

SYNOPSIS

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

1. The media, with specific reference to the collective entity of newspapers, radio, television and the International Network (Internet), play a very important role in national development. National development involves changes or advancement in a nation aimed at improving the political, economic and social lives of the people. The real influence of the media in national development will depend on the media themselves, the societies in which they operate, and the audience they reach. None of these factors are the same everywhere, at all times, or under all conditions. The media in dictatorships, for example, are not likely to exercise the same influence as those in democratic societies. Even among similar types of government, other factors, such as technology, the target audience and the message, may influence the extent of media impact in the society.

2. Whatever the circumstances or the nature of the society in which the media operate, certain factors are basic in the way they influence national development. Every medium has a message; it has a target audience; it aims at influencing a change; it influences attitudes, perceptions and decision-making; and it generally influences behaviour.

3. **Terms of Reference.** This study focuses on the role of media in national development. It is designed to establish a relationship between the media and national development. Accordingly, the study is set to test the hypothesis that the role of media in national development is dependent upon their independence, freedom, and the ability to effectively communicate objective, balanced, fair and professional information to both government and the general public. The study therefore seeks to answer the following questions:

- (a) To what extent do the media contribute to national development?
- (b) What are the factors which influence the role of media in national development?
- (c) In what ways do the media influence events in the society?
- (d) What are the key issues for determining media influence the society?
- (e) How well have the media contributed to national development?

4. **Aim and Scope.** The aim of this study is to examine the role of media in national development. There is no doubt that the topic is very wide, therefore analysis will be limited to conventional media: newspapers, radio, television and the Internet. The study will involve a comparative

analysis of media contents, methods or styles of presentation, and the environment in which the media operate. The specific objectives are to:

- (a) Examine the role of media in national development.
- (b) Determine the extent to which the media impact on national development.
- (c) Examine the functions of the media in nation-building.
- (d) Evaluate the ways in which the media influence events in society.
- (e) Examine the factors which influence the role of media in national development.

LAYOUT OF THE THESIS

5. The Thesis is organized into six Chapters. Chapter 1 covers the Introduction, providing the background, statement of aim, scope of the study and the preview, including plan of presentation. Chapter 2 deals with the Role of Media in Society in their capacity as the Fourth Estate, agenda setters, gatekeepers, watchdogs and force multipliers. Chapter 3 examines the role of media in political, economic and social development. Chapter 4 is the analysis of media's contribution to nation-building. Chapter 5 focuses on the Factors Affecting the Role of Media, such as sensationalism,

propaganda, bias, freedom, ownership and media vices (pornography, violence, etc). Chapter 6 concludes and makes recommendations.

BRIEF RESUME

6. The relationship between media and national development has been tested in this study, and found to be positive. This has been achieved through an in-depth comparative analysis of media's role in various societies. Researches conducted in these societies at different times indicate this positive relationship. Available data enabled statistical analysis based upon which conclusions were drawn. That the media play a crucial role in national development is therefore not in doubt. They represent the tool for shaping public opinion; promoting democracy and good governance, influencing behaviour; facilitating nation-building; and promoting policies that guarantee high quality of life. The media, as vanguard for political, economic and social development, represent a functional organism that carries out a specific role in society.

7. While it is true that the media are crucial in national development, their role can only be optimized or enhanced under certain conditions. Firstly, for the media to play any meaningful role in national development, they must be free and independent. Media freedom is a core ingredient both in theoretical conceptions of democracy and in the empirical measurement

of it. Free press is one of the built-in mechanisms in democracy, designed to oppose destructive and divisive attitudes.

8. Secondly, to succeed in their role, the media must be professional and objective. Factors, such as media bias, sensationalism, propaganda and distortions, negatively affect the contribution of the media in national development. Freedom of the media must therefore go along with responsibility. Thirdly, control of the media by a few individuals, corporations or governments is inimical to the media's ability to effectively carry out their role. Fourthly, for the media to succeed in their role, complementary institutions, such as the judiciary and media councils, must reinforce their activities.

CONCLUSION

9. The media's crucial role in national development is not in doubt. The role covers the political, economic and social spheres. The media set the public agenda and act as the gatekeeper of public issues. They perform the watchdog role especially in political transparency and fight against corruption. As the fourth estate, the media provide the checks and balances in relation to the three branches of government, as created by the Constitution. Media are particularly important in facilitating nation-building,

especially of post-colonial societies and those experiencing ethnic and religious diversities.

10. The media must however play their role in national development in an environment that is free and independent, with fair ownership spread. Biases, sensationalism, propaganda, and media vices are inimical to media role in national development.

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects.¹

- Mahatma Gandhi

Background

11. Communication, the process of creating shared meaning through sending and receiving information, is vital for understanding and providing knowledge to people.² It enables people to understand and appreciate their environment, and facilitate relationships between and among individuals and societies. Communication can be oral or written; formal or informal; verbal or non-verbal; traditional or modern. Whatever form it takes, communication is meant to convey information from one party to another. The source, message, medium, receiver and effects are the main ingredients of

¹ *World Development Report 2002*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 181.

² Stanley J. Baran, "Introduction to Mass Communication," *McGraw Hill Online Learning Center*, http://highered.mcgraw-hill.com/sites/0767421906/student_view0/chapter3/chapter_overview.ht...

communication.³ Communication between a mass medium and its audience is mass communication.⁴ There are multiple ways by which communication is made, and these are collectively known as the “media”.

12. The word “media” comes from the plural of the Latin word medium, and it is used as a collective noun to refer to television, radio, newspapers, magazines, films, the International Network (Internet), etc.⁵ The media can be examined either in terms of broadcast media, or print media. Further, a medium is described as hot, meaning a high definition channel of communication, such as print or radio, which focuses on a single sensory receptor. It is cool, meaning a low definition channel of communication, such as television, which stimulates several different senses and requires high sensory involvement.⁶

13. In certain instances, the word “press” is used to refer to the print media, while in other instances the word “journalism” is used to describe the business or practice of writing and producing news. The phrase “mass

³ D. McQuail and S. Windahl, *Communication Models*, London, Longman, 1986.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Busakorn Suriyasarn, “Internet and National Development,” *Thai Media and Telecommunications*, May 1998. <http://www.busakorn.addr.com/thaitcom/internet-nationaldevelopment.htm>.

⁶ “Media and Technology Communication Theories,” <http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/comm321/gwalker/media.htm>

media” is sometimes used to describe the collective entity of the media. In this study, the word media is used to refer to both the print and broadcast media as indicated above.

14. The extent to which the media is a factor for national development has been a subject of discourse in communication literature. However, before delving into the discourse, it is necessary to define the phrase “national development”, so as to understand and appreciate the issues involved in the relationship between media and national development. According to the Oxford Dictionary, development means “a new stage in a changing situation.”⁷ To develop is to become more advanced. In the context of a nation, Eapen projected that three major factors must be considered in any discussion on development – economic growth, self reliance, and social justice.⁸ National development involves political, economic and social factors. Development is a qualitative change, which entails changes in the structure of the economy, social environment, and political disposition. The targets of national development are the people, because it is focused on

⁷ F.G. Fowler and H.W. Fowler, eds. *The New Pocket Oxford Dictionary*, Oxford, 2001, edn. 9.

⁸ K.E. Eapen, *The Media and Development: An Exploratory Survey in Indonesia and Zambia*, Leeds, 1973.

human population. The overall object of national development is human development, the purpose of which is to enlarge people's choices for:

...greater access to knowledge; better nutrition and health services; more secure livelihoods; security against crime and physical violence; political and cultural freedoms; and a sense of participation in community activities...⁹

15. The media have been variously described as the fourth estate, agenda setter, watchdog, force multiplier, and gate-keeper, all in an effort to demonstrate their influence on society. Conversely, the media have been viewed as avenue for sensationalism, propaganda, and bias, factors inimical to national development. Given these perceptions about the media, to what extent do they contribute to national development?

Justification of the Study

16. This study is significant in exposing the value of communication and information for the development of societies. It is especially important today because, due to the impact of Information Technology (IT), the world has become a global village. Beyond the ordinary value of information, democracy cannot thrive without free and independent media to provide checks and balances to the three arms of government. Likewise, the media cannot be effective in national development if they are not responsible by

⁹ UNDP Human Development Reports (2002), <http://hdr.undp.org/mdg/>

being free from sensationalism, propaganda and bias in their coverage. The study could be used to re-appraise the role of media in both India and Nigeria, in addition to the fact that it would contribute to the body of knowledge and stimulate further work on media research.

Statement of the Aim

17. **Aim.** The aim of the study is to examine the role of media in national development. The specific objectives are to:

- (a) Examine the role of media in society.
- (b) Determine the extent of media role in national development.
- (c) Evaluate how the media influence events in society.
- (d) Analyse the role of media in strengthening democracy, economic growth, peace and security, and nation-building.

18. **Hypothesis.** The hypothesis to be tested is that media's role in national development is dependent upon their independence, freedom, and the ability to effectively communicate objective, balanced, fair, and accurate information to both government and the public. To test this hypothesis, certain assumptions are made:

- (a) Media access to public information and their ability to accurately transmit such information for the benefit of the public is a pre-requisite for national development.

- (b) Media need to be free and independent, have the capacity to reflect diverse views, and the ability to report on various subjects, while remaining accountable.
- (c) Higher media penetration promotes greater responsibilities of public and private agents.
- (d) Control of media by any single or concentrated interest groups can hinder their ability to play their role.
- (e) Media can be more effective if complementary institutions, such as the judiciary, reinforce their independence and quality.

Scope of the Study

19. The study is limited to only four areas of the media: newspapers, radio, television and the Internet. It involves comparative analysis of media contents; methods or styles of presentation; and the environment in which the media operate. Further, it examines the role of media in the political, economic and social development in a nation, and the impact on these spheres of development. Both primary and secondary data are used for the study. The data are reviewed for relevant theories, key concepts, thoughts, opinions and other facts bearing on the subject. The data are both qualitative and quantitative, based on content analysis. The study is supported by

empirical examples and statistics of studies conducted in different societies and at different times.

Preview and Plan of Presentation

20. Media are crucial in national development. They influence public opinion; promote democracy and good governance; influence people's behaviour; and support people-oriented policies. The media are therefore vanguard for political, economic and social development.

21. Media role can be negative for the society if they are selective, bias, sensational, and inclined to propaganda and media vices (pornography, violence etc). For the media to effectively play their role in national development, they must be free and independent. Free press is a crucial factor in the performance of the media.

22. This study is organized into six Chapters as follows:

- (a) Chapter 1: Introduction.
- (b) Chapter 2: The Role of Media in Society.
- (c) Chapter 3: Media and National Development.
- (d) Chapter 4: Media and Nation Building.
- (e) Chapter 5: Factors Influencing Media Role in National Development.
- (f) Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN SOCIETY

23. The role of media in society is central to this study. There is no doubt that the media have an important role to play in society, but how the role is pursued and carried out is a matter of critical importance. Where the media pursue the role in the face of professionalism, truth, fairness and justice, then the society immensely benefits, but where the media become selfish in pursuance of mainly profits and personal gains, then the society is at a disadvantage. According to Davis:

The operation of a modern industrial democracy requires that those who purvey information provide information that is, in fact, not a judgmental distortion of reality and fact, but as accurate as humanly possible – or else a society can quickly, with the permissiveness of modern media, be thrown off balance.¹⁰

24. For the media to successfully contribute to national development, there are certain roles expected of them. These roles include providing checks and balances in democracy (Fourth Estate), setting public agenda, gate-keeping, watchdog, and force multiplying. These roles will be examined in some detail.

¹⁰ William G. Davis, “The Media’s Role in Society: A Statesman’s View,” The Empire Club of Canada Speeches 1993-1994, Toronto, Canada, The Empire Club Foundation, 1994, pp. 380-390.

25. **Media as the Fourth Estate.** The Fourth Estate is a phrase which refers to the profession of Journalism. The phrase was attributed to Burke when he said that:

...there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important than they all...¹¹

It was therefore derived from the old English idea of three Estates: the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the House of Commons. The notion that the media is the Fourth Estate rests on the idea that the media's function is to act as a guardian of public interest, and as a watchdog on the activities of government. The media are therefore important components of the checks and balances that form part of modern democracy. According to Nash:

There are all kinds of power centre in any democracy: the judiciary, the government mandarins, the elected representatives, the establishment, the business community, the unions. But...what binds it all together is the media. Only through the media can the governing communicate with the governed in any mass sense.¹²

26. In their role of the Fourth Estate, the media guarantee the accountability of government officials and defend public interests. In

¹¹ T. Carlyle, *On Heroes: Hero Worship and the Heroic in History*, London, H.R. Allenson, 1905, pp. 349-350.

¹² Knowlton Nash, "The Media's Role in Society: The Media Viewpoint," *The Empire Club of Canada Speeches 1993-1994*, Toronto, Canada, The Empire Club Foundation, 1994, pp. 402-411.

modern interpretation of the Fourth Estate, the media are seen as the fourth “power” which checks and counterbalances the “powers” of executive, legislature and judiciary.

27. **Media as Agenda Setter**. Agenda setting is one of the most important roles of the media. It is defined as the process whereby the media determine what we think and worry about.¹³ Lippmann, who first observed this function in the 1920s, pointed out that the public reacts not to actual events, but to the pictures in our head.¹⁴ The effect of agenda-setting is epitomized in the famous Cohen’s quote that the press “may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.”¹⁵

28. Rogers and Dearing identified two levels of agenda setting. The first level enacts the common subjects that are most important, while the second, decides what parts of the subject are important. According to them, “the media agenda affects public agenda, and the public agenda affects the policy

¹³ James R. Wilson and Roy S. Wilson, *Mass Media, Mass Culture*, Boston, McGraw Hill, 2001.

¹⁴ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, New York, Macmillan, 1922.

¹⁵ Bernard Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, Princeton, University Press, 1963.

agenda.”¹⁶ McCombs and Shaw point out that there is abundant evidence that editors and broadcasters play an important role as they go through their tasks in deciding and publicizing news.¹⁷

29. The concept of agenda setting is for the press to selectively choose what we see or hear in the media. According to Ghorpade, “agenda setting is a relational concept that specifies a transfer of salience from agenda primers (media) to agenda adopters (consumers).”¹⁸ The power of the news media to set a nation’s agenda, to focus public attention on few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence. To summarize the extent of agenda-setting influence, researchers calculate the correlation between the ranking of issues on the media agenda and the ranking accorded the same issues on the public agenda. To reflect substantial degree of influence of the media as agenda setter, comparisons between how the issues are ranked on the media agenda and how the public ranks their importance should yield correlations of +.50 or better, as in the following cases:

¹⁶ E.M. Rogers and J.W. Dearing, “Agenda-Setting Research: Where Has It Been? Where Is It Going?” in J.A. Anderson, ed., *Communication Yearbook II*, Newbury Park, Sage, 1997.

¹⁷ Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, *The Emergence of American Political Issues*, New York, West Publishing Co., 1977, p. 5.

¹⁸ Shailendra Ghorpade, “Agenda Setting: A Test of Advertising Neglected Function,” *Journal of Advertising Research*, Aug/Sep, 1986, p. 23.

- (a) **US Presidential Election (1968)**. McCombs and Shaw empirically tested the theory in which they asked the Chapel Hill voters of North Carolina to name the most important issues of the day, their responses closely reflected the pattern of news coverage during the previous month in newspapers, television and magazines.¹⁹
- (b) **Elections in Spain (1995)**. In Spain, unemployment and urban congestion were the major issues of Pamplona residents in 1995. Comparison of six major public agendas with local news coverage showed high correlation.²⁰
- (c) **Japanese Mayoral Election (1986)**. In the Japanese mayoral election in 1986, voters in Machida City regarded welfare policies, urban facilities, and local taxes as the most important issues in the election. Comparison of the public agenda with the news coverage of four newspapers yielded a modest, but positive, correlation.²¹

¹⁹ Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The Agenda- Setting Function of Mass Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, 1972, pp. 176-185.

²⁰ Maria Jose Camel et al. "The first level agenda setting effect on local information: the 'most important problems' of the city of Pamplona," *Comunicacion y Sociedad*, Vol. 9, No. 1&2, 1996, pp. 17-38.

²¹ Toshio Takeshita, "Agenda-setting effects of the press in a Japanese local election," *Studies of Broadcasting*, Vol. 29, 1993, pp. 193-216.

(d) **Argentina Legislative Elections (1997)**. In Argentina, agenda-setting effects were found in the 1997 legislative elections in Buenos Aires. The result was a high correlation between the public agenda and the combined issue agenda of five newspapers.²²

(e) **Britain (1990-2000)**. In Britain, there was a significant correlation (+.54) between public concern about international issues and the pattern of international coverage in *The Times*.²³

30. So what are the likely effects of agenda setting? A survey was conducted on *The New York Times* web site for 30 days on the frequency of articles, and within those days there were 583 articles on anthrax, an average of 20 articles daily. As a consequence, such a situation is likely to provoke fear on the minds of people.²⁴ Other effects may include misleading headlines, such as an article in *The Collegian*, in which the headline read “Source of Anthrax that killed a NY Woman,” however the article never stated a credible reason for the woman’s death. Although it was about

²² Federico Rey Lennon, “The 1997 Argentina election. The national dailies and the electoral campaign,” Report by the Freedom Forum and Austral University, 1998.

²³ Stuart Soroka, “Media, public opinion and foreign policy,” *Harvard International Journal of Press and Politics*, vol 8, No 1, 2003.

²⁴ “Tales of terror: US Print Media Coverage of America’s New War,” <http://english.pravda.ru/usa/2001/10/12/17966.html>

anthrax, there was no connection in the article between anthrax and the woman's death.²⁵

31. **Media as Gatekeeper.** Gatekeeping has been defined as the controlling of a strategic portion of a channel, so as to have the power of decision over whether whatever is flowing through that channel will enter the group or not.²⁶ In other words, it involves a series of checkpoints that the news has to pass through before it gets to the public. Through this process many people have to decide whether or not the news is to be seen or heard. Gatekeepers of the media are message filters, and they include reporters, writers, editors, producers and even government officials. The concept involves every aspect of message selection, handling and control.²⁷

32. **Media as Watchdog.** Closely linked to the gatekeeping role of the media is their watchdog role. The media are traditionally the watchdog of democracy, which is also linked to their status as the fourth estate. The key assumption of the media as watchdog is that they speak for the people, represent the interests of the people, and serve as checks on the government.

²⁵ *The Collegian*, New York, Oct 18, 2001.

²⁶ E. Katz and P. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence – The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication*, Glencoe, IL, The Free Press, 1955.

²⁷ P.J. Shoemaker, *Gatekeeping*, Newbury Park, Sage Publications, 1991.

Analysing the role of media, Schuepp identifies the responsibilities of a watchdog, thus:²⁸

(a) A watchdog has to protect his owner, give him security and react to possible outside interference with the rights of his owner.

(b) The watchdog has to know his loyalties therefore the media have to be loyal to the society, because they are the watchdog of society and not of government.

(c) Anybody who threatens democracy, freedom of speech, the basic rights of the people, should be attacked by the watchdog.

33. According to Kovach, watchdog journalism at its best helps alert a community to changing circumstances affecting their lives.²⁹ He further notes that the watchdog role goes beyond a simple journalism of witness:

...embedded in each watchdog story are the elements of disclosure and judgment, which often point to victims and wrongdoers. By probing below and beyond surface information, by challenging assumptions and assertions, the reporting invites a civic judgment.³⁰

²⁸ Chris Schuepp, "The Role of the Media in Civil Society," Paper presented at the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) Conference, Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic, July 6, 2000.

²⁹ Bill Kovach, "The Daily Work of the Media," *Nieman Reports*, The Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University, Vol. 52, No. 2, Summer 1998.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

34. How effective and consistent is the watchdog role of the media? To answer this question, some survey statistics will be examined accordingly. The findings of a Bangkok based media and research specialist, *MediaHubAsia*, reveal that the majority of newspaper readers in Thailand believe that freedom of expression in the media is essential, but fewer than half of the 227 residents interviewed in the survey believe that Thai media take on a strong role as a public watchdog.³¹ On perceptions of the media as a public watchdog, 44% considered the role to be very strong, but 46% found it “mediocre”, while the remaining 10% said a watchdog role was “non-existent”.³²

35. In a 1985 study commissioned by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), which surveyed 1600 adults on attitudes toward news coverage by the media, many aspects of the credibility problem with the media stem from the public perception that the news gatherers exploit people rather than serve as the public watchdog.³³ The biggest gap between the people and the press, according to Kohut, is over the ways news media play

³¹ “Freedom of expression is essential, say newspaper readers,” Press Release, *MediaHubAsia*, Bangkok, 01 Jan 2002. <http://mediahub-asia.com/Pages/PressReleases/PR-4.html>

³² Ibid.

³³ Steven R. Van Hook, “Public Perception and Expectations of the News Media,” March 7, 1986. <http://www.west.net/~wwmr/mediapap.htm>

their watchdog role.³⁴ The conclusion of a survey in 1999 was that many Americans saw an ill-mannered watchdog that barks too often, one that is driven by its own interests rather than by a desire to protect the public interests.³⁵

36. A national survey of public attitudes toward the media was administered on 3000 randomly selected adult Americans in November 1996.³⁶ When asked what roles the media should perform, New Emphasis Index highlights the public's (43% of the sample) desire for the media to act as their watchdog against powerful interests (see Figure 1). Although Americans want the press to serve as their watchdog, many see journalists as powerful elite who are out of touch with the public they claim to serve. A majority (52%) believe that the press abuses its constitutional freedoms rather than using them responsibly, while 47% think that most journalists' beliefs and values are different from their own.³⁷

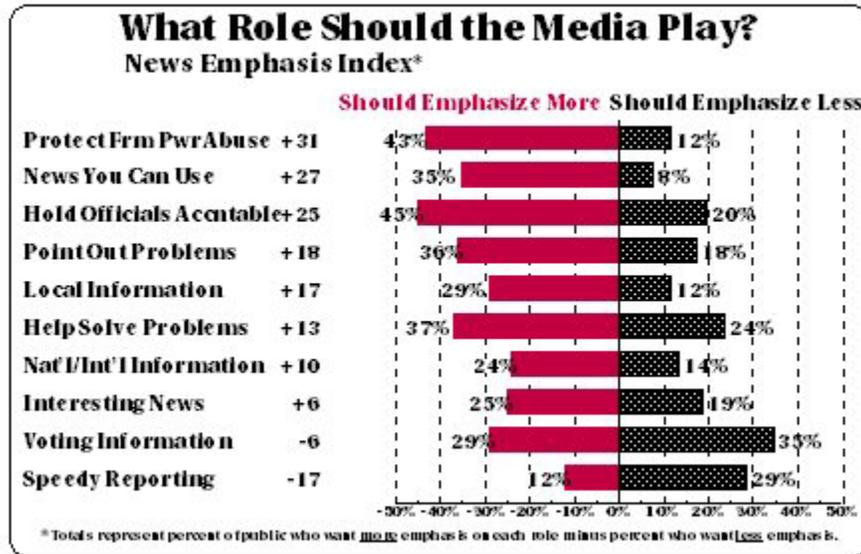
³⁴ Andrew Kohut, "Public Support for the Watchdog is Fading," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Mar/Apr 2003.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ "What Do the People Want from the Press?" *Media Monitor*, Vol. XI, No. 2, May/June 1997.

³⁷ Ibid.

Figure 1: News Emphasis Index



Source: Media Monitor, Volume XI, Number 2, May/June 1997.

37. **Media as Force Multiplier.** The media have force multiplying effects, especially during war. It means a force that adds to the combat effectiveness of military commanders.³⁸ Since information is power, the media can be a potent force multiplier by their ability to mould national and international opinion. In wartime, the media serve a variety of roles, and according to Hali the media can:

- (a) Convey a sense of the fighting to a public divorced from its actual horrors.

³⁸ Jerry Broeckert, "How the Military Uses the Media Today," *The Rake*, April 2003. <http://www.rakemag.com/printable.asp?catID=46&itemID=2136&pg=all>

- (b) Provide a sense of relief or escape to a public more directly involved such as a blockade or bombing campaign.
- (c) Serve as agents of propaganda and disinformation.
- (d) Contribute to making history.³⁹

38. Media coverage not only develops public awareness and the support of the military in operations, they also have the benefit of enhancing the morale of troops by informing their families and friends of their activities. If the media are used prudently therefore, they build public opinion as force multiplier. There is a popular belief in India, for example, that the media coverage on the Kargil war served as a force multiplier, “leading to a national upsurge of giant proportions and a feeling of oneness with ...courageous *jawans*.”⁴⁰ Accordingly:

The world and domestic media covered the Kargil...in an unprecedented manner...The extensive media coverage...was to a great extent responsible for the success of India’s diplomatic efforts to force a Pakistani pullback...[and] for bringing the war to the average Indian home.⁴¹

³⁹ Sultan M. Hali, “The Role of Media in War,” *Defence Journal*, Aug 2000.
<http://www.defencejournal.com/2000/aug/role-media-war.htm>

⁴⁰ A.K. Chakraborty, “Kargil War Brings into Sharp Focus India’s Commitment to Peace,” Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Jul 2000.
<http://pib.nic.in/feature/feyr2000/fjul2000/f210720001.html>

⁴¹ SAPRA INDIA <http://www.subcontinent.com/sapra/html>

39. According to General V.P. Malik, the then Chief of Army Staff, the media contributed “...not only to the war effort but also for generating national resurgence.”⁴² Media force multiplication can be used to generate positive change; control the damage of negative things; and help achieve military and political objectives.⁴³

40. While the media can be used effectively as offensive weapon against the enemy, especially in the context of information warfare, there exist clashes of interests between the media and the military. For security and operational reasons, for example, the military controls the flow of information, while on the other hand, the media wants total access to information. There are two types of media-related impediments according to Livingston. The first relates to the effects of emotional coverage, a factor that gave birth to “Vietnam Syndrome”⁴⁴, a concern that media coverage in war has the potential to undermine public support for operations and erode

⁴² *Indian Express*, <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/19990714/iex14073p.html> (4/15/2003)

⁴³ Broeckert, *op cit.*

⁴⁴ According to Marshall McLuhan (1975), “Television brought the brutality of war into the comfort of the living room. Vietnam was lost in the living rooms of America – not on the battlefields of Vietnam.”

troops' morale, a factor which gave birth to "embedded" journalism in war situation, such as the recent "War in Iraq".⁴⁵

41. The pictures of a dead American soldier being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu, Somalia in 1993 revived some of the fears and concerns evoked by Vietnam. It is therefore not surprising that at the heart of the military's concern is the capacity of the media to undermine public and political support for any operation involving casualties.

42. The second impediment is related to threat to operational security. Livingston concludes that "the fact remains that some operations are extremely sensitive to media exposure," therefore, "maintaining operational security during conventional war and tactical operations...is essential," moreover that the "...media have the technological capacity to hinder some types of operations simply by exposing them."⁴⁶ The general perception is that in the process of covering an operation, the media may reveal information, though inadvertently, that leads to unnecessary casualties and even the possible failure of a mission. While the media can be a force multiplier, indeed a "strategic enabler", according to Belknap, there can be

⁴⁵ Steven Livingston, "Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention," *Research Paper R-18*, The Joan Shorenstein Center, Harvard University, June 1977.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

operational risk.⁴⁷ By dishing out so much information through media broadcasts the enemy would know so much, therefore the commander may fail to achieve surprise. On the other hand, the media can be a strategic enabler in a number of ways, some of which are:

- (a) To communicate the objective and end-state to both domestic and global audiences.
- (b) To execute effective psychological operations (PSYOPS).
- (c) To play a major role in deception of the enemy.
- (d) To supplement intelligence collection efforts.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Margaret Belknap, "The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk?" *Parameters*, Autumn 2002, pp. 100-114.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 3

MEDIA AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

43. Media's role in national development can be analysed from political, economic and social perspectives. In the political sphere, media's role can be found in the areas of democracy and good governance, political transparency, foreign policy, human rights, war on terrorism, and public relations. In the economic sphere, media can play their role in the areas of economic policy and growth, economic empowerment, advertisements and tourism, business and investment, etc. In the social sphere, media's role cover social issues, such as corruption, criminal violence, communal conflicts, prostitution, war on drugs, population control, education, food security, and public health (especially on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and Severe Acute Respiration Syndrome (SARS)). Some of these areas will be examined accordingly.

44. **Media and Political Development.** The media can affect politics and culture, supporting institutional change and development. Communication is not only a tool for the expression of ideas and opinions, but very often acts as catalyst for development of the society. The exercise of free expression allows all sectors to debate and construct solutions for

political problems. Some of the areas in which political solutions are sought through the role of the media are discussed below:

(a) **Democracy and Good Governance**. The mass media form an important and influential bridge, a crucial channel, between government and people. The right to democratic governance is a fundamental human right to be exercised by people through free and fair elections. Accountability of political leaders to the people; transparency in political, economic and social affairs; recognition of the views and opinions of the public in the formulation of policies; and providing citizens the opportunities to discuss, without fear of intimidation, policies and issues, constitute the measure of good governance.⁴⁹ Free, fair and accurate media is essential to a healthy, functioning democracy. Media are required to enable the public make informed electoral choices; have effective input into public affairs; ensure that the rule of law is upheld; and that the mechanisms designed to check abuses of power can function properly. Overall, the

⁴⁹ “Strengthening Democracy and Good Governance through Development of the Media in Indonesia,” *Interdisciplinary Projects*. <http://www.un.or.id/prog/people/pre-pro1.htm>

media therefore act as “facilitators to check dictators, arrogant leaders and political elites that think they can get away with their actions.”⁵⁰

(b) **Political Transparency**. Transparency refers to the political values of openness and democratic accountability.⁵¹ According to Balkin, it encompasses three political virtues; informational, participatory and accountability. The media can make the political system more transparent by helping people understand the operations of government, participate in political decisions, and hold government officials accountable. It is however worthy of note that the media can be manipulated by politicians by diverting audience attention, and “supplement politics with new realities that crowd out and eventually displace other political realities and political issues.”⁵²

(c) **Foreign Policy**. “National policy,” observed Schlesinger, “is determined by the plight of the Kurds or starvation in Somalia, as it

⁵⁰ Veronique Edwards, “The Role of the Media,” Center for Conflict Resolution, Validation Workshop, Entebbe, Uganda, Jun 27-Jul 01, 2000.

⁵¹ J.M. Balkin, “How Mass Media Simulate Political Transparency,” Yale, Yale University Press, 1998. Writings Online:
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/jbalkin/articles/media01.htm>

⁵² Ibid.

appears on the screen.”⁵³ Dubbed the “CNN Effect,” it refers to the media’s ability to affect the conduct of US diplomacy and foreign policy. A commonly cited example is the Clinton administration’s response to the mortar attack on a Sarajevo market in Bosnia in 1994. Natsios however points to the shortcomings of the “CNN Effect” theory. According to him, if one examines the record of US policy involvement in overseas humanitarian crises, it may be concluded that “the so-called CNN Effect has taken on more than it deserves as an explanation for responses emanating from the policymaking process...”⁵⁴ Rather, media attention follows official actions. Appendix ‘A’ (1) shows that the White House announcement (D) to send relief supplies precipitated the first wave of US news media attention in Somalia which jumped fivefold overnight. The announcement of planned troops deployment (H) caused a second expansion of coverage. The conclusion was that CNN coverage of Somalia prior to the announcement of emergency relief was sporadic or non-existent as in Appendix ‘A’ (2). In general, the literature on media’s ability to affect foreign policy process suggests three

⁵³ James Schlesinger, “Quest for a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1992.

conceptually distinct and analytically useful understandings of media's effect as policy accelerants, impediments and agenda-setting agents, to the achievement of policy objectives (Appendix 'A' (3)).

(d) **Human Rights**. Human rights are the rights which every human being is entitled to enjoy and to have protected. The media can defend these rights as enshrined in national constitutions and recognised by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Such rights include the right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of association, and the right to a fair hearing. By giving voice and information to the people, the media automatically protects the freedom of speech. Media attention can prevent or deter the abuses of human rights by despotic regimes, as was the case of apartheid South Africa, former Yugoslavia and Idi Amin's Uganda, not always by changing the character of such regimes, but more by focusing international condemnation of their actions.

45. **Media and Economic Development**. Media can boost economic development by promoting good governance and empowering citizens, so that economies can function better. The Georgia Economic Developers

⁵⁴ Andrew Natsios, "Illusions of Influence: The CNN Effect in Complex Emergencies," in R.I. Rotberg and T.G. Weiss, eds. *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises*, The Brookings Institution, 1996, p. 150.

Association (GEDA) defines economic development as a sustainable process of creating economic opportunity for all citizens; stimulating business investment; diversifying the public revenue base; and enhancing quality of life.⁵⁵ Economic development, according to the US Department of Commerce, is fundamentally about enhancing the factors of productive capacity of a national economy.⁵⁶ It is about economic growth, increase in competitiveness, sustainable development, reduction of poverty and inequality, increasing wages and benefits, and industrial policy.⁵⁷ The key areas associated with media contribution to economic development are:

- (a) **Business and Investment Environment**. For economy to grow, it requires the enabling environment for businesses and investments to flourish. The media can provide atmosphere for healthy trade; foster business climate of transparency and accountability; and ensure that accurate financial information is available to potential investors. Global and foreign media report on international economic issues, currency markets and international

⁵⁵ “Defining Economic Development,” GEDA, Feb 1999.
<http://www.geda.org/misc/definition.htm>.

⁵⁶ “What is Economic Development?”, US Department of Commerce.
http://www.osec.doc.gov/eda/html/2a1_whatised.htm

⁵⁷ Ibid.

trade. The media can however make or mar the enabling environment. Publications on threats to the national security environment, such as wars, civil unrests, epidemics (AIDS, SARS, etc), violent crimes, corruption etc., are known to have scared away investors. The consequence could be capital flight, disinvestment, and decline in production and services. Freedom of expression as a fundamental right, must go with corresponding media responsibility. It should be noted that the media, though committed to getting the story right, are also in the business of reporting exciting news to sell. If not well balanced, by taking cognisance of national interest, such news can have a devastating effect on national economy.

(b) **Economic Empowerment.** The poor and women are usually the economically disadvantaged groups in most societies. The media enhances the ability of poor and disenfranchised members of society to make their voices heard. They have the duty to expose the living conditions of the poor and the oppressed, so that the leadership would feel some pressure to act. The media can also help in sensitizing government programmes on poverty alleviation and economic empowerment, so that public services are made more responsive to the poor. On women, empirical studies show that

women's access to the media is associated with better income and education, in addition to better health and fertility outcomes.⁵⁸

(c) **Economic Growth.** The use of media all over the world has not only reduced the gap of information, but has also contributed to the economic growth of nations. Communication, has contributed to the rapid economic development of countries like Taiwan and South Korea, while the “Satellite Instructional Television Experiment” in India contributed to the agricultural production and enrollment of children in schools.⁵⁹

46. **Media and Social Development.** The World Bank defines social development as development that is equitable, socially inclusive and therefore sustainable.⁶⁰ Social development promotes various institutions at all levels that are responsive, accountable and inclusive. It empowers the poor and vulnerable people to participate effectively in development processes. To play a role in social development, the media assist the society

⁵⁸ Duncan Thomas, John Strauss and Maria-Helena Henriques, “How Does Mother’s Education Affect Child Height?” *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1991, pp. 183-211.

⁵⁹ Robert C. Hornick, *Development Communication*, New York, Longman, 1988.

⁶⁰ “Media’s Role in Agriculture Sector Highlighted,” *DAWN*, Dec 03, 1999, Internet edn.

in tackling problems of corruption, criminal violence, communal conflicts, public health and related issues.

(a) **Corruption.** Corruption has been defined as the abuse of public power for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owes allegiance.⁶¹ Corruption is said to distort economic and social development. It does so by “engendering wrong choices and by encouraging competition in bribery rather than in the quality and price of goods and services...”⁶² The media can expose corruption in both the government and corporate sector. According to Stapenhurst, media can act as a force against corruption in ways that are both tangible and intangible.⁶³ For Ogosoo, it is the media’s key role to educate society about corruption, and secondly, as watchdog, to expose the acts of corruption.⁶⁴ Media reports can affect the reputation of key individuals. Since people care about their reputation, media attention can provide strong incentives for changing behaviour, therefore

⁶¹ Rick Stapenhurst, “The Media’s Role in Curbing Corruption,” *World Bank Institute*, 2000. <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/media.pdf>

⁶² Petter J.P. Langseth and Rick Stapenhurst, “The Role of National Integrity System in Fighting Corruption,” Washington, D.C., 1997.

⁶³ Stapenhurst, *op cit.*

⁶⁴ Opolot E Ogosoo, “Issues in Anti-Corruption,” *Development FORUM*, 17 Nov 1999. <http://www2.worldbank.org/hm/anticorrupt/0030.html>

reputational penalties and rewards can be powerful in ensuring accountability toward constituents. There are ample examples (Appendix 'B') in which the media contributed to ousting of corrupt leaders, such as Presidents Bucaram in Ecuador, Perez in Venezuela, Collar in Brazil, Estrada in Philippines and Nixon in US.

(b) **Communal Conflicts**. Racial violence in urban America and Europe; widespread ethnic rivalry and religious intolerance in parts of Africa, Asia and the Middle East; and widespread prejudice and discrimination against national minorities, are all part of the global landscape of daily news reporting. The outbreak of conflict in the Balkans (1992), genocide in Rwanda (1994), and the simmering conflicts based on religious rivalry and ethnic differences in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, India, Indonesia, and the Middle East, are recent examples. The most important question therefore is how should the media foster balance over bias, communication over confrontation, insight over ignorance, when reporting events on conflicts? This is an important challenge to the media. Free from bias in reporting, the media can play the role of enhancing political stability and national integration, especially in multi-ethnic, multi-religious heterogeneous

societies like India and Nigeria. The media must therefore “have their fingers on the pulse of the people,” because they have “a pious obligation not to jeopardize or harm the welfare of the society.”⁶⁵

(c) **Disasters**. The electronic and print media provide extensive coverage of disasters, particularly those with strong visual impact. Radio and television could broadcast early warnings, evacuation information and increase public awareness about risks and responses (see Appendix ‘C’).⁶⁶ For example, massive losses from the periodic cyclones in Bangladesh could be significantly reduced by media-related action. Likewise, exposure to risk due to floods in Brazil can be reduced through early warning and information on evacuation plan. As a medium, one of the most basic applications of the television lies in its ability to portray the devastation of disasters, both as they occur and in their aftermath. Fry identifies major categories of disasters: natural, such as earthquake, floods, hurricanes and drought; technological, such as plane crashes, oil spills and nuclear reactor

⁶⁵ K.J. Reddy, “Present Turmoil Godhra and After: Role of Media,” Inaugural function of Indian First Foundation, April 6, 2002.

⁶⁶ Stephen Rattien, “The Role of the Media In Hazard Mitigation and Disaster Management,” <http://www.annenberg.nwu.edu/pubs/disas/disas7.htm>

failure, such as Chernobyl (1986).⁶⁷ A study in India compared state government allocations of relief spending and public food distribution during natural disasters. Distribution of relief was greater in states with higher newspaper circulation.⁶⁸ In another study, comparison was made of India cyclone (1999) and Mozambique flood (2000). As indicated in Appendix 'D', TV coverage of Mozambique floods was more than five times the coverage of Indian cyclone. A similar pattern was found in media coverage of the same emergencies in 23 popular newspapers in Europe and US. It was found that there was correlation between media coverage and the amount of funds that flow into disaster areas.⁶⁹ When disasters occur, the media play multiple roles:

- (i) Purvey information on incidents.
- (ii) They can impact news of impending disaster, convey the effects of events that have taken place or are unfolding.
- (iii) Natural disaster coverage can lead to political action.

⁶⁷ Kathryn Fry, "Disasters and Television," <http://www.museum.tv/archives/etv/D/htmlD/disastersand/disastersand.htm>

⁶⁸ Timothy Besley and Robin Burgess, "The Political Economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India," Working Paper, London School of Economics, Nov 2000.

⁶⁹ Gorm R. Olsen et al. "Humanitarian Crises: What Determines the Level of Emergency Assistance?" *DISASTERS*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2003, pp. 109-126.

(iv) Disaster stories may evoke sympathy, community solidarity, and national action.

(d) **Public Health Campaigns.** Media are very important for public health campaign, especially against epidemics and other fast-spreading diseases, such as AIDS, SARS, and Ebola. Media can improve public health efforts as demonstrated by successful AIDS education campaigns in Thailand and Uganda. The recent media campaign on leprosy in Brazil which has the second highest number of cases in the world, for example, employed the nation's 13 major television stations and 2300 radio stations, resulting in a remarkable response of 600 telephone calls daily on the national helpline.⁷⁰ Likewise, an integrated media campaign was successful in India and Nepal, resulting in 200,000 people seeking treatment of leprosy as well as helping to dispel misconceptions about it.⁷¹ With an estimated four million cases in 2001, India has the second highest number of AIDS in the world after South Africa.⁷² Media campaign in India involves more than 1000 broadcasts aimed at more than half the

⁷⁰ BBC World Service Trust.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/trust/030410_brazilleprosy.shtml

⁷¹ Ibid. http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/trust/020705_hivlaunch.shtml

⁷² BBC World Service Trust, *op cit.*

population, and more than 3500 video screenings of the programmes planned for villages. The programme involved drama (*Jasoos Vijay*), ‘reality’ youth show (*Haath se Haath Milaa*), radio phone-in on personal health (*Chat Chowk*), and advertising spots.⁷³ According to Quraishi, the media campaign will “head off the threat of AIDS to our country’s social and economic development.”⁷⁴ In 1978, the WHO, United Nations International Children Educational Fund (UNICEF), and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) embarked on a crusade, through media campaigns, to combat infant mortality in the developing world, which averaged 200 per 1000 live births, as a result of preventable diseases such as diarrhoeal dehydration, measles, small pox, and respiratory infections. After a year of the media campaign, a sample data from 750 randomly selected families from more than 20 communities in Honduras showed significant results in both disseminating health information and in fostering specific changes in behaviour related to treating infant

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ S.Y. Quraishi, Director General, *Doordarshan*, India.

diarrhoea. The mortality rates for children under five years between 1981/82 had decreased from 47.5% to 25%.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Social marketing Institute, <http://www.social-marketing.org/success/cs-massmedia.html>

CHAPTER 4

MEDIA AND NATION BUILDING

47. Post-colonial societies recovering from the impact of colonialism, particularly the multi-ethnic and multi-religious ones in Africa and Asia, usually end up with crises resulting in civil wars and political instability. Other societies experience conflicts for different reasons, and the recent examples include Afghanistan, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Liberia, Rwanda and Iraq. There was also the unique case of post-apartheid South Africa in which the African indigenous majority population suffered injustice in the hands of the white, minority settlers during the apartheid regime. Still, there is the case of the transitional countries in Central Asia, the so-called breakaway Republics of former Soviet Union. What all these societies require in the aftermath of their experiences, is nation-building.

48. Of course, while some of these societies respond to the concept of nation-building, others categorized as “failed states”, have not, and such states no longer perform basic functions of governance and security.

Somalia, Liberia and Rwanda are only recent examples. The result is the:

...collapse of state institutions, especially the police and judiciary, with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and general banditry and chaos. Not only are the functions of government suspended, but its assets are

destroyed or looted and experienced officials are killed or flee the country...⁷⁶

49. Failed states are obviously dangerous to international peace and security therefore, it is inevitable for the international community to embark on peace-building efforts in countries battered by conflicts. In the context of this study, to what extent can the media contribute to nation-building? In other words, how can the media play the role of nation and peace builder for the reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation of post-conflict societies? The Timor-Leste President Gusmão identified post-conflict challenges to include building and sustaining democratic institutions, and development of human resources; reconciliation; and capacity building.⁷⁷ According to him, the priorities in such situation are reconciliation at all levels, justice, access to education and basic health, freedom of speech and movement, media development and poverty eradication.⁷⁸

50. In the aftermath of conflicts, a number of consequences are expected as a general rule. Among the consequences are the problems of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), ex-combatants and demobilization,

⁷⁶ Daniel Thürer, "The 'failed state' and international law," *International Review of the Red Cross*, No. 836, 31 Dec 1999, pp. 731-761.

⁷⁷ *CHOICES*, Dec 2002.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

psychological and emotional feelings of bitterness and vengeance, fear and trauma of victims, and the circulation of small arms. Other matters which require attention include the issues of poverty, education and health, democratic elections, establishment of free, independent media, and capacity building. The role media play in addressing these issues is a matter of great importance, therefore should not be underestimated.

51. The media are a potent force, sometimes referred to as the “central nervous system” or the “Fourth Estate” of democratic societies. They have the capacity to build or destroy, thus they can either be a potent force in fuelling divisiveness and violence or positive instrument of peace. According to Kurspahic, the media played a major role in propagating ethnic tensions in the Balkans.⁷⁹ The use of government controlled Radio-Television *Libre de Mille Collines* to foment genocidal impulses in Rwanda in 1994 is another appalling contemporary example.⁸⁰ However, when encouraged, the media have proven equally effective for inter-ethnic reconciliation. There is the need to examine a few of the post-conflict

⁷⁹ Kemal Kurspahic, “Part Time Crime: Balkan Media in War and Peace, US Institute of Peace, Apr 7, 2003.

⁸⁰ A journalist Bemeriki of Radio Mille Collines used it as “Hate” radio to encourage the genocide of 800,000 Tutsis with her words “Do not kill iyenzi (cockroaches) with a bullet – cut them to pieces with machete.” See Ross Howard, “The Media’s Role in War and Peace-Building,” Paper presented at a Conference held in Budapest 6-9 February 2003, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF).

activities affecting the media in their effort in peace-building and nation-building.

52. **Post-Conflict Media Development**. The restoration of a free, independent media should be a crucial step towards the reconstruction of democratic institutions immediately a conflict ends. The promotion of free expression immediately after hostilities, means returning voice to the law and to the people. In emerging democracies, free and accountable media that monitor rights and abuses, and promote divergent opinions can help to deter a return to violence. It must be realized that open and responsible media are a condition for good governance, respect for human rights and democratic development. Once established, the media could then embark on conflict prevention and peace-building; support elections so as to build democracy; help in reconciliation, reconstruction, and rehabilitation; assist in tackling the issues of refugees, IDPs and the demobilization of ex-combatants; and campaign against spread of small arms.

53. **Reconciliation and Reconstruction**. What opportunities exist for the media during post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction? The media are “the institutions...in which ideas, information and attitudes, are transmitted

and received”⁸¹, therefore they must facilitate communication. The media can create societal conversation; help “turn collective storytelling into public acts of healing”; and can assist in the releases of shame and humiliation on victims, so that the story becomes one of dignity and virtue.⁸² Accordingly:

People need opportunity and space to express to and with one another the trauma of loss and their grief at that loss, the anger that accompany the memory of injustice experienced. Acknowledgment is decisive in the reconciliation dynamic. It is one thing to know; it is a very different social phenomenon to acknowledge. Acknowledgment through hearing one another’s stories validates experience and feelings and represents the first step toward restoration of the person and relationship.⁸³

54. The South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission established after the fall the apartheid regime offers the best example of post-conflict reconciliation efforts. It was widely televised and covered by other media to help heal the wounds of apartheid and facilitate the restoration of the society. The media gave the Commission the support in facilitating transitional justice and building a more peaceful community by:

(a) Showing that justice is achieved not by retribution, but by the restoration of the community.

⁸¹ “Post-Conflict Reconstruction and the Media,” Media Diversity Institute, http://www.media-diversity.org/articles_publications/Post-Conflict%20Reconstruction.htm

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

- (b) Aiding victims in such matters as securing pensions and education for their children.
- (c) Giving opportunities for victims of violence to tell the public of their ordeal, thereby bring recognition to them.
- (d) Making it possible for the public to understand the truth, encourage forgiveness, acceptance and trust.⁸⁴

55. **Demobilisation and Resettlement of Ex-Combatants**. The media play a crucial role in post-conflict demobilization. The key to stabilization is curbing the ability and desire of ex-combatants to renew the violence, and creating a national capacity to transform the war-instigated structures into peace-building institutions.⁸⁵ This involves the backing of the media towards evolving credible legal and political system, re-establishing public confidence in state institutions, and shifting from the culture of violent opposition. If the experiences of El-Salvado and Nicaragua are considered, to successfully demobilize ex-combatants, the media must promote:

- (a) Popular support for disarmament, including commitments by all parties involved.

⁸⁴ Tanya Glaser, "Truth and Reconciliation Commission: South Africa," <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/example/glas7505.htm>

⁸⁵ Ali A. Jalali, "Demobilizing the War Machines: Making Peace Last," <http://www.un.org/dpi/ngosection/jalali.pdf>

- (b) The integration of ex-combatants into civil society as incentive.
- (c) The participation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in disarmament process.
- (d) The mobilization of ex-combatants for peace-building.⁸⁶

56. **Media and Peace-Building**. Peace-building means strengthening the prospects for peace and weakening the chances of renewed violence in war-torn countries.⁸⁷ The goal of peace-building is to enhance the capacity of a society to manage its own conflicts without violence. The media are a force to reckon with in peace-building situation. They must clear the way for the enforcement of human rights which are likely to be abused in times of emergency, and these would include protection of women and children against abuse; health and control of epidemics; law and order, specifically exposing and preventing arbitrary arrests, torture and inhuman treatment, etc. Furthermore, the media's role includes the creation of conducive environment for free and fair elections through voter education.

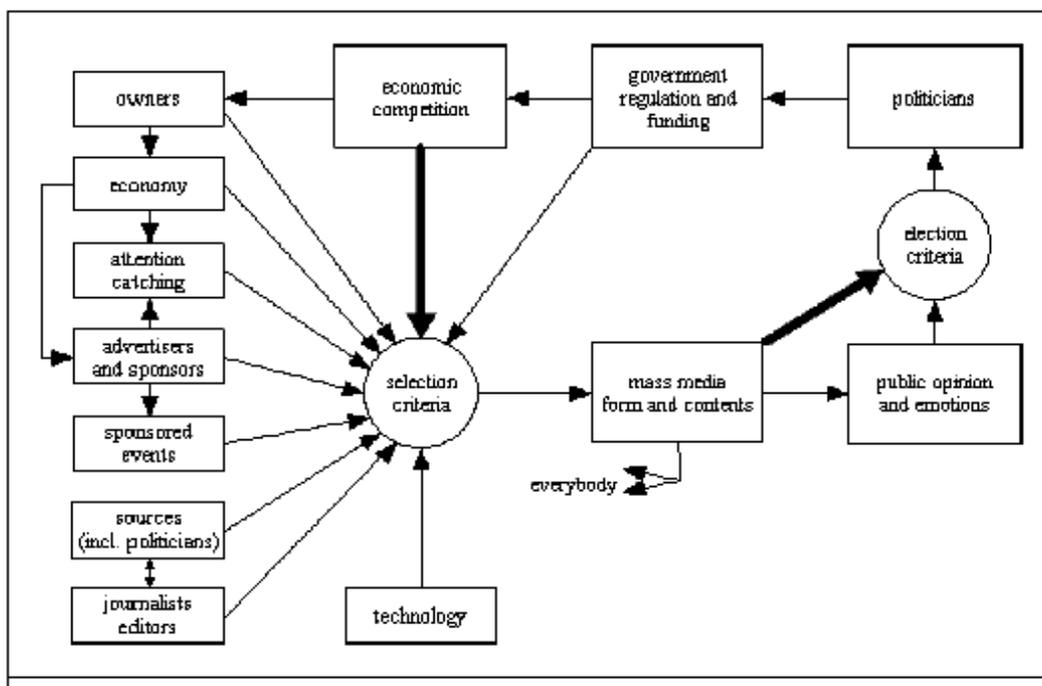
⁸⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

FACTORS INFLUENCING MEDIA ROLE IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

57. As indicated in the integrated model of Figure 2, the media are influenced by several factors. Media owners define the overall editorial policy; economic factors determine the extent of investigative journalism and cultural production; sponsors influence sponsored cultural and sport events.

Figure 2: Integrated Model Showing the Role of the Media in Democratic Society



Source: Agner Fog, "The Supposed and the Real Role of Mass media in Modern Democracy," www.agner.org

⁸⁷ "Media and Peacebuilding," *IMPACS*, 2001,
http://www.impacs.ca/index.cfm?Group_ID=2683

58. Further, editors and journalists influence through their personal engagement as well as their professional, ideological and ethical principles; technology determines the number of channels available and the formats possible; and government regulation may impose additional ethical principles.⁸⁸

59. Specific to national development, certain factors are inimical to the role of media. These factors include sensationalism, propaganda, selective and bias coverage, media freedom, ownership and, pornography and violence. These factors are analysed accordingly.

60. **Sensationalism**. Communication is both dynamic and very powerful in its strong influence on the definition of that reality. News sensationalism shows that what we watch or read casually may indeed have very significant impact within our views of reality.⁸⁹ Sensationalism may prevent the public from being knowledgeable participants in policy discussions. Let us take the case of Nigerian media as an example. Researches conducted showed that there are numerous unethical practices by Nigerian journalists bordering on “over-simplification, exaggeration and outright sensationalism, suppression or outright distortion of facts, political

⁸⁸ Agner Fog, *op cit*

⁸⁹ D. Ransohoff and R. Ransohoff, “Sensationalism in the Media: When Scientists and Journalists May Be Complicit Collaborators,” *Effective Clinical Practice*, Jul/Aug 2001.

partisanship and bias, ethnicism and religious insensitivity.”⁹⁰ Such actions not only make the media lose credibility, but also serve as avenue for increasing conflicts. The recent *ThisDay* publication on the controversial Miss World beauty contest in Nigeria, in which a reporter made derogatory remarks on the Prophet of Islam, is a case in point. The publication led to riots resulting in the destruction of lives and properties.⁹¹ The motivation, according to the research, is huge financial consideration and an appeasement of narrow and parochial interest.⁹² The unbridled sensationalism is usually reflected in headlines, photographs, and editorials.

61. **Propaganda.** Propaganda is the systematic effort to manipulate other people’s beliefs, attitudes or actions by means of symbols.⁹³ According to Doob, “propaganda can be as blatant as a swastika or as subtle as a joke.”⁹⁴ Propagandists influence rational thought by agitating emotions, exploiting insecurities, capitalizing on the ambiguity of language, and bending the rules of logic. The common techniques used by the media are

⁹⁰ *Media Rights Monitor*, Sep 2000.

⁹¹ *ThisDay*, Lagos, 16 Nov 2002.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, London, 1974, p. 36.

word games (name-calling, glittering generalities and euphemisms); false connection (transfer and testimonial); and special appeals (plain folks, bandwagon and fear).⁹⁵ “Name-calling” is a common technique used by Western media, using words or phrases like “Islamic fundamentalist,” “muslim fanatics or terrorist,” “fascist,” “dictatorship,” “axis of evil,” etc. The reverse is “glittering generalities”, using words such as “democracy,” “good governance,” “Christianity,” “freedom,” “western civilization,” “patriotism,” “family values” etc.⁹⁶ Among audiovisual media, television may be the most powerful tool for propaganda. While propaganda can serve to rally people behind a cause, it is often used to exaggerate, misrepresent or even lie about important issues.

62. The recent invasion of Iraq by US and Britain witnessed a lot of propaganda in the American cable network, the CNN, although Al-Jazeera, the Arab News Cable Network attempted to give the other side of the story. As observed by *The East African*, “...the war in Iraq was not simply a military campaign but a disinformation and propaganda campaign that began

⁹⁴ Leonard Doob, *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1935.

⁹⁵ Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *Propaganda Analysis*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

months before the first bombs were dropped on Baghdad.”⁹⁷ Other propaganda efforts include the false accusation that Saddam was negotiating to buy huge quantities of uranium from Niger Republic for nuclear programme, news that was disputed by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and recently admitted by the British and US intelligence agencies, while denounced by investigating US officials. The daily news briefing in Qatar focused on military achievements, not on the casualties of war. The Iraqis also waged their own disinformation and propaganda war such as showing Saddam walking through the streets of Baghdad surrounded by adoring citizens at the height of the war. Propaganda may result in bad feelings, deception, insecurity, suspicion and the feeling of double standard within the national and international community.

63. **Selective and Bias Presentations.** The media have the tendency for selective and bias presentations. An example was when the Soviets blew a Korean passenger jet, the *New York Times* editorial (2/9/83) was unequivocal in condemning the action headlined “Murder in the Air,” but when the Americans shot down Iranian passenger jet five years later killing 290 people, the *New York Times* (5/7/88) editorial saw it as an accident and even blamed the civilian aircraft for not “avoiding combat zone”. This media

⁹⁷ *East African*, Mar 31-April 6, 2003.

attitude affects their overall effectiveness in contributing to national development. Let us examine other examples of selective and bias media presentations, in which the sources of stories are usually “official”; there is apparent lack of diversity; the voice is one-sided (politicians or corporate executives); there are double standards; stereotypes skew the coverage; there are unchallenged assumptions; language is often loaded; stories are out of context; headlines and stories do not match, etc.

(a) **Western Media on Africa.** Western media are mostly responsible for the dissemination of ideas about Africa as a “dark continent” of “primeval irrationality, tribal anarchy, hunger/famine, civil war, managerial ineptitude, political instability, flagrant corruption and incompetent leadership.”⁹⁸ Misinformation about Africa has become a growth industry in the West. During the apartheid regime in South Africa, for example, it was common for Western media to use the euphemism to report on “black on black violence” to describe intra-racial conflicts in the country, but British journalists would not report on “white on white violence” when reporting the conflict in Northern Ireland. Bardlan examined the

⁹⁸ Ama Biney, “The Western Media and Africa: Issues of Information and Images,” *Interstate Online*, <http://users.aber.ac.uk/scty34/50/Africa.htm>

coverage of AIDS by *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times* and *USA Today* between 1990 and 1994. Stories featuring sub-Saharan Africa received 16% of the positive coverage and 80% of the negative coverage among 14 world regions. Stories about Africa had negative headlines more than 70% of the time, as well as most negative photographs and other illustrations.⁹⁹ The mental images portrayed on Africa affect people's interests to invest, trade, and participate in development of the continent. Views of hopelessness to the extent of suggestions for re-colonising are not strange, as depicted in the following editorial:

Africa is so much without hope that it is difficult to believe that it can help itself. If western countries had the will they could recolonise the continent which they left in such haste. The Japanese and the Germans could run Africa, using the British, as professional ex-colonists, as their official agents.¹⁰⁰

Western media reports always fail to inform on the deep-rooted causes of political and economic problems, the result of centuries of slavery, colonialism and the role played by Europe in the whole mess of the continent. The situation has been exacerbated by the coming to power

⁹⁹ Kritis Alley Swain, "AIDS Coverage in US News Magazines in Light of WHO Statistics," Paper presented to the Health Communication Division, International Communication Association, Montreal, Quebec, May 1997.

¹⁰⁰ *Independent on Sunday*, 31 Mar 1991.

of an African elite colluding with Western governments and multinational companies to bleed African economies through imposed neo-liberal economic reforms.¹⁰¹ Sometimes African journalists contribute to the way of negative reporting by the Western media. In this regard, Usman observed that:

The international media have become the convenient vehicles for image projection and propagation of hidden agenda...To achieve their objectives the foreign media have to work in collaboration with their counterparts who are not so refined and go about it in a crude manner.¹⁰²

What Gautier therefore describes as the “vicious circle of journalism and India”, is also true of African countries. In it he noted that through Indian journalists, Western media get their own impression of India: a nation torn by caste discrimination, poverty, corruption, Hindu extremism and natural calamities.¹⁰³

(b) **Coverage of Iraq.** According to Winston Churchill, “truth is the first casualty in war.” From the very beginning of the drumming of war to the actual execution of the war by the coalition

¹⁰¹ Biney, *op cit.*

¹⁰² Bukar Usman, *Voices in a Choir: Issues in Democratization and National Stability in Nigeria*, Kaduna, Klamidas Comm. Ltd, 1999, p. 131.

¹⁰³ Francois Gautier, “Indian Media,” *Quest-France*, 05 April 2002. <http://www.media-watch.org/features/1.html>

forces, Western media, particularly, the CNN and BBC, were apparently biased in their coverage of the events of both wars on Iraq. This situation was accompanied by censorship on the coverage by both the White House and Pentagon, of course with the willing agreement of the corporate-owned media. During the Gulf War, the CNN aired live video of US cruise missiles reaching Baghdad, while the resultant carnage below was just covered in passing remarks. The anchors filled the media frames with their euphemistic jargons about “airstrikes”, “collateral damage”, “pounding enemy targets”, “targets of opportunity,” etc. In terms of mobilizing the public opinion, the US media presented “convincing war images that represent evidence of both American military superiority and technological advancement, as well as images that support the claim of humane American conduct...”¹⁰⁴ US government used the media extremely well to mobilize public opinion in both its operation in Afghanistan and Iraq. As it is observed, a “few well-placed media messages can cause sea changes in national opinion...The Bush Administration knows this

¹⁰⁴ Richard Kahn, “Making Holes, Not Wholes: Patriotic War Propaganda in Relation to Global Mass Extinction,” <http://getvegan.com/holesnotwholes.htm>

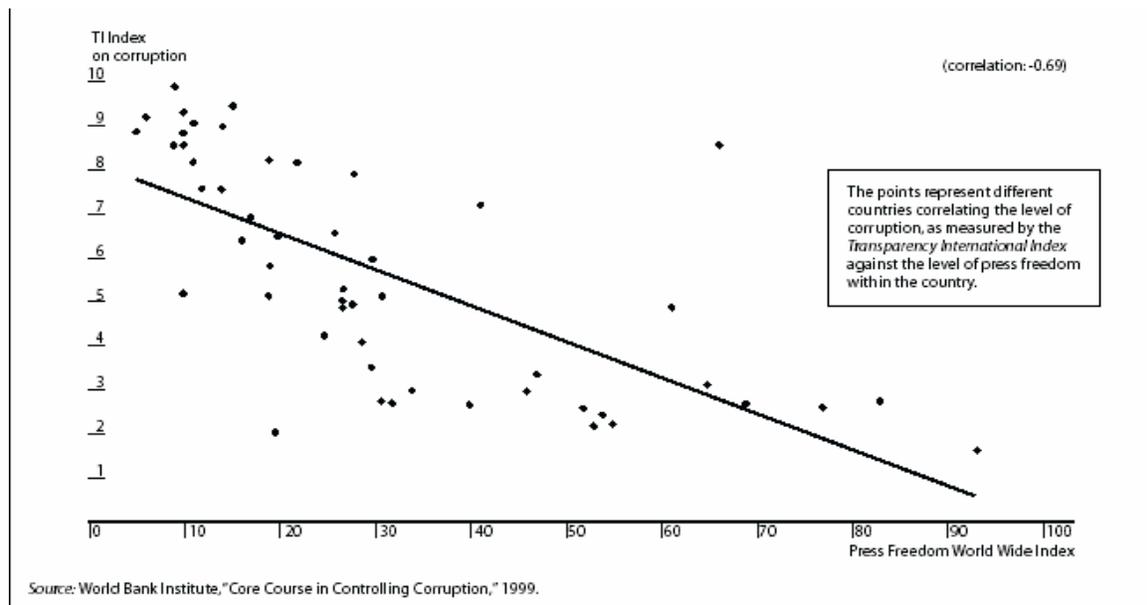
media truism all too well...that with the right pressure, public opinion can be manipulated...¹⁰⁵

64. **Media Freedom**. Media freedom is the cornerstone of democracy. It affords the public the opportunity of discovering and forming an opinion of the ideas and attitudes of their political leaders, thereby check corrupt leadership as evidence has shown correlation between press freedom and corruption (see Figure 3). Conversely, it gives political leaders the opportunity to reflect and comment on the opinion of the general public. This freedom thus enables everyone to participate in free political debate, which forms the basis of a democratic society. There are, however instances in which governments deny media this freedom by deciding what to be published or broadcast, arresting media practitioners, or outright revocation of media license, but many countries are opposed to such restrictions (Appendix 'E'). Such a situation does not provide the right atmosphere for development. Without the free expression of ideas and opinions, no society can develop effectively. However, media freedom must go along with responsibility. Media practitioners must exercise high standards of

¹⁰⁵ Tamara Straus, "The War for Public Opinion," *AlterNet*, Dec 10, 2001. <http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=12050>

objectivity, professionalism and refrain from undue personal attacks because of the resources at their disposal.

Figure 3: Correlation Between Corruption and Press Freedom



65. **Media Ownership.** Ownership is a central factor for media independence, because it is the owners who control information flow, and thus influence political, economic and social development. There are people who argue for the state ownership of the media, asserting firstly, that information is a public good, and for this reason many countries have made a case for organizing the media industry as a government-owned monopoly. Secondly, some argue for public ownership because of consumer protection. Private ownership is seen to corrupt the industry by serving narrow interests. Thirdly, others argue that state ownership ensures public exposure to educational and cultural information. Critics point out that government

control of the media could distort and manipulate information, undermine markets, and preclude voters and consumers from making informed decisions.

66. World media are controlled by nine corporations,¹⁰⁶ who together with 40 smaller players “produce the bulk of the world’s newspapers, magazines, books, films, television and radio programs.”¹⁰⁷ On the balance, it is observed, the system serves mostly the business interests and those of the upper-middle classes. By and large, evidence indicates that monopoly control over information reduces the effectiveness of the media in providing checks and balances. In the World Bank Report 2002, it is indicated that state ownership of the largest five newspapers and five television stations in each of 97 countries world-wide is pervasive (Appendix ‘F’). “On the average, the state controls about 30% of the newspapers and 60% of the television stations...The state also owns ...72%...of the largest radio stations.”¹⁰⁸ The Report further noted that private ownership is mostly in family hands, not in widely dispersed shareholdings. Even the privately

¹⁰⁶ The super-corporations are Time Warner, Disney, Bertelsmann, Viacom and Seagram, Viacom, General Electric, Sony, News Corporation and AT&T/Liberty Media.

¹⁰⁷ Gumisai Mutume, “Media Juggernaut Rolls Into 21st Century,” *Third World Traveler*, World Press Review, March 2000.
http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Media_control_propaganda/Media_Juggernaut.html

¹⁰⁸ *World Bank Report 2002*.

owned media are closely related to the state through business, family and personal associations, therefore the influence of state control is even greater. Analysis of those 97 countries established that media in countries with high levels of state ownership are much less free; transmit much less information to people; and negatively correlate with economic, political and social development.¹⁰⁹ This translates into more corruption, inferior economic governance, less-developed financial markets, few political rights for citizens, and poorer social outcomes in education and health.¹¹⁰ The ownership of media therefore require spread to reduce the monopoly of governments and few individuals or corporations.

67. **Media Pornography and Violence**. There are over 300,000 pornographic sites in the internet. Many newspapers, magazines, books, and television stations make graphic presentations of pornographic and violent materials for entertainment. Few attempt to restrict access to adults, but in most cases children get access to such presentations. The question is to what extent do the media in their presentations of pornographic and violent materials influence the general behaviour in society, particularly as it relates

¹⁰⁹ Simeon Djankov et al., “Who Owns the Media?” *World Development Report*, Background Paper, 2001.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

to the youth? Certainly indecency, immorality and violence are negative factors for national development, yet the media, for reasons mainly of business, engage in conveying such messages to the society. On how the media influence children, Steyer concludes that they “shape their reality...set their expectations...define their values, their behaviour.”¹¹¹

Accordingly:

Everyday, children are bombarded by messages and images from the media – messages about how to behave, what choices to make and what to think. Children even try to emulate what they learn from television, video games and the Internet.¹¹²

68. To what extent is the media’s influence on violence and aggression in society? According to Steyer, children do emulate the violent behaviour they see on television, movies and video games. He noted that violent content is widely used because it is one of the cheapest ways to make programming more profitable.¹¹³ In relation to sex, the media teach children about what is acceptable, and “in society where sex sells, children cannot escape the media’s influence...Kids are not equipped with the same capacity for

¹¹¹ “How the Media Influences Your Child,”
http://www.oprah.com/tows/pasthows/tows_2002/tows_past_20020520_b.jhtml

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

judgment about sexually inappropriate behaviour so they are particularly susceptible.”¹¹⁴

69. Leyens et al. conducted a research on physical and verbal aggression in which the participants were juvenile delinquents at a school in Belgium.¹¹⁵ They lived in four dormitories, two of which had high levels of aggressive behaviour and the other two had low levels. During a special movie week, boys in two of the dormitories (one high in aggression and the other low) watched only violent films, whereas boys in the other two dormitories watched only nonviolent films. There was an increased level of physical aggression among the boys who saw the violent films, but not among those who saw nonviolent films. In a longitudinal study, the amount of television watched and levels of aggressiveness were assessed in some young children.¹¹⁶

70. When aggressiveness and the amount of television watched were reassessed in the same participants several years later, one of the key

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ J. Leyens et al., “Effects of Movie Violence on Aggression in a Field Setting as a Function of Group Dominance and Cohesion,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 32, 1975, pp. 346-360.

¹¹⁶ L.D. Eron and L.R. Huesmann, “The role of television in the development of prosocial and antisocial behaviour,” in D. Olwens, J. Bloch and M. Radke-Yarrow eds. *The Development of Antisocial and Prosocial Behaviour: Research, Theories, and Issues*, New York, Academic, 1986.

findings was that the amount of television violence watched at young age predicted the level of later aggressiveness, measured by the number of criminal convictions by the age of thirty. It is important therefore to control the transmission or display of pornographic and violent media materials.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

71. The media play important roles in society. As the Fourth Estate, they provide checks and balances on the activities of the three arms of government; as agenda-setters, they influence the issues on public agenda; as gatekeepers, they decide what information gets to the public; as watchdog, they represent the interests of the people against powerful interests; and as for multipliers, they add to the combat effectiveness of military commanders.

72. National development covers political, economic and social issues. In political development, the media particularly contribute in areas of democracy and good governance, political transparency, foreign policy and human rights. In economic development, the media provide the enabling environment for businesses and investments to flourish. In addition, they assist in empowering economically disadvantaged groups in the society, at the same time contribute to societal economic growth. In social development, the media can help fight corruption, prevent communal conflicts and provide useful information on disasters. The media are

particularly useful for public health campaigns, especially against children diseases, communicable diseases, and in favour of healthy environment.

73. Post-conflict societies which experience colonialism, civil wars, liberation struggles and political instability, require nation-building else they become “failed states”. Free and independent media are important for supporting reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation; demobilization and resettlement of ex-combatants; and peace-building efforts. The role of media in addressing the issues of victims, vengeance, small arms trafficking, poverty, diseases, elections, and capacity building is of utmost importance.

74. For the media to effectively influence national development, they must be free and independent. Free media provide voice for the people, build public consensus, and expose corruption in government. Likewise, they empower the poor, spur development, and ensure that people’s basic social needs are met. Freedom of the media must go along with responsibility. Media can abuse the right of freedom of expression through sensationalism, propaganda, and bias. Other factors relevant to the effectiveness of media in national development include the question of ownership, and media vices (pornography, violence etc).

75. **Findings**. The general and specific findings of this study on *The Role of Media in National Development* reveal that:

- (a) As Fourth Estate, agenda setters, gatekeepers, watchdog and force multipliers, the media definitely have a role to play in society.
- (b) The media facilitate political, economic and social development in a nation.
- (c) Media determine the issues found on the public agenda.
- (d) While the media play important roles in society, they are sometimes driven more by their political and economic interests, than those of the public.
- (e) In military operations, while the media are capable of building public opinion (eg Kargil), emotional coverage can undermine public support (eg Vietnam, Somalia).
- (f) Media influence the direction of foreign policy (eg US policy on Bosnia and Somalia).
- (g) Media influence economic growth: eg communication influence on Taiwan and South Korean economy and the influence of Satellite Instructional Television on agricultural production and school enrolment in India.
- (h) Through the effect they can have on individual reputation, the media can check the excesses of corrupt leaders (eg Ecuador, Venezuela, Brazil, Philippines, US).

- (i) The more intense media coverage is on national disasters, the more relief materials and funds are made available by donors (eg India, Mozambique).
- (j) In public health, media campaigns immensely contribute in the reduction of diseases, such as AIDS, SARS, leprosy, and preventable children diseases as demonstrated in Uganda, Thailand, India, Nepal, Brazil and Honduras.
- (k) In internal conflict situations, the media as instruments of peace contribute to nation-building (eg post-Apartheid South Africa), but as potent force they are capable of fuelling divisiveness and violence (eg Rwanda).
- (l) Ownership, economic factors, technology, government regulations, etc influence the role of media in democracy.
- (m) Sensationalism, propaganda, selectiveness and bias, are inimical to the role of media in national development.
- (n) The lesser the freedom of media in society, the more corruption.
- (o) Societies with high levels of state media ownership are much less free; transmit less information to people; and negatively correlate with political, economic and social development.

(p) Pornography and violence in the media contribute to indecency, immorality and violence in society, particularly among children and youths.

Recommendations

75. It is recommended that:

(a) Media freedom is fundamental in democracy therefore it should be non-negotiable.

(b) Media must report the truth without undue misrepresentation of facts, sensationalism, propaganda and bias.

(c) In reporting, the media must take cognisance of national security and the welfare of the people.

(d) Media practitioners must not be influenced by the interests of ownership, both government and corporate.

(e) Ownership of the media should be spread to avoid the monopoly of a few, powerful individuals, corporations or governments.

(f) Display or transmission of pornographic and violent media materials should be controlled to reduce negative influence on societies.

- (g) More media outfits should be established in rural communities to facilitate development and provide them more access to information.
- (h) Media Institutes should be established to coordinate the activities of both domestic and international media in order to reduce the incident of false or negative reporting.
- (i) Media interactions should be a regular feature in military training institutions.
- (j) The African Union should establish African Cable News Network to transmit real or actual news on the Continent.
- (j) To further explore related research on *The Role of Media in National Development*, either or both of the following topics should be included in subsequent NDC Courses:
 - (i) The Role of Media in Conflict Situations.
 - (ii) The Impact of Media on Foreign Policy Objectives.

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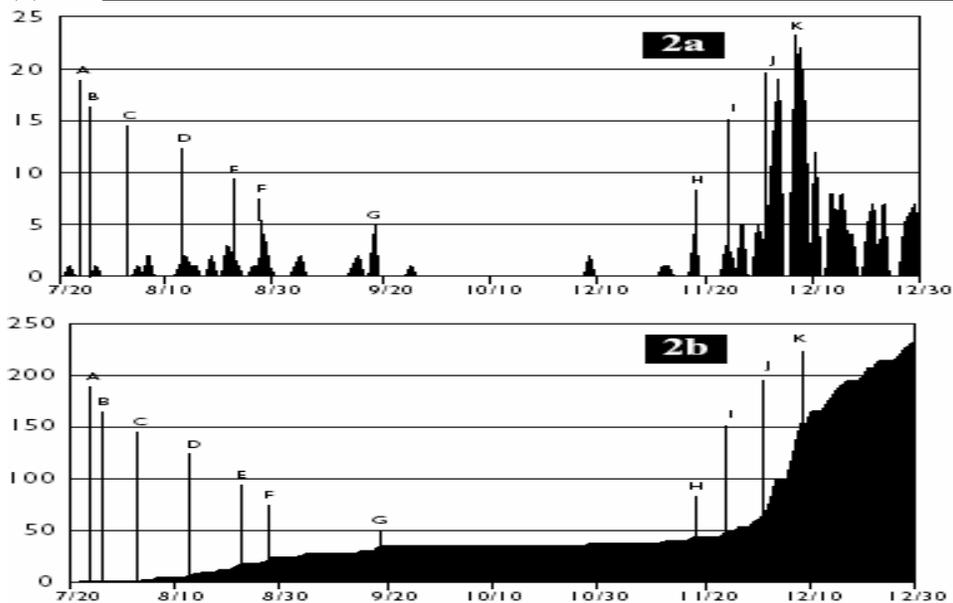
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APPENDICES

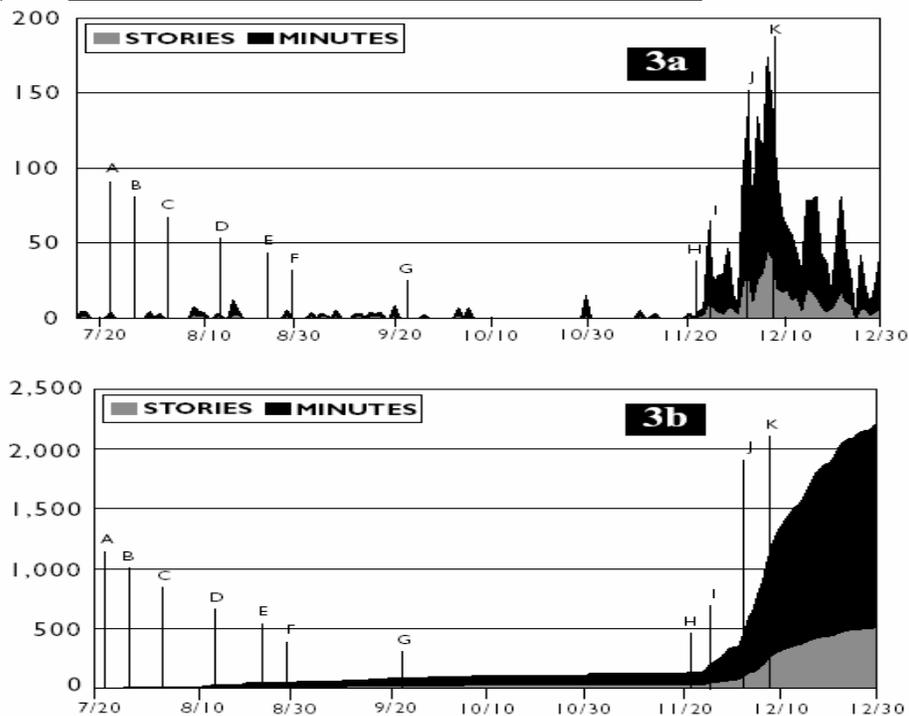
Appendix 'A'
(Refers to Para 44 (c))

ANALYSIS OF CNN EFFECTS

(1) Aggregated Broadcast Network News Coverage of Somalia: Jul-Dec 1992



(2) CNN Daily Coverage of Somalia: Jul-Dec 1992



(3) **Conceptual Understanding of Media Effects of Foreign Policy**

Accelerant	Media shortens decision-making response time. Television diplomacy evident. During time of war, live, global television offer potential security-intelligence risks. But media may also be a force multiplier, method of sending signals. Evident in most foreign policy issues to receive media attention.
Impediment	Two types: 1. Emotional, grisly coverage may undermine morale. Government attempts to sanitize war (emphasis on video game war), limit access to the battlefield. 2. Global, real-time media constitute a threat to operational security.
Agenda Setting Agency	Emotional, compelling coverage of atrocities or humanitarian crises reorder foreign policy priorities. Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti said to be examples.

Source: Steven Livingston, "Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention," Research Paper R-18, The Joan Shorenstein Center, Harvard University, June 1977.

**EXAMPLES OF MEDIA'S ROLE
AGAINST CORRUPT LEADERSHIP**

1. **Latin American Heads of State**¹

(a) **President Bucaram in Ecuador**

In Bucaram's case, an investigative story published in the daily *Hoy* showed how the president known as "El Loco" had diverted money he had raised during a Christmas telethon to help the poor. Amid a national uproar, Bucaram was later ousted by Congress for "mental incapacity."

(b) **President Perez in Venezuela**

In Venezuela, two investigative stories in the Caracas daily *El Universal* have been credited with precipitating Perez's downfall. One, relying on confidential sources, reported that the president had misappropriated \$17 million in missing discretionary funds. Other leaked documents from the Central Bank and Foreign Ministry, Simon reports, indicated that "Perez and two aides had made millions by changing Venezuelan currency into dollars just ahead of (a) devaluation." After Venezuelan lawmakers began impeachment proceedings, Perez was forced to step down.

(c) **President Collor in Brazil**

¹ Joel Simon, "Hot on the Money Trail," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Vol. 37, Jan/Feb 1998.

In Brazil, investigative pieces published by various outlets set the stage for Collor's departure as president.

In early 1991, a *Jornal do Brasil* reporter used a computer access code provided by a senator to examine federal finance ministry files and discovered that “money distributed to the president's wife...and earmarked for charity had gone to her relatives and family in her hometown.”¹⁰ The following year, after months of cultivating Collor's brother as a source, *Veja* magazine published an interview in which the brother, Pedro Collor, accused the president's campaign treasurer, Paulo Cesar Farias, of running a multimillion-dollar influence-peddling ring on Fernando Collor's behalf. Congress set up a commission to investigate the charges. During its hearings, a flurry of hardhitting insert reports by various outlets—particularly *Isto It* magazine and the *Folha de São Paulo* and *Estado de São Paulo* newspapers—drew on a variety of documents including bank records, cancelled cheques, telephone records, and even photographs of Collor's lavish private residence, as well as interviews with senior officials and their aides to reinforce a picture of massive high-level corruption within the Collor administration. It ultimately emerged that Farias had extorted more than \$55 million from firms in exchange for favorable treatment by the government; at least \$8 million was passed on directly to Collor. By year's end, amid a national uproar, Collor stepped down—one day before he was to be impeached.

2. Other Politicians²

² Investigative Journalism Online Resource Center, <http://www.ire.org/resources/center>

(a) **Cabinet Ministers in Colombia**

In Colombia, two Colombian cabinet ministers resigned in mid-1977 after the weekly news magazine *Semana* published a surreptitiously recorded cellular phone conversation in which they discussed then-President Ernesto Samper's plan to give half of the government's radio concessions to his friends, according to a report in the *Columbia Journalism Review*. Other published news pieces linking Samper himself to the Cali drug cartel received more widespread international attention. While Samper ultimately survived an impeachment attempt and served out his full term, the stories led to the resignation and arrest of his defence minister and are widely believed to have cost him much of his domestic and international political support.

3. **United States—The Case of Dan Rostenkowski**³

In the United States, for example, Dan Rostenkowski, a former member of the House of Representatives, lost his congressional seat after the *Chicago Sun-Times* published a series of investigative reports over the course of two and a half years. The series showed how, as head of the House's powerful Ways and Means Committee, Rostenkowski had wrongfully taken hundreds of thousands of dollars from his campaign funds and congressional allowances. This reporting "helped lead to Rostenkowski's indictment in May 1994 and his subsequent defeat in November 1994," according to Investigative Reporters and Editors, a U.S. based journalists' group, and Rostenkowski pleaded guilty to corruption charges on April 9, 1996.

³ Ibid.

4. **Involvement of International Institutions**

(a) **Kenya: The 1996 scandal**⁴

The independent Kenyan press shed light on the malaria control-chemicals deal organized by the Ministry of Health, Mr. Donald Kimutai. The press reported that non-approved malaria chemicals were going to be bought through a foreign firm, Equip Agencies Ltd., at a price far higher than the price necessary to buy the goods locally. Also, a side payment of 400,000,000 Kenya Shillings was made to Equip Agencies Ltd. by the Health Ministry while no goods were delivered. This scandal burst out during the visit of an IMF team in Nairobi. That team put pressure on the government to clear the scandal. Mr. Kimutai was first transferred to the position of chairman of the Industry Commerce Development Corporation (ICDC) and only in a second stage, under the insistence of the IMF, he was fired.

5. **The News Media As Check on the Integrity of State Anti-corruption Bodies**⁵

(a) **City of Detroit**

An example of the way in which the news media have acted as a check on the integrity of state anti-corruption bodies—in this case the judiciary—was in evidence in 1981 in the U.S. city of Detroit, when a radio station's investigation of corruption and irregularities in the local bankruptcy court was credited with leading to the dismissal and retirement of several judges, lawyers and bankruptcy trustees, as well as a change in the way judges are assigned to cases. The reporting

⁴ John Githongo, "The Role of Journalists in Combating Corruption in Kenya," Paper presented at World Bank Institute Seminar, Cotonou, Benin, Jan 1997.

⁵ Rod Macdonell, "New Chief Judge of Montreal Municipal Court Gets Mandate to Improve Work Ethic," *Montreal Gazette*, Nov 26, 1993.

also prompted investigations by the FBI and a Federal Grand Jury.

(b) **Montreal Municipal Judges**

Less dramatically, a *Montreal Gazette* expose of lax work ethics among local municipal court judges, resulting undue delays in the rendering of judgments—and the undue burden these delays imposed on the entire justice system—prompted the provincial minister of justice to mandate the court’s new chief judge to crack down on the magistrates with a view to ensuring greater swiftness in the processing of cases and the handing down of rulings. The newspaper’s expose reinforced the judiciary’s accountability and hence its potential effectiveness as an instrument against corruption (as well as other forms of wrongdoing).

MEDIA ROLE IN DISASTER MANAGEMENT

Figure 1: Linkages Between Communications Technology and Management of Various Classes of Hazards.

Hazards	Satellite Sensors	Satellite Remote Telemetry	Radio and TV	Print Media	Terrestrial Sensors
EARTHQUAKES		linking sensors to central facilities and reverse	transmitting warnings as well as protection information	education for protection, including evacuation and building techniques	strain gauges vibration sensors
LANDSLIDES	meteorology monitoring soil wetness	transmitting data to central facilities and reverse	transmitting warnings	education for protection, including evacuation and building techniques	strain gauges wetness monitors
TSUNAMIS	wave surge detection	transmitting data to central facilities and reverse	transmitting warnings	education for protection including evacuation and location techniques	subsea vibration sensors
VOLCANOES	optical and thermal monitoring	transmitting data to central facilities and reverse	transmitting warnings	education for protection including evacuation and location techniques	vibration and thermal sensors
FLOODS	optical monitoring and meteorology	transmitting data to central facilities and reverse	transmitting warnings	education for protection including evacuation and location techniques	flow, rain, and river height sensors
TYPHOONS	meteorology	transmitting data to central facilities and reverse	transmitting warnings	education for protection, including evacuation, location, and construction techniques	meteorology monitors for storm surges
TORNADOES	meteorology and optical monitoring	transmitting data to central facilities and reverse	transmitting warnings plus specialized monitors, perhaps with sensors	education for protection, including construction and protection techniques	doppler radars
WILDFIRES	optical and thermal monitoring	transmitting data to central facilities and reverse	transmitting warnings	education for protection, including prevention and resistant construction	optical and thermal sensors to support visual siting

Comparison of India Cyclone (1999) and Mozambique Floods (2000)
Media Coverage⁶

1. Media Coverage: Number of TV news spots on Danish national television (DR-TV & TV2):

- | | |
|--|----|
| (a) India Cyclone (15 Oct 1999 – 15 Jan 2000): | 16 |
| (b) Mozambique Floods (1 Feb 2000 – 1 May 2000): | 87 |

2. Media Coverage: Number of articles in 23 newspapers (US & Western Europe):

- | | |
|--|-----|
| (a) India Cyclone (15 Oct 1999 – 15 Jan 2000): | 91 |
| (b) Mozambique Floods (1 Feb 2000 – 1 May 2000): | 382 |

3. Total value of received humanitarian assistance in US\$:

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| (a) India Cyclone: | 23,097,000 |
| (b) Mozambique Floods: | 165,846,000 |

⁶ Olsen, op cit. p. 114.

CHARTER FOR A FREE PRESS⁷

1. Censorship, direct or indirect, is unacceptable; thus laws and practices restricting the right of the news media to freely gather and distribute information must be abolished, and government authorities, national and local, must not interfere with the content of print or broadcast news, or restrict access to any news source.
2. Independent news media, both print and broadcast, must be allowed to emerge and operate freely in all countries.
3. There must be no discrimination by governments in their treatment, economic or otherwise, of the news media within a country. In those countries where government media also exist, the independent media must have the same free access as the official media have to all material and facilities necessary to their publishing or broadcasting operations.
4. States must not restrict access to newsprint, printing facilities and distribution systems, operation of news agencies, and availability of broadcast frequencies and facilities.
5. Legal, technical and tariff practices by communications authorities which inhibit the distribution of news and restrict the flow of information are condemned.
6. Government media must enjoy editorial independence and be open to a diversity of viewpoints. This should be affirmed in both law and practice.

⁷ An example of a set of principles to counteract media restrictions set out in this Charter and approved by 34 countries at the Voices of Freedom World Conference on Censorship Problems held in London, Jan 16-18, 1987. According to the then UN Secretary General, Boutros-Ghali, "They (the Charter's principles) deserve the support of everyone pledged to advance and protect democratic institutions...to which all free nations aspire."

7. There should be unrestricted access by the print and broadcast media within a country to outside news and information services, and the public should enjoy similar freedom to receive foreign publications and foreign broadcasts without interference.

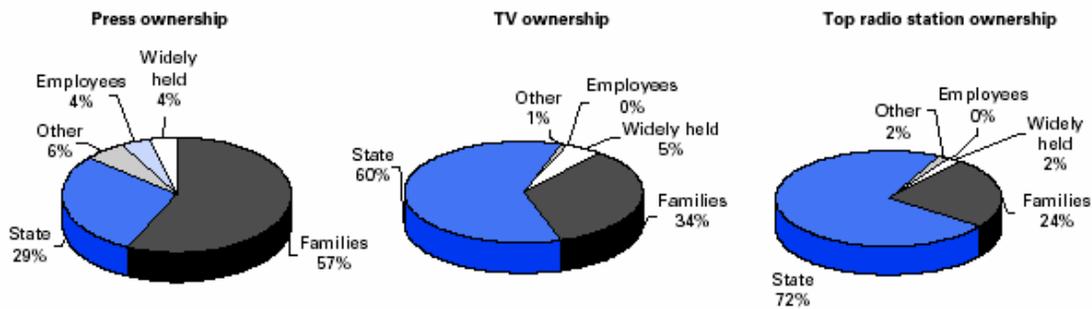
8. National frontiers must be open to foreign journalists. Quotas must not apply, and applications for visas, press credentials and other documentation requisite for their work should be approved promptly. Foreign journalists should be allowed to travel freely within a country and have access to both official and unofficial news sources, and be allowed to import and export freely all necessary professional materials and equipment.

9. Restrictions on the free entry to the field of journalism or over its practice, through licensing or other certification procedures, must be eliminated.

10. Journalists, like all citizens, must be secure in their persons and be given full protection of law. Journalists working in war zones are recognized as civilians enjoying all rights and immunities accorded to other civilians.

GLOBAL MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND EFFECTS

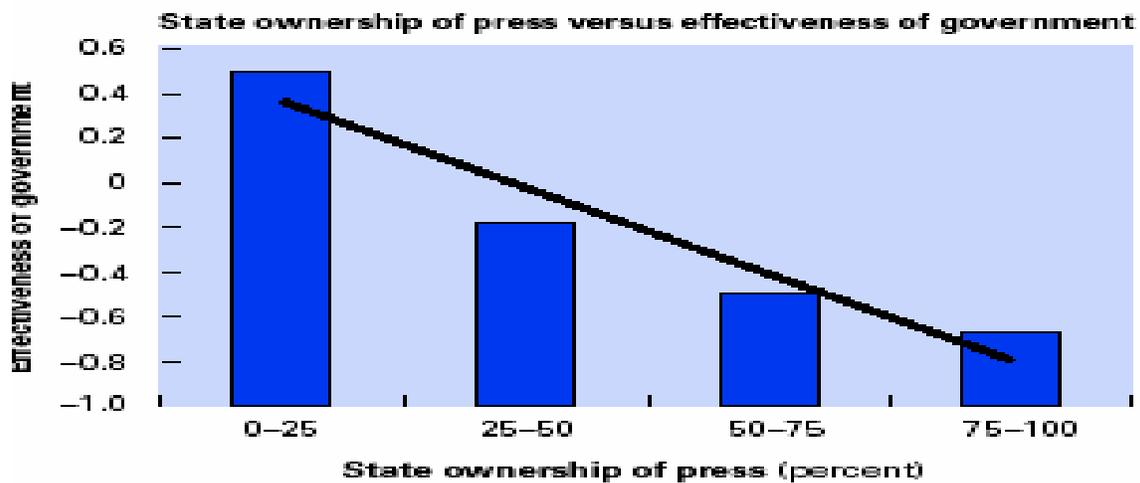
Media Ownership in 97 Countries⁸



Note: Average ownership of top five daily newspaper and top five television enterprises in 97 countries.
Source: Djankov, McLiesh, and others 2001, *World Development Report 2002* background paper.

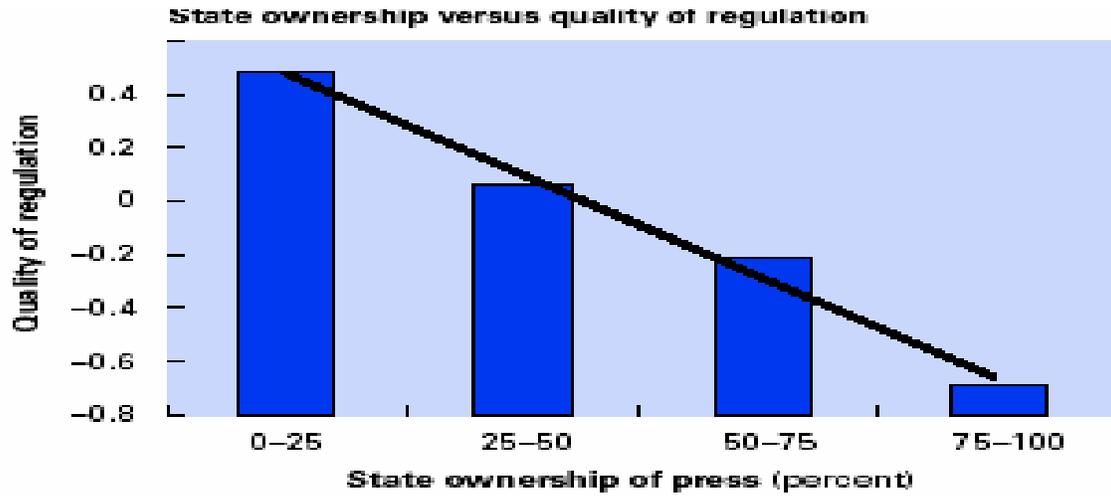
State Media Ownership and Government Effectiveness

State media ownership and low competition are associated with poor outcomes



⁸ Djankov et al., *op cit.*

State Ownership and Quality of Regulation



Note: The figure reports data on state ownership of the top five newspapers, adjusted by share of circulation.
Source: Djankov, McLiesh, and others 2001, *World Development Report 2002* background paper.