qualifies as spending on media. Funding for other aspects of media work comes from other departments within IDRC—for example, its communications unit has lent support to fundraising events by Canadian Journalists for Free Expression and the Canadian Committee for World Press Freedom. IDRC's Peace, Conflict, and Development program has funded a project through the Killid Media Group in

Afghanistan to train local journalists, civil society actors, and human rights and justice officials in human rights reporting.

The table on page 19 shows some of the largest current media projects funded by the IDRC.[44] These figures come from various IDRC programs, not just from the ICT program, and this is not an exhaustive list.

People's Republic of China (PRC)

There is no doubt that Chinese interest in the developing south—especially Africa—is strong and is growing, including its interest in the media. However, the rationale for its actions and detail about them are opaque. As the Congressional Research Service explains in a 2009 report to the U.S. Congress:

> *There is no doubt that Chinese interest in the developing south—especially Africa—is strong and is growing, including its interest in the media. However, the rationale for its actions and detail about them are opaque.*

"PRC foreign assistance is difficult to quantify. Still a developing country itself, China appears to administer foreign aid in an ad hoc fashion, without a centralized system, foreign aid agency and mission, or regularized funding schedule. Nor does Beijing publicly release foreign aid-related data. Some analysts surmise that the Chinese leadership is reluctant to be perceived as a major aid donor, since the PRC itself continues to be a recipient of foreign assistance and because the government fears that its citizens may object to lavish spending on economic projects abroad."[45]

Most of China's foreign assistance is directed towards its own natural resources requirements and usually requires at least 50 percent of project materials and services to come from China. The upper estimate of China's total annual aid flows, which includes foreign direct investments, is about $21 billion.[46] Aid projects tend to be large infrastructural efforts such as stadiums, oil refineries, roads, and ports.

Some of this infrastructure investment has been in broadcasting. For instance, China spent approximately $6 million refurbishing the government-owned Liberian Broadcasting Corporation, providing new transmission and studio facilities in exchange for the right to broadcast Chinese- and English-language programs several times a day.[47] Such contracts also imply securing concessions from the Liberian Government in support of Chinese-owned businesses and unrestricted movement of Chinese workers in and out of the country.[48] China has also supported government-owned radio in Guinea, Nigeria, Kenya, and Zambia with equipment such as satellite receivers, towers, transmitters, generators, and antennae.[49] Specifically, in 2004, for instance, China provided 14 FM transmitters to be installed in seven provinces across Zambia with a loan of $14.5 million (¥120 million).[50]

Telecommunications is also a big area of Chinese investment, especially in Africa,

and this has an influence on the media scene. For instance, in November 2006, the Xinhua news agency reported that Chinese company Huawei had become "one of the main providers for the telecommunications market in Africa. Huawei sold 1.35 billion U.S. dollars of products in Africa last year [2005] and has so far trained more than 3,000 technical experts for the continent."[51]

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Beijing Action Plan (2007-2009) outlines key milestones for China's contemporary intervention in the African media landscape, including the training of an unspecified number of journalists as part of a commitment by China to train 15,000 professionals for African countries in the next three years.[52]

As part of this FOCAC professional training scheme there have been at least three workshops for African journalists held in Beijing. The third workshop, hosted by the secretariat of FOCAC, was attended by 42 journalists from 23 African countries. Discussion topics included "China-Africa relations and China's African policy, China's experience and achievements on economic reform and national development, and China's journalistic view and the operation of the Chinese press.[53]

Although there are some specifics, much of the information about China is anecdotal. As with China's general aid policy, the size of China's support to the media in the developing world is almost impossible to measure. Fackson Banda, UNESCO chair of media & democracy, argued that "China's assistance to Africa is not as much as people tend to think, but it is certainly more aggressive and less conditionality-based [than the West's]." [54]

In terms of the rationale for China's interest in African media, Banda opines that its technical support seems to be underpinned by two influences: ideological and cultural. He says:

> China is still involved in a diplomatic and ideological offensive on Western hegemony and Taiwanese separatist ambitions. This constitutes the ideological role that Chinese support to African media might play. China's support to some African regimes seems to entrench [the regime's] political hold on media. Thus, such support is arguably undermining efforts at media freedom. At the same time, China's deployment of its 'soft power' entails a long-term cultural engagement that showcases China's culture, political values, diplomatic prowess, and model of economic development.[55]

Denmark

The Danish Government has allocated $3 billion for development assistance in 2010, maintaining the nominal level of 2009 with approximately 0.83 percent of its GNI in 2010.[56]

In 2009 the Danish Foreign Ministry and DANIDA, the Danish International Development Agency were merged with the aim of streamlining development policy. The Danish government has an active commitment to media and communications. But, as with many other countries' aid budgets, there is no single line for media development or support for journalism, so it is difficult to put a figure on DANIDA's media development aid. Media support is articulated, mainly, as part of a human rights agenda, as follows:

Extract from Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2009) Budget allocations[57]						
Grant	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Democracy and human rights	$31.5 million (170 million DKK)	$46 million (250 million DKK)	$31.5 million (170 million DKK)	$31.5 million (170 million DKK)	$31.5 million (170 million DKK)	$31.5 million (170 million DKK)

In order to promote democratization and respect for human rights, Denmark will: [among other initiatives] … promote mechanisms for ensuring the systematic involvement of civil society and the organizations that represent the poor in the formulation and implementation of reform initiatives both nationally and locally. This work will be reinforced by support for the establishment of a free press.[58]

This year DANIDA announced new good governance programs for 2010 in Kenya and Bangladesh worth $32.4 million (175 million DKK) and $35.2 million (190 million DKK), respectively. Support for a free press will presumably be a part of each program.[59] These projects are in addition to the budget dedicated to promotion of democracy and human rights in general, which shows a peak of $46.32 million (250 million DKK) in 2010 and then will fall back to 2009 levels in subsequent years, as per the table below.

DANIDA's commitment to media development is demonstrated in its support to International Media Support (IMS) based in Copenhagen. IMS is "a non-profit organization working with media in countries affected by armed conflict, human insecurity and political transition."[60]

For activities under its media and conflict program, IMS is supported through a basket fund for 3.5 years into which it is foreseen that the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) will contribute $1.75 million (13.5 million SEK), DANIDA will contribute around $4.26 million (23 million DKK), and NORAD will contribute around $700,000 (4.5 million NOK).[61] In total, IMS has approximately $18.5 million (100 million DKK) in support from DANIDA for various currently active grants running up until 2012.

Under its media and dialogue program, one of IMS' current projects is a Danish-Arab media cooperation program (as part of the wider Danish-Arab Partnership Program[62]). From 2007 to 2009 this project received a budget of $4 million (22 million DKK) from the Danish Foreign Ministry and will go into a further phase for a period of 2 years with a budget of $4.63 million (25 million DKK). Under its media and democracy program, IMS has a project covering Eastern Europe and the Caucuses, including a regional investigative journalism network, support to independent media, media policy reform, and work with media centers. This four-year project is currently half way through and is funded with $7.4 million (40 million DKK).[63]

Another example of Denmark's support to media work is in Ghana, where the Danish Embassy in Accra launched the Ghana Media Standards Improvement Project with

the Media Foundation for West Africa in July 2008 with $4.26 million (23 million DKK) over two years.[64]

France

Overall, the French government has agreed to increase official development assistance to 0.51 percent of gross national income in 2010, and aims to attain 0.7 percent by 2015. In 2007, French assistance stood at $10 billion (€7.3 billion), or 0.39 percent of GNI.[65] The OECD estimates that the French government contributed $13.19 million to "communications" as part of its total ODA in 2007. Comparing this with Lee Becker and Tudor Vlad's estimate of $6.9 million in 2004,[66] it appears that France's commitment to the communications sector may be on the rise. However, Table 3, in Appendix 1, shows that France's total bilateral ODA seems to be decreasing overall. Discussions with people close to France's governmental aid sector also confirm that financial commitments to the audiovisual sector in Africa seem to be decreasing.[67] Nevertheless, they report that the various governmental departments disbursing aid have become more organized and that aid to the media sector is being given on a more strategic basis.

French support to the media sector has, for a long time, been about influence and a *présence audiovisuelle extérieure*. France is also interesting as one of the few donor countries less interested in media for social change or poverty reduction, than in the support of a free media as an end in itself. Radio France Internationale, largely government-funded, has a wide and profound influence over the French speaking world, including large swathes of Africa. Media work is done by both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Organization of La Francophonie (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie—OIF). Work with media organizations on the ground ranges from training of journalists (often in partnerships with the media schools of Lille and Paris), through press freedom work (for example, Reporters Without Borders) to support to community radio stations. Many French embassies have audiovisual attachés.

France is interesting as one of the few donor countries less interested in media for social change or poverty reduction, than in the support of a free media as an end in itself.

The OIF is the world's largest francophone cultural agency with 56 member countries.[68] Its total budget for 2007 was $108.75 million (€79.3 million). Interestingly, the OIF seems to do less promotion of the French language abroad than the Foreign Ministry. Indeed in the OIF's strategy of Africa there is more emphasis on supporting local community radios that focus on local African languages, rather than on French.[69] Among its media-oriented projects, the OIF cosponsored the EU-Africa Media Development Forum last year in Ouagadougou (see EC section, below); many journalism competitions, scholarships, and other prizes for film and media production; funding of TV5 Monde—the francophone worldwide TV network; and many regional workshops, trainings, and conferences for journalists and the promotion of journalism and

cultural diversity. The OIF has dedicated budget-lines for "media pluralism" and the "promotion of a free press" under its rubric "Promoting Peace Democracy and Human Rights." In its 2007-2009 budgets, a total of $1.98 million (€1.45 million) was allocated to "media pluralism" and $5.75 million (€4.2 million) was allocated to press freedom throughout the Francophone member countries.[70] It is worth enumerating the titles of these budget lines to show just how well-articulated the "francophone" approach to media support is:

Promoting Press Freedom

- Developing legislation and laws guaranteeing freedom of information and communication

- Strengthening regulatory bodies

- Support to self-regulatory press bodies/councils

- Supporting and transforming state press and broadcasting structures

Strengthening Media Pluralism

- Supporting the adoption and implementation of appropriate legal instruments and legislation (including collective agreements)
- Improving self-regulatory mechanisms and practice in the media sector

- Modernization of public-service TV

- Funds for print media

- Support for news agencies

- In-service training for media professionals

- Improving content on local radio

- Support to digital development of radio stations

- Support to digital development of newspapers.[71]

The French Foreign Ministry is a larger donor than the OIF in terms of media support, but because this support is distributed across many different programs it is difficult to reach a definite figure. Until a major reorganization in 2008, there was a dedicated section within the Foreign Ministry called the Direction de l'Audiovisuel Extérieur. This section no longer exists, but it is too early to tell what effect this change will have on actual resources to media efforts overall.

In line with France's overall Africa priority, the countries that have been receiving the highest and most long-term aid to support their media sectors in Africa have been Madagascar, Benin, Mauritania, the Central African Republic, Guinea, DRC, and Burundi.[72] A major initiative to support local and community radio called Plan Radio Afrique began in 2007 with a budget of $3.3 million (€2.4 million) over four years, involving trainings in eight countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroun, Mali, Niger, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Senegal; the initiative involves 30 European and African experts, 100 beneficiary radio stations or radio networks, and 500 station managers, directors, and technicians trained on location.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, one interesting initiative is an $11 million

media support project over 4.5 years currently funded by the United Kingdom but implemented through the French Foreign Ministry by France Cooperation Internationale (see United Kingdom section, below)

Another Africa-wide initiative was the ADEN (Fostering Digital Inclusion) project, worth $7.9 million (€6 million) from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 2003 and 2008, covering 12 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa while equipping and connecting 60 public Internet access centers in remote areas. The author has observed some of these centers in operation and many are attached to small local radio stations and help the stations survive financially by allowing them to operate as small internet cafes in addition to their broadcasting activities.

Germany

It has not been possible to arrive at an accurate and up-to-date overall sum for foreign media assistance from Germany. However, there are some good indicative figures which show that the Development Ministry (BMZ- Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit) is the biggest single German funder of the media sector, probably followed by the two major foundations, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF), which receive their funds through the German Parliament, via both the BMZ and the Foreign Ministry. Other significant German players are the International Institute for Journalism

It is worth noting that German interest in media infrastructure has declined markedly since the 1970s and 80s.

(IIJ) and the Deutsche Welle Academy.[73] The Catholic Media Council (CAMECO), based in Aachen, Germany, is becoming a respected voice among media development consultancies worldwide.

The most recent document mentioning media support from the German development ministry, the BMZ, dates from 2003.[74] This mentions that in 2000 the total sum of media assistance from this ministry was $17.9 million (€19.4 million). According to Christoph Dietz, Deputy Executive Director for CAMECO, this funding number is estimated to be roughly similar today.[75] Investment in journalism training is the main focus, through the Deutsche Welle Akademie, IIJ, and others. It is worth noting that German interest in media infrastructure has declined markedly since the 1970s and 80s. Germany invested considerable sums in development communication and media development during this period; the peak year was 1981 with at least $65 million (104.8 million German Marks), but then the support decreased progressively, due to a variety of factors.[76]

The Deutsche Welle Academy "supports the development of local and electronic media in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Middle East by training, coaching, and consultancy, and offers training in Germany."[77] Its budget for 2008 was $12.59 million (€8.562 million) of which 64 percent came from the Development Ministry BMZ, 12 percent from the Foreign Ministry

(AA—Auswärtiges Amt), and 7 percent from commercial training income.[78] The Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum is "an international conference held in Bonn, addressing challenges and developments at the crossroads of media, conflict prevention/ peace keeping and a related major theme (global warming for instance) which changes annually."[79]

IIJ is part of InWEnt (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung, or Capacity Building International, Germany) and "offers advanced training and dialogue programs for print and online journalists both in Germany and in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East."[80]

The FES is the political foundation affiliated with the German Social Democratic Party and maintains specific media projects in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, promoting regulatory and self-regulatory frameworks for the media, gender mainstreaming and an enabling environment for community broadcasters as well as training and advising political partners on communication."[81] Its overall 2008 budget, globally was $94.5 million (€64.26 million), but it is not clear how much their media budget amounts to. It maintains three media offices in Windhoek, Namibia; Quito, Ecuador; and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, but there seems to be an internal discussion about the future role of media assistance within the foundation. The FES media coordinator's job was eliminated in early 2009.[82]

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation is a political foundation affiliated with the Christian Democratic Party, and maintains regional media offices in Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America, and South-Eastern Europe, conducting journalism

training, supporting journalist networks and advising political partners on communication."[83]

The IIJ-InWEnt, KAS, and FES are estimated, together, to spend about $14 million (€10 million) per year on media development projects in developing countries.[84]

CAMECO receives funds from about ten different Catholic agencies, mainly from German-speaking countries (and minor contributions from Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United States), but does not depend on official structures. In October 2009, it organized a forum called "Measuring Change II: Expanding Knowledge on Monitoring and Evaluation in Media Development." Held near Bonn, this was the fifth in a series of fora, bringing together academics and practitioners on issues of media development.

Ireland

The Republic of Ireland devotes a small amount of funding for media work through its development agency, Irish Aid. The table below summarizes all of Irish Aid's direct funding to media-related projects in developing countries for 2008-09 and amounts to a total, in 2008, of $1,112,000 (€756,000).[85]

Japan

Aid in the form of loans accounts for a large portion of Japan's bilateral development assistance. In 2007, as much as 49 percent of Japan's gross disbursement of ODA was loan aid (approximately $5.6 billion), according to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs,[86] with grant aid totaling $3.4 billion

Irish aid: Media support			
Program country	**Type of Support**	**2008**	**2009**
Lesotho	To develop joint Governance program to strengthen capacity of governance institutions. Local weekly newspaper, TV and radio slots (with seven local radio stations) have been used to raise awareness and disseminate information on the mandate of the Office of the Ombudsman.	$220,000 (€150,000	$45,000 (€32,536).
South Africa	A Strategic Support Fund to enhance Ireland's response to emerging issues in South Africa. The fund supports a small number of specific projects, including initiatives by civil society or government in the areas of promoting good governance and human rights. During 2008, the program supported the work of the South Africa based Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition in respect of regional and media advocacy on solutions for Zimbabwe	$97,000 (€66,000)	$36,000 (€26,000)
Zambia	Support to Community Radio: Irish Aid supports the Fifth National Development Plan's goal of increased media access and outreach through financial support to the Media Institute of Southern Africa in Zambia (MISA-Zambia) with the overall aim of providing access to information and knowledge to millions of people who would otherwise be excluded. The Media Institute of Southern Africa will provide capacity building support to up to 20 independent community radio stations throughout rural Zambia to strengthen their quality, sustainability and independence and to provide equipment and training in the production of good governance programming.	$441,000 (€300,000) disbursed to the Media Institute of Southern Africa Zambia chapter.	$276,000 (€200,000)
Belarus, Poland	TV Belsat: "Media Training for Journalists—Freedom of the media" providing Belarus mass access to information	$59,000 (€40,000)	N/A
Council of Europe— European Court Human Rights	Support for webcasting of judgments of the European Court of Human Rights	$294,000 (€200,000)	N/A

(29 percent) and technical cooperation totaling $2.5 billion (22 percent).

When looking at Japan's bilateral ODA by region, Asia accounts for 28.3 percent of the aid, Africa accounts for 29.4 percent, and the Middle East accounts for 16.4 percent with Latin America and Oceania comprising 3.9 percent and 1.2 percent respectively, and assistance to Europe and multiple regions accounting for the rest.[87]Over the last few years Japanese aid has shown an increasing emphasis on Africa, with a corresponding decrease in aid to Asian countries, which from the 1970s through the 1990s accounted for the bulk of Japan's bilateral aid.[88]

In October 2008, the Japan International Cooperation Agency became the overall executing agency for Japan's official development assistance, unifying grants, loans, and technical cooperation under one roof. Japanese ODA is clearly decreasing from year to year, and in 2007 net ODA was down 31 percent from the previous year. This was the largest percentage decrease among the major industrialized donor countries (for example, the United States' ODA decreased by 7.6 percent and Britain's decreased by 20.4 percent during the same period).[89]

In terms of ICTs and media, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that it disbursed $34 million in 2007 for ICTs in grant aid, under which it includes mass

In terms of ICTs and media, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that it disbursed $34 million in 2007 for ICTs in grant aid, under which it includes mass media.

media. Japan articulates its rationale for ICT and media support as follows:

> The active use of ICT is highly significant in enhancing information disclosures by the government, improving governance, which is a cornerstone of democratization, through assistance to mass media, and strengthening civil society by means of improved convenience and services.[90]

Japan also supports the media in the context of "reconstruction assistance" in countries affected by conflict:

> Japan will … support the rebuilding of social capital, give electoral assistance so as to restore the administrative functions of government, provide support for the development of legislation, and give media support to foster democratization.[91]

As stated above, large disbursements are made by Japan in the form of soft loans, such as a $34 million (¥4 billion) project announced in 2007 for the Tunisia National Television Broadcasting Center.[92]

As for grants, the following are examples of media-related grant-aided projects for fiscal year 2007:

- Indonesia: The Project for Expansion of Radio Broadcasting Coverage in the Remote Areas—$30,000 (¥3.57 million)

- Uganda: The Project for Improvement of the Medium Wave Radio Broadcasting Network—$94,500 (¥11.12 million)

- Cameroon: The Project for Improvement of Equipment for Radio Broadcasting—$78,000 (¥9.17 million)

- Nigeria: The Project for Improvement of Medium Wave Radio Broadcasting Network—$54,500 (¥6.42 million)

Netherlands

A rough estimate of Dutch funding for the media sector in 2008, based on the project budgets itemized below, gives an annual figure of about $36.7 million (€25 million), which is a considerable increase on Becker and Vlad's estimate of $16 million for 2003.[93]

However, it is difficult to provide an exact figure on the size of Dutch financial support to the media because the media are often targeted within the context of multi-sector programs. But according to a source within the Foreign Ministry, a number of specific areas of support include:

- In 2008, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Human Rights Fund directed $8.8 million (€6 million) to assisting the media sector in the form of support to several organizations working for press freedom on the international level, such as Article 19 and the International Freedom of Expression eXchange (IFEX). Media development projects concentrated on Iran, Zimbabwe, Serbia, Burma, China, Belarus, and several Arab

countries. Free and independent media outlets received support and trainings for journalists were organized, among other activities. Out of these countries, Iran received a considerable share.

- Through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' co-financing program (CFP), two large projects specifically aimed at media development receive support, executed by the organizations Press Now/Radio Netherlands Training Center and Free Voice. Both projects are financed from 2007 through 2010) and have a budget of roughly $14.7 million (€10 million) each.

- Through the same CFP, contributions totaling $12.9 million (€8.8 million) were disbursed in 2008 to different NGOs: One World Africa, World Press Photo, Waag Sarai Exchange, Inter Press Service, and the Association for Progressive Communication.

- The Netherlands-based International Institute for Communication and Development helps developing countries formulate ICT policies and applications in different sectors, ranging from health, education, and good governance to rural development. CFP contribution over four years amounted to $29.4 million (€20 million).[94]

In total, the ministry contributes about 10 percent of its development budget to the CFP. A number of supported organizations spend some of their funds on activities in traditional media and on digital technology in developing countries and countries in

transition. These activities are often part of wider programs and sectors. Internationally too, many NGOs, including trade unions and press councils, are active in media and communications development. In the current and next CFP (2011-2015) the possibilities to finance NGO's based outside the Netherlands will, apparently, be limited.[95]

During the past few years, there appears to have been a slight increase in Dutch media support. According to Wouter Biesterbos, senior policy officer in the governance division at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

> Assisting the media sector is a very important element of our foreign policy. At this point in time, it is difficult to say how funds for these activities will develop over time. This will among other things depend on political priorities and budgetary constraints.[96]

"Assisting the media sector is a very important element of our foreign policy."

— Wouter Biesterbos, senior policy officer in the governance division at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dutch policy does not regard strengthening the media as a goal in itself, but "as a means of helping achieve overall development objectives and of strengthening other cultural and socioeconomic sectors. As such, support to the media [is] seen as an important factor in achieving results in the field of, for example, human rights, development, poverty reduction, democratization, accountability, good governance, peace building, and humanitarian aid."[97]

Norway

The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) put almost $19 million into assisting the media sector globally in 2008. This is a clear increase from 2003-04 when the sum earmarked for free media was less than half that. According to Ivar Evensmo, senior adviser for media and civil society at NORAD, this support has been steadily increasing over the last few years. This is in accordance with the growing political importance of such support in the view of the Norwegian government. The signs are that NORAD's commitment to supporting media will continue to grow.

NORAD's aid has a growing concentration in areas of violent conflict or countries in post-conflict situations such as the Middle East, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Sudan, and Southern Africa, but there is a broad geographical distribution of support to media and freedom of expression projects that also include countries in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Latin America.[100]

In an interview with GFMD Insider[101] Evensmo says:

> In terms of substance the media support has virtually no limitations. Nor in terms of where it can be distributed. However, our media support can be broadly classified under four main headings: response to violation on the right to

speak out; media in conflict areas and in states threatened by unstable and fragile conditions; democratic state building; and communication for development.

Norwegian media support can be targeted towards interventions that promote national legislature; towards support for vulnerable groups, social and cultural minorities and opposition politicians to help them express themselves in media; legal help for media workers persecuted or imprisoned; and women journalists, just to mentioned a few. For this purpose Norway uses various channels, such as media enterprises, civil society organizations, state institutions and regional and international/ multilateral organizations.

NORAD initiated and has for the last five years supported an annual Free Media Conference, arranged by the Norwegian Institute of Journalism, as the main meeting place for stakeholders interested in international media development issues. Among the projects it judges as most successful, NORAD counts the following as particularly positive:

- multi-donor cooperation that emerged in the later years of the conflict in the Balkans

- regional projects such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) collaboration in Southern Africa

- the regional peace and reconciliation media project South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA) in South Asia[102]

Another interesting partnership is between the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Indonesian Government in the joint support for a series of three Global Inter-Media Dialogues held in Indonesia (Bali) between 2006 and 2008.[103] The dialogue was initiated in the wake of the Danish cartoon controversy in 2006, with the aim to promote Muslim understanding and to showcase the efforts to improve the press situation in Indonesia, including its active press council. At the 2008 meeting, 125 journalists and editors from 61 different countries participated. The theme and agenda for the dialogue was determined by a working group made up of Indonesian and Norwegian editors and journalists and representatives from key international and Norwegian media organizations. According to Bettina Peters, director of the Global Forum for Media Development, this was a "good and creative dialogue."[104]

NORAD does not have a formal department or unit to work on media development issues. But a special media advisor gives professional advice to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norwegian embassies as well as internal technical comments on project proposals and evaluation of media interventions.

"In terms of substance the media support has virtually no limitations. Nor in terms of where it can be distributed."

— Ivar Evensmo, senior adviser for media and civil society at NORAD

Portugal

Portugal is one of the smaller donors in Europe, with an annual overseas aid budget of $277 million in 2007.[105] The Portuguese Institute for Development Support (IPAD) was created in 2003 as the central planning, supervisory, and coordinating body for Portuguese aid. As part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, IPAD coordinates Portugal's aid program, which involves 15 different ministries, 308 municipal governments, as well as universities and other public institutions. The Portuguese strategy cites commitment to the UN Millennium Development Goals as one of the five guiding principles of Portuguese development cooperation while maintaining the geographic focus on the Portuguese speaking countries of Africa (Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome e Principe) and Timor-Leste in Southeast Asia.

After rapid increases in recent years, Spain's official development assistance reached $3.813 billion in 2006, making it the eigth largest donor by volume.

The fact that it is listed by the OECD as one of the biggest donors to the "radio/TV/print media" sector (see Table 2 in Appendix 1 below; the reported sum is $3.18 million) may be explained by Portugal likely reporting to the OECD about one particular bilateral aid project involving mass-media infrastructure—perhaps in Timor-Leste (a former Portuguese colony), where Portugal has invested in radio infrastructure and broadcasting as a means of Portuguese language-teaching.[106]

Portuguese funding can be found supporting several media-related projects implemented by NGOs such as Internews (a diaspora radio project in Timor-Leste[107]) and by Instituto Marquês de Valle Flôr (projects in Cape Verde include community radio and developmental journalism training, and, in Guineau Bissau, citizen journalism (blogging) and community radio[108]).

Spain

Spain is a surprisingly large overseas aid donor, with totals outstripping some larger economies (see Table 3 in Appendix 1 below). A recent peer review by the OECD concludes:

After rapid increases in recent years, Spain's official development assistance reached [$3.813 billion] in 2006, making it the eigth largest donor by volume. The Development Assistance Committee commends Spain for its growing aid efforts and its commitment to more than double the share of its gross national income allocated to development assistance in 2012 to reach the UN target of 0.7 percent. In 2006, the Spanish ODA increase was the second highest in absolute terms among DAC donors, as well as within the European Union. The Committee appreciated Spain's sensitive approach to peace building and reconciliation in Latin America.[109]

The OECD shows that Spain is a relatively large donor in the communications field (see

Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix 1). However, we must treat these communication figures with caution because Spain is not known as a significant donor in communications or media-for-development circles. Therefore, as with Portugal (see above), we must assume that the OECD figures represent perhaps a contribution to UNESCO, or similar multilateral agency (Spain contributed $3.5 million to UNESCO's ICT work in 2007), or a one-time grant to broadcasting infrastructure somewhere in the developing world. Spanish overseas aid is administered mainly through the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation[110] but the country has a relatively complex and decentralized aid structure, with aid also going through autonomous Spanish regions, local authorities, and civil society. The Master Plan for Spanish Cooperation 2005-8 is the guiding document for all Spanish aid and mentions media issues only once under the "priority action" of "promotion of cultural industries," as entailing "support for alternative media, focusing particularly on local and community radio and television."[111] However, no examples of projects or budget figures are given.

Switzerland

Switzerland is a small overseas aid donor, compared with other DAC countries (its total ODA in 2007 was $1.2 billion), but it appears relatively committed to media and communication issues. One of the Swiss Development Cooperation's key sectors is "Access to Information," which it supports at a level of about $29 million.[113]

SDC's 10 Golden Don'ts Of Media Assistance [112]

1. Don't support media which
   - spread propaganda
   - have a partisan editorial policy
   - are governed by undemocratic principles.
2. Avoid artificial creations coming from overdoing your support. It will undermine the credibility of a media organization if it totally depends on a sustaining flow of money from a foreign country.
3. Don't focus just on what's wrong with the country's media; find positive incentives for action, so local people will embrace the project.
4. Don't just focus on training and ignore structural issues. Consider managerial, financial, infrastructure and market issues as well.
5. Don't force a media outlet to completely fulfill your norms (e.g. to be multiethnic); this may not be realistic and may even prove to be counterproductive.
6. Don't undermine your credibility (and that of the local media being assisted) by not practicing what you preach.
7. Don't simply transplant "western" methods.
8. Don't expect media consumers to be either more reasonable or more rational in their behaviour than in your country.
9. Avoid becoming too close to one partner.
10. Do no harm (i.e., check your unintended but potential influence on conflicting parties).

This work is articulated as follows:

> A basic component of this work consists of strengthening disadvantaged sectors of society (empowerment) with activities to promote good governance (participation, transparency, accountability). Activities favoring an independent and varied media landscape are at the top of the list. Freedom of opinion and free access to information should be guaranteed to everyone everywhere as a contribution to sustainable human development.[114]

In 2004 the Swiss Development Cooperation published Media and Governance: A Guide[115] and in 2007, Media—a Key Player for Realizing Social Accountability: Orientation Guide[116] as well as other policy documents setting out how a free media is a key partner in good governance.[117] In the latter guide, there is an interesting set of "Don'ts of media assistance."

Some current examples of the Swiss Development Corporation's aid to the media sector include:

- roughly $1 million each year in support of Radio Okapi in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

- a fund for investigative journalism in Tanzania

- support to Rhodes University in South Africa for a new Center for Social Accountability

- support to the Communication Initiative Network (a web portal and online community of media/communications for development practitioners).

Sweden

Sweden's total development aid budget for 2009 is about $4.8 billion, and about $2.4 billion of this is administered by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).[118]

Sida has a strong track record in media support. In 2004 Sida's media assistance globally was estimated by Becker and Vlad at $6.6 million. In 2009 it was approximately $30 million.[119] The rough regional distribution of Sida's support to media is as follows:

Africa	$9.1 million (70.5 million SEK)	(31% of total)
Asia	$5.9 million (45.5 million SEK)	(20% of total)
Latin America	$881,000 (6.8 million SEK)	(3% of total)
Europe	$3.5 million (27.6 million SEK)	(12% of total)
Middle East	$4 million (31.2 million SEK)	(14% of total)
Global	$6.2 million (47.8 million SEK)	(20% of total)

The view from inside Sida's Human Rights and Political Participation Team is that these amounts are likely to increase in the future, "due to government emphasis on freedom of expression and support for independent media in democracy and human rights support."[120] This perspective and rationale for media support is

expressed in various Sida publications and guidelines, but especially in their 2008 publication Freedom from Oppression: Government Communication on Swedish Democracy Support, which says:

> Independent, critical media are essential to freedom of expression and form an important part of the watchdog functions that distinguish a democratic society. Free, independent media help ensure greater exchange of correct information, improved opportunities for public debate and the exchange of political views and ideas. This can in turn help reduce the risk of conflict and corruption. Moreover, free media have a long-term effect on norms, values and attitudes, as well as on the growth and development of a democratic culture. Journalists are among the most important actors for democratization.[121]

Sida has also published Sida's Culture and Media Policy (2007). Guidelines for media support are due to be published by the end of 2009, mainly for internal use but also for information sharing with other donors and NGOs; a paper on freedom of expression is also to be published by the end of 2009, also mainly for internal use.[122]

Until 2008, media and freedom of expression support were primarily managed by the Division of Culture and Media within the Department for Democracy and Social development. Sida went through a reorganization in 2008 and new departments and units were formed. Media policy is now placed within the policy department for democracy, human rights, and gender equality. Programs and projects supporting media and freedom of expression are managed by the operational arm of Sida

throughout the various country and regional teams, with the support from the policy department. The culture and media unit that existed up until 2008 had seven staff members, two of which focused on media support. All of the seven staffers however, were involved in various freedom-of-expression-related programs—both in media and cultural support. The new policy department for democracy, human rights, and gender equality includes two staff members with responsibility for freedom of expression and media support. Their task is to support the regional and country teams in designing, planning and following up on freedom of expression and media programs as well as developing action plans and guidelines in this field, within the framework of democracy and human rights polices and strategies.[123]

Sida provides core funding for several agencies known for their media support such as the network of Panos Institutes, IFEX, and MISA. In terms of country-level work, media support by Sida has included:

- a newly agreed-upon co-funding arrangement with Britain to fund the Democratic Republic of the Congo Media for Democracy and Accountability program

- alternative media organizations in the Palestinian Territories

- support to Econews in Kenya (supporting community radio stations)

- radio programs engaging Burundi youth in the fight against corruption.[124]

United Kingdom[125]

The United Kingdom is one of Europe's largest aid donors (third after Germany and France). In 2007-08, total gross public expenditure on development was $9.58 billion. This represents a decrease of 21 percent from 2006-07; however actual spending by the Department for International Development (DFID)—which accounts for 86 percent of total development spending—has actually increased gradually in recent years and amounted to $10.4 billion (£5.2 billion) in 2007-08. Non-DFID debt relief and other non-DFID aid—$1.65 billion (£824 million) or 14 per cent—made up the remaining elements.[126] Unfortunately, it is impossible to obtain an accurate figure for DFID's expenditure on media or communications-support because DFID has no single, dedicated media work-stream. Support to the media, both as a sector and as a tool for development, is distributed across many different programs and country offices. However, DFID's support to media initiatives is far from negligible; it is just not clearly visible. As DFID's Mark Robinson, head of profession for Governance and Conflict, remarked to a BBC researcher in April 2009:

> A separation has now been made "between development communications for the promotion of DFID's corporate agenda from communications media and governance work … with the result that I think there's more focus on both." While there is no specific workstream dedicated to media, Robinson's view is that this does not signal a lack of interest and he adds, "We don't have someone who is the point person for decentralization which is a far, far bigger area of spend [sic] than media."[127]

What is known is that $1.58 billion (£790 million) was spent under the heading of "governance and civil society" in 2007-08 and $248 million (£134 million) was spent in 2008-09 under the heading of "research."[128] These are the broad sectors in which most media assistance projects are found, but, as has been mentioned, media projects can also be found under "health,""education," and "humanitarian assistance," etc., and most of this spending is at the country level rather than from a "pot" of money administered from London.

DFID currently has substantial media support programs in several countries, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria. The program in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, called Media for Democracy and Accountability, is implemented through France Cooperation Internationale, with a smaller contribution from Sweden, and has a budget of $11 million over 4.5 years (2007-2011) from DFID (see box).[129] DFID's media work

DFID currently has substantial media support programs in several countries, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria.

in Afghanistan and Iraq may comprise media support initiatives that are bigger, but they involve military and security issues, so figures are not available.

In 2008 DFID launched a large "governance and transparency fund," with a total value of $222 million (£120 million). It funded 38 projects, four of which were clearly media or access to information projects (others may have had media elements). The media projects were a grant to Journalists for Human Rights for work in Liberia, to the Ma'an Network in the Palestinian Territories for "empowering transparency through effective secular media," to Search for Common Ground, and to the BBC World Service Trust. In early 2007, DFID helped launch the

African Media Initiative (AMI), which was born out of previous work—also funded by DFID—supporting the BBC World Service Trust's African Media Development Initiative and the UN Economic Commission for Africa's "STREAM" (Strengthening Africa's Media). AMI received $565,241 (£282,440) to support a six-month development stage with a view to "creating a successful, large-scale mechanism for future investment."[130] AMI has also secured some funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

At present there are 17 programs receiving DFID grants for the purpose of "communication of research," representing an annual expenditure of about $20 million (£11 million); about 30 percent of this yearly

budget is currently allocated to organizations like the BBC World Service Trust, the World Bank's CommGAP (Communication for Governance and Accountability Program) and Canada's IDRC[131], essentially for engaging in research on communications, ICTs and media in development.[132]

CommGAP has received from DFID an overall grant of $9.2 million (£5 million) for a period of five years to 2011, in the form of a Trust Fund, into which it is hoping to attract other donors. CommGAP's aims are

> to apply innovative communication approaches that improve the quality of the public sphere—by amplifying citizen voice; promoting free, independent, and plural media systems; and helping government institutions communicate better with their citizens—to demonstrate the power of communication in promoting good and accountable governance, and hence better development results.[133]

CommGAP has produced some useful thinking about the role of media in development—two studies deserving particular mention are Shanthi Kalathil's 2008 report, *Towards a New Model: Media and Communication in Post-Conflict and Fragile States*, and Henriette von Kaltenborn-Stachau's 2008 report, *The Missing Link—Fostering Positive Citizen-State Relations in Post-Conflict Environments*. More recently CommGAP has been consulting about producing a "media development toolkit" for governance advisors, giving recommendations on how to implement successful media development projects. The basis of this idea is a study that CommGAP commissioned at the end of 2008, which found that many governance advisors in donor agencies are not aware of the importance of the media in governance. The few who are

describe their media-related capabilities as "emerging" or "unsophisticated."[134] The toolkit is due to be launched in early 2010.

The BBC World Service Trust receives about 37 percent of its income—total budget $25.8 million (£17.9 million) in 2007-08—from DFID in support of various projects, many of which could be categorized as media development. Others are more related to communication for development programming, such as radio dramas aimed at educating about HIV/AIDS. In terms of media development, some examples of projects run by BBC World Service Trust are:[i]

- in the Middle East and North Africa, the Media Dialogue Programme supporting the sustained development of journalism standards through training workshops and debates

- strengthening state broadcasting with a public-service remit in Angola, Uganda and Sierra Leone (from the Governance and Transparency Fund)

- in Southern Iraq, support to Al-Mirbad, an Iraqi-led and produced regional, independent television and radio station

- online journalism training combined with face-to-face training, through iLearn for journalists in India, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka

- in Afghanistan, election coverage training for 700 journalists[135]

Other parts of DFID fund media work, too. These include the African Conflict

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[i] Please note that not all of these projects are necessarily DFID-funded.

Prevention Pool from which grants to peace-building radio such as in Darfur and Northern Uganda have been funded in the past.[136] Other mechanisms include the Civil Society Challenge Fund for relatively small grants to NGOs and the larger Partnership Program Arrangement, from which the media and communications work of Panos London and the wider Panos network receive a significant annual sum—over $2 million (£1 million).

The way media development is funded within DFID is not straightforward, and even less so now than in previous years, when an information and communication for development team existed. This team was disbanded in 2006 in favor of the disparate organizational structure that exists today. But that does not mean that overall funding for media development has necessarily been reduced. Indeed, DFID's articulation of the need for media support, particularly in the context of good governance, is strong, and a number of big commitments to media projects seem to support this assertion. The most recent White Paper[137] commits DFID to continue funding the media sector as part of efforts to promote accountability:

> The UK will commit to setting aside an amount equivalent to at least 5 percent of its budget support funds to strengthen mechanisms for making states more accountable to their citizens. This will ensure that citizens groups, local media, parliaments, audit bodies and others are able to monitor how governments use these resources.[138]

Although DFID is the main aid donor in the UK, Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Office plays a substantial role in media support through its annual grant to the BBC World Service which amounted to $405 million in 2007-08, projected to rise in 2010-11 to $436 million.[139]

European Commission

The European Commission (EC) is the single largest source of funding for media assistance at the outside the USA. But its structure and funding mechanisms are famously complex and it is therefore impossible, without devoting much more research time, to give an accurate figure as to how much the EC spends on the media and communications sector.[140]

EU project spending in developing countries is mainly done through EuropeAid, formerly known as AIDCO, whose mission is to implement the EC's external aid instruments, which are funded by the European Community budget and the European Development Fund. While the Directorate-General for External Relations (and the Directorate-General for Development) are responsible for defining the strategies, general policies, and programming of external assistance, the EuropeAid Co-operation Office is responsible for the management of what is known as the project cycle—from identification to final project evaluation.

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Two commissioners, one for Development and one for External Relations, share responsibility for EuropeAid. The Directorate for Communication in the EU is entirely focused on press relations and does not deal with media development projects. The Directorate-General for Development also has an information and communication unit. Its expenditures are almost exclusively within the European Union on development awareness, raising, development education and promotional activities relating to countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific region.

The directorate has recently become more involved in media development initiatives. A notable partnership has been established with the Africa Union Commission (AUC), and a Media and Development Forum was launched in Ouagadougou in September 2008. This produced a joint AUC-EU roadmap for action, outlining a program of short-term objectives including the setting up of a Pan-African Media Observatory, the elaboration of a charter on the rights and duties of the media and the creation and regeneration of a pan-African portal for all media—all with a one-year start-up budget of $220,000 (€150,000).[141] It must be noted that the media observatory idea has been subject to some opposition from media freedom organizations,[142] which renders its future somewhat uncertain.

As well as the study already commissioned on media in Africa, sources within the EC said that the development directorate has also commissioned a study on governance in Africa, which will include research on media, for the Joint European Africa Strategy on Governance. Furthermore, in early 2009, the development directorate issued a note to all EU delegations dealing with Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific region around the world urging the promotion of media development at the country level. It is also integrating media and development as a theme in its series of "Development Days," which are annual policy forums that bring together heads of state, members of parliament, agencies, and NGOs to discuss global development challenges.[143] Thus, there seem to be clear signs that the EU is currently taking media and communications more seriously than in the past.

There seem to be clear signs that the EU is currently taking media and communications more seriously than in the past.

The greatest spending on media projects within the EC lies within EuropeAid, which has many thematic programs and grant-making mechanisms, such as "civil society and local authorities," "democracy and human rights," "health," and "election support." Under each of these themes there are sub-sectors, in which media projects are found. For example, under the "civil society and authorities" theme, there are grants given under the heading of "non state actors,"' for 2008 listed 13 media projects amounting to a total of $5.6 million (€3.8 million). These included:

- Central African Republic—Radio France Internationale: Democracy on the Airwaves $536,000 (€365,000)

- Central African Republic—Panos Association: Project to Support Media in CAR
  $536,000 (€365,104)

- Angola—The BBC World Service Trust: Building the capacity of Radio Ecclesia to promote dialogue between NSAs and Local Authorities in Luanda
  $1.2 million (€800,000)

- Rwanda—Internews Europe Association: Reporting for a better future: building professional media for media for health
  $694,000 (€472,055)

- Vanuatu—Transparency International: Developing ethics and citizenship in Vanuatu through and with the media
  $104,000 (€70,545).

UNESCO

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is a vast and important source of policy documents, training materials, and research reports on information and media. It is not one of the biggest donors in the media sector, but it's funding seems to be growing. In their 2005 paper, Becker and Vlad put UNESCO's annual media assistance budget at $16 million for 2003. UNESCO's proposed media budget for 2010-11 is about $33 million—$13.1 million for activity costs and $20 million for staff costs.[144] These figures are for activities falling under the following headings:

- Promoting freedom of expression and access to information

- Strengthening free, independent, and pluralistic media and communication for sustainable development

- Fostering universal access to information and knowledge and the development of "infostructures."

(N.B. UNESCO's proposed total budget for all its educational, cultural and scientific activities for the two year period 2010-11 is $671 million.)

UNESCO regards itself not only a funder of media work but as a "thought-leader." As Mirta Lourenco, chief of the media capacity-building section, emphasized: "There is also work to be done upstream, normative action, concepts, intellectual work, promoting exchange of information and the debates on the various challenges, etc., in addition to the technical support."[145] An example of this thought-leadership has been the publication of the useful *Media development indicators: a framework for assessing media development* by Andrew Puddephatt in 2008.[146]

International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC)

The IPDC is a subsection of UNESCO and is "designed to mobilize the international community to discuss and promote media development in developing countries."[147]

According to the IPDC, its efforts "have had an important impact on a broad range of fields covering, among others, the promotion of media independence and pluralism, development of community media, radio and television organizations, modernization of national and regional news agencies, and training of media professionals."[148]

Since its inception in 1981, the IPDC has raised about $93 million for more than 1,100 projects in 139 developing countries and countries in transition. IPDC's funding is channeled to electronic and print media projects that respond to promotion of freedom of expression and media pluralism, development of community media, human resource development, and promotion of international partnerships.[149] Although relatively small, IPDC seems to have a growing number of governmental donors—currently 55 compared with 25 in 2007[150]—and it is the only multilateral agency devoted exclusively to media development. Some large NGO implementers in the media development field (Internews, for example) regard IPDC grants as too small and the grant-making procedure overly lengthy. But many other NGOs find it useful. According to UNESCO,

> IPDC will continue to play an important role in UNESCO's strategy to develop free, pluralistic and independent media in the developing countries with particular emphasis on Africa, the least developed countries (LDCs), Small Island Developing States (SIDS) and countries in conflict and post-conflict situations. Main strategic elements of action in this regard will be to reinforce partnerships and international cooperation to support media development based on the IPDC endorsed media development indicators.[151]

The IPDC carries out its mandate through total or partial funding of a number of projects that are approved annually by the Bureau of the Intergovernmental Council. IPCD's overall budget 2008 was $1.83 million and in 2009 was $1.95 million.[152]

United Nations Development Programme and UN Democracy Fund

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) established the Oslo Governance Center (OGC) in Norway in 2002 as part of UNDP's global policy network for democratic governance.

Two examples of recent UNDP media-related projects

Peru	*Medios de Comunicación y Democracia*	These projects propose to promote media responsibilities well as ethical values and practices among the press, through a series of activities at a national and international level with the objective of promoting an independent and transparent media, strengthening freedom of the press and expression, contributing to the recognition of citizens right to public information and transparency in public affairs thus ultimately contributing to strengthening democratic governance and institutions in Peru. The project will be developed during April 2007 to July 2008. The total budget is $126,270.
Indonesia	*School for Broadcast Media*	The project aims to contribute to developing the standards of professionalism in the broadcast media. Increased professionalism will encourage a greater sense of responsibility among the media and their public. The project includes the establishment of a broadcast media centre that will link closely to the media industry and media professional associations to guarantee both quality and relevance of training as well as recognition and certification of training undertaken. This 27 month-project started on 1 June 2005. The project total budget is $2,486,272.

According to its Web site, "The overarching purpose of the work of the OGC is to position UNDP as a champion of democratic governance, both as an end in itself, and as a means to achieve the Millennium Development Goals."[153] Its work— particularly the various guides, practice notes, and indicators it has published—has helped articulate and make the case for the key role of the media in the democratization process and has pushed media up UNDP's own agenda.[154] However, in general, UNDP seems to have a diminishing commitment to media issues—the agency no longer has a media advisor in its Democratic Governance Unit in New York.

In 2008, the OGC's objective in terms of its communications work was "to contribute to policy development through the updating and promotion of A2I [Access to Information] resources, to contribute to the community of communication practitioners through support to the Communication Initiative, and to maintain UNDP's place as a leader in A2I by taking a leadership role at the 11th Inter-Agency UN Communication for Development Roundtable."[155] This roundtable took place in March 2009, co-hosted by UNDP and the World Bank, on the theme "Moving C4D up the International Development Agenda: Demonstrating Impact and Positioning Institutionally."

One example of the OGC's work is a two-year UN Democracy Fund-supported pilot project to conduct communication and information needs assessments in five "Least Developed Countries," developing appropriate methodology and tools. The project focuses on how to secure the necessary participation, ownership, and accountability to achieve the Millennium Development Goals through developing media strategies in support of vulnerable groups.[156]

The OGC has done some work to count and analyze UNDP's own "Access to Information" programs and has concluded that UNDP "is currently supporting 279 A2I related projects in 60 countries." However, this information is not up to date, as a UNDP staff member said that "we are no longer updating the database on UNDP's Access to Information projects. The information for the database was collected in 2006 for the 2007 reporting period."[157] It was also not possible to obtain an overall figure for the value of all these projects.

The analysis that was done in detail was a UNDP Media Development Survey covering 2006-7 and identified and described 32 media- and communications-related projects undertaken by UNDP country offices around the world.[158] It is not an exhaustive list, but it gives some indication of the type and scale of support that UNDP is giving to the media sector. On the facing page are just two examples from that analysis:

The UN Democracy Fund was set up in 2005, and began its operations early in 2006. As part of its work to "support initial democratic process through financial and technical assistance" it aims to support "the development of pluralistic media."[159] About 83 projects with a value of $24 million were financed from this fund in 2008.[160]

Some of these were media related, such as a community radio network in Ghana, support to journalists' rights groups in Sierra Leone, monitoring media during elections in Latin America and Caribbean, a grant to IREX for work in Albania, and a grant to the Global Forum for Media Development for its gathering in Athens in December 2008.

Appendix 1: OECD figures on Media Assistance

The OECD monitors the official development assistance of all Development Assistance Committee (DAC) countries[ii] and provided the following figures on communications assistance globally for 2005 to 2007. These figures show aid disbursements in U.S. dollars comparing all DAC countries and they also show disbursements on communications as a percentage of countries' total annual ODA. It is important to note that DAC figures include loan aid as part of total bilateral aid.

The OECD provided a breakdown of aid disbursements on communications in the following four categories: communications policy; telecommunications, media (radio/television/print); and ICT. However, these figures need to be treated only as indications, as there are some problems with them, as discussed below.

The following table shows ODA by DAC countries for the four communications sectors of communications policy, telecommunications, media (radio, television, and print), and ICT from 2005 to 2007.

Table 1: Official Development Assistance for Communications Policy, Telecommunications, Media, and ICT:[161]

	USD millions	USD millions	USD millions
	Year		
	2005	2006	2007
Australia	1.17	4.75	4.35
Austria	0.03	1.15	0.71
Belgium	6.87	2.63	1.51
Canada	16.08	17.62	23.53
Denmark	6.18	8.32	6.29
Finland	0.23	3.54	3.93
France	7.97	7.21	13.19
Germany	14.68	35.72	7.00
Greece	1.09	0.28	0.23
Ireland	1.13	0.19	0.51
Italy	5.70	4.70	9.67
Japan	84.66	75.99	80.74
Luxembourg	0.01	N/A	0.02
Netherlands	15.38	16.83	25.66
New Zealand	0.01	0.06	0.28
Norway	3.01	10.36	4.37
Portugal	1.37	3.53	3.84
Spain	6.97	7.21	13.42
Sweden	9.25	8.46	8.46
Switzerland	6.98	1.84	1.75
United Kingdom	16.62	23.52	21.37
United States	233.12	91.28	36.94
TOTAL	**438.49**	**325.18**	**267.78**

[ii] The OECD's Development Assistance Committee is a forum for selected member states to discuss issues surrounding aid, development and poverty reduction in developing countries. It is comprised of 22 member-states plus the European Commission.

This data indicates that global development assistance (at least by DAC countries) for communications decreased over the period from $438.49 million in 2005 to just $267.78 million in 2007. However, this seems to be attributable to a decrease in funding for the telecommunications and communications policy sectors during this period, and not to a decrease in funding to media.

According to the OECD, donor assistance to the media sector is increasing—the data for media funding between 2005 and 2007 (the most recent figures available).

The following table shows DAC countries' assistance to radio, television, and print media from 2005 through 2007, an increase from a total of $47.89 million in 2005 to a total of $81.68 million in 2007. It is difficult to define what form this assistance takes as it is not clear how the OECD itself defines these categories.

Table 2: Official Development Assistance for Radio, Television, and Print Media

	USD millions	USD millions	USD millions
	Year		
	2005	2006	2007
Australia	0.10	0.45	1.49
Austria	N/A	0.08	0.07
Belgium	1.32	1.34	0.49
Canada	0.33	0.64	0.57
Denmark	0.39	0.08	1.32
Finland	N/A	0.03	0.57
France	5.97	5.26	4.16
Germany	11.60	5.76	1.66
Greece	N/A	N/A	0.04
Ireland	0.04	0.02	0.14
Italy	N/A	0.85	0.16
Japan	16.43	39.22	45.74
Netherlands	6.46	6.50	11.26
New Zealand	N/A	0.04	0.26
Norway	2.34	1.61	1.41
Portugal	0.44	2.61	3.18
Spain	0.53	3.05	6.68
Sweden	0.13	0.98	0.98
United Kingdom	1.81	0.36	0.11
United States	0.00	0.23	1.40
TOTAL	**47.89**	**69.10**	**81.68**

In order to understand these figures as a breakdown of countries' total aid giving, the following tables show total aid disbursements over the same period (2005-2007) by DAC countries and the share (percentage) of total ODA that countries spent on communications (all four categories).

Table 3: Communications Funding as a Percentage of Total Official Development Assistance

	Total bilateral disbursements in USD millions				Aid to **Communications** as share of total bilateral disbursements		
	2005	2006	2007		2005	2006	2007
Australia	1,440	1,758	2,268		0.08%	0.27%	0.19%
Austria	1,243	1,103	1,352		0.00%	0.10%	0.05%
Belgium	1,329	1,427	1,319		0.52%	0.18%	0.11%
Canada	1,910	1,724	2,037		0.84%	1.02%	1.16%
Denmark	785	1,056	1,443		0.79%	0.79%	0.44%
Finland	N/A	468	584		N/A	0.75%	0.67%
France	10,020	8,741	7,625		0.08%	0.08%	0.17%
Germany	9,115	8,649	9,347		0.16%	0.41%	0.07%
Greece	207	197	248		0.53%	0.14%	0.09%
Ireland	483	633	826		0.23%	0.03%	0.06%
Italy	2,372	2,347	1,570		0.24%	0.20%	0.62%
Japan	15,067	12,888	11,464		0.56%	0.59%	0.70%
Luxembourg	219	198	253		0.00%	0.00%	0.01%
Netherlands	3,872	4,720	5,039		0.40%	0.36%	0.51%
New Zealand	217	197	238		0.00%	0.03%	0.12%
Norway	2,047	2,203	2,883		0.15%	0.47%	0.15%
Portugal	265	216	277		0.52%	1.63%	1.39%
Spain	1,981	2,287	3,545		0.35%	0.32%	0.38%
Sweden	1,914	2,822	2,924		0.48%	0.30%	0.29%
Switzerland	1,477	1,265	1,280		0.47%	0.15%	0.14%
United Kingdom	7,186	8,259	7,357		0.23%	0.28%	0.29%
United States	26,381	22,145	19,795		0.88%	0.41%	0.19%
DAC countries total	**89,539**	**85,302**	**83,673**		**0.49%**	**0.38%**	**0.32%**

The following table shows total aid disbursements over the same period (2005-2007) by DAC countries and the share of total ODA that countries spent on media (radio/television/print media):

Table 4: Media (Radio/Television/Print) Funding as a Percentage of Total Official Development Assistance:

	Total bilateral disbursements of ODA				Aid to **Media** as share of total bilateral disbursements of ODA		
	USD millions	USD millions	USD millions		USD millions	USD millions	USD millions
	2005	2006	2007		2005	2006	2007
Australia	1,440	1,758	2,268		0.01%	0.03%	0.07%
Austria	1,243	1,103	1,352		0.00%	0.01%	0.01%
Belgium	1,329	1,427	1,319		0.10%	0.09%	0.04%
Canada	1,910	1,724	2,037		0.02%	0.04%	0.03%
Denmark	785	1,056	1,443		0.05%	0.01%	0.09%
Finland	n.a.	468	584		n.a.	0.01%	0.10%
France	10,020	8,741	7,625		0.06%	0.06%	0.05%
Germany	9,115	8,649	9,347		0.13%	0.07%	0.02%
Greece	207	197	248		0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
Ireland	483	633	826		0.01%	0.00%	0.02%
Italy	2,372	2,347	1,570		0.00%	0.04%	0.01%
Japan	15,067	12,888	11,464		0.11%	0.30%	0.40%
Netherlands	3,872	4,720	5,039		0.17%	0.14%	0.22%
New Zealand	217	197	238		0.00%	0.02%	0.11%
Norway	2,047	2,203	2,883		0.11%	0.07%	0.05%
Portugal	265	216	277		0.17%	1.21%	1.15%
Spain	1,981	2,287	3,545		0.03%	0.13%	0.19%
Sweden	1,914	2,822	2,924		0.01%	0.03%	0.03%
United Kingdom	7,186	8,259	7,357		0.03%	0.00%	0.00%
United States	26,381	22,145	19,795		0.00%	0.00%	0.01%
Total DAC countries	**89,539**	**85,302**	**83,673**		**0.05%**	**0.08%**	**0.10%**

However, as noted above, these figures need to be treated with great caution. Firstly, it is not known what projects each country counts when it reports to the OECD on its media aid figures. For example, the author knows from personal experience that in 2007 the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) spent substantially more in just one country (the Democratic Republic of the Congo) on media development than the global total of $0.11 million indicated by the OECD in Table 2. A representative of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) was also shown the above figures and remarked that they probably did not reflect all the funds Sweden spends on media under the heading of "culture;" sources in Germany enumerated various media initiatives that did not seem to have

been counted either. Furthermore, when Japan reports having spent $45.74 million in 2007 on radio, television, and print media, it is not clear what this spending actually consists of; but since a large proportion of Japanese aid is in the form of loans, it is probably largely loan aid for capital investment in media infrastructure, as opposed to running costs or other support such as training for journalists. Therefore, these OECD figures are probably substantially inaccurate, or at any rate do not reflect the full picture.

Appendix 2: Persons Consulted

The author would like to acknowledge the help and insights of the following people:

Emily Bishop
Program Officer
International Development Research Centre

Owen Blackburn
Official
Irish Aid

Isabelle Bourgeault-Tassé
Program Officer
International Development Research Centre

Miguel Castro
Special Projects Manager
Open Society Media Program

Christina Dahlman
Policy Specialist
Department for Empowerment, Democracy, Human Rights and Gender Equality
Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

John Davison
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Simon Davison
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James Deane
Head of Policy Development
BBC World Service Trust

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Francophonie—Développement durable
Wallonie—Bruxelles International (WBI)

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Ivar Evensmo
Senior Adviser for Media and Civil Society, Civil Society Department
Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD)

Frances Fortune
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Search for Common Ground, Sierra Leone

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Martine van Wassenhove
EuropeAid Cooperation Officer
European Commission

Armorer Wason
Head of Media Development Programme
Panos London

Marc Van Wymeersch
Foreign Affairs Ambassador
Belgian Development Cooperation (DGDC)

Appendix 3: Methodology

The following e-mail was the basic set of questions the author used as an initial approach to donor representatives. In most cases this resulted in an exchange of correspondence which elicited more detail.

Dear …………..

Your name was passed on to me by ……..

I am a researcher, contracted to do a study for the Center for International Media Assistance of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) which is attempting to assess the global levels of funding for media sector support in the developing world. At present the only estimate we have puts the total amount spent on media assistance programmes by donors and funders outside the US at $1billion a year (USA : $142m) - but that was back in 2005 and was based on 2003/4 figures (Becker, L. and Vlad, T. 2005)*. I am writing to you today to request some details about the level of spending that your Ministry/Organisation/Department is devoting to the media sector - that is developing a free and balanced media in developing countries. I would be grateful if you would kindly answer these 5 questions below, or pass them on to whoever is best placed to do so:

1. Roughly how much money did your Ministry put into assisting the media sector globally in 2008 and/or 2009? (this can include all projects related to training journalists, supporting capital or running costs to radio, TV and print media, ICTs, broadcast legislation, support to freedom of the press and rights organisations etc.).

2. What was the relative share in Africa/Asia/Latin America/Transitional economies/other regions?

3. Comparing 2008 with previous years, is media assistance within your Ministry increasing or decreasing year on year?

4. Is your international media assistance likely to increase or decrease over the coming 3-5 years?

5. What would you say is your Ministry's main rationale for supporting media? Poverty-reduction? Promoting accountability/good governance? Rights perspective? Peace-building? As a means to convey behaviour-change messages? All of these? Other?

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Dr. Mary Myers
Development Communications Consultant

Appendix 4: Exchange Rates

Many of the figures provided to the author for this report were in local currencies. These numbers were converted to US Dollars for consistency throughout the report. For these conversions, the average exchange rate for the year in question was used. Numbers were often rounded and do not represent exact funding figures. The source of these exchange rates is Forex Trading, "FXAverage—Historical Currency Averages," Oanda.com, http://www.oanda.com/convert/fxaverage.

The following tables represent the exchange rates used throughout the report:

Australian Dollar-USD Exchange Rate

2005	0.76233
2006	0.75312
2007	0.83852
2008	0.85242
*2009	0.77090

British Pound-USD Exchange Rates

2005	1.82025
2006	1.84243
2007	2.00128
2008	1.85455
*2009	1.55210

Canadian Dollar-USD Exchange Rates

1990	0.85699
1997	0.72227
1998	0.67477
2001	0.64576
2004	0.76974
2005	0.82579
2006	0.88160
2007	0.93516
2008	0.94354
*2009	0.86922

Chinese Yuan-USD Exchange Rate

2004	0.12069

Danish Kroner-USD Exchange Rate

*2009	0.18529

Euro-USD Exchange Rates

2000	0.92437
2001	0.89610
2002	0.94550
2003	1.13165
2004	1.24346
2005	1.24502
2006	1.25583
2007	1.37035
2008	1.47092
*2009	1.37998

German Marks-USD Exchange Rate[iii]

1990	0.62029

Japanese Yen-USD Exchange Rate

2007	0.00850

Norwegian Kroner-USD Exchange Rate

*2009	0.15693

Swedish Krona-USD Exchange Rate

*2009	0.12962

[iii] Note that the 1980 exchange rate was unavailable for German Marks.

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Center for International Media Assistance

Advisory Council
for the
Center for International Media Assistance

CIMA Center for International Media Assistance

NED

National Endowment for Democracy

Supporting freedom around the world