

Evaluation of Visibility of EU external action

Final Report Volume 3 – Annexes Part 2

June 2012

Evaluation for the European Commission





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EU external action**

Final Report

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ACRONYMS

AAPs	Annual Action Plans
ACP	Africa Caribbean and Pacific countries
AENEAS	Financial assistance to third states for Migration and Asylum
AIDCO	EuropeAid Co-operation Office
AfDB	African Development Bank
ALA	Community financial instrument for support to Asia and Latin America
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
APF	Africa Peace Facility
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asia Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
AU	African Union
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CARDS	Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation
CARIFORUM	Forum of the Caribbean Countries
CCA	Climate Change Adaptation
CCI	Cross-Cutting Issue
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CENSOR	Climate variability and El Niño Southern Oscillation project
CEPs	Country Environmental Profiles
CFA	Comprehensive Framework of Action
CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
CIGEM	Information and Management Center on Migration
CIVCOM	Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management
CLARIS	Europe-South America Climate Research Network
CLARIS-LPB	Project aims at predicting the regional climate change impacts on La Plata Basin (LPB) in South America
CLIMAFRICA	Climate change predictions in Sub-Saharan Africa
CODEV	Committee on Development
COM	Commission Communication
COP	Conference of the Parties
CPF	Collaborative Partnership on Forests
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy

CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSP	Country Strategy Paper
DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the OECD
DCI	Development Cooperation Instrument
DEL	EU Delegations
DG	Directorate General
DG CLIMA	Directorate General for Climate Action
DG COMM	Directorate General for Communication
DG DEV	Directorate General for Development
DG ECFIN	Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs
DG ELARG	Directorate General for Enlargement
DG ENV	Directorate General for Environment
DG JHA	Directorate General for Justice And Home Affairs
DG JLS	Directorate General for Justice, Freedom and Security
DG REGIO	Directorate General for Regional Policy
DG RELEX	External Relations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EEAS	European External Action Service
EAC	East African Community
EC	European Community - European Commission (when referring to Lisbon)
ECA	Eastern Europe & Central Asia
ECB	European Central Bank
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Office
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community Of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EF	Energy Facility
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighborhood Partnership Instrument
ENRTP	Thematic Programme for the Environment and Sustainable management of Natural Resources
EP	European Parliament
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ERD	European Report on Development

EQs	Evaluation Questions
ERF	European Refugee Fund
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ETS	European Emissions Trading System
EU	European Union
EU ETS	EU Emissions Trading System
EULEX	EU Rule of Law Mission
EUroCLIMA	Climate change regional cooperation Programme
FCPF	Forest Carbon Partnership Facility
FIP	Forest Investment Program
FSTP	Food Security Thematic Programme
FW	Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner
GAERC	General Affairs and External Relations Council
GCCA	Global Climate Change Alliance
GCFM	Global Climate Financing Mechanism
GEEREF	Global Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy Fund
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GHGs	Greenhouse Gases
GNI	Gross National Income
GPAFSN	Global Partnership for Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HQ	Headquarters
HR	Human Rights
HRFASP	High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
HRVP	High Representative/Vice President
HLTF	UN High Level Task Force
I&C	Information and Communication
IFF	International Financing Facility
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IFS	Instrument for Stability
IL	Intervention Logic
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IOM	International Organization for Migration
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
JEU	Joint Evaluation Unit
LA	Local Authority
LAC	Latin America and Caribbean
LDC	Least Development Country
LIFE	EU's Financial Instrument supporting Environmental and Nature Conservation
LRRD	Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MEA	Multilateral Environmental Agreements
MEDA	European financial instrument for the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
MEUR	Million Euros
MME	EU-Africa Partnership on Migration and Employment
MTR	Mid-Term Review
MS	Member State
NAMAs	Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIP	National Indicative Programme
NSA	Non-State Actor
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreements
PCD	Policy coherence for development
PCNAS	Post-Crisis Needs Assessments
PD	Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness
POEM	Policy Options to Engage Asian Economies in a Post-Kyoto Regime
PSC	Political and Security Committee
QWeCI	Quantifying Weather and Climate Impacts on Health in Developing Countries project
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
RG	Reference Group
RIC	Relex Information Committee
ROM	Results-Oriented Monitoring system

RSP	Regional Strategy Paper
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
SCP	Sustainable Consumption and Production
SEAs	Strategic Environmental Assessments
SEC	Commission Staff Working Document
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SITCEN	Situation Centre
TACIS	Technical Assistance for the Commonwealth of Independent States
3 Cs	Coordination, Complementarity and Coherence
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TOR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNCSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNECLAC	United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNFF	UN Forum on Forests
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
URGENCE	Urban Reduction of GHG Emissions in China and Europe project
V-FLEX	Vulnerability Flex mechanism
VPA	Voluntary Partnership Agreements
WB	World Bank
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

ANNEX 12 -

MEDIA COVERAGE ANALYSIS

ANNEX 12 - THE MEDIA COVERAGE ANALYSIS

Introduction

The following Media Coverage Analysis (MCA) analysis the visibility of the EU. It is based on some 760 articles relating to the events in Tunisia (January 2011) and Georgia (August 2008). Newspapers and tabloids from six countries, listed in table 1, were searched along specific key words and periods as explained further below.

<i>Table 1: Newspapers consulted</i>			
FA	Frankfurter Allgemeine	L	Liberation
FR	Frankfurter Rundschau	LM	Le Monde
DW	Die Welt	LF	Le Figaro
SZ	Süddeutsche Zeitung	LC	La Croix
BZ	Bild Zeitung (online version)		
GW	Gazeta Wyborcza	G	The Guardian
SE	Superekspress	DM	The Daily Mail
R	Rzeczpospolita	DT	The Daily Telegraph
		FT	Financial Times
B	Berlingske		
P	Politiken	NYT	New York Times
I	Information		
JP	Jyllands-Posten		

Following the proposals made in the Inception Report, the MCA was supposed to cover all events selected for the Visibility Study. The reasons for which this could not happen and what we can draw from this is briefly discussed under ‘Other findings from the MCA’. The methodology for the MCA and the challenges encountered are described in Annex 1. The Evaluation Question Matrix is dealt with in Annex 2.

This synthesis report is structured as follows:

1. Overall findings
2. Findings on Tunisia
3. Findings on Georgia
4. Findings from other countries/ events

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Methodology

Appendix 2 – EQ’s

Appendix 3 – Description of press findings, per country

Appendix 3a – Tunisia

Appendix 3b – Georgia

Appendix 4 – Press articles in summary, listed per country (in separate document)

Overall findings

This overall analysis brings together the findings from the MCA of the Tunisia event as well as the Georgia event. It is based on the articles of journalists who perceive the EU in a particular manner and reflect on its external actions, on interviews with stakeholders as well as on op-eds published in the respective newspapers. The replies to the EQs in these overall findings does not differentiate between the different types of contributions but is based on how the newspapers, in sum-total, reflect on the EU's external action.

There are clearly differences between the different papers as well as language groups. The articles and editorials in these papers are informed by the political colour of the respective paper/publisher as well as by the expectations of the readership. For the reader who is interested to dig into these differences, we are providing more information in the annexes that offer information per language group (Annex 3) as well as per newspaper (Annex 4).

The two events analysed in this MCA took place at different moments of EU history. The Georgia case in 2008 when the EU, EC institutions and the EU MS were working under the agreements as laid down in the Nice Treaty, while the Tunisia case plays in January 2011 right at the start of the EEAS. We will take this different institutional set-up of the EU into account where this is apparent from the articles analysed.

➤ *EQ 1: How well does the image of the external action of the EU, that is perceived by the media, corresponds to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action?*

The following issues are key elements of the EU's external action, according to the Nice Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty: "safeguarding common values"; "strengthening the security of the Union"; "preserving peace and strengthen international security"; "promoting international cooperation" and "developing and consolidating democracy and the rule of law and respecting fundamental freedoms". Broadly speaking, the media recognise that the EU, its institutions and the EU MS work to realise these aims through their external action. And the media reports on progress made and overall supports the direction that the EU takes in this regard. But the way how this external action is shaped is perceived by the media as unsatisfactory, incoherent, slow, tedious, informed by national self-interest and not corresponding with the ambitions that the EU has set itself in the Treaties.

The Tunisia case shows that France, in particular, displayed a highly controversial positioning in the democratic uprising and the judgement of the events to the very end. It did not correspond to the aims of the Lisbon Treaty and was only redirected towards a common EU position at the very last moment. In the case of Georgia, the media coverage displays highly divergent views of the EU MS on how to deal with Russia in the absence of a joint policy and shows that only through a tedious mediation of a strong EU Presidency, chaired by Mr Sarkozy and supported strongly by Mrs Merkel, a common line could be found. This tediousness, as reflected by numerous articles, op-eds and editorials, gives an image of the external action of the EU that is well intended and going in the right direction, in principle, but that in the end is not as effective and not scoring the impact as it should have according to the aims set.

➤ *EQ 2: How well do the visibility communication priorities (Key Communication Messages from Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, i.e.: why, what, how) achieve their objectives?*

Do the articles sufficiently reflect why the EU has an external policy, what defines the EU as an external actor internationally and how does the EU deploys its instruments? How did the media perceive these visibility communication priorities? – The EU, as an entity, has been widely covered for both cases but it remains a very broad entity for the public that is difficult to

understand and rather confuses in its multiple appearance than that it shapes an impression of a coherent organisation.

There were several articles, that explicitly discussed the ‘why’, ‘what’ and ‘how’ of the external action in the respective cases which supports the finding that the priorities are achieved in broad terms. Though one should differentiate per question. From the statements made by European leaders, the ‘why’ is generally well communicated. The ‘what’, however, is difficult to trace as the external action is so diverse and only visible after a lengthy process of consolidation.

The ‘how’ issue is difficult to answer as there is little information in the media coverage about the instruments that the EU deploys. Where it is mentioned, the result is mixed. In the case of Tunisia, the Neighbourhood Policy and the economic partnership agreement are highlighted as an instrument that has kept the Ben Ali regime in power and has helped to suppress the emergence of a democratic society. In the case of Georgia, the EU agreement on how to assist the Georgians took a rather long time to negotiate.

➤ *EQ 4: How well does the media perceive the benefits of EU external action and not just its main features?*

Both cases analysed display a perception of certain benefits of EU external action, though there are differences per case resulting, again, in mixed results. The actual benefits, in the sense of positive outcomes of EU external action, are difficult to trace.

For Georgia, despite the fact that the language groups were broadly reporting differently about the EU, the overall impression shaped is that there can be some type of benefit of a joint EU external action. The fact that the EU – eventually – managed to find a common line (that is not be confused with the “speaking with one voice”, as several EU leaders had urged) under the mediation of Mr Sarkozy was recognised.

The Tunisia case hardly displayed any real benefits of EU external action. A good number of articles highlight the support provided to the economic development of Tunisia since 1995 when the Mediterranean Policy of the EU was formulated and acknowledge that this has brought relative wealth and stability to this country, though – on equal basis – it is underlined that this has also prevented the country to find a way out of the dictatorship. This puts a shadow on the EU’s external action that can not be outbalanced by a few references to the EU’s efforts to also support human rights and civil society in the region over these years.

➤ *EQ 5: To what extent does the EC’s visibility/ communication work appear coordinated and complementary with that of the EU Member States, Council and Parliament?*

Following the analysis of the Georgia case, the EC’s visibility and communication work is complementary with that of the EU MS and the Council. The EU Press Centre lists five press releases on the crisis in Georgia during the period analysed and mirrors broadly the concerns as expressed by several European leaders during the same period. There is no evidence in this regard concerning the Parliament.

There are no press releases on Tunisia in this archive. Though statements made by Lady Ashton and Mr Fuelle during the initial days of the period researched indicate that a fairly timely communication work with that of other EU leaders could be realised. This excludes the Government of France from where messages concerning the democratic uprising were launched, that were not coherent with the majority of Europe.

It is important to note that the EC is merely visible as an institution in the case of Georgia. The number of articles making reference to “Brussels” is very limited and there are only some references made to Mr Solana, or one of his spokespersons, who called for unified action by the EU and the EU MS. Mr Sarkozy, in his function of President of the EU Council, is quoted regularly as the European leader. The Tunisia case shows a different picture where, thanks to the creation of a “High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy” who

speaks on behalf of the EU, a higher visibility of the EU and its institutions is realised as compared to the time of the Georgian crisis.

As indicated in responses to the next EQ (EQ6) both cases also revealed differences of opinion on policy between the EC and the MS and between different groups of MS.

➤ *EQ 6: Are the EC's messages coherent across different EU external action and internal policy areas?*

In both the Georgian and the Tunisian cases a number of incoherent policy messages emerged. In both cases these particularly related to divergences in views between MS and with the EU institutions, also indicating a lack of consensus at particular moments in time.

Concerning Georgia, there were not many messages specifically from the EC in the press across EU MS as well as in the NYT. None of these messages highlighted any coherence issues.

Concerning Tunisia, a contradiction between EU support to economic development and human rights policy emerged. In 2010 messages the EC (Commissioner Nelli Kroes) was very positive about the economic situation of Tunisia while there was considerable criticism from within the EP and EU institutions on the human rights situation of this country. During the democratic uprising itself the messages provided by Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle were coherent across EU's external action, the Lisbon Treaty and internal policy areas but they were not coherent with earlier messages from Mrs Kroes in 2010.

However, the MCA reveals considerable incoherence of messages by different EU MS across different EU external action and internal policy areas. Though incoherence is noted for different reasons.

In the case of Georgia, the lack of coherence messages conveyed by EU MS officials is evident from all papers analysed and shows up a lack of a common security strategy on how to deal with Russia. In practice this also reflected a divide between the "old" and the "new" Europe, to use the terms employed by former US Minister of Defence, Mr Rumsfeld. The incoherence portrayed in the media reveals that Eastern European EU MS would like to see a European foreign policy that has a more confrontational character while France and Germany, next to other Western European EU MS, steer a more 'Russia-friendly' and cooperative approach. The latter is also reflected in the energy policy of the EU (and its dependence on Russia) that, according to the media, lacks a joint long-term EU strategy vis-à-vis Russia.

In the case of Tunisia, it is the incoherence between messages sent by the EU in January 2011 in support of the democratic moment and the practice of supporting the Ben Ali regime strongly throughout the past 15 years. Moreover, the MCA reveals serious incoherence between the support for the democratic movement voiced by most Northern EU MS and the support to Ben Ali including an offer of technical support to the police in Tunis by the French riot police from the French Government, and particularly the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mrs Alliot-Marie. This even occurred at a moment when statements in support of the democratic movement had already been made at the EU level, including by several EU MS.

Such evidence of incoherence was considerably exploited by the press and in particular the media that is traditionally anti-EU, or at least sceptical towards Europe. This put an overall negative image on the EU.

➤ *EQ 7: How far emerges the perception of the EU as a global actor clearly in the media coverage from its presence in the major international organisations and fora?*

From both cases, the perception emerges of an EU that has a certain role to play in international affairs in support of peace and security and the defence of human rights. The EU is regularly mentioned together with other international organs, like the NATO, and major powers – the US and China, in particular. Occasional reference is made to the UN in the case of Georgia, none in the cases of Tunisia.

The visibility of the EU as an international actor is more prominent in the case of Georgia where the EU, under the lead of Mr Sarkozy, took the space to act and to partially side-line an outgoing US Government. Though the press is rather divided on how to interpret the profile of the EU as an international actor, some papers being outspoken negative, others much more supportive and forward looking. In the case of Tunisia, the EU is rather highlighted as a regional actor. There is, however, a strong perception reflected in the articles that the EU had followed the footsteps of French external action over the years preceding the democratic uprising.

On balance, the EU is perceived as an actor that can act internationally to some extent, but this is depending on the leadership it has. In the case of Georgia, it was because of a strong Mr Sarkozy, in his function as the President of the EU Council and supported by Mrs Merkel, that the EU could make an impression. To the extent that the former Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that “the 27 have reacted in the crisis quite good and faster than usual.” Though many complaints about the EU remain: too slow and tedious to work with and not being in a position to play a reliable and strong role internationally.

Box 1 - Observations from tabloids

We looked at several tabloids with mixed results. The Sun from the UK did not give any results by using the simple search that is available to the public. The search in the Polish tabloid (Super Express) was very disappointing and did not give much substantive information. Most could be retrieved from the German Bild Zeitung (online version). It was included because it has a very large readership, consumed largely by a readership that is politically not very informed. It is also intensely read by opinion leaders and politicians. Overall, the EU and its institutions hardly appear as an actor in these tabloids.

The reporting on the events in Tunisia concentrates on the consequences of the democratic uprising for German tourists. A good number of articles highlight the dictatorial regime of the Ben Ali regime and the luxury of his clan as compared to the rest of the country. There is hardly any political analysis provided with very little information about the reasons leading to the uprising. The European Union is mentioned once in all 35 articles found, Merkel is mentioned four times, Sarkozy one time, the EC is not mentioned at all and Mrs Ashton is also not mentioned.

The reporting on the events in Georgia covers the developments extensively and provides a considerable level of political information and analysis. The EU and its institutions in Brussels, however, receive little attention. Solana is mentioned twice, the European Commission not at all and the European Union eight times throughout all 208 articles. Mr. Sarkozy, as the President of the EU at the time, and Mrs Merkel are mentioned prominently. Europe is mentioned at many instances though it is presented primarily as a geopolitical entity vis-à-vis Russia that is dependent on energy from Eastern Europe and Asia. Angst of a new cold war and the worsening of the security situation in Europe appear throughout the articles and interviews.

Findings from other countries/ events

Overall observations

Table 2 provides an overview of articles found per event chosen. The methodology, as explained in Annex 1, hardly provided any results for other events. We present this table as a further finding on EU external action and its visibility. It shows that visibility for smaller events is difficult to achieve and that the topics that are not very speaking to the big public do not make it to the press, unless particular visibility and communication efforts are undertaken – such as extra press releases, linking the communication about an event to wider global issues of concern, etc.

The events chosen for the case of Georgia and Tunisia were taking place over a considerable amount of time whereby issues of broad international concern, including peace and security and freedom of expression/ democracy, were prominently addressed. The other events, such as the negotiations and conclusion on a Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade voluntary

partnership agreement between the EU and Indonesia to protect the environment, safeguard biodiversity and prevent deforestation, were too specific to attract the attention of the press.

The latter case shows that a press release can be useful to mobilise some attention to such a deal, though the overall response in the press has been very meagre telling that much more needs to be done to get the attention of EU external action and communicate what the EU is doing to the wider public.

Table 2: Number of results per event/ theme in media search

	Georgia	Cambodia	Indonesia	Mali	Grenada	Kenya	Tunisia	
					1 & 2		1	2
Germany								
F.A.	25	0	1	0	0	0	0	17
F.R.	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
D.W.	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
S.Z.	55	0	0	1*	0	0	0	10
B.Z.**	118	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
Poland								
G.W.	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
S.E.	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R.	62	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
Denmark								
B.	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
P.	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
I.	3	1*	2*	0	0	0	0	8
J.P.	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
France								
L.	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
L.M.	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
L.F.	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
L.C.	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
UK								
G.	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
D.M.	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D.T.	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
F.T.	19	0	1	0	0	0	0	8
USA								
N.Y.T.	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	603	0	3	0	0	0	0	165
EU Press releases	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

* Not directly related to the event but potentially interesting for media analysis.

** search for Georgia and Tunisia events, only

MCA through other parts of the visibility evaluation

We have chosen to limit our reporting in this analysis to the media coverage of the Georgia and Tunisia events in the European press, plus the NYT. Further MCA was done in the context of other parts of the visibility evaluation, i.e.:

- The report on Lampedusa that undertook searches on this migration related topic in the Italian press as well as the following other international papers, namely: La Repubblica; Il Corriere Della Sera; Il Giornale; Libero; TV 5 Monde; France 24; Le Figaro; Spiegel Online; EU Times; The Economist; New York Times and Reuters.
- The report on Tunisia that reviewed two French-language Tunisian newspapers (La Presse; Le Temps) in relation to action undertaken by the EU Delegation towards Tunisian media as well as to analyse how Tunisian media perceived the EU as an international partner.
- The reports from the six themes contain information and an analysis on how the local print media in the respective countries visited perceive the EU as an international partner and actor in relation to the themes and particular event researched and how the overall public image is of the EU in these countries. A manual was prepared on how to conduct a simple MCA from print media in country around the case chosen. The results of the MCA in these reports vary in scope and content, depending on the opportunities to get access to media information in the respective countries.

Tunisia

Introduction

This MCA is based on 165 articles from six countries (see Table 3). Searches in the German and French press scored the largest number of articles, while Poland has only minimally covered the events in Tunisia.

FA	Frankfurter Allgemeine – 17	L	Liberation – 5
FR	Frankfurter Rundschau – 17	LM	Le Monde – 15
DW	Die Welt – 6	LF	Le Figaro – 6
SZ	Süddeutsche Zeitung – 10	LC	La Croix – 5
BZ	Bild Zeitung (online version) – 35		
GW	Gazeta Wyborcza – 0	G	The Guardian – 4
SE	Superekspress – 0	DM	The Daily Mail – 0
R	Rzeczpospolita – 5	DT	The Daily Telegraph – 3
		FT	Financial Times – 8
B	Berlingske – 6		
P	Politiken – 5	NYT	New York Times – 2
I	Information – 8		
JP	Jyllands-Posten – 8		

The search focused on the democratic uprising and was performed along the following keywords and timeframe:

- Keywords relating to “Europe” (synonyms for Europe: “European Union”, “EU”, “European Commission”, “the EU Delegation”, “EC” or the term “Europe”, “European Parliament”, “the Council”, or any of the 27 EU member states.
- Thematic keywords: “Democracy”, “Human Rights”, “Freedom of Speech”
- Timeframe: 5-12 Nov. 2009 and 1-21 Jan. 2011

All findings relate to the timeframe 1 to 21 January 2011. The timeframe 5 to 12 November 2009 did not get any attention by the press covered in this MCA.

Analysis of Tunisia event – by Evaluation Questions

The democratic uprising in Tunisia took place as of late 2010 and culminated in the breakdown of the Ben Ali regime in January 2011, which coincided with the operational start of the European Union External Action Service (EEAS). The High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Baroness Lady Ashton was new in office and a new European Presidency led by the inexperienced Hungarian Government started on 1 January 2011. The event took place in a country that has traditionally strong ties with France and where France’s external action towards this country was internationally interpreted as the dominant and guiding policy from Europe towards this country that has also shaped the policy of the EU and its institution’s as well as the policy of other EU MS towards this country. We will take into account this background for the analysis of the following Evaluation Questions (EQs).

- *EQ 1: How well does the image of the external action of the EU, that is perceived by the media, corresponds to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action?*

Overall, the image of the external action of the EU perceived by the media does not correspond with the objectives of the Nice and Lisbon Treaties. The major informer of this analysis is the strong incoherence of external action between the statements delivered by Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle on behalf of the EU and its institutions, supported by Northern EU MS like Germany, the UK and the Scandinavian countries, versus the views expressed by the French Government about the situation in Tunisia and the Ben Ali regime until the very last moment of his presence in Tunis.

A second informer are the references made in the press to the EU, i.e. EU institutions as well as the EU MS, incoherence in dealing with the Ben Ali regime in the past, pointing at the strong economic support provided to this country while holding back with criticisms on the suppression of human rights, freedom of expression and the rule of law. Incoherence is detected among EU institutions as well as between EU institutions and the EU MS.

The support of Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle to the peaceful democratic protestors, ahead of most EU MS, are positively taken up and mostly valued as good sign of external action in accordance with the Lisbon Treaty. But this cannot make up for the overall critical and at times strongly negative tone concerning the appearance of the EU as an entity in this crisis.

- *EQ 2: How well do the visibility communication priorities (Key Communication Messages from Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, i.e.: why, what, how) achieve their objectives?*

This question is difficult to judge from the findings. Looking at the overall number of references made to the EU, its institutions and EU MS, the visibility of the EU towards the public is very high. But this visibility does not lead to a better understanding of the EU’s external policies, instruments and concrete action. The given visibility displays in this case a highly incoherent and fragmented international actor that more confuses the public than contributing to a fuller understanding of the EU’s external action. Taking the few findings in the NYT, the only non-EU press we have looked at, as an informer, the absence of any reference to the EU in this crisis

should ring a little alarm. More research should be done to uncover whether this non-visibility of the EU in other media around the Globe, outside the EU, can be confirmed.

➤ *EQ 4: How well does the media perceive the benefits of EU external action and not just its main features?*

The press does reflect to some extent on the benefits of EU external action, but more elaborately on the “negative benefits” of this external action. The latter refers to the EU’s economic support to the Ben Ali regime over many years thereby helping this country to develop economically and to avoid that this part of the region destabilised but noting as well that this support had prevented the emergence of a democratic society. Only two voices portray the EU as a force that, as of 1995 when the Mediterranean Policy of the EU was formulated, put a stress on supporting dialogue and civil society, including the financing of basic human rights projects in the Arabic world, including North Africa. Several articles make a positive remark on the willingness of the EU to support the new Government and the holding of elections.

A wider number of articles is rather positive about the potential future role and benefits of the EU and shape expectations that the EU and its MS can play a role in accordance with the objectives set in the Lisbon treaty (by putting a focus on the future role of the EU and its capacity to firmly support the transition and support it economically, politically, legally and technically).

➤ *EQ 5: To what extent does the EC’s visibility/ communication work appear coordinated and complementary with that of the EU Member States, Council and Parliament?*

There is not evidence from the press articles of a fully coordinated visibility/ communication work of the EC and that of the EU MS, Council and Parliament. The UK acted diplomatically ahead of the EU and its institutions and the EU MS. The statements of Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle in support of the democratic movement aimed to set a tone on behalf of the EU that was complemented by similar statements of several EU MS, including Germany, the UK, Poland and the Scandinavian countries. But it was countered by statements of several ministers of the French Government who expressed sympathy with the Ben Ali regime until the very last minute and even offered technical support to the police in Tunis by the French riot police at a moment when statements in support of the democratic movement had already been made at the EU level.

In terms of internal EU institutional coherence, the statements of Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle were well coordinated and the 5 press releases of the EU and its institutions launched during this period were complementary to that of the two spokespersons.

➤ *EQ 6: Are the EC’s messages coherent across different EU external action and internal policy areas?*

The messages provided by Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle during the democratic uprising were coherent across EU’s external action, the Lisbon Treaty and internal policy areas but they were not coherent with earlier messages by EU Commissioner Nelli Kroes communicated on Tunisia in 2010. She was very positive at that time about the economic situation of Tunisia while there was considerable criticism from within the EP and EU institutions on the human rights situation of this country.

Building on the observations as stated under EQ 5, there was grave incoherence between the messages of the EU and its institutions and Northern EU MS, in particular, and the messages of the French Government on judging and supporting the democratic movement in Tunisia.

Moreover, the statements made by the EC and the EU in support of the democratic movement in January 2011 were seen as incoherent with the earlier uncritical EU support of the Ben Ali regime, i.e. the economic programmes that were financed in Tunisia over years and the very marginal support to democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the principles of international law.

➤ *EQ 7: How far emerges the perception of the EU as a global actor clearly in the media coverage from its presence in the major international organisations and fora?*

The EU only marginally emerges as a global actor in the press that is able to steer its external action in line with the objectives set in the Lisbon Treaty. No single reference is made to the EU's role in international organisations or fora, like the UN, in relation to the crisis in Tunisia. On the contrary, several references are made in the press to the unfinished business of the Mediterranean Union that had been initiated by Southern EU MS but blocked by countries like Germany and other MS from the North. This leaves an impression of a fragmented regional actor but with the potential to play a bigger role than the US, Russia or China if done in a coherent manner. Finally, some references are made to the EU's Neighbourhood Policy that, in the case of Tunisia, has helped this country to develop economically and avoided this part of the region to fall into destabilisation and turmoil.

Georgia

Introduction

This MCA is based on some 600 articles from six countries (see Table 4). Searches in the German and the UK press scored the largest number of articles.

FA	Frankfurter Allgemeine – 25	L	Liberation – 18
FR	Frankfurter Rundschau – 31	LM	Le Monde – 24
DW	Die Welt – 35	LF	Le Figaro – 34
SZ	Süddeutsche Zeitung – 55	LC	La Croix – 11
BZ	Bild Zeitung (online version) - 118		
GW	Gazeta Wyborcza – 15	G	The Guardian – 33
SE	Superekspress – 8	DM	The Daily Mail – 22
R	Rzeczpospolita – 62	DT	The Daily Telegraph – 34
		FT	Financial Times – 19
B	Berlingske – 8		
P	Politiken – 4	NYT	New York Times – 35
I	Information – 3		
JP	Jyllands-Posten – 9		

The search focused on the conflict and post-conflict process in Georgia in 2008 and was performed along the following keywords and timeframe:

- Keywords relating to “Europe” (synonyms for Europe: “European Union”, “EU”, “European Commission”, “the EU Delegation”, “EC” or the term “Europe”, “European Parliament”, “the Council”, or any of the 27 EU member states.
- Thematic keywords: “Crisis”, “Conflict”, “Peace”
- Timeframe: 1-28 August 2008

Analysis of Georgia event – by Evaluation Questions

The event in Georgia coincided with the French Presidency and provided a platform for Mr Sarkozy, as the President of the EU Council, to deal with international affairs beyond the national

and European context. The event took also place at a time of several international relations momenta: First, Russia regained international strength, based on high earnings from oil and gas exports and clients in the EU that increasingly became dependent on imports from Russia. Second, there was an intense discussion about oil pipelines, through Russian territory or around Russian territory whereby Georgia would become a major distribution hub. Third, it was a time when the West had already expanded with its international organisations, notably NATO, into countries that were under the influence of Russia during the communist area, and it was discussing a further expansion into Ukraine. The accession of Georgia to NATO had been equally discussed in this context. Fourth, Kosovo had declared independence from Serbia in February 2008 and was increasingly recognised by Western countries, including a majority of EU MS. Fifth, President Bush and his government was outgoing with relatively little attention paid to this conflict and more space provided for Mr Sarkozy to act as an international mediator. Sixth, the USA was nevertheless pressing for the acceptance of a rocket shield far reaching into Russian territory with missiles being stationed in Poland. During the Bukarest NATO summit in April 2008 a decision was taken in favour of this shield while several EU MS, including France, Germany and the UK, negotiated successfully in keeping Georgia out of the NATO. We will take into account this background for the analysis of the following Evaluation Questions (EQs).

- *EQ 1: How well does the image of the external action of the EU, that is perceived by the media, corresponds to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action?*

The image of the external action of the EU is presented rather differently throughout the various papers. The difference can be clustered along language groups, whereby the Anglophone press is overall negative about the EU whereby some papers of the UK are even very negative regarding the role of the EU to preserve peace and strengthening international security. French papers are critical on the external action of the EU but highlight the positive role of the French President in leading the EU as President of the EU Council and mediating a difficult international conflict with some positive outcomes. The German and the Danish press are equally critical though the undertone is that the EU was able to support and negotiate peace and security to some extent. The Polish press is both positive as well as negative and reveals a strong divide within Polish society and politics on the role that Poland can play within the EU as well as its role as an EU MS in shaping external action of the EU. Consequently, the image of the external action of the EU reflected in the Polish press is both negative as well as positive.

It needs to be underlined that the EU is presented in very different ways. The EU and its institutions are hardly visible, with the exception of some references made to Mr Solana who was calling for a unified European response to the crisis at the beginning of the period analysed. Mr Sarkozy, on the contrary, is highlighted as the lead person of the EU in all European papers being in close exchange with Germany, in particular, to mediate the crisis. As such, France and Germany appear as the dominant “faces” of the EU but are judged in very different ways by the press – see the divide according to language group. The exception is the NYT that makes few references to the EU but reports on the external action of Mr Sarkozy, being the President of France.

Looking at all papers, the overall analysis is that the EU has taken efforts to preserve peace and strengthen international security and support Georgia in staying within the Western sphere of influence but that the efforts were slow, characterised by division within the EU and eventually not fully successful.

- *EQ 2: How well do the visibility communication priorities (Key Communication Messages from Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, i.e.: why, what, how) achieve their objectives?*

The appearance of the EU in the press, and as such to the broad public, has been highly divided and did not permit the public to fully understand its external policies, instruments and concrete action. Throughout the language groups of the press analysed, the absence of a policy and strategy on how to deal with Russia was criticised. This left space for EU MS from Eastern

Europe to discuss and promote a hardliner policy towards Russia, while France and Germany proceeded more diplomatically resulting in the accusation in the UK press, the NYT and in the Polish press of being too soft and of not defending the values that the West is standing for.

Overall, the press reports that there was no strong and immediate common external action, an image that is underlined by articles reporting about repeated calls of European leaders to speak with one voice and to act together. While individual EU actors made clear that only joint European action can lead to success in this crisis, the articles show that the EU could not present itself as a unity and explain why it acted in the way it did. This becomes also evident from a lengthy discussion about the level of action one should take in response to Russia's aggression, such as the deployment of peacekeeping forces that eventually resulted in the agreement to send monitors, or facilitators to prevent the conflict from further escalation.

➤ *EQ 4: How well does the media perceive the benefits of EU external action and not just its main features?*

Several benefits as well as outcomes of EU external action are reflected in the media. It is again in the French, German and Danish papers that positive developments are generally more pronounced than in the papers of other language groups. Examples are the pressures of EU leaders for a ceasefire agreement, the partial withdrawal of Russian troops from Georgian territory, the agreement by the EU to send peace monitors and facilitators, the provision of financial aid to Georgia and emergency aid to civil society in Georgia and the ability to speak with one voice – despite the tedious process of internal EU negotiations to find such a voice. Comments from the conservative and former anti-Soviet press across the different language groups, however, reflect on these outcomes of EU external action much less and, if so, in a much more critical manner.

Across the language groups, there are several articles that portray the events in Georgia and the reaction of Russia as a result of a series of Western external actions: pushing back the sphere of influence of Russia; increasing the number of countries joining the NATO; recognising Kosovo as a state; rejecting Georgia's admission to NATO; and seeking oil pipeline routes that bypass Russian territory. The EU's external action is described as a part of this overall Western external action and held co-responsible for the escalation of this crisis.

➤ *EQ 5: To what extent does the EC's visibility/ communication work appear coordinated and complementary with that of the EU Member States, Council and Parliament?*

There is little evidence of the visibility and communication work of the EC. The EU presented as a big entity but with little information about the different institutions that it is composed of, how it functions and what the different roles are of the actors involved, in particular within the EC. In the few references made to the EC, i.e. the mentioning of Mr Solana or one of his spokespersons, the broad messages provided correspond with the messages of the leaders of the EU MS. In his calls for a ceasefire and expressing the support of the EU to finding an end to the conflict, Mr Solana is speaking on behalf of the EU and its leaders. There were five press releases of the EC during this period in relation to the Georgia events, all being complementary to what has been said by leaders of EU MS and the Council.

➤ *EQ 6: Are the EC's messages coherent across different EU external action and internal policy areas?*

Concerning Georgia, there were not many messages by the EC in the press across EU MS as well as in the NYT. None of these messages would highlight any coherence issues. The messages sent by Mr. Solana, the most prominent external action voice of the EC at that time, called for unified action by the EU and the EU MS.

The articles reflect overall a considerable incoherence between the different EU MS. The divide between the "old" and the "new" Europe is underlined in the conservative press but also in the those newspapers that are overall sympathetic to the EU, many critical comments are made about France and Germany who steer a more diplomatic and anti-confrontational course towards Russia

and the hard-line thinking vis-à-vis Russia that is more prominent in the Eastern EU MS and the UK.

The fact that an overall European line towards Russia and the EU's engagement in Georgia could be found is attributed to the role that Mr Sarkozy could play as President of the Council, and supported by the German Government, but not to the institutional mechanisms that a well-functioning EU should have to address such crisis on a more structural basis.

➤ *EQ 7: How far emerges the perception of the EU as a global actor clearly in the media coverage from its presence in the major international organisations and fora?*

The EU, thanks to the active role of Mr Sarkozy, is presented as an international actor able to play a role in this conflict. The EU is also mentioned in the large majority of articles dealing with this international crisis while only a minority of articles mention an EU MS without referring to the EU. The assessment on how this role was played, however, differs between the language groups and is also dealt with differently within the respective language groups. The biggest outlier to the negative is the UK press that recognises an active role of the EU but stresses its weak handling of the crisis in terms of preserving peace and strengthening international security – a type of external action that one cannot really build on and rely towards the future. The French and German press, however, is more positive in this regard and underlines that given the big geopolitical tensions that provide the context to this crisis, the EU has presented itself as a valuable international actor – while critically remarking that much more should be done to become a global actor that can be counted on in different situations.

Finally, two voices from Georgia in the French press are worth highlighting though it needs to be stressed that these did not get the same type of space in other language groups: The Georgian President made a thankful comment on the prompt action of Sarkozy who was able to broker a deal in the name of the EU. “If the EU had been presided by a small country or if Sarkozy had left for holidays, there would have been a high probability that the Russian tanks would now be in Tbilisi.” As such, he expressed thanks to the French President but not specifically to the EU as an international actor. But the former Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that “the 27 have reacted in this crisis quite good and faster than usual.”

On balance, the EU is perceived as an actor that can act internationally to some extent, but this is depending on the leadership it has and the topic it has to deal with. Many comments complain that it is slow and tedious to work with and not really in a position to make a forceful move against an aggressive and re-strengthened Russia. A range of articles discuss in this context the potential impact that this EU could have internationally under a more streamlined external action with a reformed institutional set-up etc.

Appendix 1 – Methodology

This media analysis is based on articles that were found in the top four newspapers/tabloids¹ of five EU countries (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Denmark and Poland²). In addition The New York Times of the USA was used since it has global coverage (for the newspapers consulted, please see Table 1 in this document).

The newspapers were to be selected based on the largest daily circulation. A maximum of two of the four chosen newspapers in the EU MS were supposed to be tabloids so as to include also messages that were spread to the public at large. After an initial search, this approach was abandoned due to the following reasons. First, France does not have a tabloid culture, which did not allow including such a paper into the selection. Second, the Sun from the UK did not give any results by using the simple search that is available to the public. Third, the search in the Polish tabloid (Super Express) was very disappointing and did not give much substantive information. Fourth, some newspapers did not provide access to a digital database such as the Polish Fakt. The German Bild Zeitung (online version) was included in the search because it is a paper intensely read by opinion leaders and politicians, though the results were only of substance in relation to the Georgia case.

To get more relevant material, we concentrated instead on quality papers with a high print-run plus several selected papers that are read by intellectuals, such as Liberation (F) and Information (DK). This would ensure to capture views that reach out opinion leaders, politicians, economic leaders and other multipliers

Instruments and way of searching

This search is based on digital sources for which we used electronic data search engines. Most search engines allowed for refined searches. The principal tool used was *LexisNexis Academic*³ which can access multiple newspapers and tabloids in the world. Because LexisNexis sometimes misses certain articles the free archive of individual newspapers was also consulted. In total 4 newspapers were subscribed to (2 German, 2 Polish).

Language formed a hurdle for the Polish papers. Although the academic search engine gave full access to Gazeta Wyborzca some Polish letters were not recognized so synonyms to the keywords were used thereby minimizing the impact of this limitation to the search.

7 major events, each relating to one country, were searched for within these different news sources. Within three to four weeks within these events taking place, articles were identified that related to EU's involvement. This was done by using keywords relating to the term "Europe" plus thematic keywords which related to the event. The keywords were translated into the different languages (French, German, Polish and Danish). Table A provides a summary of themes, country, event, period and thematic key words that were used for the search.

¹ None of these are really tabloids. Even the Daily Mail is considered a middle-market newspaper, which is in between a tabloid and a broadsheet.

² Only three Polish newspapers were analyzed due to disproportional difficulties in accessing old articles from the Polish daily Fakt (a tabloid), the decision to leave the paper out was taken after consultation with the key expert Mr. Bonde.

³ www.academic.lexisnexis.nl

Table A: Search methodology

Theme	Country	Thematic key words (1)	Event	Period
Conflict and Fragile States	Georgia	Crisis, Conflict, Peace	Conflict and post-conflict process	1 – 28 August 2008
Climate Change and Energy	Cambodia	GCCA, adaptation, climate change, energy	Global Climate Change Alliance (GCCA)	15 May – 5 June 2010
Environment, Biodiversity and Deforestation	Indonesia	FLEGT (or Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade), VPA, illegal logging, fair trade	Forest Law Enforcement and Trade (FLEGT)	1 – 28 May 2011
Migration	Mali	Migration, CIGEM, Lampedusa	CIGEM	1 – 28 April 2008
Financial and Economic Crisis	Grenada	Vulnerability FLEX, financial crisis, budget support	Flunerability FLEX, financial crisis, budget support	15 – 29 Dec. 2009 + 2 – 16 Sept. 2010
Food Crisis and Food Security	Kenya	Food facility, food security and food price	Food facility/ food crisis	1 – 28 May 2011
Major international event	Tunisia	Democracy, human rights, freedom of speech	Democratic uprising	5 – 12 Nov. 2009 + 1 – 21 Jan. 2011

Note (1): Besides the thematic search words also one of the following had to be present in the article: “*European Union*”, “*EU*”, “*European Commission*”, “*the EU Delegation*” “*EC*” or the term “*Europe*”, the “*European Parliament*”, “*the Council*” or any of the 27 EU member states.

Results

Table B provides an overview of retrieved articles for the different themes per news source. It should be noted that the articles found differ greatly in size, from around 100 words up to 1500 words. This number also includes commentaries and opinion articles. Table 2 also includes the number of EU Press Releases as the analysis compares the messages about EU external action vis-à-vis the original press messages communicated by the EU.

A consistency check was additionally performed by a fourth person, which confirmed the results. The following points summarise key observations from this consistency check:

- The search methodology was rather specific for most cases resulting in no or hardly any articles found for Cambodia, Indonesia, Mali, Grenada and Kenya.
- A point of departure for the search was the case country, e.g. Mali, with complementary search words entered (e.g., Lampedusa, climate change, food security) – in all the cases, with the exception of Georgia and Tunisia, this did not result in relevant findings.
- The consistency of the search results is confirmed via three angles:
 1. The search across the different European press and the NYT show results for Georgia and Tunisia, for all the papers selected;
 2. The search was performed by three different people, working independent from each other with the same methodology – this provided similar results, i.e. findings on Georgia and Tunisia but hardly any on other countries;
 3. A check was exercised on 19 Sept. by a fourth person, by searching via the Lexis Nexis Database as well as selected directly accessible digital newspaper archives to verify the results. Some examples of this verification exercise are documented in the Annex to this document.

Table B: Number of results per event/ theme in media search

	Georgia	Cambodia	Indonesia	Mali	Grenada	Kenya	Tunisia	
					1 & 2		1	2
Germany								
F.A.	25	0	1	0	0	0	0	17
F.R.	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
D.W.	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
S.Z.	55	0	0	1*	0	0	0	10
B.Z.**	118	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
Poland								
G.W.	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
S.E.	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R.	62	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
Denmark								
B.	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
P.	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
I.	3	1*	2*	0	0	0	0	8
J.P.	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
France								
L.	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
L.M.	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
L.F.	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
L.C.	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
UK								
G.	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
D.M.	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D.T.	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
F.T.	19	0	1	0	0	0	0	8
USA								
N.Y.T.	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	603	0	3	0	0	0	0	165
EU Press releases	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

* Not directly related but potentially interesting for media analysis.

** search for Georgia and Tunisia events, only

Appendix 2 – EQ matrix

Preliminary Findings

EQ 1	“How well does the image of the external action of the EU perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action (Nice Treaty: Art. 8 & 11; Lisbon Treaty: Art. 3 & 21) and to the image the EU seeks to convey?”
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from the MCA
JC.1.1. The EU has managed to disseminate the message to the relevant stakeholders in terms of content and reasons for its external action	
<u>Indicator 1.1.1</u> The stakeholders know the definition of the external action of the EU <u>Indicator 1.1.2</u> The stakeholders know the content of the definition of the external action of the EU	- From the press articles it appears that there are high differences between the media on the extent to which journalists are informed about the content of the definition of the external action.
JC.1.2. The EU has managed to transmit an image to stakeholders that correspond to the image that was sought to be conveyed	
<u>Indicator 1.2.1</u> The images that are widely perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the communication objectives of the EU on its external action	While there are some references made in the press that show that the communication objectives of the EU has been achieved, the overall reply to this question, based on analysing all the articles selected, is negative.
Preliminary Finding: Broadly speaking, the media recognise that the EU, its institutions and the EU MS work to realise these aims through their external action. And the media reports on progress made and overall supports the direction that the EU takes in this regard. But the way how this external action is shaped is perceived by the media as unsatisfactory, incoherent, slow, tedious, informed by national self-interest and not corresponding with the ambitions that the EU has set itself in the Treaties.	

EQ 2	“How well do the Visibility communication priorities (Key Communication Messages from Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, i.e.: why, what, how) ⁴ achieve their objectives? ”
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from the MCA
JC 2.1: The priorities (why, what, how) have been well perceived and understood by the	

⁴ Section 2.2 of Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner’s Draft Communication to the Commission: 2 Feb 2006, “The EU in the World: Towards a Communication Strategy for the EU’s External Policy 2006-2009”

stakeholders	
<u>Indicator 2.1.1</u> The stakeholders perceive well why the EU does have an external action	Most of the articles underline the need for an EU external action and explain well why this is needed. This is based on statements made by EU leaders from the EU as well as EU MS that are generally well-covered in the press.
<u>Indicator 2.1.2</u> The stakeholders perceive well what defines EU as an actor on the world stage	The EU remains a very broad entity for the public that is difficult to understand and rather confuses in its multiple appearances. This makes it difficult to trace what the EU as an international actor stands for.
<u>Indicator 2.1.3</u> The stakeholders perceive well how the EU deploys its instruments around the world	The 'how' issue is difficult to answer as there is little information in the media coverage about the instruments that the EU deploys. Where it is mentioned, the information provided is that the results are mixed.
JC 2.2.: The formulation of the priorities would have to be changed in order to gain an increased impact	
<u>Indicator 2.2.1</u> The stakeholders express the need for another formulation about the external action of the EU in order to make it more visible	-
<p>Preliminary Finding:</p> <p>Some of the visibility communication objectives are realised, in particular regarding the explanation of why the EU has an external policy. But the content of this policy, what it stands for and how to achieve it are hardly evident from the press articles. Results in this regard are overall mixed that finds its origin in the highly divergent and incoherent external action of the EU's MS.</p>	

EQ 4	"How well do stakeholders perceive the benefits of EU external action and not just its main features?"
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from the MCA
JC 4.1. The stakeholders are sufficiently exposed to a communication from the EU on Visibility of its external action that is organised to improve impact, retention, credibility and buying intention	
<u>Indicator 4.1.1</u> The communication strategies are designed to improve impact, retention, credibility and "adherence/agreement" at the level of targeted stakeholders	There is no evidence of a clear and agreed upon communication strategy of the EU and the EU MS towards the press.
<u>Indicator 4.1.2</u> The communication strategies are implemented to improve impact, retention, credibility and buying intention at the level of targeted stakeholders	The implementation of communication activities result in highly divergent perceptions among journalists on the benefits of the EU's external action.
<u>Indicator 4.1.3</u> The communication strategies are monitored and evaluated on impact, retention, credibility and buying intention at the	-

level of targeted stakeholders	
JC 4.2. The stakeholders perceive and value the differences between the benefits of the EU external action and the results or the features/instruments	
<p><u>Indicator 4.2.1</u> The communication strategies are designed to improve the perception of benefits at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.2.2</u> The communication strategies are implemented to improve the perception of benefits at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.1.3</u> The communication strategies are monitored and evaluated on the perception of benefits of targeted stakeholders</p>	<p>None of the articles selected would suggest that there is a coherent communication strategy to improve the perception of the benefits of EU external action.</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p>
<p>Preliminary Finding:</p> <p>The analysis from the MCA of the Tunisia democratic uprising as well as the Georgia crisis show that the media articles display a perception of certain benefits of EU external action, though many articles are very critical about the added value/ benefits of the EU's external action. The actual benefits, in the sense of positive outcomes of EU external action, are difficult to trace for the public from the articles provided.</p>	

EQ 5	To what extent is the EC's visibility/communication work coordinated and complementary with that of the EU Member States, Council and Parliament?
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from the MCA
JC5.1 – The EC, MS and Council have a established coordination mechanism to discuss visibility issues	
<p><u>Indicator 5.1.1</u> Evidence of such a coordination mechanism (minutes of meetings held at regular intervals, agenda items on existing Council working groups, etc) being used regularly.</p> <p><u>Indicator 5.1.2</u> Evidence that points agreed on coordination and complementarity of visibility work are then followed up by actions by each of the three parties</p>	<p>There is no evidence of such in the press.</p> <p>The Tunisia case provides some evidence where the EC and MS reacted fairly coherently and during the same time span.</p>
JC5.2 – Council, EP and MS representatives are aware that their actions have an impact on the visibility of the EU as a whole	
<p><u>Indicator 5.2.1</u> Evidence of discussions on the need to coordinate with the Commission on visibility</p> <p><u>Indicator 5.2.2</u> Evidence that these discussions on the need to coordinate with the Commission</p>	<p>There is no evidence of such in the press.</p> <p>-</p>

on visibility are then followed up by action	
JC5.3 – EC representatives take regular steps to liaise with MS, Council and EP on visibility issues in EU external action	
<p><u>Indicator 5.3.1</u> Evidence of discussions on the need to coordinate with the Member States, Council and EP on visibility</p> <p><u>Indicator 5.3.2</u> Evidence that these discussions on the need to coordinate with the Member States, Council and EP on visibility are then followed up by action</p>	<p>There is no evidence of such in the press.</p> <p>-</p>
JC5.4 – Outside observers in a particular context (eg. In a partner country) see the EU (eg. MS embassies and EU Delegation) acting as a single entity rather than as a group of discordant actors	
<u>Indicator 5.4.1</u> No evidence emerges from interviewees or reports of examples of uncoordinated action on visibility or of MS actions conveying contradictory messages to the Commission	There is strong evidence that the EU is not seen as a single entity. The lengthy discussions on how to react vis-à-vis Russia in the Georgian case and the very incoherent appearance of the EU and its MS in the Tunisia case created an impression of uncoordinated AND contradictory messages.
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>Following the analysis of the Georgia case, the EC’s visibility and communication work is complementary with that of the EU MS and the Council. The EU Press Centre lists five press releases on the crisis in Georgia during the period analysed and mirrors broadly the concerns as expressed by several European leaders during the same period. There are no press releases on Tunisia in this archive. Though statements made by Lady Ashton and Mr Fuelle during the initial days of the period researched indicate a fairly timely and coherent communication work with that of many other EU leaders. This excludes the Government of France from where messages concerning the democratic uprising were launched, that were not coherent with the majority of Europe.</p>	

EQ 6	Are the EC’s messages coherent across different EU external action and internal policy areas?
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from the MCA
JC6.1 – EU policy in other areas do not contradict EU external action	
<p><u>Indicator 6.1.1</u> Evidence of incoherence between formal policies</p> <p><u>Indicator 6.1.2</u> Awareness among outside observers of incoherence in the EU’s policy</p>	<p>The articles stress partially the incoherence between formal policies but stress the absence of an EU strategy on how to deal with Russia and the energy supply from eastern countries.</p> <p>There is considerable awareness among the press of the incoherence of the EU’s past external action vis-à-vis Tunisia that supported its economic development but not the building of a democratic society.</p>

<p><u>Indicator 6.1.3</u> Evidence from officials working in one EC policy sector that they have taken steps to improve policy coherence between their area of policy and other areas</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>JC6.2 – Existence of contradictory messages being conveyed by different policy sectors</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 6.2.1</u> Evidence of contradictions between the visibility and communication strategies of different EC departments responsible for different policy sectors</p> <p><u>Indicator 6.2.2</u> Evidence that EC officials have taken steps to coordinate the messages to be conveyed on different policies so as to iron out possible contradictions</p> <p><u>Indicator 6.2.3</u> Awareness among outside observers of apparent contradictions (lack of coherence) between the messages conveyed by EU officials</p> <p><u>Indicator 6.2.4</u> Existence of press enquiries and requests for explanations about seeming contradictions in messages conveyed by EU</p>	<p>The Tunisia case reveals that, in the past, there were different views on how to judge the situation in Tunisia. EU Commissioner Nelli Kroes was very positive about the economic situation of Tunisia in 2010 while there was considerable criticism from within the EP and EU institutions on the human rights situation of this country.</p> <p>-</p> <p>There is evidence of lack of coherence between EU leaders from the EU and EU MS as well as between EU MS (see below).</p>
<p>Preliminary Finding:</p> <p>As far as the EC is concerned, there was considerable incoherence observed in the media between the messages communicated during the democratic uprising in support of the anti-Ben Ali regime in January 2011 and the message of the EC during the preceding 15 years that supported Ben Ali’s economic policy. Both cases reveal considerable incoherence between EU MS, as perceived by the press across EU MS as well as in the NYT. Though incoherence is noted for different reasons. The case of Georgia, reflects a divide between the “old” and the “new” Europe and a lack of a strategy on how to deal with Russia, including a lack of a common security policy as well as an energy policy vis-à-vis this neighbour. In the case of Tunisia, it is the incoherence between messages set by the EU MS and the EC in January 2011 in support of the democratic moment and the practice of supporting the Ben Ali regime strongly throughout the past 15 years. Moreover, there was grave incoherence between these messages in support of the democratic movement in January 2011 and the messages of the French Government in support of the Ben Ali regime until the factual departure of Ben Ali.</p>	

<p>EQ 7</p>	<p>“How far does the perception of the value added of the EU as a global actor emerge clearly from its presence as in the major international organisations/fora? “</p>
<p>Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators</p>	<p>Evidence identified from the MCA</p>
<p>JC 7.1 The Commission has displayed political leadership in the implementation of its overall communication strategy and visibility activities, both internally and towards Council, MS ,EP and International Organisations</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 7.1.1</u> The degree of leadership (political and managerial) exercised internally to produce</p>	<p>-</p>

<p>policy documents and take decisions (HQ and DEL)</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.1.2</u> The degree of leadership (political) related to key events with Council, MS and EP</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.1.3</u> Policy document with clear communication and visibility objective + implementation strategy produced with contribution of all external family DGs</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.1.4</u> Communication/visibility tools provide improved access to information on EU policies</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>The EU Press Centre that bundles the communication activities, including press releases, of the EU institutions is useful. But links to what the EU MS produce on their respective countries external action is missing. Press releases for the events selected for this Visibility Study were overall scarce.</p>
<p>JC 7.2 The Commission has actively supported the further consolidation of the overall EU institutional architecture enabling a more coherent and effective communication and visibility</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 7.2.1</u> To what extent is the EU Institutional architecture conducive to ensuring responsive and coherent decisions have a strong visibility impact</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.2.2</u> To what extent EC has expressly push for reforms having a visibility impact</p>	<p>The case of Georgia shows that the diverse EU's institutional architecture led to perceptions of the EU being tedious, slow and not appropriate to react adequately to a crisis of such magnitude. The Tunisia case suggests that some improvements were made. Baroness Ashton's and Mr. Fuelle's statements concerning the Tunisia uprising in support of the democratic movement were well covered in the press and provided an increased visibility to the EU.</p> <p>The Tunisia case reveals that the EU and some of its MS put a considerable pressure on Ben Ali to depart. The media coverage in this regard was intense.</p>
<p>JC.7.3 The EU Delegation contributed to strengthen the image of the EC in the third countries and the knowledge on the EU policies and activities</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 7.3.1</u> How the presence of Delegation in third countries is perceived by local stakeholders, including MSs and International organizations</p> <p><u>Indicators 7.3.2</u> To what extent the stakeholder in the country knows the EC policy and actions</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p>
<p>JC 7. 4 If and how the EU has been able to demonstrate its specific added value in relation to the Presidency and MS and to influence the international organizations/bodies while making it visible externally</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 7.4.1</u> Constant key role of the EC in reaching EU common positions to be presented in the ECOSOC, selected Trust Funds, UN HR</p>	<p>-</p>

<p>Council.</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.4.2</u> How the EC role is perceived by selected International Organisations (HQ and field)</p> <p><u>Indicators 7.4.3</u> How the role of the EC in international fora is perceived by governments of third parties and OECD countries</p> <p><u>Indicators 7.4.3</u> How the role of the EC in international fora and in international events is perceived by the international press</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>The EU is perceived as an actor that can act internationally to some extent and that is able to make a difference because of its size and economic power, but this is depending on its leadership. Though its lengthy decision making processes and upfront different external policies of the respective EU MS results in a rather critical, and in some media even negative, perception about the EU's external action.</p>
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>From both cases, the perception emerges of an EU that has a certain role to play in international affairs in support of peace and security and the defence of human rights. Occasional reference is made to the UN in the case of Georgia, none in the cases of Tunisia. But the role it can take as an international actor also depends on its leadership. In the case of Georgia, it was because of a strong Mr Sarkozy, in his function as the President of the EU Council and supported by Mrs Merkel, that the EU could make an impression. In the case of Tunisia, the EU had followed the footsteps of French external action over the years preceding the democratic uprising but could make its strong support for the democratic movement against because the strong backing it received from strong EU MS, such as Germany, the UK and Scandinavian countries.</p>	

Appendix 3 – Description of press findings, per country

Appendix 3 a - Tunisia

German press

From the 37 articles found, the majority (30) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. Only 7 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. 11 articles reflect that there are explicit differences, or incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while 7 articles reflect coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Tunisian crisis.

The articles highlight the incoherence in external action and messages on the events among the EU MS (notably France, Spain and Italy versus the Northern EU MS) as well as between the external action of France, in particular, and the EU institutions and Northern EU MS. France is portrayed as the big protégée of Ben Ali and his clan that only turns sides at the very last minute, while Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle have been supportive of the democratic uprising from the beginning (speaking out fully in line with the objectives of the Lisbon and Nice treaties) and being supported in their outspokenness by the German Government and Scandinavian countries.

But incoherence is also evident from the messages originating from different EU institutions who are pointing at the immediate support of the democratic uprising by Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle, as well as by members of the European Parliament versus the EU's past support to the economic development of Ben Ali's regime (leading nearly to the signing of a preferential partnership between the EU and Tunisia) and the praise of the developments in Tunisia by EU Commissioner Mrs Nellie Kroes during an EU Parliamentary meeting in January 2010.

Only 2 articles reflect on the benefits of the EU's external action (references are made to the economic cooperation with the EU as well as the EU's stress on supporting political dialogue and civil society as of 1995 when the Mediterranean Policy of the EU was formulated) and no single article present the European Union as a global actor. Several articles, though, discuss the plans of the Mediterranean Union whereby the Northern MS are portrayed as having blocked any meaningful cooperation with the Mediterranean region. The EU is only marginally mentioned in this regard and sketched as a regional actor that has not taken up its role properly.

From all articles, there are 15 that reflect clearly an overall negative image of the EU and its institutions while 11 articles portray a rather positive image of the EU and its institutions (reflections on the EU MS are excluded from this counting). The positive image is given in relation to Mrs Ashton's and Mr Fuelle's immediate support to the democratic uprising that are seen as fully coherent with the objectives of the Lisbon treaty (art. 21) as well as the visibility communication priorities as expressed by Mrs Ferrero-Waldner (Draft Communication "The EU in the World" 2006-2009). On the other side, the EU and its institutions are described as having followed in the past the external action of France, in particular, without taking a lead on how to deal with the dictatorial regime of Ben Ali. Moreover, several critical remarks were made about the strong economic support that the Ben Ali regime had received in the past from the EU and its institutions without any critical positions taken by the latter.

The EU and its institutions have been intensely covered in the German press. The articles are critical but well informed that reflect on the positive external action of the EU as well as the deficiencies (whereby one paper, 'Die Welt', is clearly more negative than the rest). Overall, though, there is a majority of negative articles that point in particular at the incoherence issue between EU MS as well as between EU MS and the EU and its institutions.

Finally, two Tunisians are given the word: Hamadi Jebali (General Secretary of the Islamic Movement Al-Nahdha) and Sihem Bensedrine (journalist and human rights activist). Both complain about the EU and France, in particular, about having supported the Ben Ali Regime so

strongly and state that Europe had no willingness to look behind the façade to understand the country (and to understand the role of the Islam in Tunisia). They express hopes that Europe will now act differently and expect clear signals in this regard.

In a complementary search in Bild Zeitung Online – the principal tabloid in Germany – the following observations can be made based on 35 articles found: The reporting on the events in Tunisia concentrates on the consequences of the democratic uprising for German tourists. A good number of articles highlight the dictatorial regime of the Ben Ali regime and the luxury of his clan as compared to the rest of the country. There is hardly any political analysis provided with very little information about the reasons leading to the uprising. The European Union is mentioned once in all articles found, Merkel is mentioned four times, Sarkozy one time, the EC is not mentioned at all and Mrs Ashton is also not mentioned.

French press

From the 31 articles found, only 15 mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. 16 articles deal with France without mentioning the EU. 6 articles reflect explicit differences, or incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while only 3 articles reflect coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Tunisian crisis.

The French press discusses intensely the role of the French Government and only partially puts the EU and its institutions in the picture. There is a major outcry about the positions and views expressed by several ministers of the French Government, such as the new Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Alliot-Marie who proposed to help Tunisian police forces while the democratic uprising was at its heat. The press also underlined thereby the incoherence of the French policy with the overall objectives of the Lisbon Treaty.

Several voices from within French civil society and the Tunisian community as well as the European Parliament get space pressuring the French Government for change. The three papers Le Monde, La Croix and Liberation are coherent in pointing at the negative role of the French Government (as well as Italy), the “double-standard” of the EU in being supportive to the Ben Ali regime in the past but also its support to the democratic movement (as expressed by Mrs Ashton in the beginning of the uprising). Throughout the articles, Europe is mostly dealt as one entity without singling out particular EU MS, with the exception of one article where the UK is heralded as the only MS that had expressed its protest about the actions of the Ben Ali regime at a very early stage of the uprising, ahead of the EU and its institutions and France.

Contrary to all other papers in France as well as internationally, Le Figaro did not express any negative views on the French Government’s policy and external action. It made instead several critical remarks on the role of Mrs Ashton (about her support of the demonstrators), complained about her absence from the media scene and reported very negatively about the status quo of the just formed EEAS and its inability to find a role in between the divide between French reservations and the German wish to send a strong political signal about the situation in Tunisia.

The benefits of the EU external action for Tunisia are only mentioned in relation to the European Neighbourhood Policy but are not put in a positive light in view of the EU’s support to a dictatorial regime throughout the past years. No explicit references were made to the role that the EU could play as a regional, or even global power in the region.

Looking at the French media coverage overall, and taking Le Figaro out of the equation, the image it portrays about the EU and its institutions would be half positive/ half negative as far as concerns its coherence with the Lisbon Treaty and the visibility communication objectives as laid down in the Draft Communication by Mrs Ferrero-Waldner (“The EU in the World” 2006-2009). Taking Le Figaro into the equation, the balance goes clearly to the negative.

Finally, two Tunisians are given the word: Mr Hassine Dimassi (Interim Minister of new Tunisian Government, now stepped down) and Prof. Moncef Marzouki (Opposition party leader). Both express big disappointment about the role of the EU and France, in particular, vis-à-vis Tunisia. Mr Dimassi recognises a paradoxical relation of his country with the EU, with excellent economic reports, but an European continent that leaned on the dictatorship.

UK press plus New York Times (NYT)

From the 14 articles found in the UK press and the 2 articles in the NYT, the majority (13) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. 5 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. 7 articles reflect that there are explicit differences, or incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while only 2 articles state coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Tunisian crisis. The other articles principally report on the event with a strong finger-pointing at the negative role of France and the hypocrisy of Mr Sarkozy's external policy.

In the 2 NYT articles, Europe only appears marginally and indirectly. There is no mention of the EU or its institutions, nor of any representative like Mrs Ashton or Mr Fuelle. The centre of attention goes to France and the negative and ignorant image it has portrayed about itself internationally: how its policy has supported the Ben Ali regime to the last minute, expressed by various French ministers, including the new Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Alliot-Marie who offered the help of French riot police. No linkage is made between these critical comments about France and the EU – the EU thereby not appearing in any manner, neither negative, nor positive.

In the UK press, the incoherence between French external action (and support to the Ben Ali regime to the last minute) and the EU statements and policy is explicitly discussed (while several strong references are made to the dubious role of the EU by supporting Ben Ali in the past so strongly).

Contrary to the press from other countries, the EU is often mentioned together with the US in having a joint view on supporting the Ben Ali regime in the past, and now supporting the change towards democracy. This shapes an impression of the EU being an international, or at least regional power having (potential) influence in the North African region. On the other side, the EU and its institutions are shown as having potential leverage to make a change in Tunisia but not exercising it because of the strong French dominance towards this country.

In 3 articles there is some reflection on the benefits that the cooperation with Europe had brought about in the past, notably regarding the economic development of Tunisia and the improvement of education and healthcare through the EU association agreement and the financial assistance of multilateral institutions.

Throughout the articles, the UK press is strongly critical on the role of France – distinctively different from the press from other countries. 10 out of 14 articles (UK press) portray an overall negative image of the EU and its institutions about its external action towards Tunisia and do not reflect the visibility communication priorities as stated in the Draft Communication by Mrs Ferrero-Waldner ("The EU in the World" 2006-2009). Only two articles reflect positively on the image of the EU by highlighting the calls by Mrs Ashton for stopping the disproportionate use of force by the policy and the urge to release those activists who have protested peacefully for democracy.

Polish press

The events in Tunisia were marginally covered by the press in Poland. From the 5 articles found, only one mentions the EU or an EU institution explicitly. 4 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. The articles do not reflect explicitly on any differences, or

incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions on the Tunisian crisis. As the topic is not widely, nor controversially discussed in Polish media, there are no conflicting messages concerning Europe's role about this event. MS are coherent when issuing travel warnings for their citizens, and MS governments and EU officials are voicing coherent messages condemning the former leaderships' action.

The potential benefits of EU external action are only mentioned in one article when EU officials offer help with organising elections in order to stabilise the situation in Tunisia. Moreover, the EU is not presented as a global actor; its relations with Tunisia are portrayed as bilateral. In the few articles available, the EU is presented overall positively because of the EU's willingness to support the transition in Tunisia and the voicing of criticism of the old Tunisian leadership. Finally, concerns are expressed about the well-being of Europe's citizens in Tunisia, with a particular focus on French and Polish nationals.

Danish press

From the 18 articles found, the majority (14) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. Only 4 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. 5 articles reflect that there are explicit differences, or incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while 2 articles reflect coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Tunisian crisis. Generally, the EU is mentioned as a single entity that acts overall coherently and in an unified manner. Though there are differences highlighted between Southern and Northern EU MS with regard to the priority given to supporting democratisation processes.

It is interesting to note that rather than referring to individual actors, Danish newspapers in general refer only to "the EU". There are hardly any references to neither individuals nor organizations within the EU. The two European politicians that are prominently given space during this period are the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, Mr Carl Bildt, and his counterpart in France, Mrs Michelle Alliot-Marie. They had significantly different interpretations of the role of the EU in the Tunisian events. While Bildt believed that the actions of the EU during the last 15 years have been mainly a failure, Alliot-Marie expressed the view that the EU should further support Ben Ali's regime with technical assistance.

The benefits of the EU's external action are portrayed in a negative manner. References are made to the economic support of Europe to Ben Ali's regime in the past and the lack of pressures on Tunisia for democratic change, thereby preventing any democratic forces to stand up. The underlying message in many articles is that in spite of Europe, rather than with the help of Europe, that the Tunisian population managed to get rid of their dictator. The support expressed by the EU institutions in the beginning of the democratic uprising (by Mrs Ashton and Mr Fuelle) are noted, but rather as careful statements from a weak EU.

From all articles, there are 13 that reflect clearly an overall negative image of the EU and its institutions while only some 5 articles discuss a (cautiously) positive image of the EU and its institutions (reflections on the EU MS are excluded from this counting). During the period researched, there is only one article that is specifically positive, stating that for years the EU and many other European countries have financed basic human rights projects in the Arabic world, including North Africa, and supplemented the programmes with notions of the importance of supporting freedom of speech and other fundamental human rights in the region. Other articles are rather positive about the potential future role of the EU and shape expectations that the EU and its MS can play a role in accordance with the objectives set in the Lisbon treaty (putting a focus on the future role of the EU and its capacity to firmly support the transition and support it economically, politically, legally and technically).

In three contributions, the EU is referred to as a regional power that can assert influence over North Africa and the Middle East – even to the extent that it has bigger influence than the US, Russia, South Africa or China.

The analysis of the Danish MCA gives the impression that the EU has failed to explain its actions fully towards the outside and appears as an entity that acts in a hypocritical manner, i.e. saying one thing but acting in reality differently. Europe is perceived to have put its own economic and security interests before the need of a democratic transition (though not all papers are equally negative about this choice, given the argument that this had prevented the region to fall into greater poverty and extremism).

Appendix 3 b - Georgia

German press

From the 145 articles found, the majority (128) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. Only 17 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. Some 34 articles reflect that there are explicit differences, or incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while 57 articles reflect coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Georgia crisis. Broadly observed, there is a nuanced though rather positive picture provided by Europe, whereby France and Germany are getting a central place in determining the course of Europe (while noting clear differences between both and the Eastern EU MS, in particular).

The coherence is explained by the immediate condemnation of the Russian invasion into Georgia by the EU Commission, the Council of Europe and several EU MS, in line with calls for immediate fire-stops by the NATO, the USA and the OSCE. Mr Solana (and his spokesperson) are only mentioned in the initial phase of the conflict. Thereafter, Mr Sarkozy – presented mostly as the President of the EU Council – is referred to as the European lead person; this pushes the EU and its institutions into the shadow. The incoherence is mainly evident from the hard-line position of the Eastern and Baltic EU MS, plus Sweden and UK on one side, while France and Germany are following a more diplomatic path. The latter is portrayed as a type of 'Realpolitik' in view of Europe's dependence on Russian oil and gas. Several articles refer to these divergences and complain strongly about the absence of an EU common policy and strategy on how to deal with Russia. While the divergences are pointed out, careful attention is given to the calls that Europe needs to speak with one voice and what can be achieved with it – an issue that shows the benefits it can have for joint external action (and indirectly, the added value that a coherent European action can have). In several of the articles the need for a more institutionalised external action of the EU are referred to.

The press reports somewhat more positively about the benefits of a joint European approach. It refers to the ceasefire by Russia and the partial withdrawal of Russian troops from Georgian territory – issues that were negotiated under the leadership of Mr Sarkozy. There are also several articles pointing at the financial support that this region will obtain and the emergency aid that the EU donated to Georgia's civil society immediately after the outbreak of the crisis.

Throughout the articles, the EU is presented as a relatively strong international actor that can impact on regional conflicts and exercise pressure. It is mentioned on par with the US and the NATO, while there is acknowledgement that this is taken place under a French President who is leading on behalf of Europe (in strong/ intense exchange with the German government). The role that the EU can play as an international actor (rather than a 'global' actor) is also explained through the (marginal) presence of a weakened and outgoing US President, and its government. Because of this presentation as an international actor, the overall image is positive underlying that good external action is possible, if spoken with one voice (while several articles mention, again,

the lack of coherence portraying a fragmented/ negative picture of Europe – though these contributions are not dominant in the articles found).

The media coverage of the event highlights that Europe is a big entity with a broad agreement (shared between all EU MS) that states that this type of action by Russia is unacceptable, while pointing also at several issues of incoherence that exist within the EU. The broad agreement in support of peace and conflict resolution reflects the visibility communication priorities, as laid down by Ferrero Waldner in the Draft Communication (“The EU in the World” 2006-2009). This visibility, however, is primarily to the benefit of the EU MS that were heavily involved in this crisis, namely France and Germany, while the EU and its institutions find hardly any place in the articles.

In a complementary search in Bild Zeitung Online – the principal tabloid in Germany – the following observations can be made based on 118 articles found: The reporting on the events in Georgia covers the developments extensively and provides a considerable level of political information. The EU and its institutions in Brussels, however, receive little attention. Solana is mentioned twice, the European Commission not at all and the European Union eight times throughout the articles. Sarkozy, as the President of the EU at the time, is mentioned 31 times while Merkel is referred to 35 times. Europe is mentioned at many instances (62 times) though presented primarily as a geopolitical entity vis-à-vis Russia that is dependent on energy from Eastern Europe and Asia. Angst of a new cold war and the worsening of the security situation in Europe appear throughout the articles and interviews.

French press

From the 87 articles found, the majority (81) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. Only 6 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. Some 25 articles stress the dividedness of Europe and incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while only some 5 articles reflect coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Georgia crisis. There are an equal amount of articles portraying a specific negative or specific positive image of the EU (some 11 each).

The articles generally mention the terms EU and Europe but make also reference to the European Commission and the Council (in particular the Ministers of Foreign Affairs). EU Presidency is mentioned very often and in this regard the French President Mr Sarkozy. Mr Solana is only mentioned once and ‘Brussels’, as an acronym for the EU is mentioned five times. The actions and visibility of Mr Sarkozy is very much put in the context of France having the responsibility to lead Europe. As such, Europe as an actor becomes visible and can be seen as being more than the French President, alone.

The differences/ incoherence between the EU MS France, Germany and Italy on one side, and the Eastern EU MS are highlighted quite strongly pointing at an EU that still has to find its role, joint language and coherent external action. The difficulty to reach a common position among the 27 EU MS is discussed on several occasions. The Georgian crisis is taken as the prominent case in point (leading one paper to also discuss how much a ratified and implemented Lisbon Treaty would have helped at this stage to provide for a more common EU approach and voice towards the outside).

The relationship EU – USA is hardly discussed. And its actual role as a global player, in relation to the NATO, the UN or the OSCE is equally faint. On the other side, the press stresses the potential global role that the EU could have, expectations are high. The benefits of EU external action are also little evident from the articles found. Benefits become somehow clear in the articles that stress that Europe has spoken with one voice, has been active in seeking jointly a diplomatic solution to the conflict and playing a mediating role in the conflict between Russia and Georgia.

The role of the EU is presented positively and negatively in an almost equal amount of times. There is quite some difference, however, between the different newspapers. Le Monde has a rather positive view about the role of the EU, while in Liberation it is almost always seen as negative. Le Figaro is positive about the role of Mr Sarkozy and his government. Several articles contain also a mix of positive as well as negative comments about the EU, which explains that the perception about Europe can leave some type of confusion – giving the EU the benefit of the doubt, but recognising that there is a long way to go before a common and coherent external action by the EU can be exercised.

The overall message regarding Europe's role and attitude towards this event that emerges is: Europe was present as the main international actor to intervene and to mediate in the conflict but it wasn't able to respond quickly and with a common position. The analysis of these articles tell that the EU objectives of the external action, as laid down in the Nice Treaty, and the visibility communication objectives as stipulated in the Ferrero-Waldner Draft Communication ("The EU in the World" 2006-2009) were hardly met.

Finally, voices from Georgia in the French press are the following: The Georgian President made a thankful comment on the prompt action of Sarkozy who was able to broker a deal in the name of the EU. "If the EU had been presided by a small country or if Sarkozy had left for holidays, there would have been a high probability that the Russian tanks would now be in Tbilisi." As such, he expressed thanks to the French President and not the EU as an actor. But the former Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that "the 27 have reacted in this crisis quite good and faster than usual."

UK press

From the 107 articles found, the majority (94) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. Only 13 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. Some 40 articles stress the dividedness of Europe and incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while only about 10 articles reflect coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Georgia crisis. About 50% of the articles portray an slightly negative, negative or extreme negative image of the EU organs and the actions of its MS. From the 10+ articles that portray a positive picture, approx.. half originates from the Financial Times.

The EU is described as 'amorphous' (and far away) entity but without specifying what it contains or what actions it takes. No specific references are made to the Commission and Mr Sarkozy is mostly referred to as the French President, who is holding the rotating EU Presidency. His appearance in the press is rather minimal as compared to the other language papers (15 times). Mr Solana is mentioned twice – once as the "EU's foreign minister" and once as the "Spanish foreign policy chief". EU MS are also not presented in their relation to the EU, but rather as countries acting on their own (with the exception of the Financial Times). The UK is mostly presented as not being part of the EU and rather seen as an actor standing on its own, with its own interests to defend.

The incoherence between EU MS and the EU becomes evident from Western Europe, notably France, Germany and Italy, put against the new EU MS from Eastern Europe. There is overall sympathy with the position of Eastern MS and their agony from past Russian aggression while Germany and France are described as not decisive enough, not prepared to support western values ("turning down a vulnerable democracy in Georgia"), not respecting the territorial integrity of Georgia and not willing to use their power (and leverage) that these countries possess at full. The general tone is that Europe is "deeply divided" over the question on how to deal with Georgian crisis. There is little discussion about the reasons why France and Germany take a more nuanced and diplomatic role vis-à-vis Russia (i.e., the dependence on Russian oil and gas).

The articles make only on a few occasions reference to the benefits of the EU external action, such as the formulation of a six-point plan underpinning the ceasefire. Potential future benefits of a joint EU external action are not discussed. The EU's role as an international/ global actor becomes not evident from the articles and where the topic is discussed it is done so in a predominantly negative and Eurosceptic way. The EU is described as weak in handling the Georgian crisis, insignificant and only occasionally as endeavouring to be a 'middleman' in the crisis.

Overall messages from the articles are that "Europe is not capable to defend its citizens", that "Britain should have its own foreign' defence policy ... defining a common strategy with Europe is seen as useless". Its only the Financial Times that is somehow more supportive and positive about what the EU has been able to achieve.

Finally, Georgian stakeholders express the wish that Europe can pressure Russia to get the troops out of its country and that the EU can take a lead in the peace process.

New York Times (NYT)

From the 35 articles found, the majority (31) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. Only 4 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. 23 articles reflect that there are explicit differences, or incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while a surprising big number of articles (32) reflect coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Georgia crisis. The overall reflection on Europe and the EU, though, is negative.

Most articles, which reflect *coherent* messages from different EU-actors report on similar positions/action by different EU Member States. As the reports hardly differentiate between EU institutions and mostly talk about "the EU" when referring to various EU institutions, not many coherent messages from different EU bodies can be observed.

Articles reflecting *incoherence* predominantly report on different positions of single EU member states in comparison to other EU member states, or groups of EU member states in comparison to other groups of EU Member States. An "east/west-divide" can be observed in the coverage after 16 August: reports repeatedly mention positions of "Eastern Europe" or "the West". A possible explanation is that at this time Eastern European countries took action by organizing a trip of their heads of state to Tbilisi – that the NYT calls a "show of solidarity" – while France and Germany were engaging in mediation between Georgia and Russia. This parallel and only partly coordinated action is described in a way that shows an east/west-divide within the EU.

Reports about positions of single EU member states focus strongly on France, though Germany is also mentioned in several articles. France's action is often presented as bilateral action without any explanation about France holding the EU presidency; a minority of articles point out that France was chairing EU institutions at the time of the escalation of the conflict in the Caucasus region. This coincides with Mr Sarkozy being presented foremost as the French President (with his role as President of the EU Council treated as a sort of Annex information).

The reports describe the main features of EU external action, but also reflect the outcomes of action taken during the conflict, as well as other relevant outcomes of EU external action. Directly relevant outcomes of EU external action mentioned in the reports are the successful negotiation of the cease-fire agreement and the agreement of EU Member States to possibly send peacekeepers/ monitors/ observers to the Caucasus region. As for indirectly relevant outcomes of EU external action, the NYT repeatedly reports "the EU has recognized Kosovo" - the NYT does not distinguish between different positions taken by single EU member States on this issue - and that this worsened its relations with Russia. The NYT also reports on possible outcomes of EU external action, such as possible sanctions against Russia (blocking Russian ambitions to join WTO, boycotting the Olympics in Sochi). It also underlines the economic implications of EU

external action, such as EU energy security. While such outcomes are described, the concrete 'benefits' of EU external action are little presented.

The NYT presents the EU, as a broad entity, as a global actor that mediates international conflicts, has leverage on Russia and plays a significant role in decisions taken by international bodies, such as the UN or the WTO. The NYT also presents Europe, as well as Germany, as a mediator between the USA and Russia.

Although several articles represent the EU positively and give the EU credit for its mediation efforts, a clear majority of the articles portray the EU in a negative light, i.e. by underlining that the mediation efforts have not been fully successful. Also, The EU is described as "slow" and "divided" with the "old Europe" preventing a hard line towards Russia. Many reports outline the differences between Eastern and Western EU member States and the effects this divide has on EU external action.

The NYT also compares EU external action to US external action, and in this comparison the EU is criticized for not taking such a hard stance on Russia as the US do. In some reports recommendations for EU (and US) external action are given, implicitly showing that the EU does not act as the NYT would expect from it. The NYT also criticizes that the EU and US don't take a unified position on the conflict and Russia.

Overall, the EU is presented as an important actor in this event, however the reports do not miss out on criticising it for being slow and divided. This final overall observation also leads to the analysis that the objectives of the external EU action and the visibility communication priorities as laid down in Ferrero Waldner's Draft Communication ("The EU in the World" 2006-2009) are not met in the NYT.

Finally, Georgian stakeholders are not given much space in the reports. The Georgian president is quoted confidently expressing hopes that the EU brokered ceasefire agreement will be effective, while a senior Georgian official, quoted anonymously criticizes the EU and US for "impotence and inability [...] to be unified and to exert leverage, and to comprehend the level of the threat".

Polish press

From the 75 articles found, the majority (68) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. Only 7 articles mention an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. 36 articles reflect that there are explicit differences, or incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while 20 articles reflect coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Georgia crisis.

The high attention in the Polish press can be explained by the recent Polish history. They express a deep concern and sympathy with a country that wants to escape from the influence of Russia and highlight how, in particular conservative forces within Poland, want to steer a hardliner course vis-à-vis the Russian Government and this is expressed in many op-ed contributions among the articles. The Polish leadership's internal disagreement on what strategy to pursue in the response to the conflict in the Caucasus region is reflected in many articles. Several discuss the extent to which Poland can influence the European external action vis-à-vis Russia and express frustrations about the more diplomatic approach followed by France, Germany and most other Western EU MS while Poland and the Baltics steer a stern course towards their big neighbour. As such, the MCA of the Polish press reveals also a strong divide within Polish politics and society on the role that Poland can play within the EU as well as its role as an EU MS in shaping external action of the EU.

Most articles that reflect *coherent* messages from different EU-actors report on similar positions/action by different EU Member States. As most reports don't distinguish between different EU Institutions - talking about "the EU" or "Europe" - not many coherent messages

from different EU bodies can be observed. Reports quoting EU officials or featuring interviews with (former) EU officials distinguish between the different EU institutions and highlight the dynamics within them, between them and with Member States. The EU Institutions' role and attitude is both presented as conflictive and incoherent (i.e. reports saying that there is disagreement within the EP on the one hand, and MEPs emphasizing that common EU foreign policy exists on the other hand), as well as coherent and cooperative (i.e. about the EC and the Council taking measures and adopting similar positions).

Articles reflecting *incoherence* predominantly report on different positions of single EU member states in comparison to other EU member states, or groups of EU member states in comparison to other groups of EU Member States. Most reports take Poland's role in the conflict and Poland's role in the EU as a point of departure. Readers get the perspective that Poland was a decisive player in the conflict. Other EU Member States and their attitudes are mostly mentioned if their position is either supportive to Poland's, or if it clearly contradicts it. Member States, which don't position themselves on one of the two sides, are hardly mentioned. Germany and France - France is both represented as acting on behalf of the EU as well as on a bilateral level - get most attention, and most criticism. Germany, as well as Italy, is singled out to be pro-Russian. The Baltic States are presented as Poland's allies and many reports talk positively about regional cooperation in Central Europe and Central Eastern Europe. Reports create the impression that a clear east/west divide exists in the EU. Also the term "old Europe", which was introduced during the Iraq war, was used.

The articles describe the main features of EU external action, but also reflect the outcomes of action taking during the conflict. Outcomes of EU external action mentioned in the reports are the successful negotiation of the cease-fire agreement and the agreement of the EU MS over sending monitors to the Caucasus region. Europe is also portrayed as a global actor that mediates international conflicts, has leverage on Russia and plays a significant role in decisions taken by international bodies, such as the UN or the WTO.

Europe is presented as a big entity containing many different actors and institutions in Brussels as well as the MS without one clear face or one voice that speaks on behalf of everybody (except for Mr Sarkozy who is presented as both, French President and President of the EU Council). As an entity, it is presented in a positive manner (i.e., when it is said that only action on EU level can be effective and that necessary steps were taken), and in a negative way (i.e., when it is said that it acts slowly and that there is discrepancy among its members). This also informs the analysis that the objectives of the external action and the visibility communication priorities of the EU and its institutions are only partially met. It is an entity that can act, that has leverage and that plays a role internationally in favour of preserving peace and preventing conflict. But it is also an entity that has no coherent policy towards its principal neighbour, Russia, and that therefore is entangled in a tedious struggle to find a common line.

Finally, there are several interviews with Georgian representatives, such as the Georgian ambassador to Poland, who express their tanks to Poland and expect the EU to take a hard stance on Russia. Other Georgian stakeholders also want the EU to impose sanctions on Russia, but they voice doubt whether the EU would do this. Clearly, Georgian representatives expect "Europe" to back Georgian's ambition to join the EU and NATO.

Danish press

From the 21 articles found, the majority (20) mention the EU or an EU institution explicitly. Only 1 article mentions an EU Member State (MS) without mentioning the EU. Only 2 articles reflect that there are explicit differences, or incoherence between the messages provided by representatives or actions of EU institutions while the majority of articles reflect (to different degrees) coherence in the messages provided by the different actors from Europe on the Georgia crisis. Overall, the EU is presented as a single actor.

Discrepancies become evident from the different positions of Eastern EU MS versus the more diplomatic approach followed by France and Germany. Mr Solana (and his spokesperson) is twice mentioned carrying forward the same messages as later on Mr Sarkozy in his function as French President and President of the EU Council (while being seen more as the second, instead of being the French President): condemning the Russian invasion and proposing a joint way forward by the EU. The press also portrays an EU that aims seriously to find a common line towards the Russian aggression, but underlines on several occasions the lack of a joint EU policy and long-term strategy vis-à-vis Russia (and makes in this context references to the energy policy of the EU and dependence on Russian oil and gas).

There is no explicit reference made to any benefits of the external action of the EU (except for the fact that the EU could also act to a certain degree independently from the US in this international crisis – negotiating a peace plan). But there are several analytical articles that portray Russian behaviour as the reaction on certain external action (and outcomes of EU policy) in the past, notably the independence of Kosovo supported by the West, the Eastern expansion of the NATO that had provoked Russia, the underestimation of the dependency on Russian oil and gas and the neglect of consulting Russia on international events (expressed by Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark as well as the US Ambassador to Moscow).

The EU is presented as a significant global/ regional actor with the potential to alter the political agenda within neighbouring countries. It is mentioned at the same level as the US dealing with Russia at the same eye height. The peacekeeping and mediating role of Mr Sarkozy, in particular, is described in a way that shapes confidence in the capabilities of the EU to actively engage, both politically but also by offering the sending of peacekeeping forces, in solving the crisis.

Overall, the EU seems to be speaking with a fairly strong voice in this case, and it appears to be able to convey its message quite clearly, i.e. to act together in favour of peace and security, supporting the rule of law and the protection of civilians. The image of the EU's communications during this crisis therefore appears to be coherent with the overall values of the EU. The EU also appears overall positive (and worth having, as an institutional actor) which is expressed through sentences where the EU is named in relation to "solving crisis, peacekeeping, ceasefire" etc.

Finally, Georgian representatives reflected in the Danish press appear as follows: There was a widespread content amongst the Georgian population with five European presidents visited the country during the crisis, but there is also the Chair of the Delegation of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan at the Council of Europe who criticised the EU for having neglected earlier warnings about Russia's intensified involvement in Georgia.

ANNEX 13 –

E-SURVEY: SYNTHESIS REPORT

ANNEX 13 – E-SURVEY: SYNTHESIS REPORT

This synthesis report is structured as follows:

1. Introduction
2. Overall findings
3. Findings per EQ
4. Complementary observations/ findings

Appendices

- Appendix 1 – Methodology
- Appendix 2 – E-Survey in Survey Monkey
- Appendix 3 – Disaggregated data, per EQ
- Appendix 4 – Open replies, per EQ
- Appendix 5 – Evaluation matrix

Introduction

This report is based on an electronic survey done in the context of the EC Evaluation of the Visibility of EU External Action. The survey was sent to 4031 contacts in six continents. Information on the contacts, their distribution across continents and how we conducted the survey is described in Annex 1 (Methodology). Table 1 shows that 221 contacts responded, which is equal to a response rate of some 5.5% - a figure that is within the average response rates scored by e-surveys (see more on this in Annex 1). Images of the e-survey, as presented in the SurveyMonkey software, are included in Annex 2.

The majority of the respondents are senior staff members of their organisation and are well informed about EU external action. Their profile is as follows: 68% have a senior position within their organisation, 27% are at mid-level and 5% are at junior level. 57% indicate having a high familiarity with EU external action, 38% have an average familiarity and 5% replied that their familiarity is low. The majority is working on, or has experience with fragile states and crisis (48%) while the areas 'finance and economic crisis'; 'food crisis'; 'migration' and 'climate change & energy' are each known to approx. 30% of the respondents. Only about 18% is familiar with environment, biodiversity and deforestation.

We will provide in this report a scoring per EQ that is based on the weighted average of the answers received⁵. The aggregated data per EQ are listed in this summary report. The details of the disaggregated data per EQ and per region are listed in Annex 3. The open replies to the EQs are synthesised in this summary report per EQ, the written replies received are listed in Annex 4.

⁵ For example, the EQ question 1 on the Lisbon Treaty could be rated with 'highly corresponds' (4 points), 'corresponds fairly well' (3 points); 'corresponds in a limited manner' (2 points); 'does not correspond' (1 point) and 'do not know' (0 points). The number of replies per rating was multiplied with the points per rating and divided by the total number of replies received.

Table 1: Responses per continent and organisational type

	NGOs	Academia/ research	Media	Other	Not specified ⁶	Did not provide data ⁷	TOTAL
Europe	53 (60.2%)	51 (58.6%)	5 (71.4%)	12 (48%)	5		126 (58.8%)
Africa	22 (25%)	23 (26.3%)	1 (14.3%)	12 (48%)	2		60 (28%)
Latin America and Caribbean	6 (6.8%)	4 (4.7%)	-	-	-		10 (4.8%)
North America	4 (4.5%)	5 (5.7%)	-	-	-		9 (4.2%)
Asia	3 (3.5%)	4 (4.7%)	1 (14.3%)	1 (4%)			9 (4.2%)
Australia and Oceania	-	-	-	-	-		0
Did not provide data						7	7 (not counted)
TOTAL	88	87	7	25	7	7	221

The following divergences need to be taken into account when looking at the data:

- The majority of contacts that received the invitation to participate in this survey are from Europe (48%) and Africa (36%). Contacts from the other regions are between 2% and 7% (see Annex 1 for further details).
- In all the regions, the majority of contacts originate from NGO's (45%) and think tanks/ research institutes (39%). Some 7% come from media and another 7% from other types, like religious organisations or unions.
- The responses, as summarised in Table 1 above, broadly reflect the different amount of invited contacts per continent and organisational type. The distribution of responses per continent is as follows: 58% from Europe, 28% from Africa 28% and between 4% and 5% respectively from the other continents. We can explain the somewhat lower response percentage per continent, if related to the invited contacts, with the less developed internet connectivity that applies in particular to Africa.
- The comparative low numbers of responses from Latin America/ Caribbean, North America and Asia (we received no replies from Australia/ Oceania) – a total of 28 out of 221 – and the relative low number of responses from media and other organisations – a total of 39 out of 221 – will be dealt with in the analysis as “responses from other continents than Europe and Africa” and “responses from other organisations than NGOs and academia”.

Overall findings

The results of this e-survey should be used to complement the findings from the thematic studies, case studies, interviews with policy makers and opinion leaders, the literature study

⁶ As organizational type was not a compulsory question, respondents were able to omit answering this question. This results in more responses per region than per organizational type.

⁷ The respondents were asked to provide first content inputs, and only then their geographic and organizational origin. 7 respondents left the survey after providing content inputs. These seven respondents were not included in the computation of regional and organizational analysis.

and the media coverage analysis. The scope of this evaluation did not permit a more elaborate compilation of respondent-groups per continent and organisational type and a scientific modelling of the data received. The analysis of the replies to this survey is therefore based on a collection of data and their first-level aggregation that allows us to identify certain trends and principal messages across continents and organisational type. The seniority of respondents and their experience and knowledge about EU external action, however, indicate that the information provided originates from a fair amount of well-informed individuals who function as multipliers and opinion leaders in their respective environment. The majority of replies originate from NGOs and think tanks/ research institutes based in Europe and Africa, which allows for a good comparison between the thinking among non-governmental professionals about EU external action within Europe as well as outside Europe – notably Africa, but also how professionals in other parts of the world perceive the EU. This mapping can therefore function as a valuable complement to the overall study to verify the messages received from other work.

The major messages emerging are as follows:

- The **overall scoring** of the replies indicates that the EU external action scores around 2.58 on a scale from 0 (=lowest) to 4 (=highest), which reflects that the perceptions are half-way between “having limited added value” and “having fair added value”.
- These figures from the rating are overall higher than what the **replies to the open questions** would suggest⁸. The open replies are predominantly on the less positive side whereby a substantial number of individuals reflect very negatively on the EU’s external action. The principal explanation for this difference is that the majority of open replies originate from Europe, which corresponds with the low scoring from Europe⁹. From the respondents who did write additional comments and observations, one can see that the concerns about EU external action are overall higher within Europe than outside.
- The **replies from Europe are for all questions more negative than replies from Africa** – all replies from Europe score on average 2.46 while all replies from Africa score on average 2.91. Replies from the other continents are mostly more positive than those from Europe but less than from Africa – their score is on average 2.76.
- The comparison of average scores across the different questions is summarised in Table 2. It reveals that the **coherence of EU’s messages across different external action and internal policy areas** score the lowest. This corresponds with the open replies where many respondents provide negative comments about the coherence of EU’s external action. The incoherence of external action between the EU and the EU MS as well as between the EU MS get strong negative comments. Moreover, the EU’s messages are perceived as not coherent at all across the different policy fields the EU is working on.
- Table 2 also underpins another message emerging from the open replies, i.e. that the **overall image of the EU’s external action** only partially corresponds with the key issues as outlined in the Lisbon Treaty. The scoring on this question is below the overall average. The EU is seen as “work in progress” whereby the Lisbon Treaty is no more than a noble aim as long as the institutional realities in the EU do not really permit the achievement of these aims.
- The scoring about the **added value/ benefits of EU external action** is above the overall average. We can explain this from the more positive feed-back provided in the

⁸ The amount of written comments received is relatively high if compared with other e-mail surveys – we received 203 comments from 94 respondents [out of a total of 211].

⁹ 94 Open replies received: Europe: 60 [63.9%], Africa: 20 [21.3%], Other continents: 14 [14.8%]

open replies section in relation to the EU’s support to humanitarian crisis and fragile countries. Though the scoring is less positive and showing considerable differences where respondents were asked about the added value of EU external action across the different themes (see next bullet).

- The scoring of the perceived added value/ benefits of EU external action *in relation to the six themes* of the Evaluation are approximately comparable for four of the six themes, which are financial and economic crisis, global food crisis, climate change and energy scarcity and environment, biodiversity and deforestation (most respondents indicate either “having limited added value” or “having fair added value”). The EU’s dealing with crisis, fragile states, conflict prevention and peace building scores higher than these four themes. The outlier on the negative side is the theme “migration” that scores very low with a rating average of 2.01 – replies from Europe, North America and Latin America account for this low score (most respondents indicate either “having limited added value” or “no added value”). The open replies, however, are more critical across the different policy areas – notably on food security and trade in addition to very strong criticism on migration.
- Concerning the *image of the EU as a global actor* and *its role in international organisations*, the scoring is above average. This partially corresponds with the replies to the open questions where – on a more positive note – comments are provided about the gradual increase in political weight at global level. The majority of comments provided, however, underline that the image of the EU as a global actor is perceived as of little importance or even not important at all. At best, the EU reacts but does not act in the sense of a typical international actor that has to anticipate, steer or engage pro-actively on international issues. Several of the more positive comments received also indicate that the respondents see considerable potential for the EU in becoming a global actor over time which could explain why the scoring on this question is higher as the average.
- The average rating per EQ is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Average ratings per EQ

Question	Rating average
EQ 1: In your view, how does the overall image of the <i>EU’s external action</i> correspond with the key issues outlined in the Lisbon Treaty?	2.47
EQ 4: How do you perceive the added-value (benefits) of <i>EU external action</i> :	2.72
EQ 6: To what extent are the EU’s messages coherent across different external action and internal policy areas?	2.36
EQ 7 a: What image do you have of the “EU as a global actor” in international affairs in general?	2.79
EQ 7 b: What image do you have of the “EU as a global actor” based on the role it plays in major international organisations?	2.81
Overall average	2.56

Findings per EQ

Question 1

The Lisbon Treaty (Treaty on European Union, 2008, Article 3) spells out: “*The Union's shall contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, ..., and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.*”

In your view, how does the overall image of the EU's external action correspond with the key issues outlined in the Lisbon Treaty?

Answer Options	Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The overall image:	10	96	91	16	8	2.47	221

Continents	Europe	Africa	Latin America and the Caribbean	North America	Asia	Not specified	Response Count
Rating average:	2.33	2.68	2.80	2.67	2.33		
Response count:	126	60	10	9	9	7	221

Observations from open replies

- No replies indicate a high correspondence between image and key issues outlined in Lisbon Treaty
- Only very few comments indicate that image corresponds fairly well; these comments underline that progress has been made by the very fact that the Lisbon Treaty is now in place, but “the proof is still in the pudding is in the eating” – these respondents seem to still give the EU the benefit of the doubt
- There are more replies indicating that the image corresponds only in a limited manner, indicating a number of deficiencies that the EU is still struggling with. Notably: “EU is doing good work, in principle, but it does not do a lot to show this”; “intentions are good, but the reality is different”; “the portrayal of the EU varies across regions and across issue-areas”. Most comments indicate that the image rather corresponds in a “very limited manner”, than just in a ‘limited manner’.
- The majority of answers indicate that the image does not correspond to the key issues outlined. There is considerable critique about the absence of a coherent EU foreign policy and where a policy exist (or where there are elements of it) it is overrun by other EU policies (in particular trade, that is mentioned as the principal factor preventing that such an image can be obtained; but also migration is mentioned) or the foreign action policies of EU MS. The Arab Spring and the history leading the events also show that economic interests dominate over the democracy and human rights aim of the external

action, as well as development cooperation aims. Finally, there are several comments made complaining about the inefficient and slow way that the EU is working.

- Incoherence of policy and action between the EU and the EU MS, in particular the big EU MS, is mentioned strongly. Also the incoherence between different policy fields, as well as between policies and the realities on how these are implemented.
- Overall, the majority of replies portray a fairly bleak and negative picture of the EU portraying it, in the best sense, as “work in progress” with strong evidence that (given its overall composition and divergent interests within the EU as well as between the EU and MS) the Lisbon Treaty is not more than a noble aim while the institutional realities in the EU do not permit nearly to achieve these aims.

Question 4

How do you perceive the added-value (benefits) of *EU external action*:

a) in general?

Answer Options	High added value	Fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
In general:	36	89	83	6	7	2.72	221

Continents	Europe	Africa	Latin America and the Caribbean	North America	Asia	Not specified	Response Count
Rating average:	2.63	3.00	2.40	2.89	2.33		
Response count:	126	60	10	9	9	7	221

b) and in particular, in relation to:¹⁰

- The EU’s dealing with crisis & fragile states, conflict prevention & peace building?
- The EU’s actions during the financial and economic crisis?
- The EU’s dealing with the global food crisis?
- The EU’s handling of migration issues?
- The EU’s responses to climate change & energy scarcity?
- The EU’s approach to addressing environment, biodiversity & deforestation questions?

¹⁰ No further disaggregation for this question beyond the presented table

Answer Options	Of high added value	A fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The EU's dealing with crisis & fragile states, conflict prevention & peace building?	26	81	82	22	10	2.53	221
The EU's actions during the financial and economic crisis?	23	60	89	36	13	2.34	221
The EU's dealing with the global food crisis?	15	73	82	30	21	2.37	221
The EU's handling of migration issues?	6	52	90	61	12	2.01	221
The EU's responses to climate change & energy scarcity?	20	82	70	29	20	2.46	221
The EU's approach to addressing environment, biodiversity & deforestation questions?	18	75	83	24	21	2.44	221

Specific analysis of low scores on migration:

	Europe	Africa	LAC	North America	Asia	Rating Average
The EU's handling of migration issues?	2.0	2.13	1.88	2.0	2.25	2.25

Observations from open replies

- Generally speaking, there is fairly limited evidence from the open replies that the EU external action is of added value but several comments made indicate that there is a potential for such added value to be reached.
- Most often, the assistance to humanitarian tragedy is commented on positively and seen as having a fair added value. It is also mentioned as quite fast and comprehensive. Assistance to fragile states and peace building is also getting some positive remarks but individual EU MS action is getting criticism; France foreign policy in Africa is mentioned explicitly as being “despicable”.
- The EU's dealing with migration, food security and trade is strongly criticized while it is seen as having no influence, or leverage on climate and energy issues as well as on the environment. The interests of other actors, in particular the industry, are seen as too high to allow for meaningful action of the EU. As for the food crisis, the EU is seen as providing some financial assistance but not addressing the root causes leading to such a crisis.
- Comments are again made about the dominance of some EU MS and their incoherence in external policy and action that do not allow the EU to unfold its added value as an external actor.

Question 6

a) To what extent are the EU's messages coherent across different external action and internal policy areas?

Answer Options	Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
EU messages are:	8	79	97	21	16	2.36	221

b) Do any examples of coherence or incoherence in the EU's policies spring to mind and shape your image of the EU? [*open question, only*]

Continents	Europe	Africa	Latin America and the Caribbean	North America	Asia	Not specified	Response Count
Rating average:	2.18	2.66	2.44	2.78	2.33		
Response count:	126	60	10	9	9	7	221

Observations from open replies

- There are only two comments that judge the EU's messages as very coherent, or at least as fairly coherent. Where such more positive remarks are made, the additional comment is that there is still a lot to be done to further improve coherence.
- An equal number of comments received spell out that the EU's messages are little coherent across different external action and policy areas, or even not coherent at all. The observations stipulate that the main message problem of the EU is the contrast between rhetoric and "highly sophisticated" diplomatic language while action on the ground is very different, to the extent that it "obscures the real issues". Again, reference is made between the divergence between EU MS regarding their national and international interests, its difference with the EU and how this is communicated to the outside.
- Where messages are coherent, the decision making process is considered as much too lengthy. In this process of finding one message, too many actors at the EU level as well as at the level of EU MS give too many different messages.
- The inconsistency, or lack of policy coherence is most notable in those sectors that are undermined by business interests. This is in particular the case for farmer subsidies/ Agricultural Policy of the EU vis-à-vis the development policy towards the ACP countries and other countries in the South. But references are also made to the positioning of the EU and EU MS vis-à-vis the recent NATO actions in Libya. Other areas where members of the EU have offered completely divergent opinions are immigration and on governance aspects – for example concerning the Arab spring.
- These comments correspond to the comments received under question no. 1, above, where many observations concerning the incoherence of the EU and the EU MS are

made. The key observations are that the EU's messages are perceived as not coherent at all across the different policy fields the EU is working on.

Question 7

What image do you have of the “EU as a global actor” ...

a) ... in international affairs in general?

Answer Options	Highly positive	Fairly positive	Rather negative	Very negative	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	20	136	50	8	7	2.79	221

Continents	Europe	Africa	Latin America and the Caribbean	North America	Asia	Not specified	Response Count
Rating average:	2.65	2.98	3.11	2.78	3.00		
Response count:	126	60	10	9	9	7	221

b) ... based on the role it plays in major international organisations?

Answer Options	Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	38	103	61	8	11	2.81	221

Continents	Europe	Africa	Latin America and the Caribbean	North America	Asia	Not specified	Response Count
Rating average:	2.54	3.25	3.44	3.11	2.78		
Response count:	126	60	10	9	9	7	221

Observations from open replies

- Several comments received indicate that the EU is perceived as having a fair amount of influence because of its size and the funding it provides to the UN, other international organisations as well as to individual countries. Its improved legal status and its higher institutional capabilities in coordinating positions in international organisations have led to an improvement in its status in the UN as well. Though complementary comments made to such positive assessments indicate that the EU could do much more and that its substance of external action is far below of, for example, the USA.
- It is recognised that the EU profiles itself occasionally and on individual issues as a global actor but the overall image is that the EU cannot be relied on as a pillar in international relations. At best, the EU reacts but does not act in the sense of a typical international actor that has to anticipate, steer or engage pro-actively on international issues.

- More than 50% of the comments made show that the image of the EU as a global actor is perceived as little important or even not important at all. It is still too much preoccupied with its internal affairs and relations instead of acting meaningfully towards the outside. It has to substantially improve, show its credibility and increase its visibility as a global actor immensely. The UN Copenhagen Conference on the environment should serve as an example of how ineffective the EU was/ is in acting on the global stage. Also cases such as the recognition of newly independent states, i.e. Kosovo, underpin this observation.
- The improvements required should also stretch to the staffing and logistics of the EEAS that requires professionals with solid knowledge about world affairs and an infrastructure that supports them adequately.
- Overall, the EU is not perceived as a unified actor on global affairs and has to go through a steep learning curve before it can play a global actors role in international organisations.

Appendix 1 – Methodology

The purpose of this e-survey was to solicit the views on the visibility of the EU from a broad range of staff working outside government in think tanks, media organisations, NGOs or NGO associations and other organisations, such as trade unions, religious organisations, advisory bodies and private foundations. We invited 4031 contacts in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, Australia and Oceania to participate and sent an e-mail in English and French in late August 2011, with three reminders of which the last one was sent in the second week of October 2011.

The contacts originated from ECDPM’s database plus some dedicated search for contacts in other parts of the world that we did in the context of this evaluation. Table 3 provides an overview of contact numbers per region and organisational type to which we sent the invitation.

Table 3: Invitations sent per continent and organisational type

	NGOs	Academia/research	Media	Other	Total
Europe	852 (43.3%)	837 (50.8%)	159 (50.7%)	131 (43.2%)	1979 (46.7%)
Africa	833 (42.4%)	480 (29.1%)	89 (28.4%)	135 (44.5%)	1537 (36.4 %)
Latin America and Caribbean	89 (4.5%)	191 (11.6%)	14 (4.6%)	16 (5.4%)	310 (7.3%)
North America	68 (3.5%)	86 (5.2%)	25 (7.9%)	12 (4%)	191 (4.5%)
Asia	76 (3.8%)	36 (2.2%)	17 (5.5%)	8 (2.6%)	137 (3.3%)
Australia and Oceania	49 (2.5%)	18 (1.1%)	9 (2.9%)	1 (0.3%)	77 (1.8%)
Total sent	1967	1648	313	303	4231
Opted out¹¹					200
Total received					4031

Experiences with internet-based surveys sent by e-mail to recipients who have no direct connections, or working relationships with the sender show that the survey needs to be short, targeted and demand little time from respondents to fill in the questionnaire. Experience from earlier e-surveys by ECDPM show that a response rate between 4% and 9% could be expected. One week after sending the fourth reminder, we had received 211 completed replies that is equal to a response rate of approximately 5,5%. The questionnaire was put online at SurveyMonkey (WWW.SURVEYMONKEY.COM) that is a widely used software that is technically reliable and that ECDPM had used on various occasions in the past. It allows for the compilation of statistical data and to disaggregate the replies.


In addition to the content questions, we asked respondents to provide information about their professional background, seniority within the organisation and their level of knowledge about the EU. In view of the time and resources available, we decided to disaggregate the data per region. A further disaggregation per type of respondents per seniority, professional background and level of EU knowledge within the regions was not feasible.

¹¹ “Opted out” are the contacts that have declined participating in the ECDPM surveys.

To keep it focused and manageable for the recipients, we used four of the Evaluation's EQs (EQs 1; 4; 6 and 7) and adapted them slightly to make the content of the question easy to understand for an audience to whom we could not provide considerable additional explanations. The invitation e-mail, the explanation for this survey and the EQs, including sub-questions and open questions can be found in Annex 2. The survey questions (except for the open questions) were "compulsory" in the survey meaning that the respondents had to fill in almost all the questions before completing the survey. From the identity questions, only the "country of residence" was compulsory. This approach allowed for obtaining comparable data, as the survey results reflect the opinion of respondents on all questions. On the downside, it resulted in 101 respondents opening the survey but not completing it.

Appendix 2 – E-Survey on SurveyMonkey

Page 1:



Evaluation of the Visibility of the EU External Action Exit this survey

We invite you to contribute to an international survey on the visibility of the European Union (EU) external action. The survey consists of 7 questions and will take no more than 10 minutes to complete.

Nous vous invitons à participer à une enquête internationale sur la visibilité de l'action extérieure de l'UE. Il s'agit pour vous de répondre à 7 questions qui ne vous prendront pas plus de 10 minutes.

*** 1. Please choose your language / Choisissez votre langue s'il vous plait**

English

Francais

[Next](#)

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Page 2:



Exit this survey

Evaluation of the Visibility of the EU External Action

We invite you to contribute to an international survey on the visibility of the European Union (EU) external action. The survey consists of 7 questions and will take no more than 10 minutes to complete.

In return, you will receive a summary of the principal findings of this evaluation to which this survey contributes once the EC has approved the final report (see background questions below).

The survey is part of the "Evaluation of the Visibility of the EU External Action" that is commissioned by the Joint Evaluation Unit of the European Union's Directorate on Development and Cooperation – EuropeAid. The study is carried out by the [Development Researchers' Network \(DRN\)](#) and the [European Centre for Development Policy Management \(ECDPM\)](#). The study aims to provide recommendations to the European External Action Service and the European Commission on what affects the visibility of EU external action and how this visibility can be enhanced.

The Evaluation is carried out in Europe with field work in Georgia, Mali, Cambodia, Indonesia, Grenada, Kenya and Tunisia. The **Terms of Reference (ToR)** for this study asks the study team to look at the image created by the activities of the EU external action as well as the EU's communication activities, and in particular the areas of: Crisis & fragile states, conflict prevention & peace building; Financial and economic crisis; Food crisis; Migration; Climate change & energy; Environment biodiversity & deforestation. This survey is targeted at civil society. If you are interested to learn more about this evaluation, please [see the ToR](#).

Terms used in this survey:

Visibility is defined as: "The awareness and perception of the image of EU external action among EU and non-EU stakeholders resulting from EU communication activities or from other actions that have an impact on this image".

The **European Union (EU)** is the European Commission, the European Union Institutions and the European Member States.

EU external action is understood as the activities carried out outside the EU, e.g. foreign policy, international development cooperation, security & defence.

Information about filling in the survey questions:

The questions with the rating scale and about your country of residence are compulsory. They are marked with a star (*).

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Page 3:



Exit this survey

Evaluation of the Visibility of the EU External Action

* 2. The Lisbon Treaty (Treaty on European Union, 2008, Article 21, point 1) spells out: *The Union's action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, ... , and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.*

In your view, how does the overall image of the EU's external action correspond with the key issues outlined in the Lisbon Treaty?

	Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know
The overall image:	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Any comments you might want to add

* 3. How do you perceive the added-value (benefits) of EU external action:

	High added value	Fair added value	Limited added-value	No added value	Do not know
In general:	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 4. How do you perceive the added-value (benefits) of EU external action in relation to:

	Of high added value	A fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know
The EU's dealing with crisis & fragile states , conflict prevention & peace building?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The EU's actions during the financial and economic crisis ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The EU's dealing with the global food crisis ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The EU's handling of migration issues?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The EU's responses to climate change & energy scarcity ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The EU's approach to addressing environment , biodiversity & deforestation questions?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Any comments you might want to add

* 5. To what extent are the EU's messages coherent across different external action and internal policy areas?

	Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know
EU messages are:	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Any comments you might want to add

6. Do any examples of coherence or incoherence in the EU's policies spring to mind and shape your image of the EU?

Example of coherence

Example of non-coherence

* 7. What image do you have of the "EU as a global actor" in international affairs in general?

	Highly positive	Fairly positive	Rather negative	Very negative	Do not know
My image of the EU is:	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 8. What image do you have of the "EU as a global actor" based on the role it plays in major international organisations?

	Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know
My image of the EU is:	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Any comments you might want to add

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Page 4:



Exit this survey

Evaluation of the Visibility of the EU External Action



Kindly provide us with some information on your background so as to give us general knowledge about our respondents.

*** 9. Your country of residence**

10. Type of organisation you work for

- Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)
- Academia / research / think tanks
- Media
- Other

Please specify

11. Your professional position in the organisation

- Senior
- Mid-level
- Junior

12. Your familiarity with EU external action

- High
- Average
- Low

13. Area(s) / sector(s) of specialisation

- Crisis & fragile states
- Conflict prevention & peace building
- Financial and economic crisis
- Food crisis
- Migration
- Climate change & energy
- Environment biodiversity & deforestation

Other (please specify)

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Pages 5 and 6:



Evaluation of the Visibility of the EU External Action



If you wish to receive a summary of the principal findings of this evaluation, as mentioned in the introduction, please provide us with your contact details.

14. Your name

15. Your e-mail

Prev

Next

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Evaluation of the Visibility of the EU External Action



Thank you / merci!

Thank you for responding. To finish this survey, please press "Done" at the bottom of this page.

In case of any questions about this survey, please contact [Jacquie Dias](mailto:info@ecdpm.org) (info@ecdpm.org).

==

Merci d'avoir pris le temps de répondre à notre enquête. Pour valider vos réponses, veuillez cliquer sur le bouton « Terminé » au bas de cette page

Si vous avez des questions au sujet de cette enquête, veuillez prendre contact avec [Mme Jacquie Dias](mailto:info@ecdpm.org) (info@ecdpm.org).

Prev

Done

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Appendix 3 – Disaggregated data, per Evaluation Question

Visibility Study – e-survey: breakdown of addresses per region and type

	NGOs	Academia/research	Media	Other	Total
Europe	852 (43.3%)	837 (50.8%)	159 (50.7%)	131 (43.2%)	1979 (46.7%)
Africa	833 (42.4%)	480 (29.1%)	89 (28.4%)	135 (44.5%)	1537 (36.4 %)
Latin America and Caribbean	89 (4.5%)	191 (11.6%)	14 (4.6%)	16 (5.4%)	310 (7.3%)
North America	68 (3.5%)	86 (5.2%)	25 (7.9%)	12 (4%)	191 (4.5%)
Asia	76 (3.8%)	36 (2.2%)	17 (5.5%)	8 (2.6%)	137 (3.3%)
Australia and Oceania	49 (2.5%)	18 (1.1%)	9 (2.9%)	1 (0.3%)	77 (1.8%)
Total sent	1967	1648	313	303	4231
Opted out ¹²					200
Total received					4031

Visibility Study – e-survey: breakdown of responses per region and type

	NGOs	Academia/research	Media	Other	Not specified ¹³	Did not provide data ¹⁴	Total
Europe	53 (60.2%)	51 (58.6%)	5 (71.4%)	12 (48%)	5		126 (58.8%)
Africa	22 (25%)	23 (26.3%)	1 (14.3%)	12 (48%)	2		60 (28%)
Latin America and Caribbean	6 (6.8%)	4 (4.7%)	-	-	-		10 (4.8%)
North America	4 (4.5%)	5 (5.7%)	-	-	-		9 (4.2%)
Asia	3 (3.5%)	4 (4.7%)	1 (14.3%)	1 (4%)			9 (4.2%)
Australia and Oceania	-	-	-	-	-		0
Did not provide data						7	7 (not counted)
Total	88	87	7	25	7	7	221

¹² “Opted out” are the contacts that have declined participating in the ECDPM surveys.

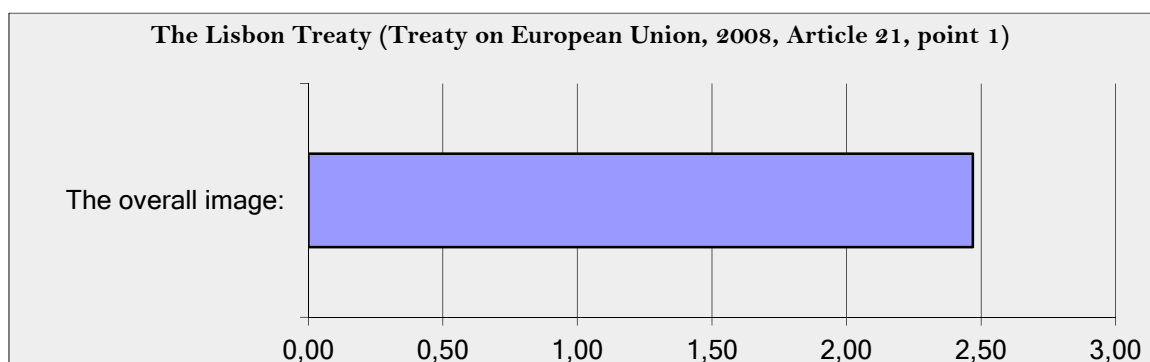
¹³ As organizational type was not a compulsory question, respondents were able to omit answering this questions. This results in more responses per region than per organizational type.

¹⁴ The respondents were asked to provide first content inputs, and only then their geographic and organizational origin. 7 respondents left the survey after providing content inputs. These seven respondents were not included in the computation of regional and organizational analysis.

Question 1: The Lisbon Treaty (Treaty on European Union, 2008, Article 21, point 1) spells out: The Union’s action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, ... , and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law. In your view, how does the overall image of the EU’s external action correspond with the key issues outlined in the Lisbon Treaty?

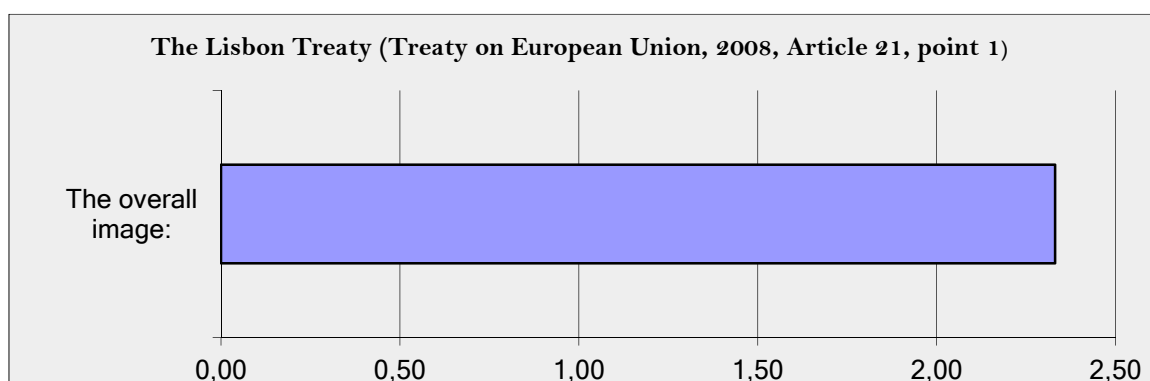
a. Aggregate answers

Answer Options	Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The overall image:	10	96	91	16	8	2.47	221



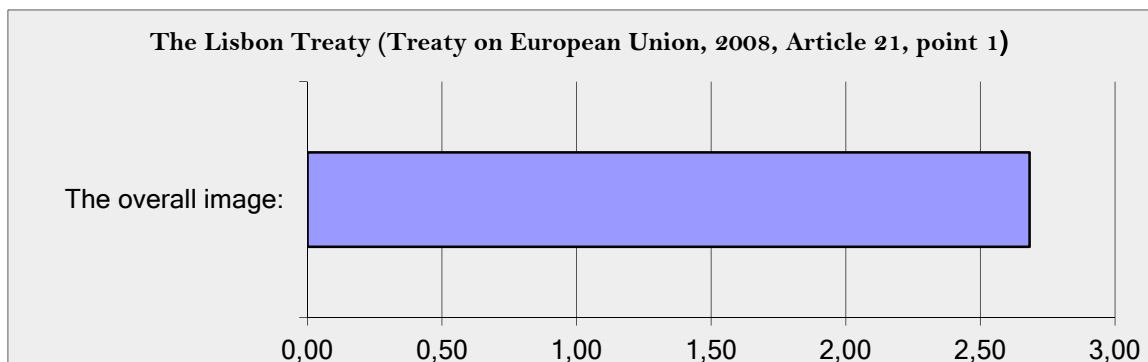
b. Europe

Answer Options	Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The overall image:	3	45	58	12	8	2.33	126



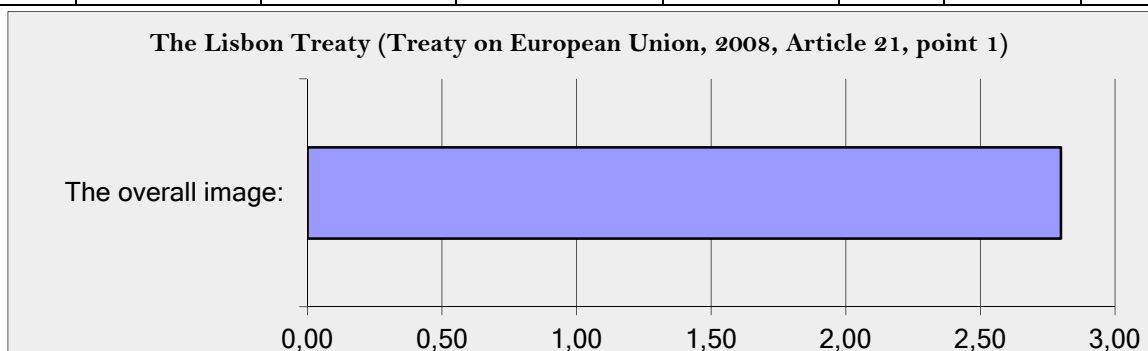
c. Africa

Answer Options	Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The overall image:	3	36	20	1	0	2.68	60



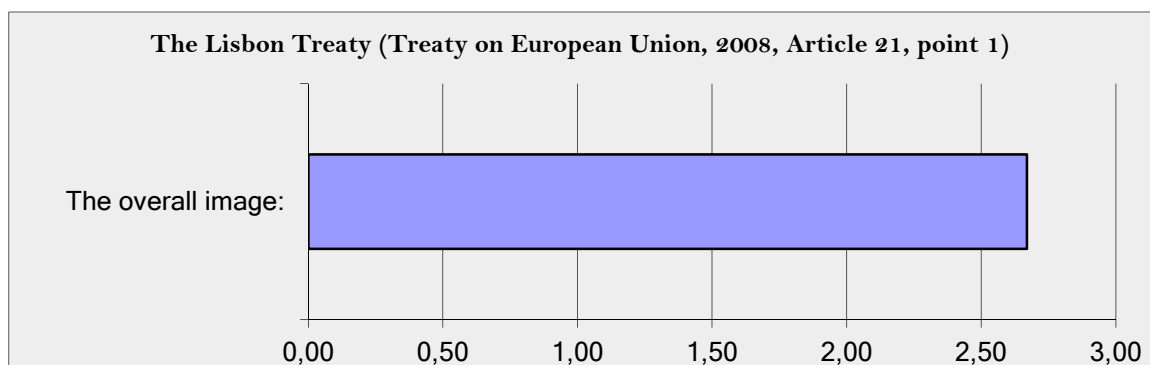
d. Latin America and the Caribbean

Answer Options	Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The overall image:	2	5	2	1	0	2.80	10



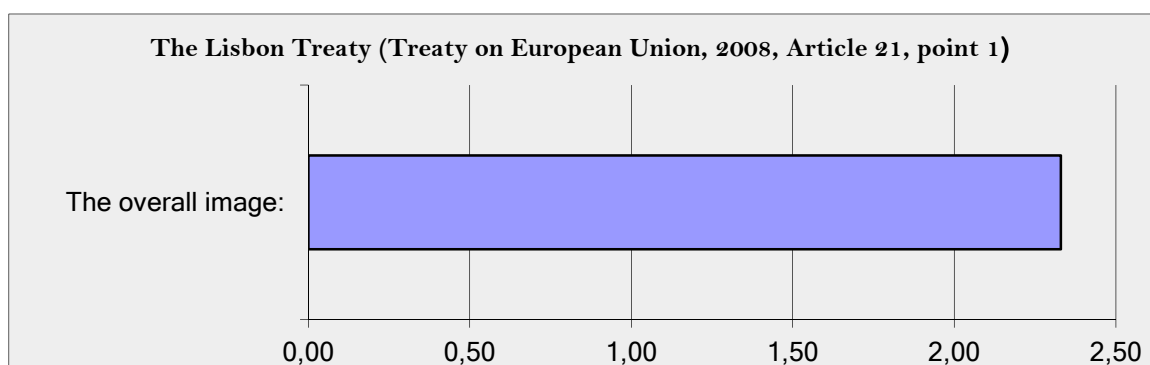
e. North America

Answer Options	Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The overall image:	2	4	1	2	0	2.67	9



f. Asia

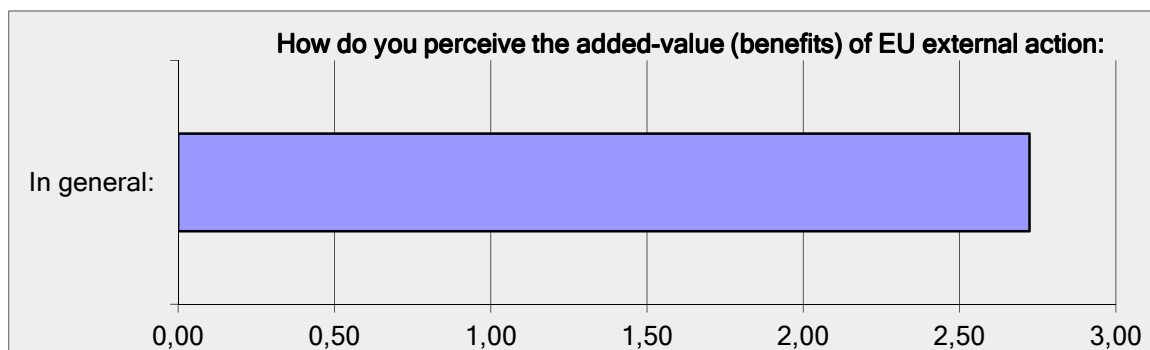
Answer Options	Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The overall image:	0	3	6	0	0	2.33	9



Question 4 a: How do you perceive the added-value (benefits) of EU external action:

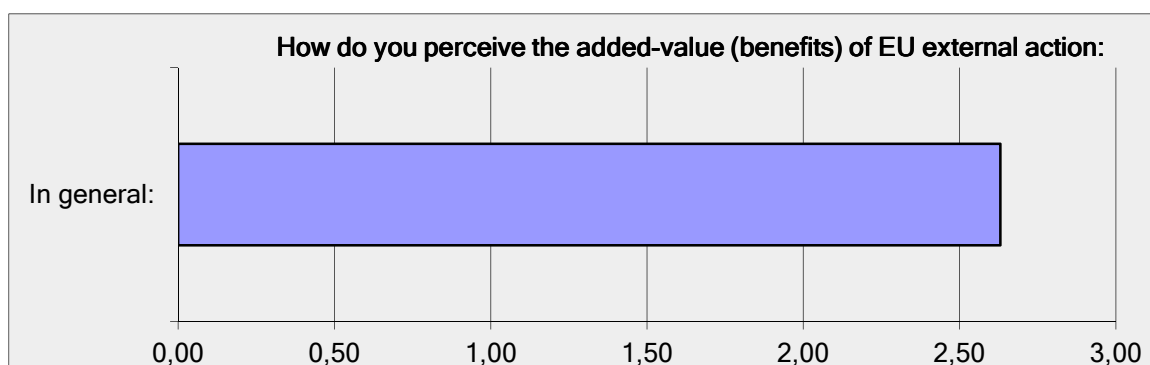
a. Aggregate answers

Answer Options	High added value	Fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
In general:	36	89	83	6	7	2.72	221



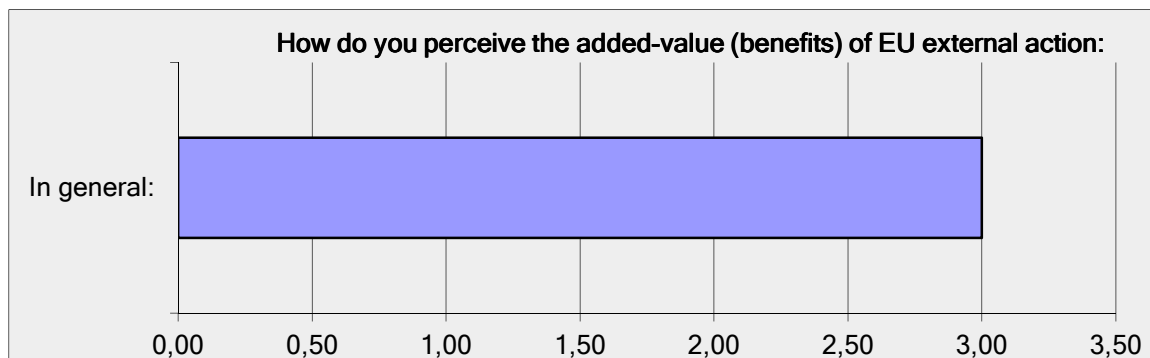
b. Europe

Answer Options	High added value	Fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
In general:	15	49	51	4	7	2.63	126



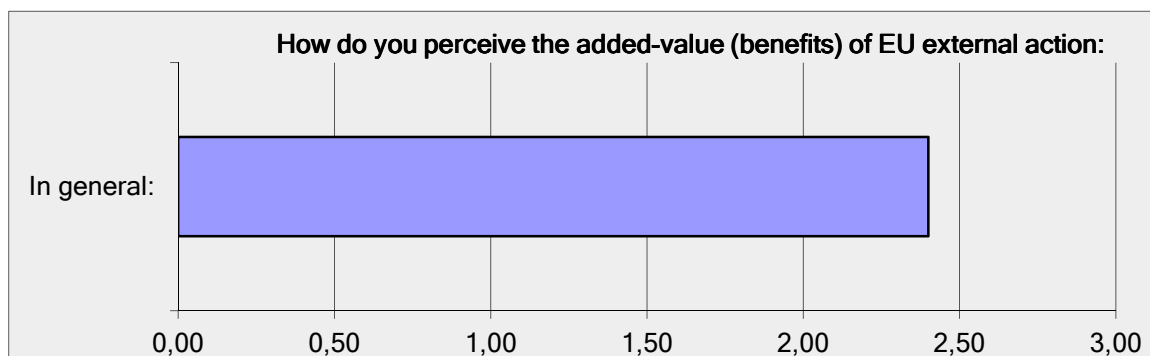
c. Africa

Answer Options	High added value	Fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
In general:	16	29	14	1	0	3.00	60



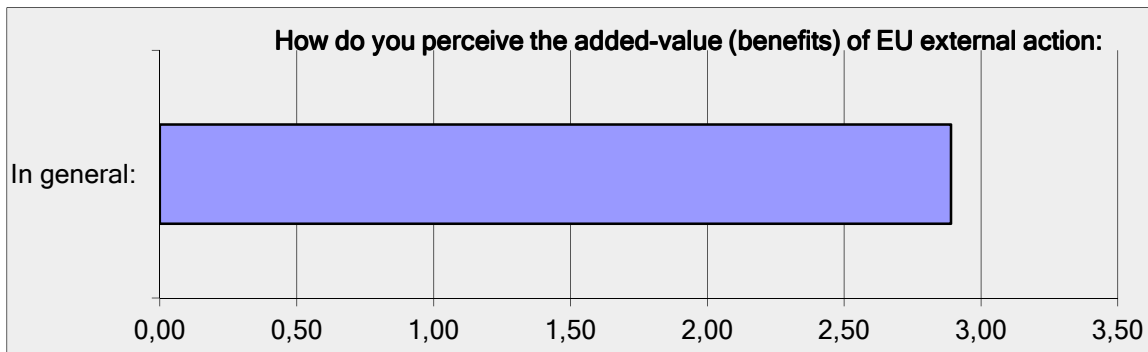
d. Latin America and the Caribbean

Answer Options	High added value	Fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
In general:	1	3	5	1	0	2.40	10



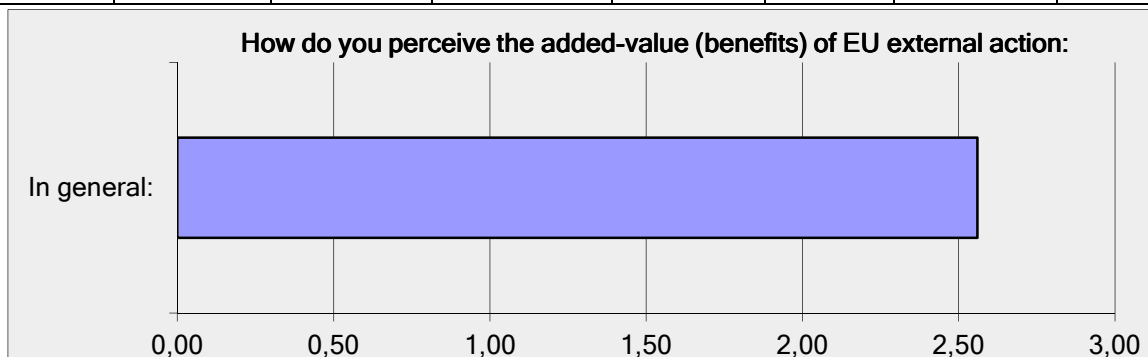
e. North America

Answer Options	High added value	Fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
In general:	3	2	4	0	0	2.89	9



f. Asia

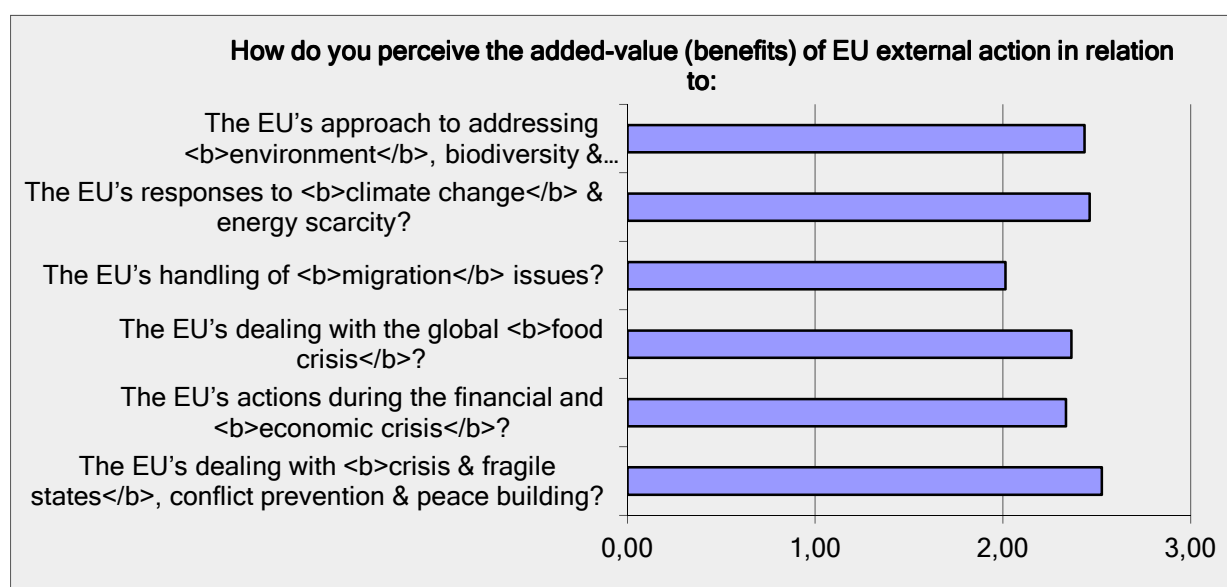
Answer Options	High added value	Fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
In general:	1	3	5	0	0	2.56	9



Question 4 b: How do you perceive the added-value (benefits) of EU external action in relation to the 6 themes?

Answer Options	Of high added value	A fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
The EU's dealing with crisis & fragile states, conflict prevention & peace building?	26	81	82	22	10	2.53	221
The EU's actions during the financial and economic crisis?	23	60	89	36	13	2.34	221
The EU's dealing with the global food crisis?	15	73	82	30	21	2.37	221
The EU's handling of migration issues?	6	52	90	61	12	2.01	221
The EU's responses to climate change & energy scarcity?	20	82	70	29	20	2.46	221
The EU's approach to addressing environment, biodiversity & deforestation questions?	18	75	83	24	21	2.44	221

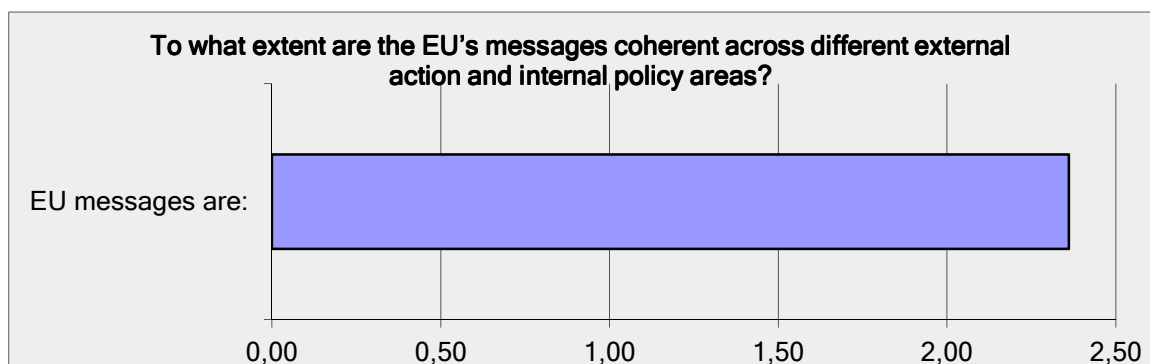
	Europe	Africa	LAC	North America	Asia
The EU's handling of migration issues?	2.0	2.13	1.88	2.0	2.25



Question 6 a: To what extent are the EU’s messages coherent across different external action and internal policy areas?

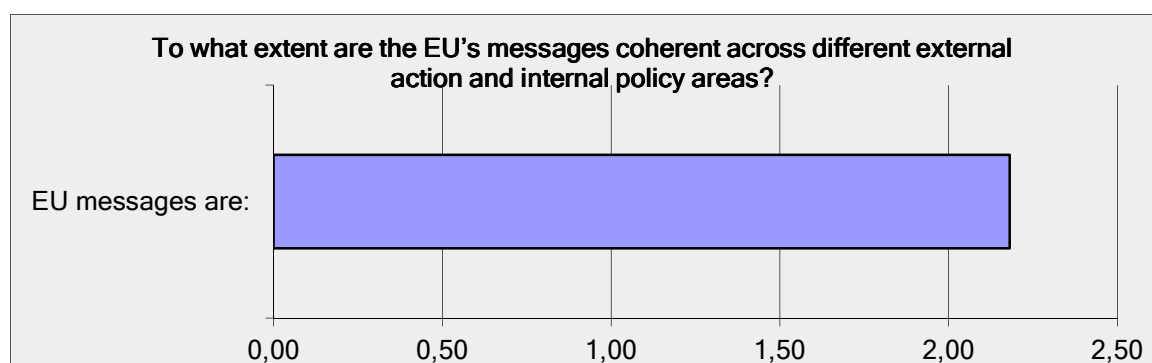
a. Aggregate results

Answer Options	Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
EU messages are:	8	79	97	21	16	2.36	221



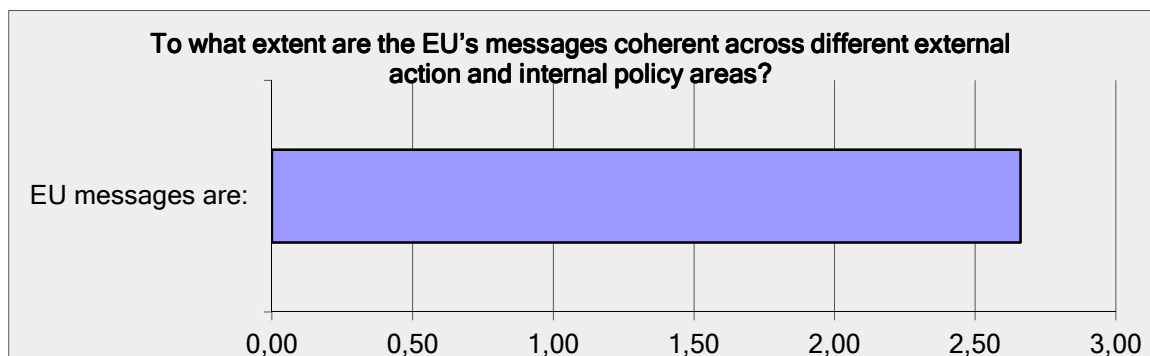
b. Europe

Answer Options	Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
EU messages are:	2	31	69	14	11	2.18	126



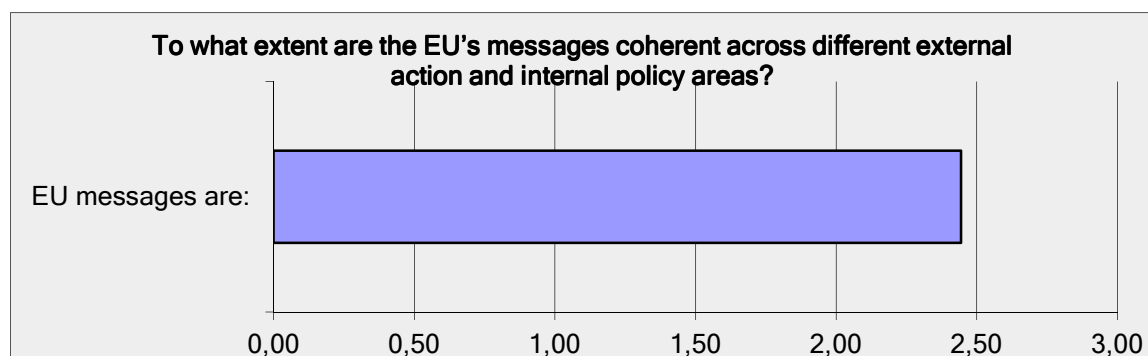
c. Africa

Answer Options	Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
EU messages are:	5	31	16	4	4	2.66	60



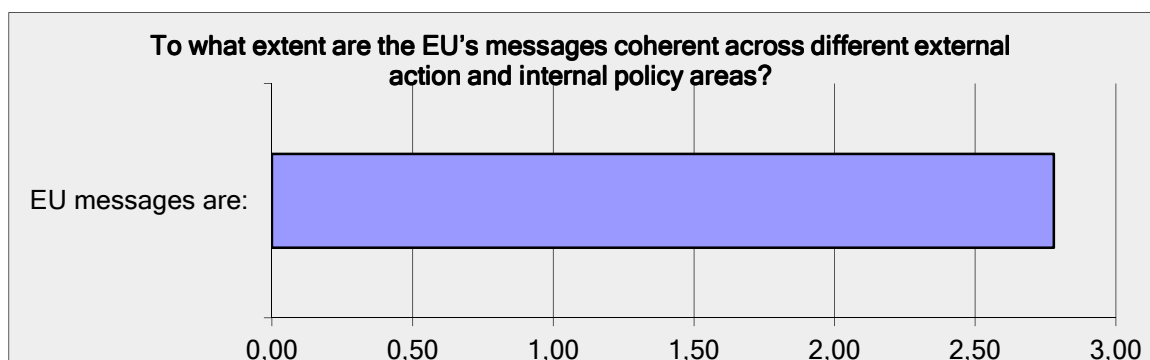
d. Latin America and the Caribbean

Answer Options	Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
EU messages are:	0	5	3	1	1	2.44	10



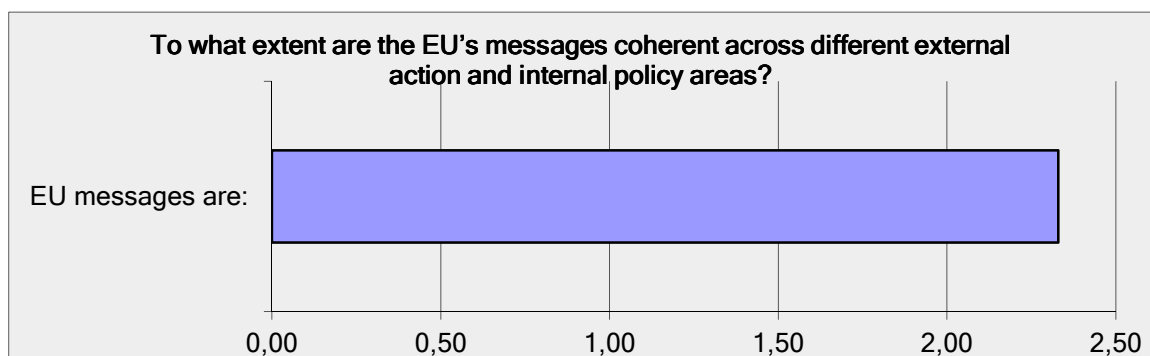
e. North America

Answer Options	Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
EU messages are:	1	6	1	1	0	2.78	9



f. Asia

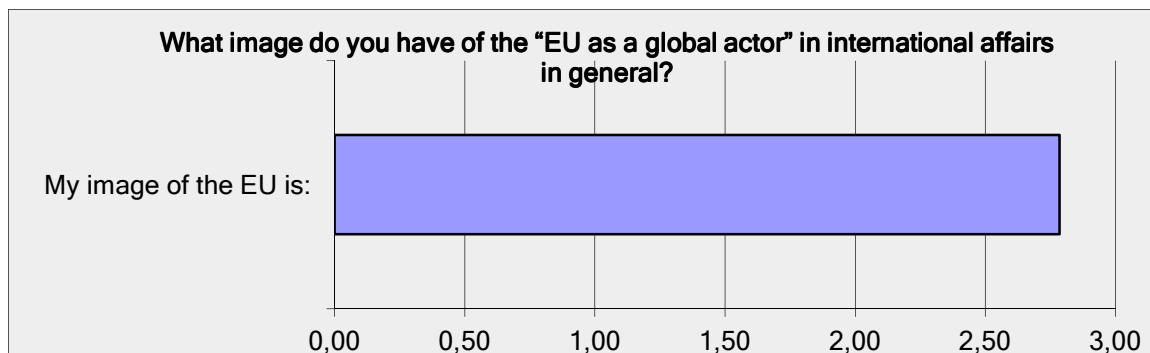
Answer Options	Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
EU messages are:	0	4	4	1	0	2.33	9



Question 7a: What image do you have of the “EU as a global actor” in international affairs in general?

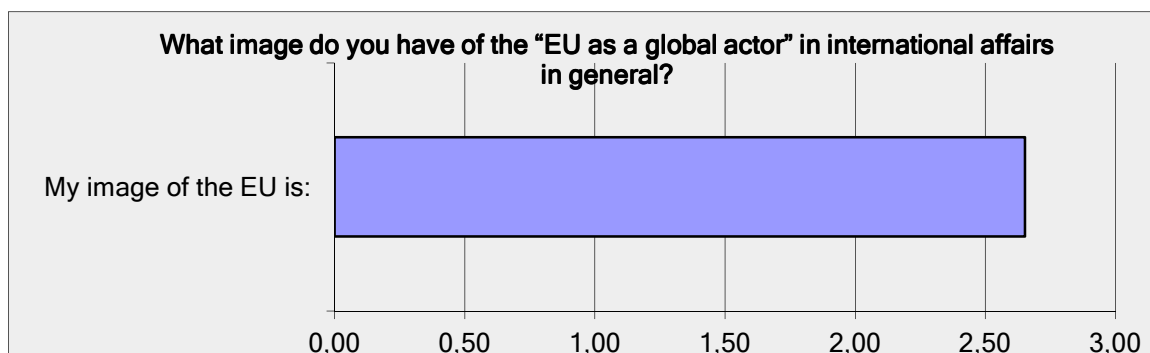
a. Aggregate results

Answer Options	Highly positive	Fairly positive	Rather negative	Very negative	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	20	136	50	8	7	2.79	221



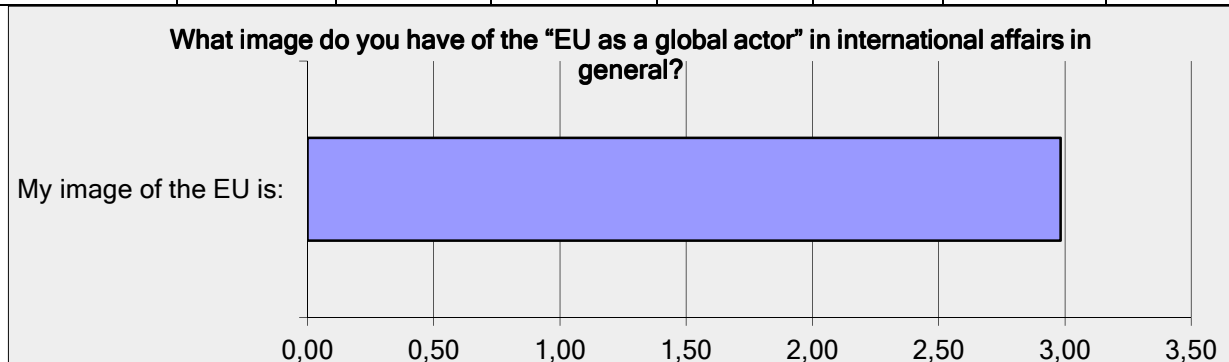
b. Europe

Answer Options	Highly positive	Fairly positive	Rather negative	Very negative	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	4	77	34	6	5	2.65	126



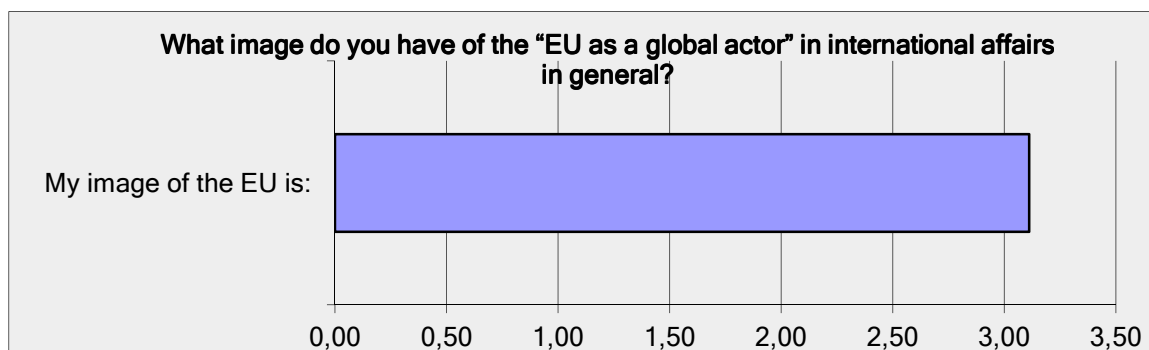
c. Africa

Answer Options	Highly positive	Fairly positive	Rather negative	Very negative	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	11	37	10	1	1	2.98	60



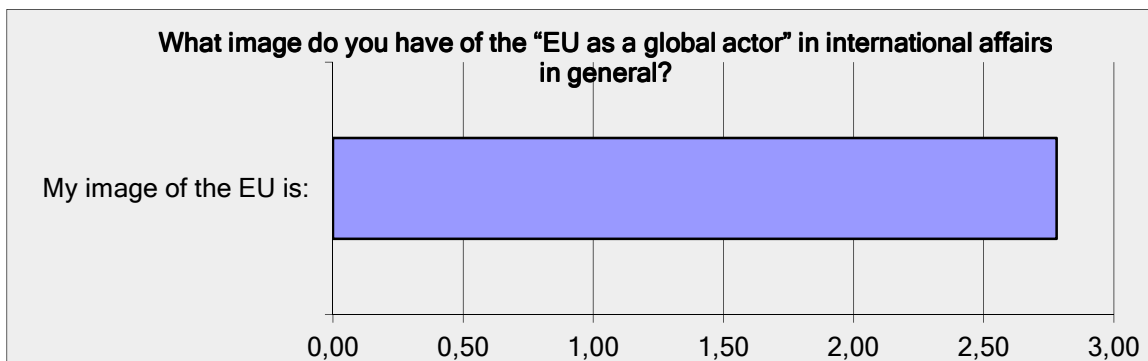
d. Latin America and the Caribbean

Answer Options	Highly positive	Fairly positive	Rather negative	Very negative	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	2	6	1	0	1	3.11	10



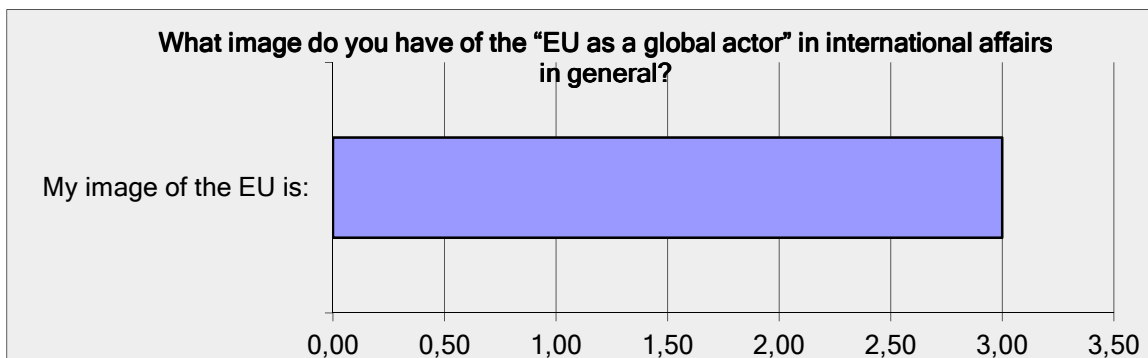
e. North America

Answer Options	Highly positive	Fairly positive	Rather negative	Very negative	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	2	4	2	1	0	2.78	9



f. Asia

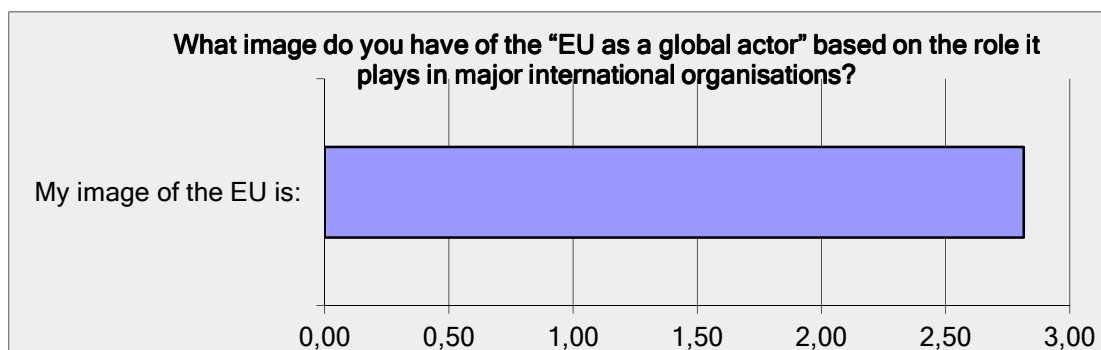
Answer Options	Highly positive	Fairly positive	Rather negative	Very negative	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	1	7	1	0	0	3.00	9



Question 7b: What image do you have of the “EU as a global actor” based on the role it plays in major international organisations

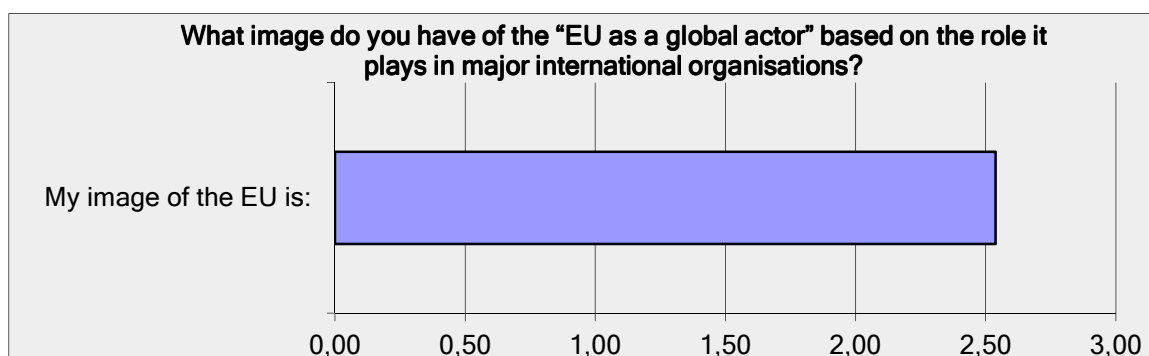
a. Aggregate results

Answer Options	Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	38	103	61	8	11	2.81	221



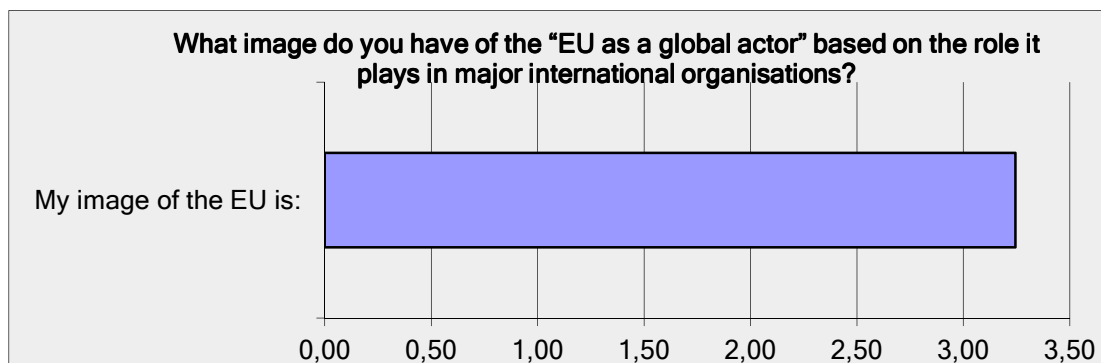
b. Europe

Answer Options	Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	11	49	52	7	7	2.54	126



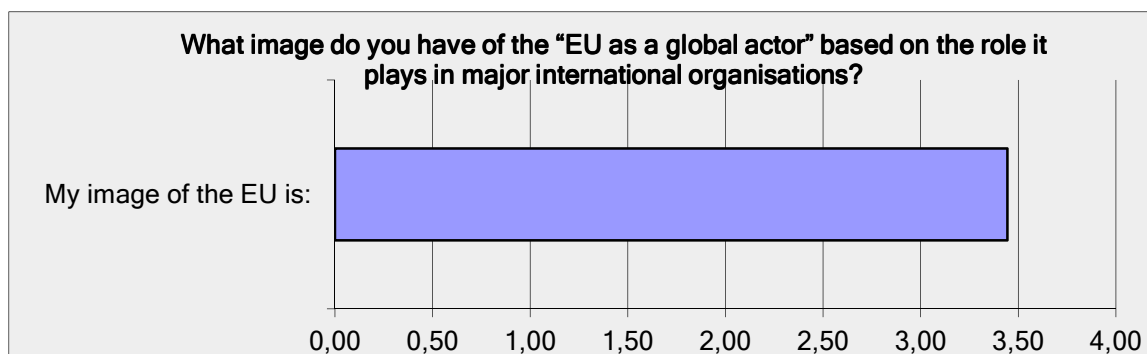
c. Africa

Answer Options	Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	20	32	4	1	3	3.25	60



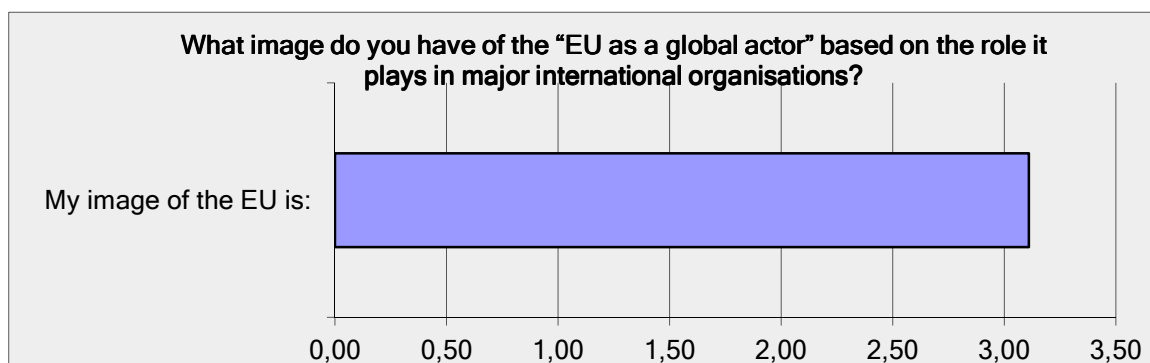
d. Latin America and the Caribbean

Answer Options	Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	4	5	0	0	1	3.44	10



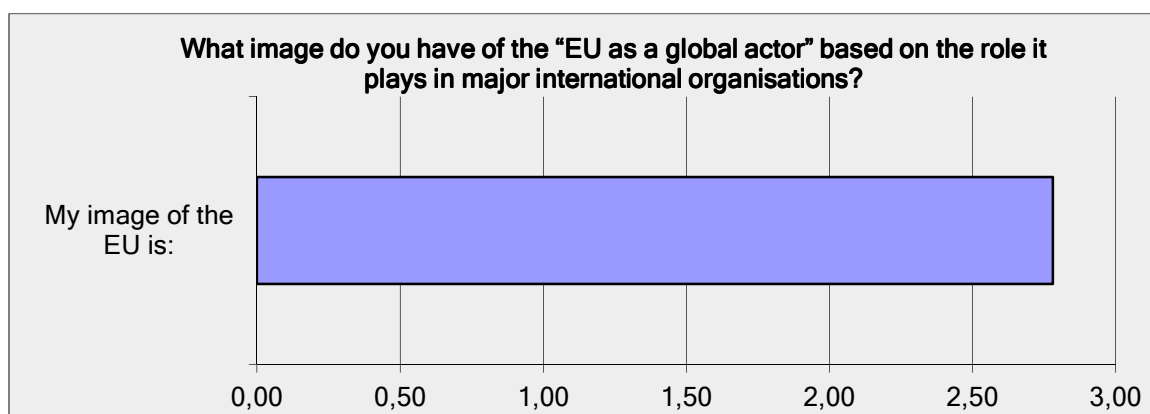
e. North America

Answer Options	Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	2	6	1	0	0	3.11	9



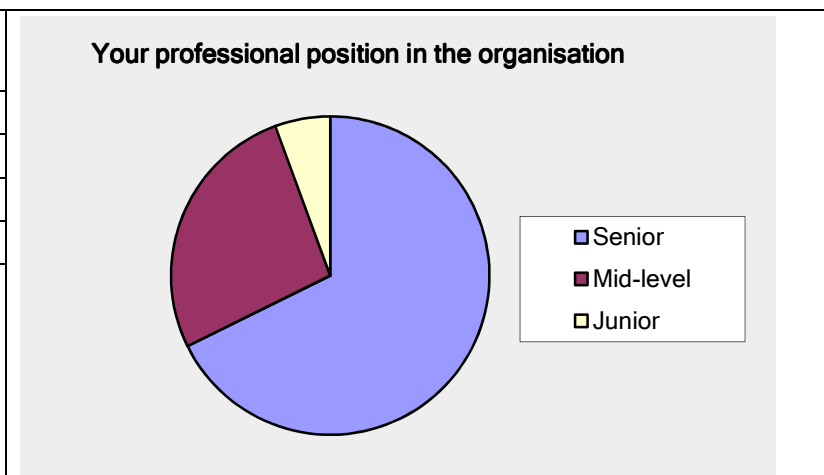
f. Asia

Answer Options	Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know	Rating Average	Response Count
My image of the EU is:	1	5	3	0	0	2.78	9



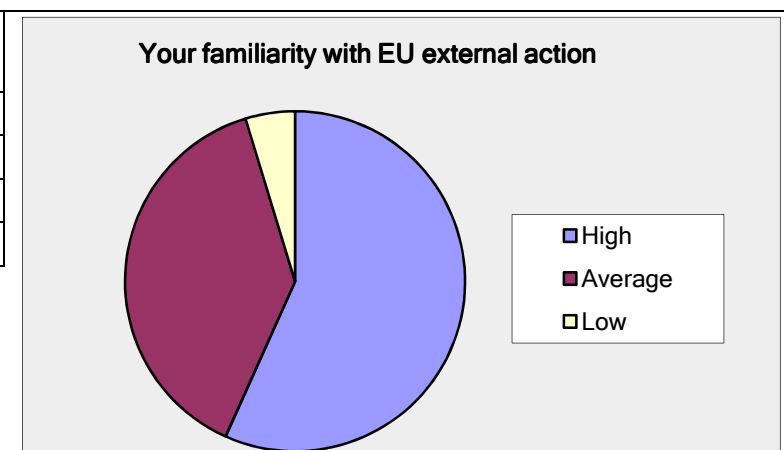
Question 10: Your professional position in the organisation

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Senior	67.7%	144
Mid-level	26.7%	57
Junior	5.6%	12
<i>answered question</i>		213



Question 11: Your familiarity with EU external action

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
High	56.7%	120
Average	38.6%	82
Low	4.7%	10
<i>answered question</i>		212



Question 12: Area(s) / sector(s) of specialization

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Conflict prevention & peace building	48.0%	73
Financial and economic crisis	29.6%	45
Food crisis	30.9%	47
Migration	28.3%	43
Climate change & energy	28.9%	44
Environment biodiversity & deforestation	17.8%	27
Other (please specify)		88
<i>answered question</i>		152

Appendix 4 – Open replies, per Evaluation Question

Question 1: The Lisbon Treaty (Treaty on European Union, 2008, Article 21, point 1) spells out: The Union’s action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, ... , and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law. In your view, how does the overall image of the EU’s external action correspond with the key issues outlined in the Lisbon Treaty?

In your view, how does the overall image of the *EU’s external action* correspond with the key issues outlined in the Lisbon Treaty?

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Highly corresponds	Corresponds fairly well	Corresponds in a limited manner	Does not correspond	Do not know	Related issues	No comments
1	8	14	11	1	22	2

Responses:

A	Yes, through the support of the social and economic development
B	Corresponds fairly well on paper and in the discourse but not always in practice, so that perception depends on case by case and on the type of programme implemented.
B	More visibly lately because of the financial crisis in several EU countries and also because of the appropriate intervention in Libya
B	The proof of the pudding is still in the eating, so to speak. There hasn't been much concrete evidence of an increase in the EU's effectiveness on the international scene due to the Lisbon Treaty. But the image at least corresponds fairly well with the principles mentioned there.
B	The practice corresponds quite well, particularly in the Balkans, but the image in the UK does not as media is mainly hostile to EU
B	It seems that the Hon.C. Ashton has taken a bit to find her way, but is now in full command.
B+C	It is difficult to make an overall assessment because some elements correspond well, others not.
C	We know from research on external perceptions of the EU (Chaban/Holland; Lucarelli; Elgstrom) that the portrayal of the EU varies across regions and across issue-areas. Perceptions of the traits described in the Treaty may be marred by well-perceived double standards and incoherence (see below), disunity and lack of coordination.
C	the EU principles such as democracy are too high and abstract to be felt through a project at local level

C	The EU could do much better if it does not financially and diplomatically empower dictators, especially in Africa.
C	I expect the EU to support supply side issues but many a time cost of accessing the allocated funds is frustrating-unfriendly procedures yet the EU office is based here
C	At times EU appears to take sides based on its interests rather than being consistent in its action. The crisis in Libya, Syria, Yemen are examples.
C	very limited
C	Most analysis in the media that I read indicate that EC external policy is not coherent with economic measure. Thus, intentions may be good, but are countervailed by our economic interests that in the end seem to prevail.
C	Both within the EU and beyond it, I don't think the EU is recognised sufficiently for the peace project it is; nor do I think that the EU makes enough of this as a key achievement which might be possible to replicate in different ways in other places.I.e., the EU sells itself short to its own citizens and to third countries.
C	There is perception, though in certain areas in the developing world, like Africa where the EU is seen as offering too limited support for the promotion of governance, democracy and the rule of law, and not entirely offering meaningful support to the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Key EU members are routinely implicated, for example, in grand corruption schemes involving some members of the rulling elite in developing countries.
D	more targeted towards economic growth, infrastructure etc. without clear basis in the values named in the treaty
D	at the least in the fireld of migration management the above statement is hypocritical to the core, be that because we are branding people as illegal where they could at least in theory be refugees and should in any case be respected for their human dignty or be that supposed to be illegal migrants are intercepted by FRONTEX in which the rule of law seems to regularly be 'forgotten about' when they are returned; that is leaving aside insidents where European boarder guards are implicated in actively killing assumed to be migrants
D	DG Trade is still too dominant in the EU's foreign policies. This creates a distorted picture of EU values. Examples are the processes around the EPAs and the actions of the EU in the WTO, which seriously damaged the relations with the ACP. Other examples are the PR disaster of the "Global Europe strategy" and the Raw materials directive. A real coherent EU foreign policy is missing and Development assistance too often is seen as means to serve other EU interests.
D	Usually seems to be interested in schemes that directly advance ?European interests
D	no correspondence as long as migration policy stays as it is
D	Image does not correspond, at least taken from the public visibility and perception in Mexico. The following answers are consistent to this first response.
D	for e.g there is no solidarity and respect for human rights where the eu usses agreements such as the epa to deprive poor african countries of their right to develop at their own pace
D	The policies aimed at regime stabilisation pursued by the EU for example in the Southern Mediterranean until the Arab Spring show that that stability and the

	restriction of illegal migration were often much higher on the agenda than "democracy, rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights..."
D	The Union's action on the international scene are not guided by the principles that have inspired its creation. Its actions go against their words. The Union's action does not respect human rights, nor solidarity. they try to put forward the economic and political interests of the economic powers. The economy of a few, the trade liberalization passes before solidarity, human rights, human dignity and principles of equality. The Development aid is more and more put at the service of EU Trade interests even if it is at the detriment of the development of the poorest countries.
D	EU External Action is dominated by selfinterest of EU and its security concerns not the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, or even principles of equality and solidarity while the role of development policy is almost non existing!
D	National and economic interests dominate over principles and values.
D	its focus is much more on EU's own interests
D	The EU is preoccupied more by problems facing it rather than international issues (except when the international issues have a bearing on it). For example, I do not see efforts by the EU to promote equality and solidarity between EU member states and African states - the relationship is not symbiotic but rather parasitic (mighty controls small). Any changes in relationship is driven not by the principles outlined above but by changing global circumstances including the emergence of China, India, Brazil, South Korea, and South Africa as major players on the global scene. Under the G20 arrangement, these are being coopted - leaving out small poor states.
D	In the latter years there has been a sad change in EU's external appearance toward a more: from being a normative force in international relations EU has now become a self-regarding and self-interested actor resembling the classical rationalist nation states. There has been a clear change in wording and formulation during the last years: EU is not afraid of spelling out the EU is doing this and that for in their own interest – not necessary for the common good. Security, economic growth and private sector approaches seem to dominate the agenda and gone are the ambitions of being a normative force.
E	I am sure it means to adhere to these policies but have no idea if it does. As the EU staff overseas do not seem to leave their offices in the capital much, I am not sure how they could succeed in this..
F, EEAS not clear nor comprehensive	Manifestation of EEAS not yet very clear nor comprehensive
F, EU not the only actor	However, in the cases of foreign action the EU is not the only European actor, some other European countries develop their own action and policy, or even become the main drivers of the European action
F, fragmented	EU foreign policy appears quite fragmented and too deferential to US foreign policy in many areas.
F, incoherence with MS	While EU as an intergovernmental institution seems to be slowly pursuing Lisbon Treaty provisions, member states, especially big ones, seems to be out of sink with it, and their actions are considered to be representing the EU as a whole.
F, incoherence with MS	The EU action and image abroad is too often jeopardised by the divisions of EU member States

F, incoherence with MS	There isn't always a coherent EU position that aligns all member states.
F, incoherence with MS	Unfortunately the EEAS is only allowed to represent the lowest common denominator of Member States' policies (especially the large ones). It should get involved more deeply in social development and have specialist staff to cover this (eg have EU labour counsellors in key posts).
F, incoherence with MS and itself	There is no consistent EU branding, rather a continuation of different messages coming from Brussels and-or from member states
F, inconsistency	we observed that for some developing countries, Eu is more aggressive than for others (eg: Cote d'Ivoire, Libya vs Syria or Liban)
F, lack of visibility and inconsistent with MS	Lack of consistency as Member States' foreign policies follow own interests. Ashton lacks visibility and she shouldn't be a 'prisoner of consensus' amongst MS.
F, no other comments	no other comments
F, Not a coherent policy	The lack of unity of action is the image problem not the fine principles of the Treaty
F, Not a coherent policy	Theoretically the Aid Policy corresponds with the principles but it is not coherent with the rest of the politics and it is fragmented.
F, pressure to pass LT did not follow values	The methods used to ensure passage of the Lisbon Treaty do not correspond with the stated values of democracy or respect for human dignity. (threats of removing EU Commission representation to Ireland if they did not pass the treaty come to mind.)
F, refers only to MS	The actions of France in the African continent are for the most part contrary to these principles. Case in point would be its actions in Libya and its former colonies in West Africa.
F, slow and inefficient	It is already almost 2 years since its inception but its reactions are either too slow or none at all. See especially very negative reactions to their reaction to revolutions in the Arab world but also in other important international issues where the EU should be very active and visible. It looks that under the current development this "action" is rather disaction than anything else for various reasons that would need longer discussion regarding the particular personnel, mandate, organization, own priorities, etc. It looks from the Euro crisis that there are no experts as yet who would know anything about the economic dimension of the modern diplomacy and that should be the first priority of this external service
F, slow and inefficient	Policies generally are designed to meet these goals, but the implementation is often timid and at times clumsy
F, slow and inefficient	The image of External Actions is predominantly quite weak, due to the limited power to act that is received from the Member States. Furthermore, it is not based on a long-term strategy, but rather arbitrarily formulated and executed / implemented, as big events happen and / or other stakeholders are acting (think of BRICS).
F, slow and inefficient	The Union's external agenda is undermined by the member's respective agenda, which makes the Union's external policy fairly impotent
F, slow and inefficient	The actions have not so far exploited the potentials offered by the Lisbon Treaty

F, special attention	The side of practices require special attention. It should be seen monitoring indicators of the issues in place in relation to majority expectations.
F, wrong priorities	Less emphasis should be placed on Governments and more on the Private Sector, Farmers and their organization
G	We received your invitation to fill in the survey. However, we are not an organization engaged in field work in Georgia, Mali, Cambodia, Indonesia, Grenada, Kenya and Tunisia

B	Beaucoup de projets de la société civile sont financés par l'UE. Des prises de position pertinentes sont entendus de temps en temps.
B	Le CNCR était banni par le gouvernement du Sénégal (arrêt de toute collaboration) parce que ayant pris part aux assises nationales organisées au Sénégal. L'union Européenne a été le seul organisme à soutenir le CNCR en posant au Ministre de l'agriculture de frapper de la même mesure tous les ANE ou de lever la mesure
C	Autant les activités du développement sont bien appréciées le côté dialogue sur les politiques laisse à desirer il se confond à l'ingérence et ou au dictat que la société civile a toujours décrié.
C	Il y a, parfois, décalage entre les bonnes intentions, les principes énoncés, et la réalité. Déjà les négociations sur les nouvelles relations UE-ACP ne se sont pas faites sans critique, et sans contrainte.
C	Parce que si nous prenons la réglementation du commerce extérieur, il est remarquable que les libertés fondamentales en matière de libre accès au marché des pays du Sud ne sont pas respectées.
C	Souvent, il apparaît que l'intervention de l'union européenne est ciblée à certaines zones ou pays et ferme les yeux sur les exactions commises dans d'autres zones ou pays.
D	Cependant, pas du tout en matière de droit humains
G	Y'a qu'à voir comment les dictatures se perpétuent en Afrique, c'est vraiment révoltant...

Remarks:

- Some images of the EU foreign policy corresponds well with the principles, other do not.
- Incoherence with the Member States is perceived as a major obstacle preventing the EU to act in accordance with its overall values. In sum, the comments state that the agenda put forward by the EC is overrun by the individual actions of the Member States and that there is a lack of a united European voice.
- There are also some comments on the lack of coherence within the EU external action itself. This internal incoherence is mainly due to diverging economic, security and political ambitions. Economic self-interest is perceived to supersede the values put forward in the Lisbon Treaty.
- The EEAS are criticised for being slow, inefficient and fragmented.

- EU is also criticised for running a hypocrite external policy where the rhetoric and the actual external actions do not follow the same principles, EU's actions in the running up of the Arabic Spring in a case in point.
- One comment states that the EU's external action is not based on a long-term strategy, but rather arbitrarily formulated and executed/ implemented as a response to big events and other stakeholders actions..
- Heavy criticism is directed towards the EU's migration policy.

Question 4: How do you perceive the added-value (benefits) of *EU external action*:

c) in general?

d) and in particular, in relation to:

- The EU's dealing with crisis & fragile states, conflict prevention & peace building?
- The EU's actions during the financial and economic crisis?
- The EU's dealing with the global food crisis?
- The EU's handling of migration issues?
- The EU's responses to climate change & energy scarcity?
- The EU's approach to addressing environment, biodiversity & deforestation questions?

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Of high added-value	A fair added-value	Limited added-value	No added-value	Do not know	Related issues	No comment
1	3	17	6	2	8	5

Responses:

A	EU's work on fragile states, conflict and peace-building as manifested by the humanitarian aid and other support it provides on these initiatives are highly visible and of fair added-value. As the economic crisis did not spare member countries of EU, its responses and recourse are highly influential in the policy actions taken by its member countries as well as those in the other global regions. Whether these actions adequately respond to the global economic crisis and addresses its root causes would be another point of discussion. Members of EU are among the highest receiving countries of migrant workers, likewise a source of many expatriates working in satellite offices posted in developing countries. It is then inevitable that EU's policies on migration are highly influential on the global discourse of this issue. On the issues of food, climate and the environment, EU's added-value is fairly limited as these crises remain unabated, even worsening. Global influential actors such as the EU, and US among others, have not taken actions to address the fundamental causes of these crises. Much of the support opened by EU is mainly direct-service delivery and minimal support is opened for other initiatives such as policy advocacy work aimed at contributing to long-term solution beyond quick-fix efforts. In the myriad of policy arenas that are often too technical and in a manner of 'business as usual', people are left without adequate support to survive these
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	crises.
B, but neg. outcomes	France's actions in war-torn African states is despicable. EU trade distorting subsidies have a hand in the food crisis being experienced in the world. On migration, the EU is literally a fortress. Climate change and energy scarcity concerns in the EU is merely a pretext for their quest for world domination through green economies.
B	EU help with regard to foreign trade
C, but completely wrong measures, only Eu interest	The EU dealing with crisis is "officially" positive, but in concrete the EU has abandoned many "fragile states" to their fate. The EU gives a certain amount of money and thinks that like that it has contributed to the "solution". Or the EU does not care where the aid goes, how it is used... The conditionalities are only on the benefit of the EU, nor on what could benefit the fragile state. The elimination of the Special Envoy of the EU to the Great Lakes is a shameful example... In dealing with the global food crisis, the EU gives again some money, but it does not deal with some of the main causes of the food crisis that is the rising in food prices, due to the speculation... Efforts to control the speculation and the derivative market should be done. Regarding the climate change, the carbon market is not the solution. It benefits only the companies that pollute...
C, but neg. outcomes	EU's assistance to African countries in agriculture cannot deliver food security; for example, the EU is not assisting with delivery of fertiliser to poor households (at affordable prices). The consequences are increasing hunger and malnutrition. EU's advice to poor countries in agriculture is that agriculture is a business (for improvement of household incomes) - there is hardly any EU assistance that focuses on food security. The EU has not assisted to get the Doha round of WTO negotiations to a conclusion. EU's handling of migration issues is not in line with the principle of respect for human dignity. EU's actions during the global financial crisis (e.g. application of austerity measures in face of high unemployment) lacked a human face - even within Europe itself - and worse for poor countries in Africa.
C, but only for the benefit of the EU	All what EU does is for the benefit of EU and not for the world! At times some individual EU countries are the source of war in some African Countries e.g. Belgium vs Congo
C, migration	The European migration policy has a very negative value on third countries
C, potential	All these issues are global and by working together the EU is bound to have a more significant effect than its members working alone.
C	EU action in humanitarian aid is quite fast and comprehensive. That is not the case with regards to peacebuilding-related actions.
C	EU still acts like a merely economic agency. EU is still a political dwarf in addressing environment, biodiversity, climate & deforestation questions - due mainly to lack of political will.
C	I'd like to see the EU play a more concerted international role - I think here is potential - question is whether or not the countries get their act together and how - overall hypocritical the EU external action turns out to be
C	employment issues, decent work, social coherence- there is also scarcely an added value so far- no visibility at the ILO
C, incoherence	In spite of being the largest donor of development assistance, humanitarian aid and (probably) funding of peace operations, the lack of internal coherence and independent EU foreign policy makes the Union punch below its weight on the international scene.
C, incoherence	In relation to migration, I see the EU acting to the detriment of a fair migration policy

	moving ever closer to the lowest common denominator. In relation to crises and fragile states, the EU acts in too incoherent and too ad-hoc a way to be of real added value. In relation to climate change, energy security, environment, biodiversity and de-forestation the interests of industry and the narrow economic view of growth, growth, growth, militates against really effective policy.
D, incompetent staff	As mentioned above the service has been hiring mostly some classical diplomats from the EU member states who for some reasons lost their jobs in their member states but who are totally missing any deep knowledge on the economic dimension as well as modern globally oriented diplomacy and/or multilateral diplomacy dealing with international organizations, especially UN, regional trading blocks like NAFTA, MERCOSUR, ASEAN, etc. It looks they are mostly experts if at all in the classical bilateral diplomacy following media in their country of assignment, cutting articles from local newspapers and sending them home to their HQ nothing more. It is totally contradictory to the actual needs of the EU as one of the most developed trading blocks in the world.
D, migration and lack of unity	In controversial matters like migration the lack of unity is hindering effective action and hurting the image
D, MS obstructing EEAS	The EU's external action often gets swamped by the agendas of individual member states, all the more so when political or security interests are at stake.
E	Since I have not seen any empirical evidence of the added value of EU external actions, my assessment is impressionistic only.
E, hard to find reliable info	It is not so easy to get informed about specific measures or policies of EU bodies as an interested citizen. In one case (migration) I was informed by a civic group concerning the existence of policy instruments for civil society. I know many things are going on, but what exactly is dispersed in a wood of websites.
F, consequences of fin crisis	There is a danger that a delay in actions and consequences of the financial and economic crisis damage important projects, for example ITER in energy and other areas
F, EEAS, no effectiveness, weak results and only self-interests	The EEAS has seriously put the whole idea of the European project in question. The perception from outside Brussels is that there is no effectiveness, no results to show for and no other interest than promoting a self interest.
F, ex act. becomes/remains priority	All these provided that the EU's takes its role seriously and the external action becomes/remains a priority for the EU MS, which is not always the case
F, migration	I would like to see the EU take a much stronger line on migration issues to combat the reactionary, right wing forces that appear to prevail
F, migration and MS	The EU policy on migration issues is not clear from where I sit. There are discordant voices that make it difficult for one to know exactly what one should actually expect. Probably the differences in the policies articulated by member States create this perception.
F, potential	While it should not be expected that the EU external action should provide all to the many needy countries especially in the developing world, I believe, strongly, that there is a case for increasing the overall levels of EU external action in terms of quantity and quality. This should significantly increase the value-added under the existing circumstances.
F, required increased focus on	More focus to Non-State-Actors (NSAs) in supported nations required, especially by providing technical and financial supports

NSAs	
F, slow	Slow in reaction
G	None
G	No more comments
G	We received your invitation to fill in the survey. However, we are not an organization engaged in field work in Georgia, Mali, Cambodia, Indonesia, Grenada, Kenya and Tunisia. Besides, we are not so familiar with many programs in the fields listed above.
G	The question is not clear - do you mean potential added value or added value under present conditions?
G	See comments above

B	Les efforts pour appuyer le développement sont appréciables mais les approches doivent être réajustées pour répondre au contexte et aux préoccupations des populations concernées
C	L'UE n'intervient pas partout de la même façon non plus en fonction des besoins des populations mais plutôt en fonction des besoins des Gouvernements, lesquels ne répondent pas non plus aux besoins et autres aspirations des citoyens. Il ya des interventions mais qui ne sont pas durables car la société civile n'y participe pas et/ou ne bénéficie pas facilement des appuis de l'UE
C	Les pays du Sud ont fort besoin de la contribution de l'UE tant financière que technico-technologique car ils sont de plus en plus menacés par l'avancée du désert, de la dégradation des conditions pédo-climatiques surtout dans ce moment si crucial dont on parle aussi souvent de développement, durable.
C	Il y a beaucoup d'activisme mais pas transformation fondamentale
C	Les actions des bilatéraux sont souvent plus remarquables que celles de l'UE qui semblent parfois hésiter.
C	S'agissant précisément des questions environnementales, l'UE doit aller plus loin pour aider les pays pauvres à s'en sortir sans trop abîmer leur environnement
D	Les actions ne sont malheureusement pas dirigées contre les causes profondes de ces maux : la spéculation financière débridée et incontrôlée.
D	Disons que l'Union Européenne s'adonne à gérer les conséquences des crises ainsi que des mauvaises politiques au lieu de s'attaquer aux véritables causes des crises, aux véritables racines de la pauvreté et de la misère dans le monde.
D	Les crises sont analysées et les solutions arrêtées sous l'angle et les intérêts des Etats membres uniquement. Les engagements/actions par rapport aux liens externes ne semblent pas être suffisamment pris en compte dans le cadre d'actions globales

Remarks:

- Preponderance of critical/very critical comments. Either the EU is conceived as ineffective and slow with limited or non-existing added-value, or its external action is perceived to have an overall negative impact.
- Incoherence within the EEAS and between EEAS and the member states are mentioned as an obstruction for efficient foreign policy. Lack of an independent EU foreign policy.
- The EU is heavily criticised for its migration policy.
- The EU is criticised for abandoning many fragile states to their fate.
- The union is also criticised for rather just handing out some money than to engage in long-term poverty reduction, sustainable development, environmental protections etc. The aid is claimed to be misdirected and thus only solving the symptoms.
- One comment states that the EU mainly is an economical agency and that it still is a political dwarf in addressing environment, biodiversity, climate etc.
- The political incapacity of the EU external action is due to lack of political will.
- There are also some critical remarks on the competence of the EU staff. They are criticised for lacking any deep knowledge on the economic dimension as well as modern globally oriented diplomacy and/or multilateral diplomacy dealing with international organisations.
- On the positive end of the spectrum, the EU external policy is perceived by some to have a great future potential to have a significant and positive global impact. A few also state that the EU already do have a significant benevolent external policy in some areas such as fragile states, conflict and peace-building.

Question 6:

- a) **To what extent are the EU’s messages coherent across different external action and internal policy areas?**
- b) **Do any examples of coherence or incoherence in the EU’s policies spring to mind and shape your image of the EU?**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Highly coherent	Fairly coherent	Little coherent	Not coherent at all	Do not know	Related issues	No comment
1	2	14	11	0	5	8

Responses:

A	EU knows what she want to achieve; they are highly specialized in planning/implementation at any cost.... and have a big influence to the world to achieve 'power' over her competitors 'big economic powers'
B	Different sectors dealt with are not fully integrated.

B, fairly coherent for the size	A lot needs to be done to improve coherence, but it is an inevitable aspect of such a large machine
C	Especially big EU members like FRA, GER, UK, etc. have very soon discovered that this new external service is just not up to their expectations so they mostly do their own policies without any coordination with this external service see e.g. the case of Libya where every country took its own decision like FRA and UK together for securing no fly zone and GER just not joining them and the same also in all other important problem areas of the EU External actions
C	Protection of EU's internal market does not support EU's intention to offer the developing countries a fair chance of gaining access to the European Market. It also comes at the cost of consumers in Europe that have to pay a higher price for e.g. agricultural products than needed if the market was open to competition.
C	The devil is in the details though for those of us who have extensive interactions with EU actions and policies.
C	There still seems to be a lot of incoherence and hiccups.
C, Brussels not same as 3rd world delegations	The EU's external action with regard to human rights is entirely conditioned by economic and commercial considerations. The disparity between discourse in Brussels and practice at delegation level in third countries is ever-wider, the EU and unfortunately the meaningful implementation of Article 21, point 1, cited above, appears of secondary importance to these issues in practice many third countries.
C, improving slowly	My impression is that progress is being made in the last 10-20 years since I started following EU policy from the sideline, and to some extent from inside as well.
C, improving slowly	Major inconsistencies happened in the past, in particular in terms of environmental protection. Even if policy coherence is improving there is still a lot to do.
C, incoherence within and outside EU	Resilience within EU has been tremendously campaigned and supported by its member states amid global crisis. These efforts to ensure the welfare of EU, however, does not translate to an equitable support for non-EU states
C, international and national	there are some divergence between EU states regarding their national or internal interest (eg France vs Germany, or Italy vs Greece, middle European countries)
C, rhetoric not same as actions	The main message problem for the EU is the contrast between high flown word and very different action - limited in scope, often unthinking, sometimes unprincipled
C, unclear	Diplomatic language is not always very clear and obscures the real issues at stake.
D	The latest example: How can the Commission issue a separate statement from the meeting with the Eastern Partnership? I thought that the idea was to have one EU message?
D	The EU accords their farmers subsidies yet they urge other countries not to do so. What fairness is demonstrated here?
D	The glaring inconsistency or lack of policy coherence is most evident in the Common Agricultural Policy and development policy vis-à-vis the ACP countries.
D	E.g. Food security / global food crisis vs. internal agriculture policy and support to protect European farmers?? coherent!? EU-Africa partnership in Cotton???
D	For example, the recent developments in Africa and Middle east demonstrated EU's

	inconsistencies, especially across member states.
D	Too many actors at the EC level as well as the national EU state level give different messages. Where messages are coherent, it is based on a too lengthy decision making process.
D	As above, the grand words about human rights, peace and common values are undermined by sectoral business interests. Only if the EU recognises the limitations of market capitalism will it become coherent.
D	Take the example of NATO actions in Libya supposedly sanctioned by the United Nations to "protect lives of civilians and not to undertake regime change". The Africa Union met and condemned NATO actions in Libya but EU member states continue with their programme not bothered about the AU. The EU is promoting its own interest and not of global humanity - failing to realise that when the ship begins to sink (the World) we shall all sink together.
D,	There are instances where members of the EU have offered totally divergent opinions on key policy issues (Such as Immigration and governance!)
F, depends on sector	In climate change, the EU's actions have been perceived as coherent until recently. In trade, there is a problem of inconsistency btw the EU's free trade image and the CAP-image, etcetera
F, human rights and poverty eradication	Coherence in regard to human rights and poverty eradication is missing, only individuals in the EU organisations see the necessity, not the Institution itself, because HR assessments for e.g., Chrenece checks etc are not institutionalised
F, only looking at self-interest	More about self than the partner country
G (D)	economic growth vs. climate change, migration, agricultural subsidies in EU vs. support to local production in developing countries
G	none
G	No more comments
G	See comments above
G	Migration and Agriculture specialy
G	Question too simple. Differentiation of policy fields would be helpful.
G	n/a

C	Chaque Etat membre met en avant ses intérêts politiques et économiques au détriment de ceux de l'Union. L'union devient un arbre qui cache la forêt. Souvent les comportements des Etats membres face à d'autres peut faire penser à l'inexistence d'une mission claire et précise de l'Union alors que leur adhésion aux principes directeurs de l'UE devrait avoir un caractère contraignant
C	Il y a toujours quelque fossé entre les intentions et les engagements, surtout par rapport aux Etats du Tiers-Monde (Afrique, en particulier).

C	La cohérence est relative car l'UE ne dégage pas souvent les moyens conséquents
D	Les messages de l'UE semblent souvent être en déphasage avec ceux des pays membres le cas de la côte d'ivoire, de la libye et autres
D	Cependant marqué par le biais pro libéral.
F	L'UE devrait s'impliquer davantage dans la politique interne des pays du sud, car les régimes politiques se transforment en Royaume...
F	La plupart des dirigeants des pays du Sud ne divulguent pas ou le font de façon superficielle les messages adressés par l'UE surtout dans le domaine de politique extérieur et c'est pourquoi il nous devient très difficile d'en spéculer
G	Idem précédent

Remarks:

- Generally the coherency in EU is seen as very weak. Incoherency is perceived to be persistent within different departments of the EU, between the EU and the MS, as well as in regard to different policy sectors.
- Especially large MS are conceived pursue their own foreign policy independent of the EU's common external policy.
- Comments also point out the incoherence between the EU policies protecting the internal market and the policies promoting a liberalised world market and the prevention of food crises.
- The disparity between the discourse in Brussels and the practice in at the delegation level is highlighted.
- However, some comments state that they believe that significant progress has been made during the last decades and that the EU is becoming more and more coherent over time.

Question 7:

What image do you have of the “EU as a global actor” ...

- a) ... in international affairs in general?
 b) ... based on the role it plays in major international organisations?

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Very important	Fairly important	Little important	Not important at all	Do not know	Related issues	No comment
3	11	20	4	3	7	9

Responses:

A	Eu is getting bigger in size, population and thus influence, can't ignor the EU
A	The EU seems to be genuinely important in areas where its economic might is important and/or where it is a major donor (many of the UN specialized agencies for example). Where the EU has 27 votes, it is generally important!
A	The EU is very powerful. It is one of the key architechts of the World Economic Order; it is also a major beneficiary of the same World Economic and Political Order. The EU gives some foreign aid to poor countries. However, the structure of aid has not made it possible for poor countries to address fundamental development problems that confront them. In partnership with the United States and other Western countries, the EU still enjoys special status in the World (both economic, ad military through NATO and the UN). However, the emerganece of new World economic powers is beginning to shift the balance of power somehow.
B	It is an important player but often it plays for Europe's advancement rather than global advancement
B	coherent trading region
B	The EU could do more within the United Nations, although one would understand that the UN is a member States organisation, but the unified foreign policy directorate of the EU could add its weight within the UN discourses.
B	As a conglomeration of northern countries, the EU embodies very important roles in various policy discourse and implementation of development work across the globe. In the same light, its focus carries limitations among organizations working on fields outside of EU's priority themes, mechanisms and geographic regions
B	The image is unclear, because when media attention is concerned member state heads of state do not leave an inch of room. However, I know far more things happen, and influence is there, on the back ground, in the corridors, during conferences. However, little what happens there ever reaches the public awareness. I also know that there will be positive experiences from projects or initiatives funded with EU policy instruments, but these are difficult to get.
B	The role of the EU as of national governments depends to a large extent on the level of financing. Therefore, the EU is important. In terms of substance it shows a very different perspective than the US
B	the EU is a fairly important global actor based on its potential contribution. Its realised contributions do not demonstrate that this role is yet manifest
B	But this is not something EU should take for granted. Better coordination and coherence is needed and EU should stick to it strengths as a normative power – and not the self-interested, narrowed minded appearance that seems to be dominating now.
B+ C	The EU is important when it has the competence to act (eg trade policy in WTO). It has little impactin the UN and its agencies.
C	it has to improve and show credibility
C	EU and most OECD/ODA development or environmental assistance are not effective because the reality for impact and the action needed are dis-connected from what is really needed and what course of actions are taken by EU and the recipient country's governments. Indeed, most development assistance are a mismatched between funding

	government's propoganda and priority agenda rather than (mostly related to advocacy for human, rights, peace, good governance, environment and climate change and RBM) real needs of poor people which is putting food on the table, roof over their heads, basic health, education, water and sanitation, jobs, security and well being. It is also not able to match the poor countries need for basic rural infrastructure. It seems to be a wasted goodwill of the people of the North who do want to help the countries and poor of the South. Real development is somehow lost in the Politics of Development Aid - which is unfortunate.
C	I wish the EU will be able to stand on its own 2 feet, instead of keep pleasing USA
C	EU uses international organizations to push for her agenda
C	Hoping for the better for our beloved Union
C	The Eu together with its member states is overrepresented and underperforming
C	Due to above fractioned national approach to international affairs it is a total invisibility as the gloabl actor. The change could be only if the EU will be hiring not classical bilaterally oriented diplomats many of them with the socialist education and practices of passvity and just oberving the ongoing affairs but instead of that hiring experts in international organizations, etc. Among now more than 500 mil. citizens the EU has many of such experts. I have been working for the various UN agencies for more than 11 years on all continents so I know what I am talking about and what the EU has to have as its diplomats. With this staff it has no chance to meet any of its objectives as a global player. Moreover the external service should pay more attention not opnly to selection of its "diplomats" but also to focus more on its agenda and not on various logistical issues that are discussed in Brussels like having own new building, own airplane?! and various other such perks. the substance is qualified personnel and coherent own policy and mainly sense for action but it needs first of all a good understanding of the global issues not from text books but years of practice! We are in the era of the knowledge based economy and society especially in the EU and that has to find also reflection in the EU external service with its orientation not on various classical politically nominated candidates, diplomats but also to those who have the particular know how from the global diplomacy and issues and also practice from multilateral diplomacty like from the UN. Otherwise I am afraid the results also in the future will be as outlined above in my responses!
C	While there are individual issues for which the EU profiles itself occasionally as a global actor, the overall image is that the EU can not be relied on as a pillar in international relations. At best, the EU reacts but it does not act in the sense of a typical international actor that anticipates, steers or engages on international issues.
C	Could do better
C	To much focus on UN Agencies. They are not always the most efficient in reacing the poor and bringing about change.
C	based on their economic intersts EU states sometimes are not coherent and their activities in AFRICA for example are not visible as chinene because their based on ideas where people expect means
C, incoherence with MS	EU has so far failed to impose itself as an important global actor for the fact that there's a huge gap between the Union's foreign policy and the respective individual foreign policies of the member states. The latter clearly undermine the former to a considerable extent.
C, incoherence with MS	Again, the EU's external action is sometimes overshadowed by the interests and actions of individual member states. At the UN, for example, Security Council

	members guard their privileges rather jealously.
C, incoherence with MS	Member states are reluctant to relinquish their voice to the benefit of a single EU voice.
C, incoherence with MS	The entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty risks to emphasize the tensions between the EU institutions and the members states on the EU representation in international organizations
C, incoherence with MS	It has not yet figured out what role it can legitimately play in other multilaterals; not surprising as some of its member states already play very influential roles, thus question of competencies comes into play
C, incoherence with MS	EU has a coordinating function, but it is interfered by role played by large member states. EU spends a lot of resources, but its agenda and public image remains low.
D, not ready yet	My impression is that the EU MS are not ready yet for a real change that would make the EU as a global actor.
D, too internal	The EU is much too preoccupied with internal relations and coordinating internal positions. It should become be outward looking and spend more time on exploring positions of other important international actors well before a decision-making moment comes up. It should be more self-critical on e.g. human rights, migration and financial governance within the EU and design firm mechanisms to analyze and address these matters institutionally. In the logistics, including equipment and functioning of External Action Service and the visibility and effectiveness of the High Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, much has to be improved.
E	Those involved in the research should their organizations be considered focal points to disseminate the impacts of the issues in the overall development package. Let them share their proposals and be supported financially.
E, depends on the arena	The answer to this question depends on which international organisations one refers to.
E, depends on the arena	Unfortunately my negative image of the EU is shaped by the concerns raised above, which are repeated in many countries and regions.
F, EU donates too much money to UN and too little to NGOs	The EU donates far too much money to UN organisations given the level of overheads/salaries charged by UN organisations. By contrast, when it comes to NGOs the reverse is true in most cases.
F, incoherence	it could be more important: the Germans tend to be arrogant, the British play games don't know the behaviour of other countries so well - humble, straight forward and honest would be nice and could be the coherent voice of the EU in the international community
F, incoherence	Maybe the EU External Action should be more in line with the work of the Commission as seen in perspective of the EPA negotiations

F, incoherence, MS	bureaucratic, different interests between member states and EU, not one voice
F, incoherence, MS	Frequently the state members express different and divergent positions in crucial questions.
F, incoherence, MS	Coordination with all EU Member States needs to be improved re discussions in UNSC
G	The EU's focus goes beyond the needs of its member organisations. The appointment of Baroness Ashton to a key foreign affairs role is laughable
G, depends on answer	this is based on my experiences in the framework of the United Nations human rights organs
G, depends on answer	This image corresponds to the actions of the EU so far, I nevertheless think that improvements will be made in the next months and years as a result of the institutional changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty. For example, the improved legal status of the Union and its higher institutional capabilities in coordinating positions in IOs have led to an improvement in its status in the UN.
G, depends on answer	I wish it was only seen as positive - the UK press is not favourable and doesn't appear necessarily to be very informed about the EU and certainly is not informative enough about the EU
G, depends on answer	Mainly in high level Groups eg G-20
G, depends on answer	Only Photo Ad
G, neither pos. nor neg.	In relation to Q 6 - I would have hoped for room for a comment there; I would have said that my view is actually closer to 'neither positive nor negative' but that option wasn't available. In relation to Q 7 - Copenhagen 2009 was an example of the complete ineffectiveness of the EU acting on the global stage; the issue in relation to the recognition of newly independent states (i.e. Kosovo and potentially Palestine) is another such example.
G, no comment	no more comments

B	L'UE est le plus grand pourvoyeur d'aide mais l'impact sur le terrain est parfois peu perceptibles peut-être à cause de la communication insuffisante.
B	Lorsque l'UE parle d'une seule voix, son rôle est prépondérant. Mais les querelles internes minent parfois ce rôle.
C	L'activisme, puis la soumission aux intérêts stratégiques des EU d'Amérique.
C	L'UE perd du terrain face aux BRIC et subit depuis des décennies les effets pervers d'une politique US trop agressive
D	L'UE subit et ne prend pas le lead en tant qu'acteur!
D	les APE et les accords de coton qui se frottent à L'OMC entraînant beaucoup de contradictions

F	L'UE doit avant d'investir consulter les besoins exacts des secteurs vitaux des pays nécessaires et s'apercevoir de l'exécution totale des fonds alloués c'est à dire qu'il ait une étude de suivi et évaluation de tous ces fonds.
G	RAS

Remarks:

- The EU is perceived by some respondents to play a highly important global role as one of the key architects of the World Economic Order. The EU enjoys a special status in its relation with the US and other western states, both economically and military.
- This role as a global actor should not however be taken for granted, the emergence of new powers (i.e. BICS) will tilt the power distribution.
- The input of the EU is limited in organisations dealing with matters outside the EU's interest, mechanism and geographic regions.
- The EU's role as a global player is also severely weakened by its internal problems of coherency. The EU is no perceived as a unified, single actor when it comes to foreign policy. Rather, the MS has realized that EEAS is a weak organ and thus they stick to their national foreign policy programme.
- One comment recommends that the EU should improve its coherence and coordination, as well as sticking to its strengths as a normative power.
- The EU is also recommended to become more outward looking and to stop being so preoccupied with internal relations and the coordination of internal positions.
- The EU together with the other major international organisations are claimed to reduce its input by implementing misguided policies and programmes, that do not correspond to the real needs of the recipients.
- The EU is focusing too much on its cooperation with the UN and/or the US.
- The personnel working within the EU external action are heavily criticised by one respondent who claims that they are ignorant in the areas of global and multilateral diplomacy.
- EU is claimed to at best react but not act in the sense of a typical international actor that anticipates, steers and engages on international issues.

Appendix 5 – EQ matrix – e-survey

Preliminary Findings

EQ 1	“How well does the image of the external action of the EU perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action (Nice Treaty: Art. 8 & 11; Lisbon Treaty: Art. 3 & 21) and to the image the EU seeks to convey?”	
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators		Evidence identified from the e-survey
JC.1.1. The EU has managed to disseminate the message to the relevant stakeholders in terms of content and reasons for its external action		
<p><u>Indicator 1.1.1</u> The stakeholders know the definition of the external action of the EU</p> <p><u>Indicator 1.1.2</u> The stakeholders know the content of the definition of the external action of the EU</p>		<p>-</p> <p>The majority of respondents to the e-survey are highly familiar of the content (57%). Close to 40% have an average familiarity and only 5% have a low familiarity.</p>
JC.1.2. The EU has managed to transmit an image to stakeholders that correspond to the image that was sought to be conveyed		
<u>Indicator 1.2.1</u> The images that are widely perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the communication objectives of the EU on its external action		The e-survey indicates that for the majority of stakeholders, the EU has not managed to transmit an image that corresponds to the communication objectives of the EU.
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>The majority of replies portray a fairly bleak and negative picture of the EU describing it, in the best sense, as “work in progress” with strong evidence that (given its overall composition and divergent interests within the EU as well as between the EU and MS) the Lisbon Treaty is not more than a noble aim while the institutional realities in the EU do not permit nearly to achieve these aims.</p>		

EQ 4	“How well do stakeholders perceive the benefits of EU external action and not just its main features?”	
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators		Evidence identified from the e-survey
JC 4.1. The stakeholders are sufficiently exposed to a communication from the EU on Visibility of its external action that is organised to improve impact, retention, credibility and buying intention		The majority of contributors to the e-survey (68%) work at a senior level within NGOs and think tanks/ academia in Europe and Africa of whom many are professionally following the EU’s external action.

<p><u>Indicator 4.1.1</u> The communication strategies are designed to improve impact, retention, credibility and “adherence/agreement” at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.1.2</u> The communication strategies are implemented to improve impact, retention, credibility and buying intention at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.1.3</u> The communication strategies are monitored and evaluated on impact, retention, credibility and buying intention at the level of targeted stakeholders</p>	<p>-</p> <p>Most interviewees appear to be well informed and exposed to the communication from the EU.</p> <p>-</p>
<p>JC 4.2. The stakeholders perceive and value the differences between the benefits of the EU external action and the results or the features/instruments</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 4.2.1</u> The communication strategies are designed to improve the perception of benefits at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.2.2</u> The communication strategies are implemented to improve the perception of benefits at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.1.3</u> The communication strategies are monitored and evaluated on the perception of benefits of targeted stakeholders</p>	<p>Several comments made indicate that the EU needs to invest more to communicate its work and what the EU stands for towards the outside.</p> <p>The way how the communication is implemented does not result in an improvement of the perception of benefits. Perceptions in Europe are particularly critical while replies from Africa show a fairly positive perception that is largely caused by the humanitarian assistance to fragile states.</p> <p>-</p>
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>Overall, there is fairly little evidence that the EU external action is of added value but several comments made indicate that there is a potential for such added value to be reached. Assistance to fragile states and peace building is overall commented on positively. The EU is judged as having no influence, or leverage on climate and energy issues as well as on the environment. The EU’s dealing with food security and trade is criticized while its handling of migration is heavily criticized.</p>	

EQ 6	Are the EC’s messages coherent across different EU external action and internal policy areas?	
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from the e-survey	
<p>JC6.1 – EU policy in other areas do not contradict EU external action</p>		
<p><u>Indicator 6.1.1</u> Evidence of incoherence between formal policies</p>	<p>Several comments are made about the incoherence of the trade and agricultural policy of the EU and the development objectives that the EU tries to achieve in countries in the South.</p>	

<p><u>Indicator 6.1.2</u> Awareness among outside observers of incoherence in the EU’s policy</p> <p><u>Indicator 6.1.3</u> Evidence from officials working in one EC policy sector that they have taken steps to improve policy coherence between their area of policy and other areas</p>	<p>Outside observers are highly aware about incoherence in the EU’s policy, including incoherence between the EU and the EU MS.</p> <p>-</p>
<p>JC6.2 – Existence of contradictory messages being conveyed by different policy sectors</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 6.2.1</u> Evidence of contradictions between the visibility and communication strategies of different EC departments responsible for different policy sectors</p> <p><u>Indicator 6.2.2</u> Evidence that EC officials have taken steps to coordinate the messages to be conveyed on different policies so as to iron out possible contradictions</p> <p><u>Indicator 6.2.3</u> Awareness among outside observers of apparent contradictions (lack of coherence) between the messages conveyed by EU officials</p> <p><u>Indicator 6.2.4</u> Existence of press enquiries and requests for explanations about seeming contradictions in messages conveyed by EU</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>No specific comments are made about messages conveyed by EU officials. Comments concentrate on the overall lack of coherence in the messages conveyed by the EU and EU MS.</p>
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>The coherence of EU’s messages across different external action and internal policy areas scores the lowest among all survey questions and many respondents comment negatively about the incoherence of external action between the EU and the EU MS as well as between the EU MS. Moreover, the EU’s messages are perceived as not coherent at all across the different policy fields the EU is working on.</p>	

<p>EQ 7</p>	<p>“How far does the perception of the value added of the EU as a global actor emerge clearly from its presence as in the major international organisations/fora or from projects or programmes where the EU is collaborating with international organisations? “</p>
<p>Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators</p>	<p>Evidence identified from the e-survey</p>
<p>JC 7.1 The Commission has displayed political leadership in the implementation of its overall communication strategy and visibility activities, both internally and towards Council, MS ,EP and International Organisations</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 7.1.1</u> The degree of leadership (political and managerial) exercised internally to produce policy documents and take decisions (HQ and DEL)</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p>

<p><u>Indicator 7.1.2</u> The degree of leadership (political) related to key events with Council, MS and EP</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.1.3</u> Policy document with clear communication and visibility objective + implementation strategy produced with contribution of all external family DGs</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.1.4</u> Communication/visibility tools provide improved access to information on EU policies</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p>
<p>JC 7.2 The Commission has actively supported the further consolidation of the overall EU institutional architecture enabling a more coherent and effective communication and visibility</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 7.2.1</u> To what extent is the EU Institutional architecture conducive to ensuring responsive and coherent decisions that have a strong visibility impact</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.2.2</u> To what extent EC has expressly push for reforms having a visibility impact</p>	<p>Several comments complain about the poor capacities of the EEAS organisation (including its personnel and logistics) and its capabilities to portray the EU towards the outside.</p> <p>-</p>
<p>JC.7.3 The EU Delegation contributed to strengthen the image of the EC in the third countries and the knowledge on the EU policies and activities</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 7.3.1</u> How the presence of Delegation in third countries is perceived by local stakeholders, including MSs and International organizations</p> <p><u>Indicators 7.3.2</u> To what extent the stakeholder in the country knows the EC policy and actions</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p>
<p>JC 7. 4 If and how the EU has been able to demonstrate its specific added value in relation to the Presidency and MS and to influence the international organizations/bodies while making it visible externally</p>	
<p><u>Indicator 7.4.1</u> Constant key role of the EC in reaching EU common positions to be presented in the ECOSOC, selected Trust Funds, UN HR Council.</p> <p><u>Indicator 7.4.2</u> How the EC role is perceived by selected International Organisations (HQ and field)</p> <p><u>Indicators 7.4.3</u> How the role of the EC in international fora is perceived by governments of third parties and OECD countries</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>Several comments indicate that the EU is perceived as having a certain amount of influence because of its size</p>

<p><u>Indicators 7.4.4</u> How the role of the EC in international fora is perceived by non-governmental organisations in Europa as well as outside Europe</p>	<p>and the funding it provides to the UN, other international organisations as well as to individual countries. It is recognised that the EU profiles itself occasionally and on individual issues as a global actor but the overall image is that the EU cannot be relied on as a pillar in international relations. At best, the EU reacts but does not act in the sense of a typical international actor that has to anticipate, steer or engage pro-actively on international issues.</p>
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>The replies in the e-survey to this question scored overall somewhat higher than on the other questions. Some positive comments were provided about the gradual increase in political weight of the EU at global level, because of the EU's funding to the UN and the EU's improving institutional set-up to act internationally. The majority of comments, however, underline that at present the image of the EU as a global actor is perceived as little important or even not important at all (though respondents see considerable potential for the EU in becoming a global actor over time). At best, the EU reacts but does not act in the sense of a typical international actor that has to anticipate, steer or engage pro-actively on international issues. The EU is also not perceived as a unified actor on global affairs and has to go through a steep learning curve before it can play a meaningful role in international organisations.</p>	

ANNEX 14 -

THE PARTNERSHIP WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

ANNEX 14 – THE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

Introduction

In the early stages of the Evaluation the evaluation team proposed that it would be useful to examine the visibility derived from the different strategic partnerships that the EU concludes as part of its external action, by doing a number of small desk research based case studies. As candidates it was proposed to look at the bilateral partnerships with two major countries: India and South Africa, and then with UN. These were tested and due to data constraints as described below it was then decided to limit the work to a limited case study on the partnership with the UN for which there were several sources.

The methodological issues encountered were as follows:

a. Visibility strategies for the strategic partnerships with South Africa and India

The bilateral strategic partnership with South Africa or India were both established during the Barroso I Commission and are seen as one of the EU's foreign policy "tools" through which to ensure influence. Joint visibility is stipulated as one of the goals to which both partners commit. However, it was found that in neither country a bilateral strategy on visibility yet existed. These strategies would have to be joint initiatives, together with the partner government. In both EU delegations this had been discussed and there was an interest on the EU side, but it was not (yet) in place.¹⁵

b. EU Visibility in the EU-UN partnership

In the desk report, the evaluation team also proposed to do a limited analysis on the EU-UN partnership on visibility, focused on joint development cooperation due to the substantial amount of funding the EU channels through the UN. (In 2010, the European Commission was channelling funds through the UN in more than 110 countries). The aim was to focus on joint visibility efforts of UN programmes and agencies and EC on the basis of joint visibility guidelines for EC-UN action as agreed in 2008, in the six countries visited for the evaluation and related to the theme for which the country was being visited. A specific focus was to be put on dynamic visibility with the help of visibility and communication action plans in the field. However, this approach could only be followed in some of the countries visited. In others, the EU did not work with the UN in the areas examined, or the consultants did not have enough time to conduct UN-related interviews. The information presented below has to be viewed with this in mind. The text below can therefore only aim to give an impression of the situation in selected settings and does not aim to be fully representative. Given the limited new data that could be collected in country, the evaluation team also conducted interviews with the UN in Brussels.

¹⁵ The EEAS official responsible for South Africa pointed out that one element of the visibility strategy of the EU Delegation was the Strategic Partnership, but there was no separate visibility strategy for it. He also noted that the Delegation only had approx. 20.000 Euro for visibility purposes available in 2010, which would not have been able to cover a separate visibility strategy. The delegation made serious and repeated efforts between 2008-2010 to convince the South African side in pursuing joint visibility efforts and the South African National Treasury commissioned a team of "brand consultants" to develop a visibility plan, but it was then not implemented.

The EU-UN partnership on visibility

Context

In 2008, the Commission commissioned an evaluation on the external cooperation with partner countries through the organisations of the UN family which also covered the question of visibility. The evaluation covered the period from 1999 to 2006 during which EU visibility requirements were evolving from a focus on static visibility to concentrating on the awareness of key players. The evaluation found that the Commission did not lose visibility of its funding at country level vis-à-vis national authorities, EU Member States and other donors by channelling it through the UN. Yet it also found that the Commission's visibility requirements created problems in the field because there were differences in perception on when visibility requirements had been fulfilled which also had to do with the lack of clarity on the requirements as hardly any contribution agreements specified specific visibility requirements beyond the FAFA. Other donors also criticized the EU for its emphasis on visibility which they perceived as taking funds away from the actual project and by compromising the UN's neutrality.

The Commission has since made an effort to improve the clarity of visibility requirements and has emphasized a focus on dynamic visibility. EC and UN adopted joint visibility guidelines in April 2008¹⁶ covering both static and dynamic visibility and providing a template for Communication and Visibility Plans to raise the awareness of specific or general audiences of the reasons for and impact of the UN-EU cooperation. The UN and EU publish an annual Partnership Report of which six have already been published on the joint website. Commission analysis carried out on the basis of the 2010 External Assistance Management Report shows that EU visibility through the UN is generally improving.

Findings of this evaluation¹⁷

Kenya: Since the consultants' visit was related to the food crisis, projects under the EU's Food Facility were chosen for closer visibility examination. The FAO implements an EU food facility project to enhance livestock production to make Kenya more food secure. Information on the project can be found on the FAO Kenya's website as well as on the joint FAO-EU website on the food facility. When the project was launched in 2009, Commission and FAO also agreed a visibility plan and strategy for the EU Food Facility in Kenya, including key messages and the target audience. The FAO contracted a PR company to manage the plan and develop a brand for the projects. According to the interviews the consultant conducted in Kenya, the visibility of the project was reduced by a failure to implement through a local contractor and reports in the media failed to mention the EU as a donor for this project. The project achieved static visibility through T-shirts etc. and created some dynamic visibility through radio training sessions. Interviewees considered the budget too small for a professional media 'campaign'. Overall however, EU-FAO collaboration was perceived as positive.

¹⁶ The guidelines were preceded by a joint action plan on visibility signed in 2006 which emphasized the importance of communicating on the wider partnership between UN and EU.

¹⁷ In Indonesia and Grenada, EU and UN did not cooperate on a project relevant to the areas investigated by the consultants.

Georgia: Consultants looked at the EU's visibility with regard to crisis and fragile states. A project to stabilise living conditions of internally displaced persons implemented by UNHCR was chosen for closer examination. In the different regions where the project was implemented, official opening ceremonies were held in 2009 and 2010 where families received keys to their new homes and both EU and UNHCR gave speeches. For these ceremonies a joint EU-UNHCR press release was distributed to the press – these cannot be found on neither EU Delegation nor UNHCR website however. The events were covered in the local media. All public events and publications were coordinated with the EU. The final report on the project describes cooperation between the UNHCR office and the EU Delegation on visibility as close. For static visibility, plaques, billboards and key rings were produced and a booklet in English and Georgian was produced.

UNHCR interviewees in Georgia noted that the EU-UN relationship had a clear added value for both sides. Beyond cooperation on projects, EU and UN cooperate in their dealings with the Georgian government. The EU is very present (and known) at government level in Georgia. The EU's visibility requirements were described as very demanding (more elaborated than any other donor's) and extremely time consuming and in their view the EU attached too much importance to it. UNHCR Georgia no longer has an external relations officer and there might be more pressing issues than funding one. The interviewees were not always sure that the way the EU was trying to achieve visibility had the hoped for effect in winning over "hearts and minds". The EU was most visible in governmental negotiations, but this did not trigger down to the "people". In their view, it might not always be necessary to be visible to have impact.

Mali: In the area of migration examined by the consultant, one project was being implemented by UNDP as part of the Joint UNDP-EU Migration and Development Initiative and another (to do with the transfer of diaspora knowledge) was part of the Migration and Information Management Centre (CIGEM). The consultant found that the UN-EU relationship was not strategic in Mali and rather based on ad-hoc agreements to channel funds through the UN. In the area of migration moreover, UNDP does not have a specific added value. Both projects respected the EU's visibility requirements but were generally perceived as UNDP programmes. This was also a finding of the Joint Migration and Development Initiative evaluation report, which noted that whereas the visibility of the projects in country were high, the EU's visibility was low.

Cambodia: The Cambodia Climate Change Alliance examined by the consultant is implemented by the National Climate Change Committee and supported by a Climate Change Trust Fund to which both UNDP and EU contribute. UNDP and UNEP also provide technical support. The consultant found that the EU's relationship with UNEP and UNDP was not highly strategic at country level, but rather was more pragmatic with a clear problem solving approach. Also in Cambodia, the EU's visibility requirements were a concern for UNDP which have led to differences between the two parties.

The UN in Brussels: According to UN staff in Brussels, the EU is too focused on visibility and at times risks forgetting the importance of substantive action that should bring about visibility on its own. In their experience no other contributor to the UN is as focused on visibility as the EU is. Yet the EU already has a strong image within the UN which it underestimates. The UN often faces the problem of having to explain to other donors in jointly funded projects, why the EU gets visibility whereas they are given none and this does not help the EU's image. There is also a potential danger that if the UN gives too much

profile to the donors and member states that fund its projects, this may then be seen as compromising the UN's impartiality. To improve and ensure EU visibility through and by the UN, they propose that it would be more strategic for the EU to concentrate less on project funding and rather on making core contributions to UN agencies like it already does for the FAO. This would then have the effect of the EU being systematically listed as a core contributor in all reports and giving it a say on management. This would result in considerable visibility for the EU in the international community.

Tentative conclusions

Compared to the 2008 evaluation, visibility requirements in the EU-UN agreement seem to be clearer, but are still widely seen as cumbersome. Although the UN largely meets its requirements, the EU receives little recognition at the level of the general population. As before, the EU does not lose visibility at governmental/donor level and other donors continue to be frustrated with the EU's insistence on its visibility. With regard to EQ2, interviewees in several countries questioned the ability of the EU to win over stakeholders because projects continued to be seen as UN projects even though they were heavily EU funding. Concerning EQ7, the EU's added value in the international setting was seen as its engagement (in cooperation with the UN) with the national government, which did not bring about much visibility but had impact. In the UN staff's view, EU presence in international organisations could be better achieved as a core contributor, rather than through stickers and events and other communication activities linked to projects. Regarding EQ8, many stakeholders said the budgets available were not sufficient to carry out substantial campaigns, but were also not convinced that they should be increased and recommended that the EU should rather focus on substantive action, which would naturally lead to more visibility.

ANNEX 15 -

EUROBAROMETER SURVEY

ANNEX 15 – EUROBAROMETER SURVEY

1. Methodology

The analysis has taken into account 55 Eurobarometer surveys (Standard Eurobarometers¹⁸, Eurobarometer Special Surveys¹⁹, Flash Eurobarometer Reports²⁰, Qualitative Studies²¹) over the period 2000-2010.

For this evaluation the Standard Eurobarometers are of limited use as they focus on the EU citizens' opinions and expectations towards issues of relevance for their life within the EU (e.g. the European identity, democracy and values, the EU welfare system and its economy, the EU's future and its geography, the support to European institutions, etc.).

Less attention is given to the image of the EU in its external action. From this point of view, only three EB surveys – EB 63, EB 66 and EB 67 - take this dimension into account by asking two fairly general questions, i.e.:

- (i) if the EU citizens are in favor of the common foreign policy;
- (ii) their opinion on the EU's role compared with that of the United States as well as its place in the world.

These EB surveys do not provide an insight into the citizens' real knowledge and perceptions of the EU external action, however through the comparison EU-US we can get some indirect indications on the areas where the EU is considered to act more positively.

Apart from the Standard Eurobarometers, there are a number of surveys (Special Surveys and Flash Reports) that measure the perception that the public opinion has regarding EU policies in specific domains. Such surveys – that are listed in the table below - have been considered in the context of the 6 thematic studies of this evaluation (crisis and fragile states; financial and economic crisis; food crisis; migration; climate change and energy; environment, biodiversity and deforestation) to check if they included indications of relevance for the dimension of the EU external action²².

¹⁸ The standard Eurobarometer survey, which was established in 1973, is mainly intended to gather EU citizens' perceptions of: (i) the life in the EU; (ii) the EU and its citizens; (iii) the EU today and tomorrow.

¹⁹ Special Eurobarometer reports are based on in-depth thematic studies carried out for various services of the European Commission or other EU Institutions and integrated into the Standard Eurobarometer's polling waves.

²⁰ Flash Eurobarometers are ad-hoc thematic telephone interviews conducted at the request of any service of the European Commission. They mainly deal with EU internal policy issues, such as public perceptions of the Lisbon Treaty, the introduction of euro in the new member states or with more general topics linked to the life of Europeans, like European citizenship, youth and drugs, expectations regarding the social reality in the future, etc.

²¹ The qualitative studies investigate in-depth the motivations, the feelings, the reactions of selected social groups towards a given subject or concept, by listening and analyzing their way of expressing themselves in discussion groups or with non-directive interviews.

²² See volumes 4-9 of the Annexes.

Table 1 – Eurobarometer surveys and the six thematic studies

	Ref	Wave	Title	Documents	Year
Eurobarometer Special Surveys	357		International trade	Report	11/10
		EB74.1	Europeans and the crisis	Report	11/10
	354	EB73.5	Food-related risks	Report	11/10
	348	EB72.4	Global threats and challenges for the Union European	Report	12/10
	322	EB72.1	Europeans' attitudes towards climate change	Report	11/09
	313	EB71.1	Europeans' attitudes towards climate change	Report	07/09
	300	EB69.2	Europeans' attitudes towards climate change	REPORT	08/09
	290	EB68.2	The role of the European Union in Justice, Freedom and Security policy areas	REPORT - SUMMARY	06/08
		EB71.1	Europeans and the Economic crisis	Analysis summary	04/09
	295	EB68.2	Attitudes of European citizens towards the environment	REPORT - Summary	03/08
	266	EB65.4	The role of the European Union in Justice, Freedom and Security policy areas	Full report-Summary	02/07
	262	EB65.3	Energy Technologies : knowledge, perception, measures	REPORT	01/07
	258	EB65.2	Energy Issues	REPORT	11/06
	247	EB64.2	Attitudes towards Energy	REPORT	
	217	EB62.2	The attitudes of European citizens towards environment	REPORT	04/05
	180		Attitudes towards Environment	REPORT	03/03
	169		Energy : Issues, Options and Technologies	REPORT	03/03
	Flash Eurobar.	131	EB51.1	Europeans and the environment	REPORT
290			Attitudes of Europeans towards the issue of biodiversity - wave 2	REPORT	11/09
288			Monitoring the social impact of the crisis: public perceptions in the European Union - Wave 3	REPORT	06/10
286			Monitoring the social impact of the crisis : public perceptions in the European Union- wave 2	REPORT	03/10
276			Monitoring the social impact of the crisis : public perceptions in the European Union	REPORT	10/09
252			Awareness of key-policies in the area of Freedom, Security and Justice	REPORT	01/09
206			Attitudes on issues related to the EU energy policy	PRESENTATION REPORT	03/07

There are also other surveys that give useful insights on the EU citizens' views towards the broader EU external assistance's agenda, with particular reference to the *EU's role in development cooperation*. The following is a list of available surveys with relevance for this analysis for the years covered by this Evaluation.

Table 2 – Eurobarometer surveys and EU development assistance

Eurobarometer Special Surveys (EBS)				
Ref	Wave	Title	Documents	Year
353	EB73.5	The EU and Africa: Working towards closer partnership	REPORT	11/10
352	EB73.5	Europeans, development aid and the Millennium Development Goals	REPORT	09/10
318	EB71.2	Development Aid in times of economic turmoil	Report	10/09
286	EB67.3	Citizens of the new EU Member States and Development Aid	Report	09/07
222	EB62.2	Attitudes towards Development Aid	Report	02/05
184		L'aide aux pays en développement	Report	04/03

By looking into these surveys it is possible to present some remarks on how the EU public opinion perceive the EU external assistance and its priorities (EQs 1), its main features, justification and role on the global scene (EQ 2), as well as its benefits (EQ4). Some indirect indications on these issues can also be deduced from the Standard Eurobarometers EB 63, EB 66 and EB 67. These six surveys therefore provide the basis of the analysis in the next section.

2. The Visibility of EU development assistance: preliminary findings

EQ1	“How well does the image of the external action of the EU perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action (Nice Treaty: Art. 8 & 11; Lisbon Treaty: Art. 3 & 21) and to the image the EU seeks to convey?”
Through the EB surveys, EU citizens demonstrated a good understanding of the definition of EU external assistance and its priorities. This is also accompanied by a strong support of EU as aid donor which clearly shows the recognition that EU development cooperation has – according to the EU general public - a positive impact on developing countries.	

Generally speaking, European citizens seem to have a **fairly accurate idea of what defines the EU external action and its priorities**.

For instance, from the Eurobarometer Special Survey “*The EU and Africa: Working towards closer partnership*” it comes out clearly that the central goals for development in Africa, according to the respondents' views, are well in line with the priorities identified in the EU Treaties, policy documents and the EU-Africa Partnership.

The eradication of poverty, the support for peace and security, the promotion of human rights, democracy and good governance can be singled out as the key objectives of EU

development assistance and other goals, such as the integration of developing countries in the world economy and the protection of environment are also mentioned (figure 1).

Figure 1 – The priorities of EU development cooperation



Source: *The EU and Africa: Working towards closer partnership*, EBS 353, 2010, p. 7

The fact that the image of the EU external action - as perceived by EU citizens - correspond to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action is also recognised in the survey itself:

«Lutter contre la pauvreté, renforcer la paix et la sécurité et promouvoir les droits de l'homme devraient être les trois domaines majeurs de la coopération UE-Afrique, selon les Européens. La pauvreté est citée comme enjeu numéro un, lequel correspond au premier Objectif du Millénaire pour le Développement de diviser par deux l'extrême pauvreté d'ici 2015. Les Européens expriment un soutien important à une politique de développement centrée sur la pauvreté et les études précédentes ont montré qu'ils ont tout à fait conscience du besoin d'aider l'Afrique. En mettant principalement l'accent sur la lutte contre la pauvreté et la promotion de la paix et de la sécurité ainsi que les droits de l'homme, les Européens soutiennent fortement les objectifs clés de la coopération Afrique-UE [...] Ainsi, *il semble que les grands axes liés au bien-être de base sont considérés comme le fondement de la coopération*, devant d'autres matières plus spécifiques, *ce qui reflète la politique actuelle de développement de l'UE centrée sur la pauvreté*. Un sentiment de responsabilité semble dominer²³».

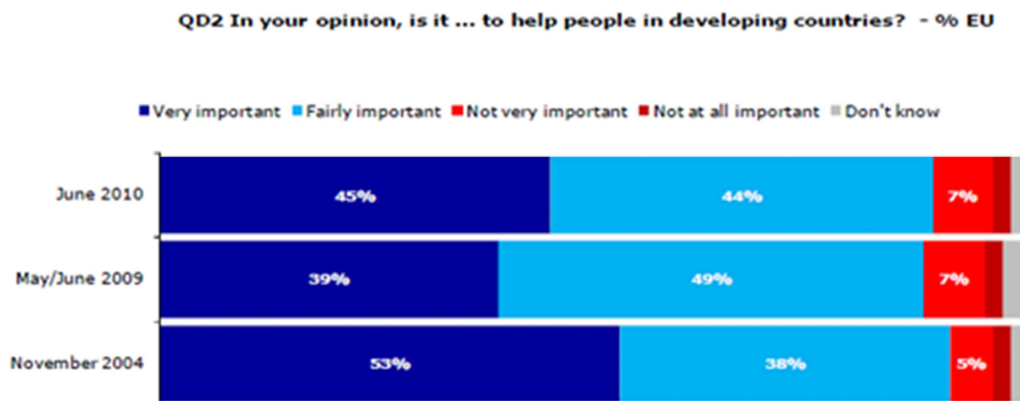
The awareness of the priorities of EU development assistance goes hand in hand with the recognition of the positive impact of EU aid. This is well demonstrated by the **importance attached to development by the general public**, an importance that in the last decade has remained steady and widespread despite the economic crisis.

In 2010 89% of EU citizens attached a high value to development cooperation, with 45% finding it very important and 44% fairly important and only 7% of the respondents thinking that this kind of action has no importance (figure 2). This is broadly in line with the findings from earlier studies, for instance in the previous year, 2009, the total figure was 88%

²³ *The EU and Africa: Working towards closer partnership*, EBS 353, 2010, p. 7 and 9.

(39%+49%) and in 2004, when the first study on the subject was published, it was 92% (53%+38%).

Figure 2 – The relevance of development aid

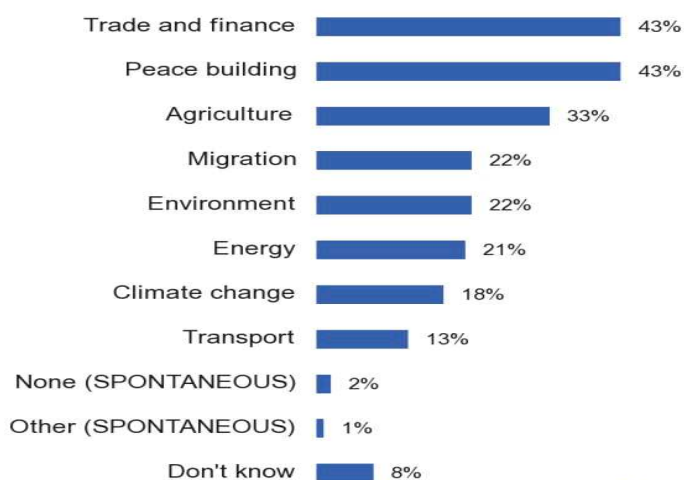


Generally speaking, the 2010 survey shows that the European public believes that direct aid, but also other policy areas, are positively contributing to improvements in the developing world. More specifically, 43% of the European public believe that EU trade and finance policies have a positive impact on developing countries, followed by agriculture (33%) and migration (22%). Policies linked to current global challenges such as environmental degradation (22%), energy sufficiency (21%) and climate change (18%) are also seen to make a positive contribution (figure 3).

On this point the survey observes that Europeans believe that the impact of the EU on the developing world is not limited to direct aid and that the goals of development cooperation require a horizontal approach that permeates all policy areas of the European Union to varying degrees.

Figure 3 – Impact of EU policies on developing countries

QD7. Apart from financial aid, which of the following European Union policies have a positive impact on developing countries?



EU27

Source: Europeans, development aid and the Millennium Development Goals, EBS 352, 2010, p. 39

EQ2

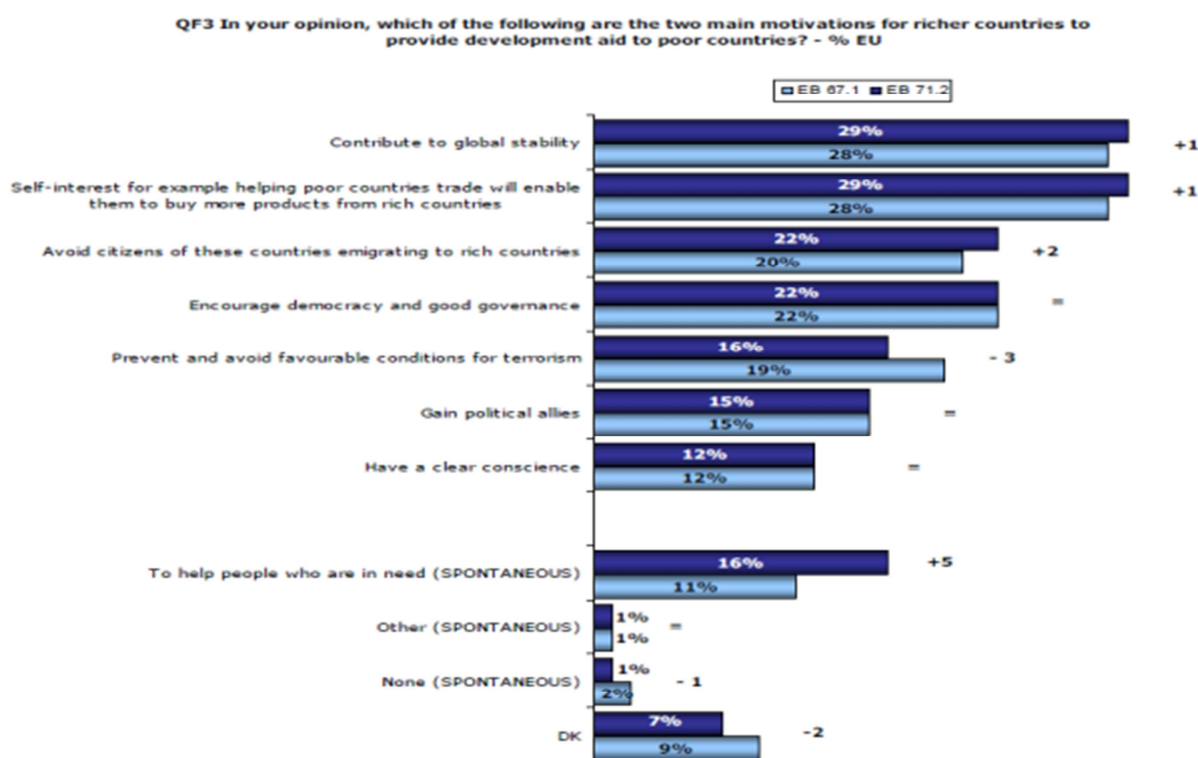
“How well do the Visibility communication priorities (Key Communication Messages from Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, i.e.: Why does EU have an external action? What defines EU as an actor on the world stage? How does the EU deploy its instruments around the world?) achieve their objectives?”

Europeans share a strong sense of the legitimacy of EU development cooperation, which is justified by the importance attached to this policy and its priorities and to the rationale behind development assistance (i.e. self-interest motivations), but not by a thorough knowledge of EU concrete activities and funding in this domain and, more generally, of the role played by the EU on the global scene. As a result, other IOs (the UN and the World Bank) are considered to be better placed to tackle the big challenges of development.

As already mentioned with reference to EQ1, the high importance attached to EU aid is a clear sign of **the legitimacy of EU’s role as aid donor in the eyes of the European general public**. This is also evident if we consider three additional findings coming from the 2003 to 2010 surveys (as per Table 2) on EU development cooperation. i.e.:

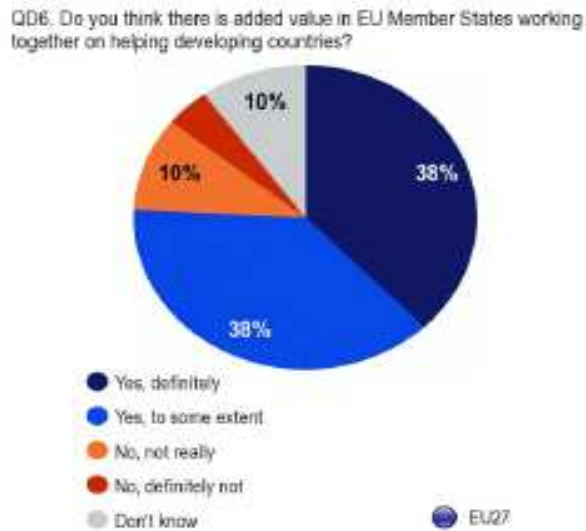
- i. **The rationale behind development assistance.** As indicated by figure 4, among the key reasons for giving development aid, respondents cite self interest and global stability as the primary motivations (both 29%), followed by migration concerns (avoiding people of those countries to emigrate to EU – 22%), encouraging democracy and good governance (22%) the prevention of terrorism (16%) and the acquisition of political allies (15%). Several items can be considered to belong to the ‘self-interest’ rhetoric: apart from the one mentioning specifically self-interest, the items on, terrorism, migration, and political relations with third countries can all be considered as being ‘self-interested’. The aggregation of these items shows that, in total, close to two-thirds of Europeans (64%) cite self-interested motivation for giving aid.

Figure 4 – Self-interest motivations for giving aid



- ii. **The recognition of the added value of EU cooperation:** three-quarters (76%) of Europeans believe that there is added value in EU countries working together in responding to the needs and challenges of developing countries (figure 5).

Figure 5 – The added value of EU cooperation in development aid



Source: Europeans, development aid and the Millennium Development Goals, EBS 352, 2010, p. 13

This was something that was also observed in the previous survey of spring 2009 when 61% of respondents agreed that Europe can positively contribute to the debate on global development (figure 6).

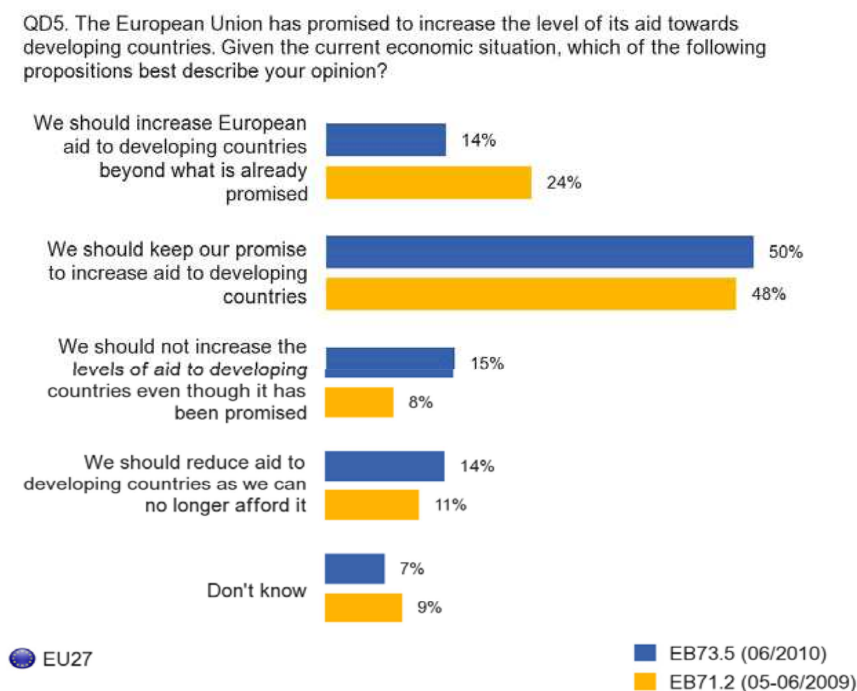
Figure 6 – The EU perspective for the global debate on development



Source: Special EB 318 'Development aid in times of economic turmoil', Special EB 318, 2009, p. 14

iii. **The support for honouring aid commitments.** To further gauge public support for development aid, Europeans were asked about their opinion on current aid commitments. The replies reveal that the majority of the population (64%) thinks that aid should be increased: 50% believes that the EU should honour its commitment to increase the funding²⁴ and 14% that the EU should even go beyond what was promised as indicated in the figure below.

Figure 7 – The EU commitment to increase aid



Source: Europeans, development aid and the Millennium Development Goals, EBS 352, 2010, p. 31

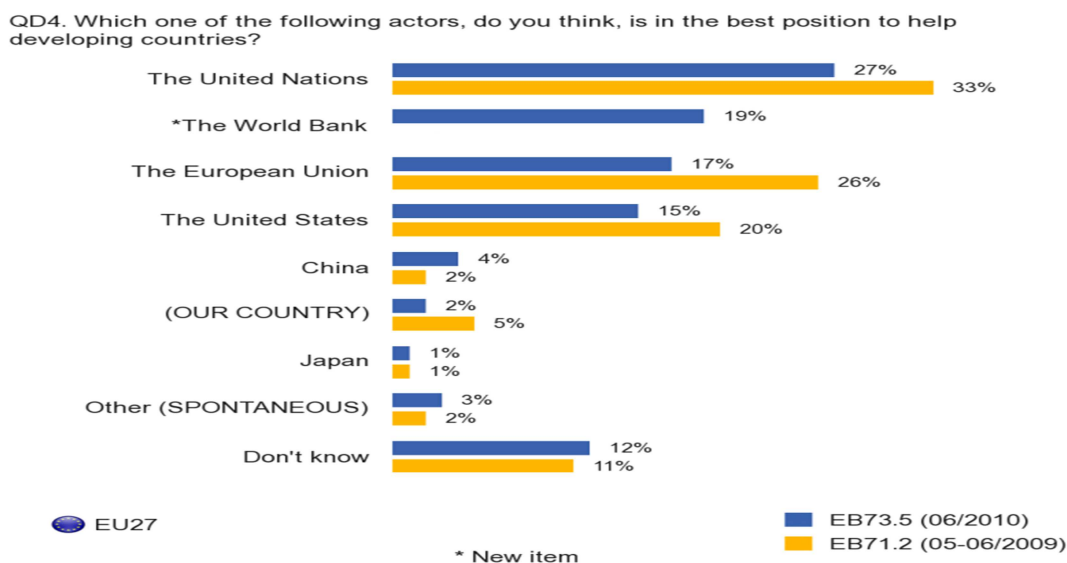
Overall, despite the negative trend caused by the economic crises, Europeans appear committed to keeping the promise regarding aid levels although with less enthusiasm than the previous year, when 72% of the respondents declared to be favourable to a rise of aid.

Based on the results of the findings, it is possible to conclude that the EU seems to have a strong mandate as a development aid actor in the eyes of its citizens.

While recognizing the importance of EU aid, when asked about who is the best placed actor to help developing countries the Europeans respond as follows: the highest number (27%) cites the United Nations, followed by the World Bank (19%) with the EU in the third place (17%). Regarding individual countries, 15% cite the United States while very few mention China or Japan or their respective countries (figure 8).

²⁴ The EU has promised to increase aid to a level that corresponds to 0.7% of national GNI by 2015, in line with the UN target.

Figure 8 – Most relevant actors on the development scene



Source: *Europeans, development aid and the Millennium Development Goals*, EBS 352, 2010, p. 44

The authors of the Eurobarometer report present two justifications to explain the possible reasons behind this choice:

- i. **Lack of knowledge of the level of EU aid.** In terms of funding the EU is contributing more than the other two IOs²⁵, therefore if the majority of Europeans place the UN and the World Bank ahead of the EU, it is possible that they do not know how much money is given by each of the organisations. On the other hand, it would be ambitious to expect the general public to be knowledgeable about the amounts of aid given by the different organisations.
- ii. **Stronger visibility of UN and WB as development actors.** One may argue that the UN and the World Bank have a more development-oriented image whereas perhaps the EU is perceived more as an administrative organisation; generally speaking, it seems that the overall visibility and conspicuousness of an organisation seems to weigh more than its actions measured by the amount of money allocated to development aid and the concrete initiatives undertaken.

This ‘visibility argument’ could, for example, to a certain extent explain why respondents in the new member states are significantly more likely to cite the EU than respondents in EU15 (23% against 15% in EU15). The accession of the new countries is fairly recent and numerous information campaigns related to this were carried out by the EU. It is self-evident that the exposure to EU-related communication and actions has been higher in the NMS12 in the past decade. On the other hand, it is striking that people in nearly all the ‘biggest aid donor countries of Europe’ cite the UN before the EU. Furthermore, well-educated respondents, who usually show relatively higher levels of knowledge, also cite the UN way ahead of the EU.

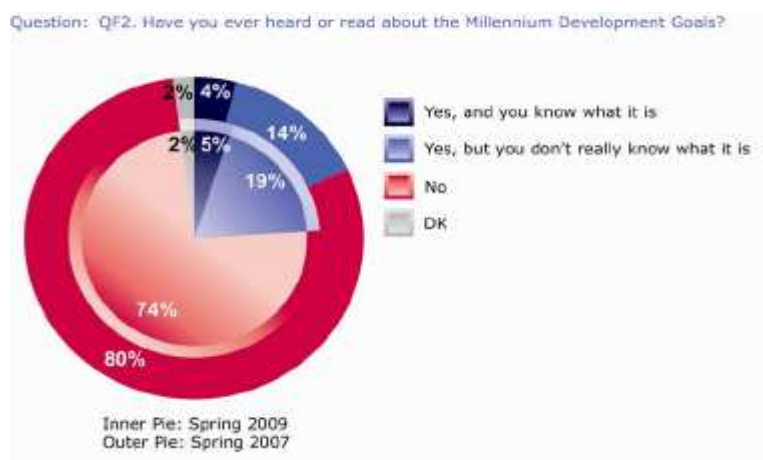
The limitation of the analysis is that we do not effectively know whether respondents are answering on the basis of legitimacy/mandate or on the basis of results/effectiveness. Thus,

²⁵ For EU aid reference is made to the overall contribution of the EC and the EU Member States.

you do not know whether it is because the UN and the WB are “larger” and “more effective” organisation or because they are perceived as more “legitimate” organisations to act in this domain.

What seems to come out from this finding is a lack of information about the role the EU plays. This statement seems to be confirmed by another question introduced in the survey. In order to gauge their perception of how the European Union responds to development problems, Europeans were asked how much they know about the Millennium Development Goals. Less than a quarter (24%) of the respondents are aware of their existence and 19% of which are not really familiar with their content, globally only 5% of interviewees know what the Millennium Development Goals really are.

Figure 9 – The knowledge of the MDGs



Source: *Special EB 318 'Development aid in times of economic turmoil', Special EB 318, 2009, p. 8*

Past surveys also polled Europeans on their awareness of the Millennium Development Goals. The proportion of respondents who say they are aware of the Millennium Development Goals has risen from 12% in 2004, to 18% in 2007 and 24% in 2009, which suggests a slow but continuous increase in the awareness of the Millennium Development Goals.

To sum up, there is a low awareness of how the EU is fighting against the challenges faced by poor countries which might explain the low visibility of the EU as a development aid actor and the fact that European public does not consider the world's biggest aid donor - the EU – to be the biggest player.

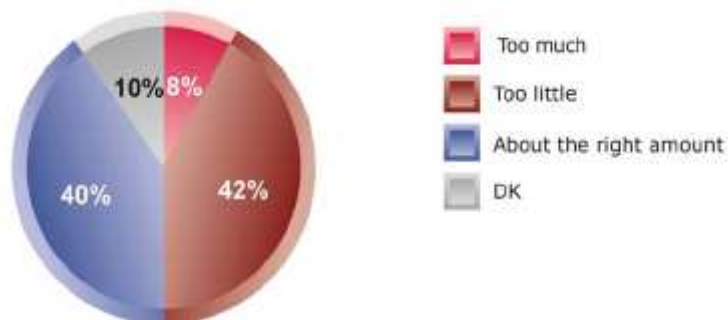
EQ4	“How well do stakeholders perceive the benefits of EU external action and not just its main features?”
The European general public has little awareness of the concrete actions and tangible results of EU development cooperation and would like to learn more, namely through better press coverage.	

Europeans are well convinced of the positive impact of EU development assistance, nevertheless they have little knowledge of how the EU concretely helps partner countries

and what the benefits of this intervention are. However low awareness does not imply low interest, indeed it seems that Europeans have a genuine interest in knowing more about that. Since media plays an important role in the way Europeans shape their knowledge and understanding of issues, one way of getting at this was to measure Europeans' media expectations. Europeans were asked how they regard the level of domestic press coverage on the development of poor countries. Whereas some 42% feel that there is 'too little' coverage, 40% think that the level is 'about right'. Just 8% argue that there is 'too much' media coverage.

Figure 10 – Media coverage of development cooperation

Question: QF8. Generally speaking, do you think that the (NATIONALITY) media talk too much, about the right amount or too little about development of poor countries?



Source: *Special EB 318 'Development aid in times of economic turmoil', Special EB 318, 2009, p. 11*

3. Conclusions

The main messages coming from the analysis of the Eurobarometer Special Surveys regarding EU development cooperation for the period 2000-2010 are the following:

- ❖ **Widespread endorsement of the EU's mandate to carry out development actions.** A wide consensus prevails over the *justification* of providing development cooperation outside the European Union territory: around 90% of Europeans citizens find development activities to be very or fairly important. The atmosphere surrounding the support to development aid is shaped by a strong value basis and a moral responsibility of helping those in need, but also by the recognition of self-interest motivations and of the importance of the priorities pursued through development aid.

Not only are Europeans highly supportive of development aid, but they also consider that the *cooperation among EU members brings added value* when pursuing the goals of combating poverty (76% of Europeans) and that the EU should honour its commitments of increasing the level of aid (50% and 14% even declare that the EU should go beyond them)

This means that the *EU fully enjoys the confidence of its citizens as an aid actor.*

- ❖ **Lower visibility of the EU role as development aid actor relative to the UN and the World Bank.** Despite the legitimacy of EU development aid and the fact that the EU provides the biggest share of funding or aid in the world, a majority of respondents believe that *the United Nations (27%) and the World Bank (19%) are in the best position to aid developing countries.*

This reflects a **communication challenge** that the EU seems to be facing when it comes to its visibility and conspicuousness as a development aid actor. Even with the strong support and pro-EU cooperation stance of the European public, the largest aid donor of the world is still under-recognised by its citizens probably due to a low understanding of EU concrete activities, funding and tangible results of EU development assistance and, as a result, of the role played by the EU on the global scene.

- ❖ **Low awareness, but high expectations: Europeans want to know more about development cooperation.** The strong justification of development cooperation is accompanied by a good understanding of the priorities of intervention, in line with the central goals identified by the EU policy, and with the conviction that EU aid and other EU policies can make a difference for the lives of the poor.

This however does not mean that EU citizens are well aware of EU activities in this field. Although there is no direct question to assess the awareness of EU activities, we can deduce a limited knowledge of what is done at EU level since 42% of Europeans declare that coverage of the EU in their national media is lighter than it should be and would like to be more informed.

Another question on the knowledge of MDGs reveals that almost three-quarters of Europeans have never heard of them. Europeans understand the big challenges faced by developing economies and the priorities of EU development cooperation, but do not perceive how the EU is fighting global poverty. The issue of the *democratic accountability* of the EU deserves more consideration.

Appendix – EQ Grid for the Eurobarometer Survey

EQ 1	“How well does the image of the external action of the EU perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action (Nice Treaty: Art. 8 & 11; Lisbon Treaty: Art. 3 & 21) and to the image the EU seeks to convey?”	
	Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from ...
	JC.1.1. The EU has managed to disseminate the message to the relevant stakeholders in terms of content and reasons for its external action	Yes: Europeans share a good understanding of the priorities of EU development policy and a strong legitimacy for EU action in this field.
	<u>Indicator 1.1.1</u> The stakeholders know the definition of the external action of the EU <u>Indicator 1.1.2</u> The stakeholders know the content of the definition of the external action of the EU	<u>Source:</u> EBS 318, EBS 352, EBS 353 <u>Findings:</u> Generally speaking, EU citizens recognize the eradication of poverty, the support for peace and security, the promotion of human rights, democracy and good governance as the top priorities of EU development assistance in line with EU Treaties and policy documents
	JC.1.2. The EU has managed to transmit an image to stakeholders that correspond to the image that was sought to be conveyed	European citizens widely recognise the benefits of EU development assistance and its importance.
	<u>Indicator 1.2.1</u> The images that are widely perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the	<u>Source:</u> EBS 318, EBS 352.

communication objectives of the EU on its external action	<p>Findings: The recognition of the priorities of EU development assistance goes hand in hand with the recognition of the importance of EU aid (in 2010 89% of EU citizens attached a high value to development cooperation, with 45% finding it very important and 44% fairly important and only 7% of the respondents thinking that this kind of action has no importance) and of its positive impact for development.</p> <p>Other EU policies, such as trade, agriculture and migration, are also considered to contribute positively to development.</p>
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Preliminary Finding:

Through the EB surveys, EU citizens demonstrated a good understanding of the definition of EU external assistance and its priorities. This is also accompanied by a strong support of EU as aid donor which clearly shows the recognition that EU development cooperation has – according to the EU general public - a positive impact on developing countries.

EQ 2	“How well do the Visibility communication priorities (Key Communication Messages from Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, i.e.: why, what, how) ²⁶ achieve their objectives?”
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from ...
JC 2.1: The priorities (why, what, how) have been well perceived and understood by the stakeholders	Partially. The justification for providing EU aid is well perceived, but this is not accompanied by a real understanding of the EU actions and instruments and, more generally, its role on the global scene
<p><u>Indicator 2.1.1</u> The stakeholders perceive well why the EU does have an external action</p> <p><u>Indicator 2.1.2</u> The stakeholders perceive well what defines EU as an actor on the world stage</p> <p><u>Indicator 2.1.3</u> The stakeholders perceive well how the EU deploys its instruments around the world</p>	<p><u>Source:</u> EBS 318, EBS 352, EBS 353</p> <p><u>Findings:</u></p> <p><u>Why:</u> the EU seems to have a strong mandate as development aid actor in the eyes of its citizens (which explains the importance attached to development by nearly 90% of Europeans and the support for honouring aid commitments by 64% of Europeans) .</p> <p>This mandate is backed by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The recognition of the motivations behind development assistance (mainly self-interests motivations for 64% of the interviewees) – The recognition of the added value of EU cooperation for three-quarters of Europeans <p><u>What:</u> Few Europeans appear to be actually aware of the pivotal role the EU plays as aid donor on the global scene (in terms of funding and activities). Regardless of their favorable opinions, Europeans</p>

²⁶ Section 2.2 of Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner’s Draft Communication to the Commission: 2 Feb 2006, “The EU in the World: Towards a Communication Strategy for the EU’s External Policy 2006-2009”

	<p>still think other international organisations, i.e. UN (for 29% for respondents) and the World Bank (for of respondents) are better placed to provide help to developing countries.</p> <p><u>How:</u> Europeans have a good perception of the big picture, namely the priorities and rationale behind development cooperation, but have little understanding of the workings of development cooperation.</p>
JC 2.2.: The formulation of the priorities would have to be changed in order to gain an increased impact	Yes, Europeans expressed the desire to be more informed about EU development cooperation.
<u>Indicator 2.2.1</u> The stakeholders express the need for another formulation about the external action of the EU in order to make it more visible	<p><u>Source:</u> EBS 318</p> <p><u>Findings:</u> The EU public opinion expressed the need to be more informed about EU development cooperation through stronger media coverage at national level (the communication through EC/EU channels was not directly addressed by the questions of the Survey).</p>
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>Europeans share a strong legitimacy for EU development cooperation, which is justified by the importance attached to this policy and its priorities and to the rationale behind development assistance (i.e. self-interest motivations), but not by a thorough knowledge of EU concrete activities and funding in this domain and, more generally, of the role played by the EU on the global scene. As a result, other IOs (the UN and the World Bank) are considered to be best placed to tackle the big challenges of development. The visibility and conspicuousness of the EU as aid donor begs for attention.</p>	

EQ 4	“How well do stakeholders perceive the benefits of EU external action and not just its main features?”	
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from ...	
JC 4.1. The stakeholders are sufficiently exposed to a communication from the EU on Visibility of its external action that is organised to improve impact, retention, credibility and buying intention		
<p><u>Indicator 4.1.1</u> The communication strategies are designed to improve impact, retention, credibility and “adherence/agreement” at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.1.2</u> The communication strategies are implemented to improve impact, retention, credibility and buying intention at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.1.3</u> The communication strategies are monitored and evaluated on impact, retention, credibility and buying intention at the level of</p>		

targeted stakeholders	
JC 4.2. The stakeholders perceive and value the differences between the benefits of the EU external action and the results or the features/instruments	The European public opinion is convinced of the benefits of EU development assistance, but have a limited knowledge in this respect.
<p><u>Indicator 4.2.1</u> The communication strategies are designed to improve the perception of benefits at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.2.2</u> The communication strategies are implemented to improve the perception of benefits at the level of targeted stakeholders</p> <p><u>Indicator 4.1.3</u> The communication strategies are monitored and evaluated on the perception of benefits of targeted stakeholders</p>	<p><u>Source:</u> EBS 318, 352, 353</p> <p><u>Findings:</u> It seems that Europeans are well convinced of the benefits of EU development cooperation and of the positive contributions that can be achieved through other EU development assistance and other EU policies. This is however not backed by a real knowledge of EU interventions and of the benefits coming from them.</p> <p>This statement is deduced by 2 questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A question on the knowledge on MDGs, where only 5% of interviewees declared to be aware of Millennium Development Goals and to know what they really are. - A question on the media coverage of EU development cooperation, where 42% of Europeans replied by saying that that there is 'too little' coverage of these issues and argued for more media coverage
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>The European general public has little awareness of the concrete actions and tangible results of EU development cooperation and would like to learn more, namely through better press coverage.</p>	

ANNEX 16 -

CASE STUDY: TUNISIA

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Background:

Tunisia, that gained its independence in 1956, is a republic. Its constitution from 1959 has been amended several times, latest in 2002. The country was for 23 years ruled by the President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali who took over power from Tunisia's first president Bourguiba (1956-87) in a bloodless coup d'état in 1987. A parliament with close to 90 % of the members representing the president's party RCD constituted the legislative power. The constitution confirms the independence of the legal system, guarantees the freedom of expression, assembly and religious practice as well as gender equality and respect for minorities.

The political situation has remained stable in the country until the end of 2010 and the process leading to the departure of president Bent Ali on 14 January 2011. However, the stability was achieved through a combination of measures that were claimed to be justified in order to protect the country against fundamentalist movements from the neighbouring countries but also suppressed political opposition to the president and the RCD.

In spite of an apparently large number of NGOs those registered had been closely scrutinised before registration and state funding and close control served to limit the independence of all NGOs. Similarly both state and private media were strongly controlled. A few private sector media owned by the president's family were licensed but there was no room for independent journalism whether in broadcasters, print or online media. Government critical journalists were prosecuted and self censorship prevailed. A substantial number of political opponents were imprisoned under President Ben Ali.

Growing unemployment among young people with university education and quite big economic differences between the densely populated wealthy coastal regions and the poor rural regions in the interior of the country provided the background for the first revolution in the Arab world.

Cooperation between the European Union and Tunisia:

From 1995 and onwards several programme cycles have followed each other. The Barcelona declaration has functioned as a strategic framework for the regulation of MEDA and MEDA II as was also the case for the reform of EU external aid through the European Neighbourhood Policy following the enlargement in 2004.

Tunisia was the first South Mediterranean country to sign an Association Agreement with the EU in 1995 which was implemented from 1998. The agreement constituted the legal basis for cooperation and partnership between EU and Tunisia, establishing a free exchange zone between the two. Besides free exchange of products it also specified the conditions for payments, investments, competition and other economic issues as well as cooperation in the political, economic, social scientific and cultural domains. The political dialogue established by this agreement covers political questions (international, internal, human rights and democracy) as well as questions of migration and other issues of common interest.

Source : [HTTP://EC.EUROPA.EU/DELEGATIONS/TUNISIA/EU_TUNISIA/POLITICAL_RELATIONS/AGREEMENTS/INDEX_FR.HTM](http://ec.europa.eu/delegations/tunisia/eu_tunisia/political_relations/agreements/index_fr.htm)

The Association Agreement has been carried out through instruments such as the Association Council EU-Tunisia, the Association Committee, the sector sub committees, the

work group on economic dialogue and the subcommittee on human rights and democracy created under the European Neighbourhood Programmes.

In November 2008 Tunisia pled for a reinforced partnership with advanced status as has been given to other neighbourhood countries like Morocco, Ukraine and Israel. The request has not been answered yet but following the toppling of the Ben Ali government the preparations for changed status have accelerated in order to reach a final agreement with the new government following the elections in October 2011.

The financial support from the EC has been based on the MEDA and MEDA II frameworks as well as the Instrument for European Neighbourhood and Partnership and has been formulated through a three-year National Indicative Programme (NIP) describing the sector priorities and budgets.

Under the first MEDA programme from 1996 to 2002 the priorities were to support economic reforms, improve the economic conditions in the private sector and to strengthen a socio-economic and environmental balance. Under the MEDA II programme the cooperation objectives were to consolidate the state governed by law and good governance, to liberalise international trade and South-South integration, to strengthen market economy institutions, to modernise the infrastructure, and, finally, to cover social protection and human resource development. In none of these programmes did democracy and human rights appear as priorities.

However, with the Neighbourhood Action Plan for 2007-2013 political dialogue was given higher priority and a new axis of the Barcelona process – the Political partnership and Security (Instrument Européen de Voisinage et de Partenariat, Tunisia: Document de Stratégie 2007-2013, p. 21). Among the new objectives and priorities were:

Political reforms that in midterm concern democracy, human rights, institutional good governance and a state governed by law ;

- Legal reforms, management of flow of migrants and refugees, the fight against organised crime, money laundering and terrorism; with respect for human rights.
- Development of education and training, higher education and scientific research as essential factors in a knowledge society and open economy.

In other words, from 2007 the strategic documents and indicative programmes from the Commission have focused on four principal domains:

- fundamental economic reforms for growth,
- development of human resources,
- improvement of the environmental framework and
- improvement of the democratic context and good governance.

When analysing the funding allocated from the European Commission to Tunisia in the 1995-2008 period, it is evident that the cooperation with Tunisia has concentrated primarily on the macro-sector of public sector and economic reforms while governance and civil society has had very low priority.

In Europa, Edition No 9 – Mai 2010 – *Bulletin d'information de la Délégation de l'Union européenne en Tunisie* ; Dossier spécial : *30 ans de coopération Union européenne - Tunisie 1980-2010* an overview of the allocated funds from EC as part of the cooperation between 1995 and 2010 shows that 1.3 billion Euros have been granted and 2.8 billion Euros provided through the European Investment Bank. By far most of this money has been allocated to the public sector and 123 million Euros have been given to the private sector. The civil society

has during the 15 years been given 9 million Euros or what equals 0.7 % of the total sum provided for Tunisia.

A recent evaluation of EC cooperation with Tunisia - *Évaluation de la coopération de la Commission Européenne avec la Tunisie* from May 2011 describes how (p. 26) the analyses in the strategic documents refer to the framework for development of the Tunisian society and its needs. In particular politics of competitiveness and creation of employment are underlined but also quality public services, access to socio-economic development such as social services, basic education, higher education and employment of youth, as well as freedom of expression and association are mentioned. Most of the analyses in the strategic documents have been developed by the Tunisian government and/or international partners. The strategic documents remain very general concerning good governance and a state governed by law, which has consequently led to prioritising of the technical and administrative implementation aspects. EC's support of reforming government institutions and the sector reforms is underlined in the Tunisian government's strategic documents, in the programming and in the cases of political and socio-economic dialogue. This is however with the consequence that needs and participation of civil society does not appear in the same manner in EC's documents.

The interviews carried out by the authors of the Tunisian May 2011 evaluation report stressed, however, the need to improve the dialogue with the civil society in the consultations prior to the development of national programmes and let it be subject to funding from thematic budget lines as well as through the regional EuroMed cooperation that focuses on partnerships between non state actors and the EU.

Methodology:

With the limited time set aside for the Tunisian case the visibility evaluation will not contain interviews or focus group consultations with the Tunisian stakeholders but will focus on three elements:

- Background and analysis of possible tailor made communication strategies
- Analysis of Tunisian media coverage of the EU as well as media coverage of Tunisia in selected EU member states
- Interviews with the EU delegation, and the Commissioner cabinet of the Instrument for European Neighbourhood and Partnership Programme and with the responsible communication unit within EEAS.

During the interviews with Brussels based journalists, two different perceptions prevailed concerning the EU's visibility in North Africa including Tunisia. The first perception was that the local stakeholders would see EU as a propagator of democracy and human rights on one side. The other perception maintained that the EU would be considered hypocritical because of its close partnership with Tunisia and other totalitarian Arab countries and because it had not insisted on improvements concerning human rights and democracy.

With the limited time set aside for the Tunisian case the evaluation team will not be able to test this with the Tunisian stakeholders and citizens. However, through two French-language daily newspapers we will identify in the selected periods what is presented to the Tunisian readers that presumably belong to the privileged middle class with good French language skills. It must be taken into consideration that the media have been so tightly controlled that EU theoretically might have insisted loudly on more democracy without this being reflected in the local newspapers. Whether this has been case could be verified by

analysing EU member states newspapers from the same periods and by interviews with the EU Delegation.

Background and hypothesis of the visibility evaluation for Tunisia:

What makes Tunisia a particular interesting example is the fact that the European Union has maintained an increasingly close and advanced partnership with the country for many years, while it has been controlled by a totalitarian regime allowing very little freedom. There has been a tight control of the media as well as of civil society organisations and their connections with the outer world. There have never been free and fair elections in the country; human rights have been seriously violated and thousands of persons have been brought to prison for religious and political reasons.

There are solid reasons for the close EU collaboration with Tunisia, which has stimulated the country's positive economic, social and educational development and which could be claimed to have contributed to the downfall of the dictator. The case of Tunisia may provide valuable lessons and insight into EU visibility and public diplomacy strategies concerning totalitarian countries and the mixed interests to be considered in such a country, internally among EU's member states and internationally. As indicated in our evaluation questions the values and objectives of the external action should be reflected in these strategies.

EU would presumably have had to consider several issues when developing and implementing its communication strategy towards Tunisia:

1. How can the EU be perceived as a good partner and supporter of Tunisia, its stakeholders and its citizens that are the ultimate beneficiaries of the EU programmes?
2. How can the EU be considered justified by its member states and their citizens in providing substantial financial support to a totalitarian country, and will member states, external partners and the Tunisian population perceive this as reflecting back on the values of the European Union?
3. How can the EU when it provides financial support to and through a totalitarian government use its communication and public diplomacy to encourage a democratic development in the country?
4. How can the EU promote its values in Tunisia and still uphold the economic, political and security interests of member states like France, Italy and Germany?

It might be anticipated that the European Union including the Commission until shortly before the regime change maintained a double communication strategy: on one level communicating the EU as a development donor and trade partner for Tunisia including its government, economic stakeholders and its people and at the same time maintain to its member states that its partnership with Tunisia provides the foundation for political reforms. On another level the EU would criticise the Tunisian government off the record for its poor human rights and democracy records while signalling its support to citizens and civil society groups working for political reforms in European media and targeted and informal settings inside Tunisia.

The assumption prior to the assessment is that:

Towards the Tunisian public the EU Delegation has tried through local media to strengthen its positive visibility as a substantial donor, but the Delegation has avoided formal criticism of the regime. The EU Delegation would in parallel utilise a dedicated public diplomacy strategy to subtly encourage a genuine and gradual transition to democracy in Tunisia while taking into account the

EU's economic, security and political interests in maintaining good relations through such a process of change.

Analysis:

Based on the interviews the EU Delegation appeared seriously critical of the Tunisian regime before and after the second World Summit of the Information Society that in spite of strong criticism from European civil society organisations took place in Tunis. With tensions building up between the government and the delegation prominent member states hesitated to support the criticism and years of quiet detente followed. In other words at citizen level it appeared difficult for the EU to justify its substantial financial support to Tunisia, while at government level little justification was needed.

In the years leading up to the revolution in 2011 no communication or dedicated public diplomacy strategy aimed to promote a genuine transition to democracy in Tunisia. Support to journalist training seemed to leave the local media unchallenged, while training of the judiciary was judged to have made limited progress according to the *Évaluation de la coopération de la Commission Européenne avec la Tunisie* from May 2011. An annual support of less than two Million euro was given to the 10.000 registered civil society organisations out of which only a dozen was perceived as independent from the government.

With the partnership programme more focus should be given to policy areas like human rights, democracy development, and freedom of speech. RELEX supported the initiatives to train judges and insisted that Human Rights issues be brought forward to the government. As part of the neighbourhood programme a human rights committee was established for Tunisia but according to the EU Delegation only with half hearted support from the important member states. Human Rights experts every year visited Tunisia and criticised the lack of individual freedom, but when they left again nothing changed.

The Head of Delegation explains that he personally had relationships with different human rights personalities and had been asked by government people why he had these relations. At the same time the Tunisian government implicitly accepted this because this could be used to show to Europe that human rights did exist.

The vision of Ben Ali and the Tunisian government was to be seen as Mediterranean, almost European. The key strategy for the EU Ambassador towards Ben Ali was to emphasise integration with Europe. By integrating Tunisia more and more with Europe – economically, politically and culturally – it became gradually more evident that the system would need to change. In his opinion, European aid to Tunisia created the basis for revolution through a big and strong middle class, a well educated people and a relatively wealthy population.

The Delegation's communication strategy:

In a very detailed communication plan 2009-2010 for the Delegation of the European Commission in Tunisia it is mentioned that the delegation must stress the key values that form the basis for EU's actions and for the existence of the Delegation in Tunisia:

- **Solidarité/Coopération**
- **Partage/Partenariat** } **avec le peuple tunisien**
- **Echange/Dialogue/Débats**

That the cooperation, partnership and dialogue should be with the Tunisian people – implicitly contrasting mention of its government, or its state and public institutions - is obviously a clear statement. However, this is also the only indication in the detailed plan where the communication priorities take into account that the government does not necessarily reflect the interests of the people. The communication work has as its objective to explain the advantages of the PEV but as sub-objective to communicate the development of the free exchange and the future zone on free exchange of agricultural products, services and the establishment of companies.

Tunisia was by far the biggest recipient of financial assistance from the EU, but according to the EU Delegation the government was very hesitant to allow visibility for EU on its aid. Consequently this in itself became a challenge for the delegation's communication activities.

The communication plan does not mention the communication of the European values such as democracy and human rights anywhere. Nor is there any indication of a strategy for how to deal with the totalitarian regime in Tunisia when at the same time communicating the strengthened partnership.

Once the delegation asked Tunisian citizens to provide their inputs on Tunisia's advanced status via the delegation's website. When citizens responded the government protested against the EU Delegation's efforts to hear the opinion of the people.

Given the tight control of media in Tunisia it would be obvious to expect a communication plan to develop alternative ways of entering into dialogue and communicating with civil society or with opposition representatives. Likewise a deliberate use of French or Arab language international media to communicate about e.g. the European values or about the expected future democratic reforms in the neighbourhood partnership with Tunisia could have been used to present these messages to the broader population.

In a communication strategy and plan for the EU Delegation produced after the change of regime in 2011 the Delegation acknowledges criticism from European parliamentarians and media for having been too complaint to the Ben Ali governments. In the new strategy it maintains the key values for the EU Delegation:

- **Solidarité/Coopération**
- **Partage/Partenariat** } **avec le peuple tunisien**
- **Echange/Dialogue/Débats**

In contrast to the old plan the new strategy and plan explicitly describes when and where the solidarity, partnership and dialogue with the Tunisian people should be included in its messages. It refers to a 2 year old survey of the EU image in Tunisia and the region, that according to the interviewed staff reflected that EU was seen by people as an elephant in a porcelains shop - very solid but maybe not elegant when working and hampered by the close collaboration with Ben Ali of France, Italy and the delegation itself.

In the new much more strategic communication plan the EU Delegation should constantly seek to show its positive involvement in the transitional process at short and long term. The EU Delegation further should engage in very active partnership with local media and with a number of diversified target groups in society and government, as well as it should make use of international media when creating visibility.

However, it would definitely have been important for EU's visibility and its public diplomacy efforts if some of the thinking behind the new plan had been taken into consideration when the old one was developed.

Media Coverage Analysis:

The visibility evaluation on Tunisia analyses a one-week-period 1½ years back as well as the first three weeks of the year 2011 where the revolution culminated. It is anticipated that it is possible to see the EC's and EU's priority of democracy and human rights between the first period in 2009 and the latter period in 2011 as well as between the first days of 2011 and the analysed week after the flight of President Ben Ali on January 14 have changed in those time periods.

In the first period the EU come out as demanding democracy and human rights in Afghanistan or celebrating this in Eastern Europe in spite of the fact that East European membership of EU has not eradicated corruption in these countries. The EU is portrayed as a global actor who pays a lot of attention to democracy and human rights, but the government controlled newspapers does not allow any EU or European criticism of the political system in Tunisia to appear on the pages. Tunisian readers may then easily assume that the EU finds no reason for criticism of their government.

The first three weeks of January 2011 clearly left a miserable image of EU with the readers of the chosen Tunisian newspapers. As a matter of fact, the EU and its institutions do not react at all to the revolution with the positive exception of the European Investment Bank. The European member states are in the Tunisian newspapers mainly represented by the French government, which all the way through the pre-revolutionary phase is presented as supporting the Ben Ali government and even after the fall of Ben Ali seems hesitant to withdraw its moral support of his regime or to freeze the assets of Ben Ali and his wife's family - the Trabelsis.

During the first two weeks of January still with the old regime in control the messages from the EU member states on one side reflect EU global emphasis on core values such as democracy and human rights and on the other side the mutual interest in advanced partnership status for the country. In a critical perspective the EU member states appear in the newspapers to have closed their eyes to the violation of human rights and lack of democracy in Tunisia, while focusing on the economic development and possible gains for the EU.

In the period until Ben Ali fled the country the regime's control of the local print media remained almost intact. Clear messages from the EU (Ashton) condemning violence against demonstrators were communicated to European media but not carried in Tunisian media.

In the week following the regime change (15-21 January) all newspaper reports reflected that things had changed fundamentally. Several articles and editorials from French newspapers or magazines published in the Tunisian newspapers were very critical of the French government and its policy towards Tunisia before the revolution.

With the exception of French opposition politicians, Tunisian newspapers in the period following regime change only mentioned European media and civil society as supporting the movement for democracy in Tunisia, thus defending the core EU values. EU's member states including political actors in France and United Kingdom are portrayed as doing the opposite.

The European Union, The European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the EEAS, the EU Delegation to Tunis and the European Parliament do not comment on the developments in Tunisia during the first three weeks of January 2011. Only the European Investment Bank is quoted for stating its financial support to the new democracy because durable democracies must build on economic growth to improve the quality of life for the population.

Conclusions:

The strategic documents for the EC's work in Tunisia, the recent evaluation of the cooperation between the EU and Tunisia as well as the financial support provided by the EU during the past 15 years of partnership all illustrate that most attention has been given to other sectors than civil society and other goals than democracy and human rights.

This is confirmed by the analysis of the media coverage in Tunisian media for two selected periods. The EU Communication Plan for 2009-10 and the interviews at the EU Delegation support the conclusion that the EU's external action has not significantly encouraged changes in the political system in line with EU core democratic and human rights values. An important modification of this conclusion is however that EU support to education, improved economic development and better public services as well as a closer integration with Europe could be claimed as very important preconditions for the quick and successful overthrow of the old regime. That might be true but this discussion falls outside the scope of this evaluation.

We find our hypothesis substantiated that the *EU Delegation has tried through local media to strengthen its positive visibility as a substantial funder, while the Delegation has not been very significantly critical to the regime in public.* However, the actual communication and political actions of the EU Delegation does not confirm the second part of our hypothesis that the *EU Delegation would in parallel utilise a dedicated public diplomacy strategy to subtly encourage a genuine and gradual transition to democracy in Tunisia while taking into account EU's economic, security and political interests in maintaining good relations through such a process of change.*

Seeking to answer our Evaluation Questions 1 and 2 it is most likely that the EU external action is perceived by the Tunisian citizens as promoting EU core values in other countries but not in Tunisia.

Judging from the media coverage analysis and the interviews at the EU Delegation it also seems clear that there have been significant discrepancies between the messages communicated by the EU and by its member states. Particularly in the pre-revolution phase in early January 2011 some member states were presented in the media as opposing the democratic movements while the EU in the local media appeared neutral and the European Investment Bank later positive to the development. While the local media did not always reflect the intended information from the EU Delegation, Tunisian newspaper readers remained unaware until the first two weeks of January that EU statements were censured in the local media.

Appendix 1 –Findings in Relation to the EQs

EQ 1	“How well does the image of the external action of the EU perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the key issues outlined in the definition and objectives of this external action (Nice Treaty: Art. 8 & 11; Lisbon Treaty: Art. 3 & 21) and to the image the EU seeks to convey?”
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from media coverage and EU Delegation
JC.1.1. The EU has managed to disseminate the message to the relevant stakeholders in terms of content and reasons for its external action	
Indicator 1.1.1.: The stakeholders know the definition of the external action of the EU	The stakeholders must be judged to be informed about EU’s external action in particularly its neighbourhood policy
Indicator 1.1.2.: The stakeholders know the content of the definition of the external action of the EU	The Tunisian media coverage indicates that its readers will be aware of the emphasis EU puts on its core values in other non-member states but will have no impression of EU seeking to promote these values in Tunisia.
JC.1.2. The EU has managed to transmit an image to stakeholders that correspond to the image that was sought to be conveyed	The EU Delegation has aimed to convey an image of partnership with the Tunisian population. Nothing in the media coverage analysis indicates that this was successful and member states even conveyed conflicting messages
Indicator 1.2.1.: The images that are widely perceived by the stakeholders correspond to the communication objectives of the EU on its external action	From interviews and media coverage analysis there is reason to believe that the citizen of Tunisia perceive double standards and particularly the human rights, democracy and poverty reduction objectives are often seen to be downgraded in comparison with EU’s economic and trade interests.
<u>Preliminary Finding:</u>	
<u>Tentative answer to EQ to be tested further:</u>	
The image of EU’s external action as reflected in the French language Tunisian media indicate that the answer to EQ 1 is yes with regards to other countries but negative with regard to Tunisia.	

EQ 2	“How well do the Visibility communication priorities (Key Communication Messages from Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, i.e.: why, what, how) ²⁷ achieve their objectives?”
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from Tunisian media coverage and EU Delegation
JC 2.1: The priorities (why, what, how) have been well perceived and understood by the stakeholders	The media coverage and the delegation itself indicates that EU and its MS are often working at cross-purposes and the large MS as unwilling to give up their hold on national interests in Tunisia.
Indicator 2.1.1. The stakeholders perceive well why the EU does have an external action Indicator 2.1.2. The stakeholders perceive well what defines EU as an actor on the world stage Indicator 2.1.3. The stakeholders perceive well how the EU deploys its instruments around the world	No clear indicators They see EU as having a mixed profile because MS sometimes do their own thing. Trade and economic cooperation define the EU internationally. During the first three weeks of 2011 it was still difficult to see who is the face of the EU internationally and large MS are still the ones who want to be on the foreign policy scene.
JC 2.2.: The formulation of the priorities would have to be changed in order to gain an increased impact	No indications about this issue.
Indicator 2.2.1. The stakeholders express the need for another formulation about the external action of the EU in order to make it more visible	No indications
<u>Preliminary Finding:</u>	
<u>Tentative answer to EQ to be tested further:</u>	

EQ 5	To what extent is the EC’s visibility/communication work coordinated and complementary with that of the EU Member States, Council and Parliament?
Expected Judgement Criteria & Indicators	Evidence identified from Tunisian media coverage and EU Delegation
JC5.1 – The EC, MS and Council have a established coordination mechanism to discuss visibility issues	There has been no established coordination or coordination mechanism to discuss visibility issues in Tunisia
<u>Indicator 5.1.1</u> Evidence of such a	There is evidence of coordination between the EU

²⁷ Section 2.2 of Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner’s Draft Communication to the Commission: 2 Feb 2006, “The EU in the World: Towards a Communication Strategy for the EU’s External Policy 2006-2009”

<p>coordination mechanism (minutes of meetings held at regular intervals, agenda items on existing Council working groups, etc) being used regularly.</p> <p><u>Indicator 5.1.2</u> Evidence that points agreed on coordination and complementarity of visibility work are then followed up by actions by each of the three parties</p>	<p>Delegation and EC on its communication strategies but also evidence that there is no coordination with the member states about communication key values in Tunisia.</p> <p>No</p>
<p>JC5.2 – Council, EP and MS representatives are aware that their actions have an impact on the visibility of the EU as a whole</p>	<p>No evidence</p>
<p><u>Indicator 5.2.1</u> Evidence of discussions on the need to coordinate with the Commission on visibility</p> <p><u>Indicator 5.2.2</u> Evidence that these discussions on the need to coordinate with the Commission on visibility are then followed up by action</p>	
<p>JC5.3 – EC representatives take regular steps to liaise with MS, Council and EP on visibility issues in EU external action</p>	<p>No evidence</p>
<p><u>Indicator 5.3.1</u> Evidence of discussions on the need to coordinate with the Member States, Council and EP on visibility</p> <p><u>Indicator 5.3.2</u> Evidence that these discussions on the need to coordinate with the Member States, Council and EP on visibility are then followed up by action</p>	
<p>JC5.4 – Outside observers in a particular context (eg. In a partner country) see the EU (eg. MS embassies and EU Delegation) acting as a single entity rather than as a group of discordant actors</p>	<p>This cannot be the case in Tunisia.</p>
<p><u>Indicator 5.4.1</u> No evidence emerges from interviewees or reports of examples of uncoordinated action on visibility or of MS actions conveying contradictory messages to the Commission</p>	<p>Clear evidence of uncoordinated action on visibility and of MS actions conveying contradictory messages to the Commission appears both in media coverage and in interviews with the EU Delegation.</p>
<p><u>Preliminary Finding:</u></p> <p>The Brussels based journalists see almost no coordination in communication and messages between</p>	

the different actors within EU – EEAS, Council, EP and MS – and find that much attention is given to avoid that any of the others are becoming too strong. This is particularly the case towards the HRCFSP.

Tentative answer to EQ to be tested further:

The views of one informed group of stakeholders, that is Brussels based journalists, suggest an essentially negative answer to EQ2. This will need to be counterbalanced by evidence from other stakeholders.

Appendix 2 - Analysis of media coverage in Tunisia as well as in the selected EU member states

5-12 November 2009

In the first period – 5-12 November 2009 – the two Tunisian newspapers brought 19 reports that dealt with Europe and democracy, human rights or freedom of speech. Of the 19 reports 11 reports dealt with these issues but not in relation to Tunisia.

Of the 8 reports mentioning Tunisia one was a Paris mayor pointing to lack of democracy and human rights in Tunisia, while 3 reports were defending Tunisia against this – by Tunisian journalists, lawyers and a French citizen in France. One report mentioned Tunisia's agreement with France and other European countries on controlling migrants while in return opening for qualified Tunisians to work abroad. In a report the message from a Tunisian lawyer is that press ethics should be a triumph and not a barrier for free information. One opinion piece by a Tunisian journalist says that France should not criticise lack of freedom for French journalists in Tunisia when Tunisia and its journalists have very good work conditions. A French senator is in one report quoted for telling that the gender balance in Tunisia is a sign of the modern, advanced social experience in Tunisia since Ben Ali took power. In relation to Tunisia itself EU or Europe does not occur as direct actors, but individual French politicians figure as positive supporters of the Tunisian political system or are singled out as unjust criticisers of Tunisia.

In the other articles on this theme published in 2009 we see EU as demanding democracy and human rights in Afghanistan or celebrating it in Eastern Europe in spite of the fact that the membership of EU has not eradicated corruption in these countries. It appears clearly that EU as a global actor pays a lot of attention to democracy and human rights, but it is not possible in the government controlled newspapers to see any criticism from EU or Europe of the political system in Tunisia. Tunisian readers may then easily assume that this is because EU finds no reason for criticism.

There are no conflicting messages from different parts of EU in the examined period in 2009.

1-21 January 2011:

The second period – 1-21 January 2011 – reflects the pre-revolutionary uprising against President Ben Ali's regime during the first 14 days of January and from 15-21 January a new post revolutionary government took over power.

The two Tunisian newspapers brought 17 reports from 1 to 14 January and 18 reports from 15 to 21 January that dealt with Europe and democracy, human rights or freedom of speech. In the pre-revolutionary period 7 reports dealt with Tunisia, while in the post revolutionary week all 18 reports focused on Tunisia.

Despite of the on-going revolt there is not one single comment from the EU institutions during the first two weeks. There are however two member state comments that must have given comfort to the Ben Ali government.

- The French Foreign Minister is quoted for saying that French president and foreign minister have excellent relationship with Tunisian government, admires the model of development in Tunisia and supports closer cooperation between EU and Tunisia.
- British MPs confirm Tunisia's progress towards "advanced partnership status" of the EU and Tunisia's achievements in the promotion of democracy, human rights, equal rights of women and the involvement in political life by women and young people.

The Council of Europe followed the same line:

- In a third article repeated in various versions the president of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe wants Tunisia to become a member of "partnership for Democracy" to consolidate democracy and the rule of law. In another article he is quoted to support Tunisian membership of the Nord-South Center of the Council of Europe because Tunisia and Europe share the same values.

The US took a different line towards the unrest:

- The Tunisian government is highly surprised by the comments made by US following the unrest in some regions of Tunisia and protest this (10.1)

Already in the president's New Year's speech the Tunisian leadership seemed certain of the European support and said that

- Tunisia wants to speed up the negotiations with the EU to become an advanced partner (with regards to exchange of services and access for agricultural products to the European market).
- The Tunisian Chambre de Députés hailed the messages from Europe including the Council of Europe and stressed that significant Tunisian progress in various fields should lead to increased cooperation with Europe and the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe.

In the pre-revolutionary period the messages from the EU member states on one side reflect EU's emphasis on its core values as democracy and human rights and on the other side the mutual interest in advanced partnership status for the country. In a critical perspective the EU member states appear in the newspapers to have closed their eyes for the violation of human rights and lack of democracy in Tunisia, while they focus on the economic development and possible gains for EU.

In the week following the revolution (15-21 January) all newspaper reports reflect that things have changed fundamentally. Several articles and editorials from French newspapers or magazines published in the Tunisian newspapers are very critical to the French government and its policy towards Tunisia before the revolution.

- Le Monde stresses in an editorial that the revolution should be in solid hands, the EU and others should not put pressure because of fear of the anti terror border, and the EU and South Europe should explicitly support the revolution.
- In another editorial Le Monde claims that the official France has in the name of realpolitik supported Ben Ali and should now admit having committed not only a moral but also a political error by doing so.
- L'Humanité says in its editorial that EU does nothing and France has supported the old government in letting the police shoot at youngsters. This must change.
- A French politician claims that the offer from the French government to assist Ben Ali's security forces to keep unrest down is the worst mistake France ever could do.
- The weekly Marianne puts it in a larger perspective by saying that the Union for the Mediterranean Project and the lack of French diplomatic action after the Tunisian revolution demonstrates the incompetence and lack of adjustment to a new reality of French diplomacy and foreign politics which Tunisians will not forget easily.

- Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung claims in its editorial that the EU Neighbourhood Policy does not provide essential challenge or support, so the EU should move quickly to prevent a return to despotism in Tunisia.

The only article representing the Tunisian view is a Tunisian commentator saying that the French government and the French foreign minister have been fundamentally mistaken in their support to the Ben Ali/Trebelsis.

- The French president stresses that the principles of non-interference and support to liberty and democracy are essential French values so now France is ready to assist Tunisia if they want us to do so.
- In another article the European Investment Bank is ready to support the new democracy because durable democracies must be built on economic growth to improve the quality of life for the population.

The European Union, The European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the EEAS, the EU Delegation to Tunis and the European Parliament do not say anything about Tunisia during the first three weeks of January 2011.

Appendix 3 - Principles for search of the on-line archives of the two French-language Tunisian dailies “*La Presse*” and “*Le Temps*”

Search words:

La Presse

The archives of *La Presse* allowed for the use of the search words: *démocratie, droits de l’homme, liberté de l’expression, mécanisme de règlement de différends*. The data appearing through these search words were then sorted in order to ensure only media coverage related to Europe and the European Union as defined in the search words below. It was however regarded as too time consuming for the project to make searches at *La Presse* database to be able to tell how many articles dealt with Europe or EU in its many synonyms.

Le Temps

The archives of *Le Temps* did not allow for the use of these search words except for *Démocratie*. The other search words *above* yielded no results. Therefore the following search words were used to ensure that all relevant articles with *droits de l’homme, liberté de l’expression, mécanisme de règlement de différends* were collected *Union européenne, Parlement européen, Commission européenne, Conseil européen, Europe, The official names of the 27 EU member states plus “Angleterre”, “Grande Bretagne”, “Neerland”*.

Archive structure:

La Presse

The archive concerning the period from 5th to 12th November 2009 allowed for searches by date only. The retrieved data from *La Presse* for this period is consequently listed by date and then by search word. All entries for the search words are listed but each new entry is only counted once. The archive concerning the period from 1st to 21st of January 2011 allowed for searches by search word across dates. The retrieved data from *La Presse* from this period is consequently listed by search word and then by date. Each entry is only listed once.

Le Temps

There is no difference in the structure of the archive for the two periods. The retrieved data from *Le Temps* is listed by search word and then by date as are the *La Presse* January data.

Criteria for the listing of short entries:

In case an event appears in more than one category, it is listed in the first of the categories it appears. It is listed only once. As explained above, the findings from *La Presse* in the periode 5-12 november 2009 are the sole exception to this. For this reason, some categories appear to have no finds as their entries have already been registered in a preceding category. Cultural events, sports activities etc. are not included in the entries.

Criteria for the inclusion of full-length articles:

The entire article has been included when it reflects aspects of the Tunisian-European relationship or occasions where this relationship could be an issue.

ANNEX 17 –

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