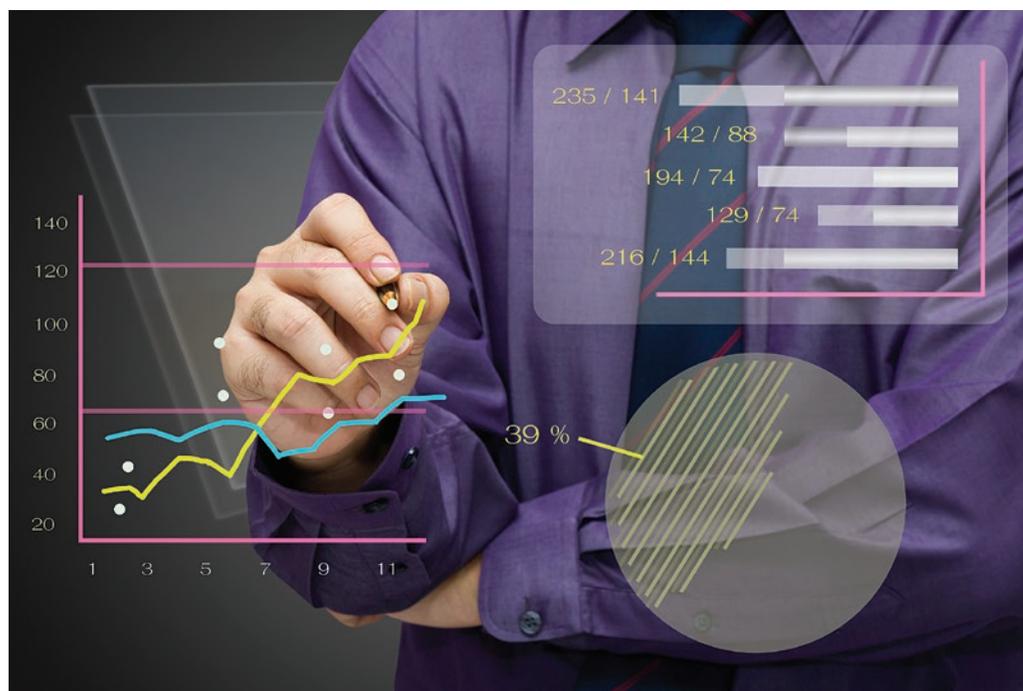
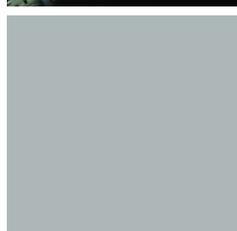
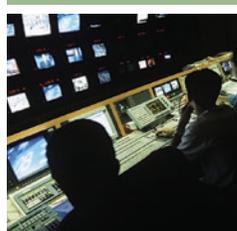
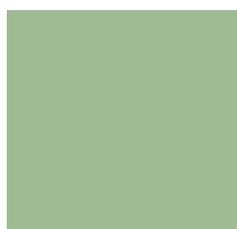


Official Development Assistance for Media: Figures and Findings

A Report by CIMA and the OECD

BY EDUARDO GONZÁLEZ CAUHAPÉ-CAZAUX and SHANTHI KALATHIL

March 2015





ABOUT CIMA

The **Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA)**, at the National Endowment for Democracy, works to strengthen the support, raise the visibility, and improve the effectiveness of independent media development throughout the world. The center provides information, builds networks, conducts research, and highlights the indispensable role independent media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies. An important aspect of CIMA's work is to research ways to attract additional U.S. private sector interest in and support for international media development.

CIMA convenes working groups, discussions, and panels on a variety of topics in the field of media development and assistance. The center also issues reports and recommendations based on working group discussions and other investigations. These reports aim to provide policymakers, as well as donors and practitioners, with ideas for bolstering the effectiveness of media assistance.

**Center for International Media Assistance
National Endowment for Democracy**

1025 F STREET, N.W., 8TH FLOOR
WASHINGTON, DC 20004
PHONE: (202) 378-9700
FAX: (202) 378-9407
EMAIL: CIMA@ned.org
URL: <http://cima.ned.org>

Mark Nelson
SENIOR DIRECTOR

**ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR THE CENTER FOR
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ASSISTANCE**

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Esther Dyson | Craig LaMay |
| Stephen Fuzesi, Jr. | Caroline Little |
| William A. Galston | William Orme |
| Suzanne Garment | Dale Peskin |
| Ellen Hume | Adam Clayton Powell III |
| Jerry Hyman | Monroe E. Price |
| Alex S. Jones | Rep. Adam Schiff |
| Shanthi Kalathil | Kurt Wimmer |
| Susan King | Richard Winfield |

Official Development Assistance for Media: Figures and Findings

A Report by CIMA and the OECD

MARCH 2015

CONTENTS

Introduction 2

History and Recent Trends 3

Official Development Assistance for Media Support 6

What the Data Tell Us 13

Conclusion 16

Annex 17

Endnotes 20



**National Endowment
for Democracy**
Supporting freedom around the world

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Eduardo González Cauhapé-Cazaux is the lead advisor on governance programs at the Spanish Development Cooperation Office in Guatemala as of April 2015. Before that, he worked as governance advisor at the Development Cooperation Directorate of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, on the Governance for Development and Peace Team. His main areas of focus are the promotion of aid effectiveness and better quality of governance support in development cooperation.

Previously, he worked at the Spanish Development Agency in Colombia and Guatemala, managing governance, peace, and security programs. He has also worked in Guatemala with the United Nations (UNDP and MINUGUA, the peacekeeping mission in Guatemala) working on the implementation of new penal procedures, and with Intermon-Oxfam in Barcelona. Gonzalez has published many articles and reports, most recently "Development Assistance Flows for Governance and Peace." He studied law at the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid and has a master's degree in Criminal Policy Models from the University Paris.



Shanthi Kalathil is an adviser, consultant and speaker on development, democratization and the role of technology in international affairs. She is co-author of *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule*, a widely cited work that examined the Internet and political transition in eight authoritarian contexts. Kalathil has extensive experience advising the U.S. government, international organizations, and nonprofits on the policy and programmatic aspects of supporting civil society, independent media, technology, transparency and accountability. Kalathil, a former staff reporter for the *Wall Street Journal Asia* based in Hong Kong, is a member of CIMA's Advisory Council. She lectures at Georgetown University on international relations in the information age.

Previously, Kalathil served as a senior democracy fellow at the U.S. Agency for International Development and as a non-resident associate at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and she has been a regular consultant for the World Bank, the Aspen Institute, and others. She has authored or edited numerous policy and scholarly publications, including *Diplomacy, Development and Security in the Information Age* (Georgetown University), and *Developing Independent Media as an Institution of Accountable Governance* (the World Bank).

Kalathil holds degrees from U.C. Berkeley and the London School of Economics and Political Science.



Introduction

In the wake of the horrific attacks on French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, freedom of expression has become a flashpoint in international debate. Many world leaders have expressed support for freedom of speech, and a lively global discussion about its role and limits has ensued.



In its 2014 press freedom report, Freedom House noted that despite positive developments in a number of countries, most notably in sub-Saharan Africa, global press freedom fell to its lowest level in over a decade.

Indeed, numbers indicate that it has been a dangerous period for freedom of expression. Reporters Without Borders says that 69 journalists, 11 media assistants, and 19 netizens and citizen journalists were killed in 2014 because of their activities as journalists.¹ Similarly, in its 2014 press freedom report, Freedom House noted that despite positive developments in a number of countries, most notably in sub-Saharan Africa, global press freedom fell to its lowest level in over a decade.²

As immediate outrage turns to calls for action to promote freedom of expression, it is useful to review exactly how governments of established industrialized democracies have already chosen to support this ideal around the world. One way to measure such support is by looking at how the member governments of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)—who have historically financed the bulk of such support—have provided to assistance to media.

This report examines the recent history of major donor support for media, using snapshots of recent OECD data to paint a picture of how industrialized democracies have sought to incorporate this issue within the broader development architecture. In general, while the major industrialized country bilateral donors in this area (as represented by the OECD) have devoted time and attention to media-related activities over the past several years, **there is still much work to be done with respect to boosting support for independent media**, which occupies a still-miniscule fraction of donor attention and funding. In particular, there remain challenges pertaining to donor awareness surrounding different forms of assistance to media, deepening media-related programs beyond journalism training, encouraging risk taking, and fostering institutional memory such that future initiatives are based on a foundation of evidence. Moreover, as the development landscape continues to shift to accommodate new players, existing donors must double down on their existing commitment, strongly making the case that freedom of expression and an independent media serve as fundamental building blocks for resilient, informed societies capable of holding governments to account.

History and Recent Trends

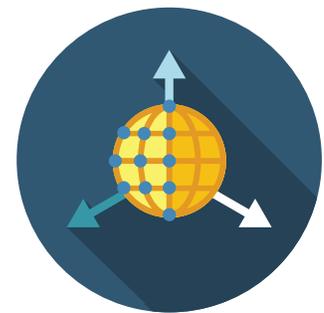
Support for independent media has been a piece, albeit a small one, of the development agenda for many years. In the mid-1980s, the international community began to explore media assistance as an element of democratization efforts, setting up some modest initiatives largely focused on Latin American countries.³ However, it was only after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s that media development really took off as a field, characterized by large and multi-pronged efforts in the countries of Eastern Europe.

These initiatives were largely driven by recipient countries and enjoyed strong donor support. These programs addressed fundamental issues such as legal reforms and journalism training, as well as complex processes such as fostering the economic sustainability of independent media. In parallel, public sector reform processes helped create the institutional elements needed for an independent media sector, such as transparency, access to information, monopoly regulations, governance of the broadcast spectrum, etc. As a result, many Eastern and Central European countries received significant public and private investment, and in many cases increasingly diverse and independent media sectors emerged.⁴

After the tragic events in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, which showed how media could play a role in instigating and directing violence, the international community began supporting media projects in countries torn apart by civil war. Countries such as Bosnia, Croatia, East Timor, Kosovo, and Serbia received significant media assistance, while more modest initiatives were also implemented in some African countries such as Burundi, Congo, and Liberia.⁵

In recent years, support for independent media has gained added prominence in the context of the emerging good governance agenda. An independent media sector is conceptualized as one part of a system of accountability that helps mitigate corruption and misrule.⁶ Indeed, the High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons of the Post-2015 Development Agenda called upon states to build “effective and accountable public institutions that support... freedom of speech and the media”.⁷ This has been interpreted as going beyond a generic call to respect freedom of expression: In addition to refraining from censorship or journalist intimidation, public institutions should play an active role in ensuring an enabling environment that facilitates independent media and ensures the right of citizens to freely express their opinions.

Despite these public calls for further attention to these issues, the field itself still faces significant challenges. A review of recent literature reveals some



Support for independent media has gained added prominence in the context of the emerging good governance agenda. An independent media sector is conceptualized as one part of a system of accountability that helps mitigate corruption and misrule.

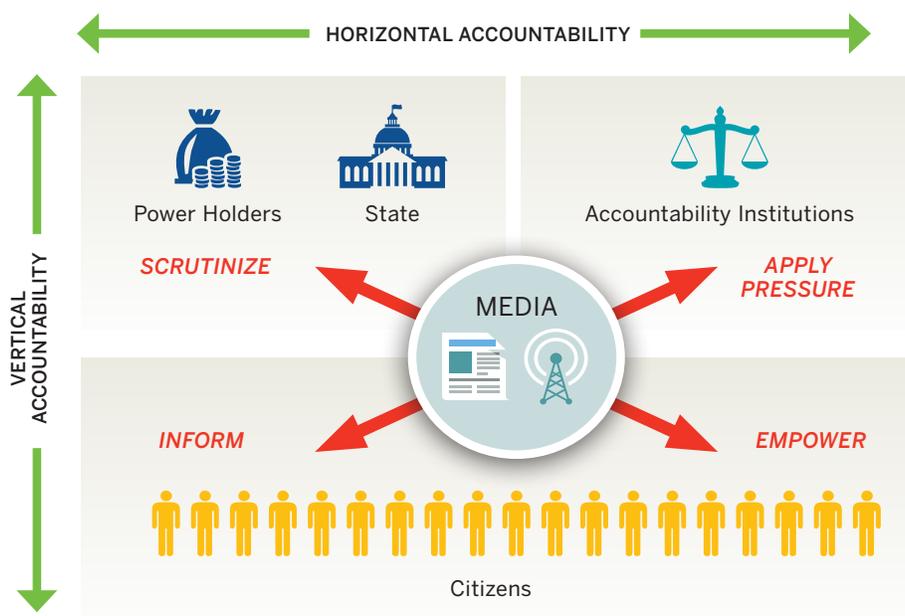
Because support for independent media tends to be even more politically sensitive than support for elections and/or political parties, it has a slim chance of making it into official consensus documents on strategic aid priorities.

current trends with respect to international development cooperation on independent media development:⁸

- There is some donor awareness on issues of ownership and alignment, but there is still much work to do.
- While capacity building for journalists is still relevant, other areas are also being emphasized, such as the enabling environment for independent media, investigative journalism, and promotion of media pluralism.
- Relatively few projects focus on the business side of independent media, and there has been limited support for journalism schools and education.
- There is still substantial risk aversion on the part of donors.
- Sustainability is a major challenge, with many donor-supported media outlets closing when funding ends.
- There is a lack of institutional memory on the part of donors, which in turn impedes results and evolution of the field.

At the same time, enshrining support to independent media at the center of the official development agenda has been more problematic. As noted by James Deane of BBC Media Action, solidifying a commitment to supporting independent media in official declarations of the development community can be quite difficult, as any consensus-requiring document can run afoul of political considerations. “The carefully calibrated language of the Busan outcome document is... focused on setting out

FIGURE 1: Media in the accountability framework



rules that can be agreed by the widest range of actors," wrote Deane in 2011 after the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan, Korea.⁹ Because support for independent media tends to be even more politically sensitive than support for elections and/or political parties, it has a slim chance of making it into official consensus documents on strategic aid priorities. Some countries actively oppose the inclusion of good governance as a development goal, much less independent media as a part of good governance. Even many bilateral donors that support independent media have not yet sufficiently developed the evidence base and the cadre of experts to make a convincing case for its inclusion in strategy documents.

Why is independent media's inclusion as an official element of the development agenda important, particularly at a time when the ICT revolution means populations around the world are gaining access to information as never before? As Deane notes, official consensus on the importance of support to independent media can help donors to commit financial resources; it helps donors strategically prioritize evidence-based support in a sustained way; and it also helps solidify emerging norms around the importance of freedom of expression and independent media.¹⁰ That said, even when consensus is difficult to achieve, there are ways to ensure that independent media remains a part of the global development agenda, including information-sharing among donors and support of unofficial norms that include independent media as a key part of development.

Official consensus on the importance of support to independent media:

- *Helps donors to commit financial resources;*
- *Helps donors strategically prioritize evidence-based support in a sustained way;*
- *Helps solidify emerging norms around the importance of freedom of expression and independent media.*

Does free media make governance better?

Are media and freedom of speech critical contributors to good governance? Mary Myers' stocktaking of academic work on this issue provides some answers.¹¹ Amartya Sen's oft-quoted (and misquoted) assertion that major famines have never taken place in a democratic country with a relatively free press has been presented as strong evidence of the correlation between a free press and governance performance. However, a free press is just one of numerous factors that must be in place in order to prevent famines; moreover, authoritarian governments may also be able to prevent famine.

Deepening the correlation between major famines and free press, Timothy Besley and Robin Burgess reported in 2000 how 16 Indian states responded over the years to food shortages. They conclude that Indian states with higher levels of media development are more responsive (on average) in terms

of public food distribution and calamity relief expenditure. Another case by Ritva Reinikka and Jakob Svensson in 2003 found a strong link between newspaper information campaigns and reduction in corruption in Uganda.

On a more macro level, Pippa Norris and Sina Odugbemi analyzed how freedom of the press relates to perceived control of corruption, finding that democratic countries with high degrees of press freedom have high perceived levels of corruption controls. In comparison, non-democratic countries with low scores in press freedom also score low on corruption control. However, there are important exceptions. While Singapore significantly limits press freedom, it is also perceived as having a low level of corruption. At the same time, Mali, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines had high levels of corruption despite scoring highly on free media indexes.



Official Development Assistance for Media Support

This report has captured a snapshot of data collected by the OECD on media support as part of Official Development Assistance (ODA). While not comprehensive, this snapshot may aid understanding of what, how and where media assistance is supported by OECD/DAC (Development Assistance Committee) countries.



Only 1 in 7

people live in countries where “coverage of political news is robust, the safety of journalists is guaranteed, state intrusion in media affairs is minimal, and the press is not subject to onerous legal or economic pressures.”

— FREEDOM HOUSE
2014 REPORT

The data presented here should also be seen in the context of an evolving landscape for media across the world. In many parts of the world, traditional media, particularly print media, are in crisis due to the expansion of the Internet. Many are struggling with finding successful business models for the digital age. That said, there is wide diversity across regions: In 2012, print circulation in North America was down by 6.6% over the last year and advertising revenues were down by 7.6%; in contrast, circulation in Asia increased by 1.2% and ad revenues were up by 3.6%.¹² In general, print media are doing better in emerging markets, where growing middle classes continue using offline media.¹³

At the same time, the global environment for independent media has been growing steadily worse. As Freedom House has noted in its 2014 report, global press freedom fell to its lowest level in more than a decade, with only one in seven people living in countries where “coverage of political news is robust, the safety of journalists is guaranteed, state intrusion in media affairs is minimal, and the press is not subject to onerous legal or economic pressures.”¹⁴ Paradoxically, Freedom House notes, the declining environment has occurred against a backdrop of increasingly diverse news sources and platforms.

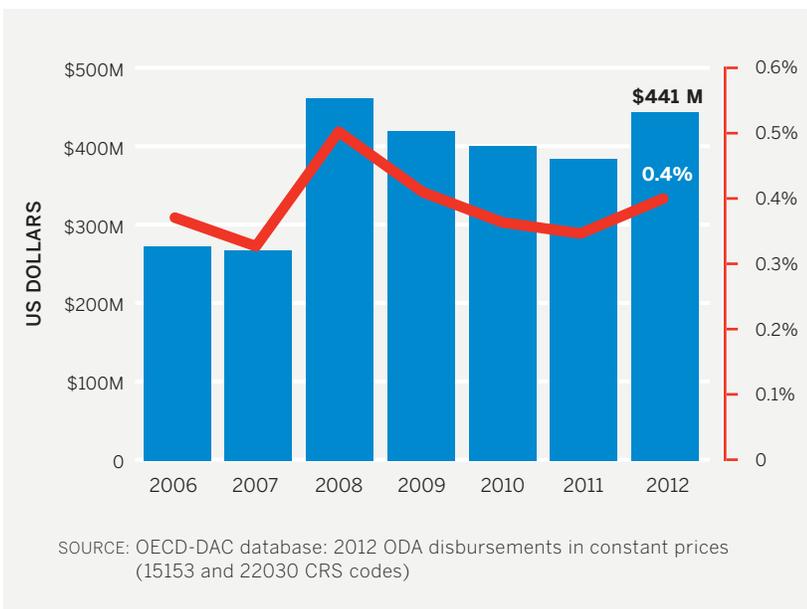
All of this indicates that independent media is in need of robust support, particularly as it struggles to find sustainable funding models in inhospitable political climates.

ODA DEVOTED TO MEDIA SUPPORT

All data presented here was adapted from the OECD/DAC database, based on the Creditor Reporting System (CRS) purpose codes.¹⁵ The authors have extrapolated from these codes and the basic information on projects included in the database to identify different streams of support for media. For more information, please see the Annex accompanying this report.

Below, we can see that the data collected shows that support for media represents only a small percentage of total sector allocable ODA.¹⁶ Approximate estimations of ODA devoted to media support averaged over the period from 2006 to 2012 show an annual disbursement of **U.S. \$377 million** on average (SEE FIGURE 2). In 2012, the disbursements were close to **U.S. \$441 million**, representing 0.40% of total sector allocable ODA. Again, these figures are for total media support; support for media development (mainly independent media) represents a smaller percentage.¹⁷

FIGURE 2: ODA allocated to media support in USD million (2006–2012) and percentage of total sector allocable ODA ¹⁸



As noted earlier, this data includes a wide variety of programs within the general category of media support. Four general categories have been identified for this study:

1. Media development projects: The main purpose of these programs is to strengthen the quality, sustainability and/or independence of the news media.¹⁹ Media are the main “direct” beneficiaries of these projects and frequently are directly involved in the execution as counterparts of the project.²⁰ Initiatives to promote freedom of information and to protect journalists have also been included under this category.

Media development at the DAC network on governance (GovNet)

Beyond data collection and analysis, the OECD/DAC also promotes better policies and practices to increase the effectiveness of development cooperation. In this sense, the DAC network on governance (GovNet) brings together governance practitioners and experts from development agencies from DAC countries and multilateral organizations. Within the framework of discussing best approaches for fostering the quality of governance reform, GovNet has explored how to integrate media support into development programs.

The network has selected the media, alongside parliaments and political parties, as one of three key strands requiring greater clarity and focus in donor support to domestic accountability. In 2011, GovNet discussed and approved the “Strategic Principles of Media Assistance,” in the context of a broader study on how domestic accountability should be supported.²¹ These principles could be summarized as follows:

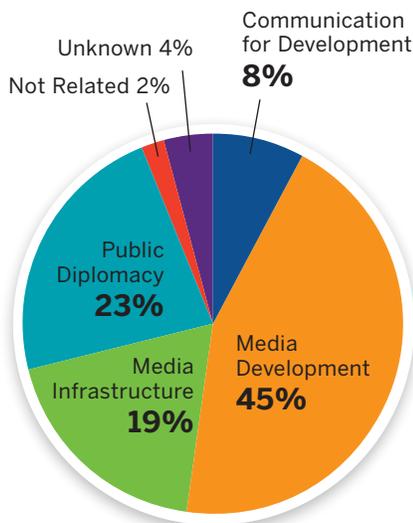
- Incorporate media indicators and audits into governance diagnostics and needs analysis.
- Cooperate with media development civil society organizations and determine media objectives and outcomes, not methodologies.
- Support independent, sustainable, and capable local media in developing countries.
- Support systematic research on the effects of media and information access on domestic accountability.
- Learn about and harness new technologies.

2. Communication for development is the employment of media and communication in order to promote or facilitate development goals. In these cases, media is more an instrument than a target, and is not considered the direct beneficiary (but could be an indirect one). It is important to note that communication for development projects could also be found under CRS purpose codes related to the development area the projects are promoting, such as health or education.

3. Public diplomacy is the promotion of a country's foreign policy interests (including aid development policy) by informing and influencing the foreign audience²² through the media. It could include the promotion of national language, culture, policies, and values. It contains also the promotion of the donor or multilateral development agency activities.

4. Media infrastructure: This includes support for broadcasting infrastructure, as well as provision of basic equipment. However, other ICT infrastructure programs are not included in this category.

FIGURE 3: Distribution of ODA flows to media support in 2012



SOURCE: OECD-DAC database (Disbursements 2012 for projects bigger than U.S. \$100,000 labeled with 15153 and 22030 CRS purpose code.)

In order to obtain a clearer picture of the kind of projects labelled under CRS purpose codes “media and free flow of information” (code 15153) and “Radio, television and print media” (22030), the authors reviewed 2012 data (SEE ANNEX 1). The results showed that 45% of the funds were allocated for media development initiatives, 8% for communication for development activities, 23% for public diplomacy and 19% for media infrastructure (SEE FIGURE 3).

The authors created this classification based on the information available in the OECD database, which in some cases was limited (thus leaving room for some inaccuracy about the nature of the projects). In addition, boundaries between these cases are not always clear. Projects are frequently hybrids (e.g., a project that supports community radios might include an information campaign on human rights and the promotion of some donor activity).

With these caveats, the classification of data here serves to highlight the different ways that donors may conceptualize “media intervention” and to underscore that not all work related to media is media development (and even less related to independent media development). In some cases, media-related interventions could explicitly work to counter the development and credibility of independent media. For example, initiatives focused on public diplomacy and communications for development, if not managed carefully, could compromise the independence of media organizations by giving the perception that media partners lack independence from the supporting development

agency. While public diplomacy is a legitimate activity, it should not be conflated with support for independent media promotion.

Of these ODA funds, around 82% were grants, 18% loans, and 1% equity investments. However, there are significant differences between both these codes. All the funds for “media and free flow of information” (15153) were grants, as opposed to only 25% of the funds for “Radio, television and print media” (22030). For this sector, loans represented 72% of the total funds (all of them for media infrastructure).

TABLE 1: Type of ODA flow to media support in 2012

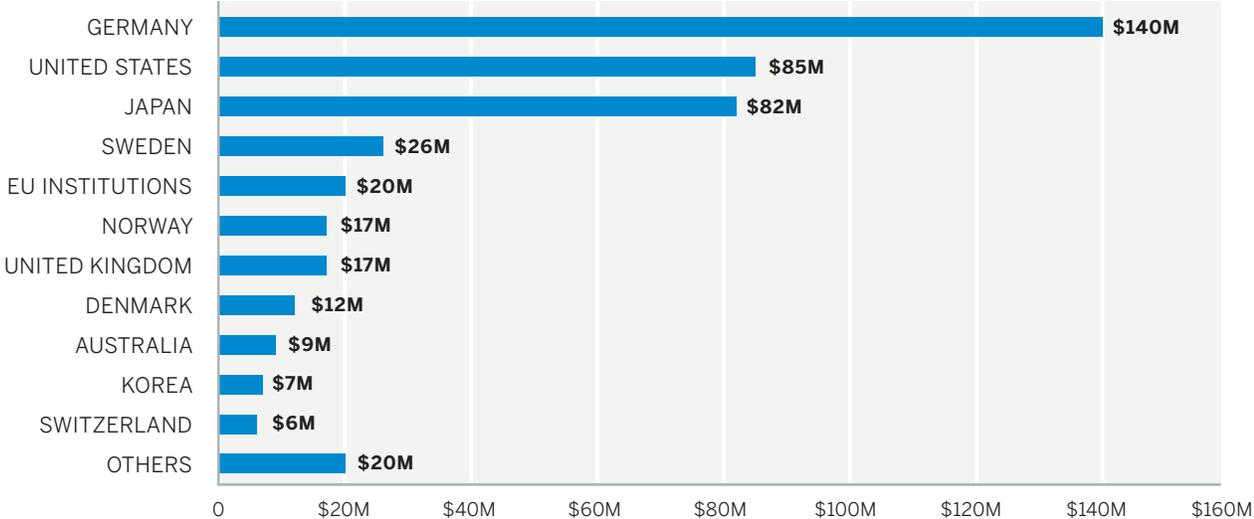
	15153	22030	GRAND TOTAL
Equity Investment	—	3%	1%
ODA Grants	100%	25%	82%
ODA Loans	—	72%	18%
GRAND TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: OECD-DAC database: 2012 ODA disbursements in constant prices (15153 and 22030 CRS codes)

MEDIA ASSISTANCE PROVIDERS

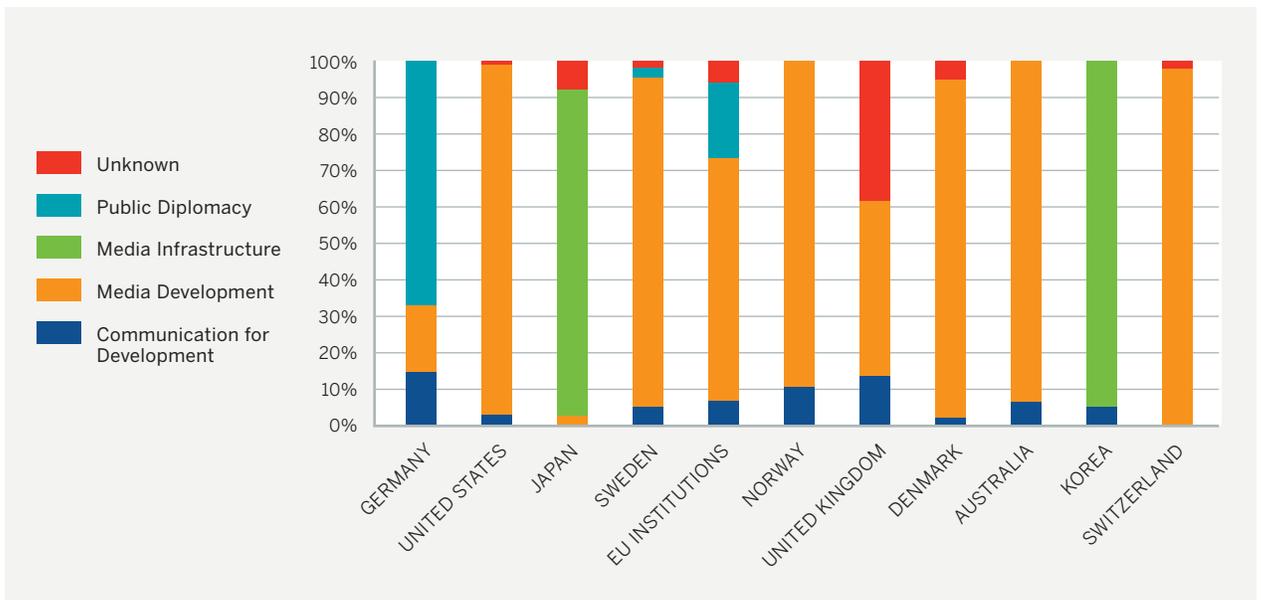
In 2012, the biggest providers of development cooperation for media assistance were Germany, the United States, Japan, Sweden, and the EU institutions (SEE FIGURE 4). The total number of countries providing media assistance is limited. The top five donors accounted for 80% of total ODA for media assistance.

FIGURE 4: Biggest media assistance providers in 2012 (USD millions)²³



However, while supporting media, not all the donors have the same priorities and do not follow the same strategies. A detailed analysis of the type of project supported, based on the categories used in this report, reveals a big disparity among the top 10 donors (SEE FIGURE 5). Japan and Korea have media infrastructure a priority, while Germany has invested strongly in public diplomacy. For the rest of the donors, the emphasis is mainly on media development. If we consider only this area of support, the United States provides the most aid by far.

FIGURE 5: Nature of media assistance provided by donor²⁴



Media assistance is also provided by a large group of foundations and philanthropic organizations. These include the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Independent Journalism Foundation, the John S. & James L. Knight Foundation, the Mac Arthur Foundation, the Markle Foundation, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Open Society Foundations.²⁵ Despite the importance of this support, there is no major evidence of collaborative work or coordination among foundations and development agencies in this area.

HOW IS MEDIA ASSISTANCE DISBURSED?

The majority of ODA for media assistance is channeled through the public sector, which includes public institutions from the development cooperation provider and the recipient country (56%; SEE FIGURE 3). More than half (53%) of these funds is managed by public institutions from the country of the ODA provider, while 37% is channeled through public institutions from the recipient country.²⁶

Both official and private donors frequently work with intermediary organizations, usually international NGOs or donor national NGOs, specialized in media assistance. Donors find it useful to work with such organizations because they provide knowledge, experience, and contacts in this area. Working through an NGO also helps defuse any diplomatic tensions generated by direct donor support to local media in developing countries. According to the OECD/DAC database, 30% of the disbursements for media assistance were channeled through donor-national and international NGOs in 2012 (SEE FIGURE 6). Major organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Internews, International Media Support, and IREX together represent 32% of these disbursements.

Unsurprisingly, the type of media assistance determines which entity manages the funds (SEE TABLE 4). Media infrastructure typically goes through the public sector (mainly from the recipient country), while most funds for public diplomacy are managed by public institutions of the provider country. When the main purpose of media assistance is media development, the most frequently used channel is international and local NGOs (70% of funds).

FIGURE 6: Channels to deliver ODA for media assistance (2012)²⁷

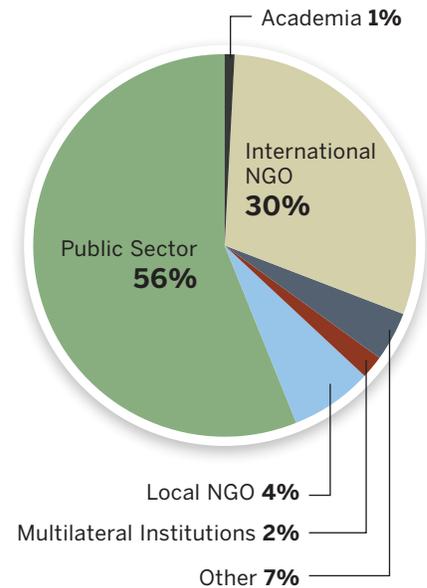


TABLE 2: Channel used to distribute ODA according type of media support (2012)²⁸

	COMMUNICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURE	PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	GRAND TOTAL
Academia	0%	2%	0%	1%	1%
International NGO	23%	61%	0%	0%	30%
Local NGO	2%	9%	0%	0%	4%
Multilateral institutions	7%	3%	0%	0%	2%
Other	5%	12%	0%	5%	7%
Public Sector	62%	13%	100%	95%	56%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

WHERE IS MEDIA ASSISTANCE PROVIDED?

Asia is by far the region to which more funds for media assistance were allocated in 2012, receiving 44% of total (SEE TABLE 5). However, it is important to note that a large part of these funds were loans to Vietnam (U.S. \$24 million) and China (U.S. \$53 million) to build infrastructure for public TV. If only grants are considered, Asia remains in first place (30%) but is closely followed by Africa (28%).

TABLE 3: Distribution of ODA for media support by regions in 2012²⁹

	COMMUNICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURE	PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	GRAND TOTAL
Africa	1%	16%	0%	6%	23%
Americas	0%	1%	0%	7%	8%
Asia	4%	15%	20%	5%	44%
Europe	0%	6%	0%	4%	10%
Oceania	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Unspecified	3%	7%	0%	3%	14%
GRAND TOTAL	8%	47%	20%	25%	100%

Reviewing ODA disbursement for media assistance in 2012 by countries, China and Vietnam are at the top of the table (TABLE 4) receiving 15% and 14% of total ODA for media support. This is due to loans mainly provided by Japan and Korea to both countries. What stands out is the importance of funds allocated to regional programs: Five of the top 10 recipients in the list are regional programs.

TABLE 4: Distribution of ODA for media support by country in 2012 (top 10)³⁰

% OF TOTAL	COUNTRY/REGION	COMMUNICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURE	PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	GRAND TOTAL
15%	China	—	3%	89%	7%	100%
14%	Bilateral, unspecified	24%	53%	—	23%	100%
7%	Vietnam	—	13%	87%	—	100%
6%	South America, regional	—	—	—	100%	100%
4%	Middle East, regional	59%	41%	—	—	100%
4%	Africa, regional	—	21%	—	79%	100%
3%	Afghanistan	4%	74%	—	22%	100%
3%	Ukraine	—	87%	—	13%	100%
2%	South of Sahara, regional	1%	24%	—	75%	100%
2%	Asia, regional	—	5%	—	95%	100%

What the Data Tell Us

The brief interpretations that follow are subject to the usual caveats: This data snapshot is meant to be just that, rather than a more sophisticated, multi-year presentation that would allow for deeper analysis. The figures used in this report are as reported using the DAC methodology, which was designed to allow comparisons from year-to-year and country-to-country. Yet this methodology may not include all sources of spending on media development.

For example, under the DAC system, U.S. spending in 2012 amounted to \$84 million. Under a different methodology that the State Department uses for its annual reports to CIMA, the figure was \$105.7 million, and even that figure leaves out media work performed by the U.S. military. Thus individual country data, complemented with qualitative evaluation, will also tell a more complete and precise story about how media support is conceived and executed. That said, a few interesting observations do emerge:

- ODA allocated to media support in 2012 (U.S. \$441 million) represents nearly 0.4% of total sector allocable ODA. Of that, 45% (or roughly \$198 million) is allocated to media development according to extrapolations made in this study.
- Overall, the total amount of ODA allocated media development (0.18%) represents a portion of a drop in the overall tide of development assistance from the world's major donors. This comes at a time when governance is being increasingly emphasized as a cornerstone of development by donors: In 2012, U.S. \$17.28 billion in ODA was allocated by DAC member countries and multilaterals toward governance and peace in developing countries, representing 15.7% of total sector-allocable ODA, the highest amount provided to any sector.³¹ The support to media and free flow of information (15153) represents only 1.9% of this amount, which could be considered limited support for an issue that is frequently described as a fundamental building block of open and democratic governance.
- In 2012, the biggest providers of media assistance were Germany, Japan, the United States, Sweden, and the EU institutions. Of these, countries chose different priorities. A significant percentage of German funds (67%) is dedicated to public diplomacy (even if some of these funds could also be classified as communication for development i.e., productions of Deutsche Welle), while 90% of the funds from Japan are allocated to media infrastructure. If only



support to media development is considered, the U.S. is leading (39% of total), followed by Germany (14%) and Sweden (12%). While support to international broadcasting can have important secondary impacts on the information environment in countries, the data suggest that media development per se often takes a back seat to other areas of media assistance.

- All of the funds for “media infrastructure” are loans, implying that they are disbursed in a form consistent with the model for general infrastructure loans. These types of media infrastructure loans typically (although not always) do not incorporate technical activities that help build support for independent media. The collective experience of the media development community has shown that the provision of media infrastructure, absent accompanying support for an enabling environment for independent media, does little on its own to improve the overarching media climate of a country, particularly with respect to press freedom.
- At first glance, more funds are allocated for projects in countries performing poorly on press freedom indices, which would suggest that funds are going where they are most needed. For example, using the RSF and Freedom House indices as general guides, eight of the top recipient countries of media assistance exhibit difficult conditions for freedom of expression: China, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Ukraine, South Sudan, Pakistan, DRC, and Zimbabwe. A closer look at the figures, however, shows that the bulk of media assistance being provided to China and Vietnam comes via infrastructure loans (from Japan and Korea); in contrast, in each country only a mere 3% and 13% of media assistance, respectively, is allocated for media development. For the remaining countries most of the funds are allocated for media development (74% for Afghanistan, 87% for Ukraine and 100% for the rest).
- While the data show that funding for communication for development is relatively low across the board compared to funding for media development, this is likely misleading. As noted earlier, communication for development projects may also be found under CRS purpose codes related to the development sector the projects are supporting, like health or education. Typically, donors do not always break out the communication aspect of projects within sectors, and so the true budget for communication for development remains embedded in sectoral work and thus hidden. Anecdotally, at least, it is generally thought among practitioners of media assistance that the true total amount dedicated to communication for development far exceeds that devoted to independent media

development: as noted in a CIMA report on U.S. government funding for independent media, communication for development spending “has eclipsed media development.”³²

- In 2012, 30% of the disbursements for media assistance were channeled through donor-national and international NGOs, with major U.S. organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy (where CIMA is situated), Internews, International Media Support and IREX together representing 32% of these disbursements. The donor preference for relying on specialized international organizations has been criticized, as it is argued this may inhibit donors from reaching out to and working with more localized, innovative actors in the field.³³ In 2012, funds directly allocated to local NGOs represented a mere 4% of total disbursements for media assistance. This low number may also be attributable to the fact that few smaller local organizations possess the requisite management capability and fiduciary capability to absorb large assistance flows. For their part, many international NGOs, including the NED, emphasize that they work with local partners on the ground, often strengthening their capacity while doing so.



Conclusion

Independent media is widely considered essential as a component of an open, inclusive, and well-governed society. Tellingly, while numerous world leaders have recently exhorted the importance of a free press, only a fraction of both total ODA and governance-related ODA finds its way toward support of media. If media and free flow for information is truly a fundamental building block of open and inclusive governance, its share of governance-related ODA—less than 2%—does not reflect this.



Political sensitivity cannot and should not mean that independent media should be overlooked when funding allocations are made, precisely when its importance to so many aspects of development is paramount.

Because media sits in such a unique position in each country—straddling economic, political, and social development—it can frequently be one of the thorniest issues to tackle. Many donors tend to shy away from any kind of support for media because it is seen as too sensitive, and indeed, many recipient countries are unwilling to allow donor involvement in their domestic media sectors. Yet political sensitivity cannot and should not mean that independent media should be overlooked when funding allocations are made, precisely when its importance to so many aspects of development is paramount.

That said, funding alone cannot sustain freedom of expression and/or an independent media sector. Funding is one node in a larger web involving international coordination, information sharing, prioritization, evidence collection, learning, and strategic planning. Moreover, the DAC member countries should be thinking of other ways to share knowledge—particularly facilitating South-South knowledge sharing.

This is particularly important in an era where the traditional North-to-South donor funding flow is evolving. With media moving rapidly into the digital space and developing countries playing a leading role in shaping the evolution of the Internet, the importance of issues such as freedom of expression and independent media in the developing world will only grow in importance. It is time for these issues to occupy the place on the development agenda that they deserve.

Annex

How media development is supported: Analysis of OECD/DAC database (2012 Snapshot)

INTRODUCTION

- There are no clear figures on global amounts for media development support in media development literature.
- Data obtained is generally based on the OECD/DAC Creditor Reporting System (CRS). Normally, the five following codes are identified as media development support:

Under the “Government and civil society” sector (151)

15153 Media and free flow of information

Under the “Communications” sector (220)

22010 Communications policy and administrative management

22020 Telecommunications

22030 Radio/television/print media

22040 Information and communication technology (ICT)

For 2012 the total amount of ODA disbursed under these categories from all donors recorded at the DAC database was U.S. \$959 million, distributed as it follows:

Communications policy and administrative management (22010)	99
Telecommunications (22020)	244
Radio/television/print media (22030)	108
Information and communication technology (22040)	175
Media and free flow of information (15153)	332
TOTAL	959

However, a relevant part of the disbursements coded under these categories could not be qualified as media support. To validate this presumption and to estimate which part of these flows could be qualified like that, ODA disbursements made in 2012 from all these categories were analyzed.

METHODOLOGY

The disbursements³⁴ done in 2012 under the mentioned CRS codes were made through 3,635 cases.³⁵ To facilitate the analysis, only disbursements equal to or greater than U.S. \$100,000 were considered. That reduced significantly the number of cases to be examined to 852 (23% of the cases), but still represented more than 93% of the total amount recorded.

	ALL		EQUAL OR BIGGER THAN 100,000 USD			
	TOTAL AMOUNT IN USD MILLION	# CASES	TOTAL AMOUNT IN USD MILLION	# CASES	% AMOUNT	% CASES
22010	99	578	88	136	89%	24%
22020	244	190	242	62	99%	33%
22030	108	321	102	69	94%	21%
22040	175	1550	150	166	86%	11%
15153	332	996	312	419	94%	42%
	959	3635	894	852	93%	23%

The DAC database contains some fields (name of the project, recipient name, short description, long description) that could provide some information about the nature of the project. Based on that, 852 cases were revised and labeled according the following categories:

- **Media development projects:** The main purpose of these projects or programs is to strengthen the quality, sustainability, and/or independence of the news media.³⁶ Media organizations are the main “direct” beneficiaries of these projects and frequently the counterparts.³⁷ Initiatives to promote freedom of information and to protect journalist have also been included under this label.
- **Communication for development** is the employment of media and communication in order to promote or facilitate development goals, for example, when media is used to organize health campaigns or to promote human rights. In these cases, media is more an instrument than a target and is not considered the direct beneficiary (but could be an indirect one). It is important to note that communication for development projects could also be found under CRS purpose codes related to the development area that the projects are promoting, such as health or education.
- **Public diplomacy** is the promotion of country’s foreign policy interests (including aid development policy) by informing and influencing the foreign audience³⁸ through the media. It could include the promotion of national language, culture, and values. It contains also the promotion of donor or multilateral development agency activities.
- **Media infrastructure:** This includes programs in which the main activity is to support building TV and radio stations building, improve broadcasting infrastructure, and provide basic equipment. However, other IT infrastructure IT programs are not included under this label.

- **Unknown:** The database does not give enough information to categorize the nature of the project.
- **Other:** The project is not directly related to media assistance. A wide variety of initiatives are included here: support to public administration on new technologies and/or e-government, infrastructure to expand Internet access, business promotion through ICT, promotion of research networks. It is important to consider that given the limited information available, classification could not be accurate in all the cases.

FINDINGS

- All the funds labeled as “telecommunications” and 99.8% of those labelled as “Information and communication technology” (22040) were considered as “unknown” or “other”.
- For the cases labeled as “communications policy and administration management” (code 22010), 97% of the funds were considered as “unknown” or “other”. The remaining 3% were distributed among projects on media development, communication for development and media infrastructure.
- More than three quarters (77%) of funds devoted to “radio/television/print media” were considered as “media infrastructure.” For the cases labeled with the CRS data code 22030 (Radio, TV and print media) the proportion is larger. Media development represented 84% of total.

	COMMUNICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURE	PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	NOT RELATED	UNKNOWN	TOTAL
Radio/television/print media	1%	9%	77%	1%	3%	10%	100%

- The majority of funds (54%) allocated for Media and free flow of information (15153) were oriented to media development, while 33% of them could be labelled as public diplomacy.

	COMMUNICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA DEVELOPMENT	MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURE	PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	NOT RELATED	UNKNOWN	TOTAL
Media and free flow of information	10%	54%	0%	33%	1%	2%	100%

- In conclusion, to obtain an approximate idea on how much ODA is devoted to media support, only funds labeled with the CRS codes “Radio/television and Print media” (22030) and “media and free flow for information” (15153) should be counted. Nevertheless, for more accurate results, research on a case by case basis would be needed.

Note: Disbursements recorded under the CRS data code 22020 (Telecommunications), 22040 (Information and communication technology -ICT) and 22010 (communications policy and administration management) were not considered for the rest of the study.

Endnotes

- ¹ <http://en.rsf.org/> "Journalists killed" includes only cases in which Reporters Without Borders has clearly established that the victim was killed because of his/her activities as a journalist. It does not include cases in which the motives were not related to the victim's work or in which a link has not yet been confirmed.
- ² Freedom House, "Freedom of the Press 2014." <https://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2014#.VMvNw8bov4k> Accessed 1/30/2015.
- ³ Krishna Kumar, "Promoting Independent Media: Strategies for Democracy Assistance" (Lynne Rienner Pub, 2006), p. 5
- ⁴ Mark Nelson and Tara Susman-Peña, "Rethinking Media Development", (Internews, 2012) http://www.internews.org/sites/default/files/resources/Internews_1-9_Rethinking_Media_Dev-2014-01.pdf, p. 12
- ⁵ Krishna Kumar, *Ibid*, p. 6
- ⁶ Shanthi Kalathil, "Developing Independent Media as an Institution of Accountable Governance: A How-to Guide." (The World Bank, 2011).
- ⁷ The Report of the High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, "A new Global Partnership" (United Nations, 2013) http://www.un.org/sg/management/pdf/HLP_P2015_Report.pdf, p. 9
- ⁸ EPRD, "Freedom of expression, media and digital communications: Key Issues 2012" (European Union, 2012); Tara Susman-Peña 2012, "Making Media Development More Effective" (CIMA, 2012); Saskia Veendorp, "Addressing the Capitalization Gap for Independent News Media" (WAN-IFRA, 2011).
- ⁹ James Deane, "The Costs and Benefits of Consensus: The Future of Aid Hangs in the Balance." Blog Post, The Communication Initiative. <http://www.comminit.com/media-development/content/costs-and-benefits-consensus-future-aid-hangs-balance> Accessed 1/30/15.
- ¹⁰ James Deane phone interview, 1/27/15.
- ¹¹ Information and quotes from this box are based on this review of academic studies on the link between media and good governance: Mary Myers, "Is There a Link between Media and Good Governance? What the Academics Say" (CIMA, 2012)
- ¹² <http://www.marketingcharts.com/wp/print/global-newspaper-circulation-and-advertising-trends-in-2012-30062/>
- ¹³ EPRD, *Ibid*, p. 8
- ¹⁴ Freedom House, *Ibid*.
- ¹⁵ The purpose code is a 5 digit code used for recording information on the purpose (sector of destination or other purpose) of individual aid activities. Purpose codes identify the specific area of the recipient's economic or social structure the transfer is intended to foster.
- ¹⁶ "As only a portion of aid can be allocated to sectors, when measuring shares of aid to specific sectors it is recommended to limit the denominator to aid that can be apportioned. Otherwise there is an implicit assumption that none of the aid unallocable by sector benefits the specific sectors under review (...). Contributions not subject to allocation include general budget support, actions related to debt, humanitarian aid and internal transactions in the donor country." (DAC Glossary of Key Terms and Concepts: http://www.oecd.org/dac/dac-glossary.htm#Sector_Aid). As a reference, in 2012 sector allocable ODA from DAC countries represented 72% of their total ODA.
- ¹⁷ These results are based on the estimation that all ODA allocated under the CRS purpose codes "media and free flow of information" (15153) and "Radio, television and print media" (22030) have to be considered media support. This is an acceptable proxy when a general overview of ODA volumes devoted to media across the years is needed, but further in depth project analysis should be done if more accurate information is required (see annex 1).
- ¹⁸ ODA disbursements in 2012 constant prices, for aid allocated under the 15153 and 22030 CRS codes.
- ¹⁹ Tara Susman-Peña, *Ibid*, p. 6.
- ²⁰ States could also be counterparts when, for example, support goes to public media or to reform legal system towards more press freedom.
- ²¹ OECD, "Accountability and Democratic Governance: Orientations and Principles for Development" (OECD, 2013) <http://www.oecd.org/dac/governance-peace/governance/docs/For%20WEB%20Accountability%20and%20democratic%20governance%20Orientations%20and%20principles%20for%20development.pdf>
- ²² Krishna Kumar, *Ibid*, p. 2–3
- ²³ Total 2012 ODA disbursements labelled with CRS codes 22030 and 15153. Source OECD/DAC database.
- ²⁴ 2012 disbursements equal or bigger than USD 100,000, from CRS codes 22030 and 15153. Programs labelled as "not related" were not counted here.
- ²⁵ Krishna Kumar, *Ibid*, p. 9
- ²⁶ For the remaining 10% available, information does not clarify if the public institution is from the ODA provider country or from the recipient country.
- ²⁷ 2012 disbursements equal or bigger than USD 100,000, from CRS codes 22030 and 15153. Programs labelled as "not related" were not counted here.

- ²⁸ 2012 disbursements equal or bigger than USD 100,000, from CRS codes 22030 and 15153. Programs labelled as “not related” or “unknown” were not counted here.
- ²⁹ 2012 disbursements equal or bigger than USD 100,000, from CRS codes 22030 and 15153. Programs labelled as “not related” or “unknown” were not counted here.
- ³⁰ 2012 disbursements equal or bigger than USD 100,000, from CRS codes 22030 and 15153. Programs labelled as “not related” or “unknown” were not counted here.
- ³¹ OECD “Development Assistance Flows for Governance and Peace,” (OECD, 2014), <http://www.oecd.org/dac/governance-peace/publications/documentuploads/Dev%20Assistance%20flows%20for%20gov%20and%20peace.pdf>, p. 1.
- ³² Peter Cary with Rosemary D’Amour, “U.S. Government Funding for Media: Trends and Strategies.” (CIMA, 2013), p. 8.
- ³³ EPRD, *Ibid*, p. 16.
- ³⁴ *The DAC database register commitments and disbursements: A donor announced in 2010 a 1 USD million program to be disbursed in 5 years (200.000 USD each year starting in 2010). In 2010 1 USD million will be recorded as commitment and 0.2 USD million as disbursement; in 2011 0.2 will be recorded as disbursement and none in commitment, and so on.*
- ³⁵ *Even if the data base uses here the term projects we prefer the term cases. Some of these cases represent the total disbursement for one project on one year, but sometimes a project could be divided in different cases. Grant or loan devolution could also be recorded here. Note that only cases with a disbursement bigger than zero in 2011 were counted here.*
- ³⁶ Tara Susman-Peña 2012, p. 6.
- ³⁷ States could also be counterparts when, for example, support goes to public media or to reform legal system towards more press freedom.
- ³⁸ Krishna Kumar, *Ibid*, p. 2–3.

Center for International Media Assistance

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY
1025 F STREET, N.W., 8TH FLOOR
WASHINGTON, DC 20004

PHONE: (202) 378-9700
EMAIL: CIMA@ned.org
URL: <http://cima.ned.org>

