

## MEDIA MAP: A RESOURCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA WORLD WIDE

### Media Development - Annotated Bibliography

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#### The Role of the Media in Society

##### *Comparing Media Systems*

Churchill, Ewumbue-Monono (1991) The Mass Media and Regional Integration in Africa. *Africa Media Review*, 5(1): 17-35.

- This article looks at efforts at regional media integration in Africa.

Curran, James, Shanto Iyengar, Anker Brink Lund, and Inka Salovaara-Moring. 2009. [Media System, Public Knowledge and Democracy: A Comparative Study. \*European Journal of Communication\* 24\(1\): 5-26.](#)

- This article assesses the implications of movements towards entertainment-centered, market-driven media systems.

Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini. 2004. [Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.](#)

- This book proposes a framework for comparing media systems across countries. It identifies three models of the relationship between media and politics: the Polarized Pluralist, Democratic Corporatist, and Liberal models.

Hallin, Daniel, and Stylianos Papathanassopoulos. 2002. [Political Clientelism and the Media: Southern Europe and Latin America in Comparative Perspective. \*Media Culture Society\* 24\(2\): 175-95.](#)

- This article explores how political clientelistic relationships may shape the development of media systems.

Peterson, Theodore. 1956. The Social Responsibility Theory of the Press. In [Four Theories of the Press: edited by FS Siebert, T Peterson, and W Schramm. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.](#)

- In this chapter, Peterson put forward what was to become an influential theory on the role of the media in society. He asserted that the press's primary function is to serve society by providing citizens with accurate, "unbiased" information about public affairs.

Siebert, Fred S, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Lang Schramm. 1956. [Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should be and Do.](#) Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- This influential book outlines the development of four major models of the press: our major theories behind the functioning of the world's presses: (1) the Authoritarian model, which developed in the late Renaissance and was based on the idea that truth is the product of a few wise men; (2) the Libertarian model, which ascribed to the Enlightenment view that the search for truth is one of man's natural rights; (3) the Social Responsibility model, associated with "modern" Western values that the press should be objective and balanced; and (4) the Soviet Communist model which expanded the old Authoritarian model.

Sobel, Russell, Sanjukta Roy, and Nabamita Dutta, 2010. ["Beyond Borders: Is Media Freedom Contagious?" \*Kyklos\*, 63\(1\): 123-133](#)

- This paper uses economic metrics to measure how media freedom in one country affects the level of media freedom in neighboring countries. They find that a country's level of media freedom significantly depends on that of its neighbors.

Wasserman, Herman. 2006. [Globalized Values and Postcolonial Responses: South African Perspectives on Normative Media Ethics. \*International Communication Gazette\*. 68\(1\): 71-91.](#)

- This article explores the backlash in South Africa against the liberal democratic theories of the role of media in democracy.

### *Media & National Development*

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver. 2006. [Cyberspace, Globalization and US Empire. In \*Communications Media, Globalization and Empire\*, \(Ed, Boyd-Barrett, Oliver\) Eastleigh, UK: J. Libbey Pub: pp 53 - 73.](#)

- Boyd-Barrett suggests that the introduction of new communication technologies has expanded and complicated media imperialism.

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver. 1977. Media Imperialism: Towards an International Framework for the Analysis of Media Systems. *Mass Communication and Society*. 2(1): 116-135.

- This article explores the relationship between media and national development and the extent to which the media serve to reinforce patterns of cultural dependency in developing countries.

Chadha, Kalyani, and Anandam Kavoori. 2000. [Media Imperialism Revisited: Some Findings From the Asian Case. \*Media, Culture, & Society\* 22\(4\): 15-32.](#)

- This article explores how Asian countries have asserted control over their media spaces through the passage of laws, audience preference, and local competition.

- Deutschmann, Paul J, Ellingsworth Huber, and John McNelly. 1968. [\*Communication and Social Change in Latin America: Introducing New Technology\*](#). New York: Praeger.
- This book examines the contribution of community leaders to the diffusion of innovations in 14 Latin America countries.
- Freire, Paulo. 1970. [\*Pedagogy of the Oppressed\*](#). New York: Continuum.
- Freire's most famous work outlines the importance of dialogue in mitigating the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized and overcoming a "culture of silence."
- Galtung, Johan. 1971. [\*A Structural Theory of Imperialism. Journal of Peace Research 8\(2\): 81.\*](#)
- In this article, Galtung develops a theory of imperialism that posits that the world is divided into center and periphery nations. Those in power in the center pursue relationships with those in power in the periphery that further the center's dominance. Galtung's work has been applied to theories about media systems.
- Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, M Morgan, and N Signorielli. 1994. *Growing Up With Television: The Cultivation Perspective*. In *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, edited by Jennings Bryant, and Dorf Zillman. Hillsdale: Laurence Erlbaum.
- This study outlines how television's influence on society is gradual and cumulative.
- Gerbner, George, Everett E Dennis, and Yassen N Zassoursky, (eds.) 1991. *Beyond the Cold War: Soviet and American Media Images*. New York: Sage.
- This edited volume compares the influence of media cultivation on the Soviet Union and the United States.
- Golding, Peter. 1974. [\*"Media Role in National Development: Critique of a Theoretical Orthodoxy."\*](#) *Journal of Communication*. 24(3): 39-53.
- This article posited that colonial-era stereotypes remained prevalent in theories about media development.
- Hamelink, Cees J. 1983. [\*Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications: Planning National Communication Policy\*](#). New York: Longman.
- This book outlines the threats to third world countries of cultural synchronization and suggests methods of improving cultural autonomy through information policy.
- Katz, Elihu and Paul Felix Lazarsfeld. 1955. [\*Personal Influence: the Part Played By People in the Flow of Mass Communications\*](#). Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

- One of the most influential books in the development of communication theory. It posited that information flows through a two-step flow, from the mass media, to opinion leaders, who then influence the broader public.

Katz, Elihu, and Tamás Szecskío (Ed.). 1981. [\*Mass Media and Social Change\*](#). London: Sage.

- Essays in this edited volume explore whether the media are the mirrors or the molders of societies.

Katz, Elihu, and Eberhard G. Wedell. 1977. [\*Broadcasting in the Third World: Promise and Performance\*](#). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Through a study of broadcasting in 11 countries, this book explores the reality behind the rhetoric of the modernity paradigm in media development.

Lee, Chin Chuan. (1979) *Media Imperialism Reconsidered: The Homogenizing of Television Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

- Lee compares the media imperialism perspective with the free flow of information perspective surrounding the MacBride debates through case studies of Canada and Taiwan.

Lee, Paul S (1988) Communication Imperialism and Dependency: A Conceptual Clarification. *Gazette*, 41(2): 69-83.

- This article compares the conceptual differences between communications imperialism, media imperialism, and cultural imperialism.

Lerner, Daniel. 1958. [\*The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East\*](#). Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

- Sometimes called the bible of development communication, this book helped to launch the modernity paradigm of media and development.

Lerner, Daniel, and Wilbur Schramm. 1967. [\*Communication and Change in the Developing Countries\*](#). Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

- Papers of a conference sponsored by the Institute of Advanced Projects of the East-West Center in Honolulu, and held Aug. 17 - Sept. 11, 1964.

Liebes, Tamar and Elihu Katz. 1990. [\*The Export of Meaning: Cross-Cultural Readings of Dallas\*](#). New York: Oxford University Press.

- A seminal work in the area of audience analysis, this book explores how different societies around the world respond differently to the television show Dallas.

MacBride, Seán. 1980. [\*Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society Today and Tomorrow: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order\*](#). Paris: Kogan Page/UNESCO.

- A 1980 UNESCO publication written by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, chaired by Irish Nobel laureate Seán MacBride. The report called for a New World Information and Communication Order. Following its publication both the United States and the United Kingdom withdrew from UNESCO.

Mattelart, Armand. (1979) *Multinational Corporations and the Control of Culture: The Ideological Apparatuses of Imperialism*. Sussex Atlantic Highlands, N.J: Harvester Press.

- This book examines the power of corporations over the international flow of culture.

Mattelart, Armand. 1976. *Communication and Cultural Domination*. White Plains, N.Y: International Arts and Sciences Press.

- This book explores how national communication policies in developing countries might counter foreign cultural domination.

McPhail, Thomas L. 1987. [\*Electronic Colonialism: The Future Of International Broadcasting And Communication\*](#). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Written after McPhail completed work with UNESCO, the book explores how the proliferation of media in the developing world was leading to a new form of empire.

Melkote, Srinivas R. 1991. *Communication for Development in the Third World: Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Sage.

- Published by a prominent Indian scholar, this book analyzes the evolution of development communication studies from a non-Western perspective.

Melkote, Srinivas R, and H. Leslie Steeves. 2001. [\*Communication for Development in the Third World: Theory and Practice for Empowerment\*](#). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- This book updates Melkote (1991) with literature on development communication produced during the 1990s.

Mohammadi, Ali (1995) Cultural Imperialism and Cultural Identity. In *Questioning the Media: A Critical Introduction*, (Eds, Downing, John, Mohammadi, Ali & Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 362-378.

- This chapter examines how deregulation of media, technological shifts, and the growing power of the IMF/World Bank shape communication flows in developing countries.

[Park, Myung-jin and James Curran. \(Ed.\). 2000. De-Westernizing Media Studies. New York: Routledge.](#)

- Through a series of case studies in countries around the world, this edited volume explores the failure of existing media theory to adequately explain relationships between the media and society in non-Western contexts.

Price, Monroe E. 2002. *Media and Sovereignty: The Global Information Revolution and Its Challenge to State Power*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

- This book examines how states attempt to intervene in the information spaces of other states and at the varying responses to those intrusions.

Riley, John W & Schramm, Wilbur Lang. (1951) *The Reds Take a City: The Communist Occupation of Seoul, With Eyewitness Accounts*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

- This book documents the communist occupation of Seoul through interviews.

Rogers, Everett M. 1969. [\*Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication\*](#). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.,

- Through an examination of five Columbian villages, the book explores the role of mass communication in the modernization process.

Rogers, Everett M. 1962. [\*The Diffusion of Innovations\*](#). New York: Free Press.

- This book posited that innovations diffuse through society in an S curve. Attitudes towards technology (e.g. media) can influence this rate of diffusion. Therefore technology can play an important role in development.

Schiller, Herbert. 1976. [\*Communication and Cultural Domination\*](#). White Plains, NY: International Arts and Sciences Press.

- This book looks at how national communication policies may inhibit foreign cultural domination.

---- (2000) [\*Digitised Capitalism: What Has Changed? In Media power, professionals, and policies\*](#), (Ed, Tumber, Howard) London: Routledge: pp. 116 - 126.

- This book chapter examines how media deregulation around the world has further privileged the Global north.

Schramm, Wilbur Lang. 1964. [\*Mass Media and National Development; the Role of Information in the Developing Countries\*](#). Paris: UNESCO.

- This book, considered one of the foundational texts of the modernity paradigm of media development, outlined the importance of modern communications systems for achieving economic and social development goals.

Schramm, Wilbur Lang. 1964. *Mass Media and National Development; the Role of Information in the Developing Countries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press and UNESCO.

- The academic version of a similar text written for and published by UNESCO.

Sparks, Colin. 2007. [\*Globalization, Development and the Mass Media\*](#), London: Sage.

- This book provides a historical overview of theories about media development and media's role in achieving development goals.

UNESCO. 2007. [\*Media, Communication, Information: Celebrating 50 Years of Theories and Practice\*](#). Paris: UNESCO.

- This collection includes reports prepared for the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the International Association of Media and Communications Researchers Conference, held in Paris in 2007.

Ya'u, Yunusa Z (2005) Globalisation, ICTs, and the New Imperialism: Perspectives on Africa in the Global Electronic Village (Gev). *Africa Development*, 30(1): 98-124.

- Ya'u argues that African states are experiencing a new form of dominance from Western nations through the spread of ICTs controlled by the World Bank and the WTO.

### **Perspectives on the Practice of Media Development**

#### *General*

Berger, Guy. 2008. "[Problematizing 'Media Development' as a Bandwagon gets Rolling](#)" presented at the Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Chicago, 9 August 2008.

- This paper questions the normative assumptions behind media development and instead suggests practitioners focus on media mobilization and media density.

Global Forum for Media Development. 2005. *Media Matters. Perspectives on Advancing Governance and Development from the Global Forum for Media Development*. Internews Europe.

- Media Matters is an edited compilation of essays by practitioners and scholars around the world about the importance of media development.

Fair, Jo Ellen. 1989. [29 Years of Theory and Research on Media and Development: The Dominant Paradigm Impact](#). *International Communication Gazette* 44(2): 129.

- This article documents the dominance of the modernity paradigm in nearly three decades of research on media development.

Graves, Peter. 2007. [Independent Media's Vital Role in Development](#). Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

- This report provides examples of how access to information has transformed political, economic, and social systems. It shows what can happen when conditions allow independent media to operate and flourish.



- Howard, Ross. 2003. [\*International Media Assistance: A Review of Donor Activities and Lessons Learned \(Working Paper Series 19\)\*](#). The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael.
- This report examines the role of the media in democratic transition as part of the Clingendael project: Democratic Transition in Post-Conflict Societies. Building Local Institutions.
- Hume, Ellen. 2003. [\*Media Assistance: Best Practices and Priorities: Report on a USAID Workshop\*](#). Working Paper No. 4. Washington DC: Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination.
- This work examines the tensions that can arise between public diplomacy efforts and promoting the development of independent, indigenous media.
- Hume, Ellen. 2004. [\*The Media Missionaries: American Support for Journalism Excellence and Press Freedom Around the Globe\*](#), John S. and James L. Knight Foundation.
- This paper tries to identify where money was spent and what lessons were learned after a decade of American media development assistance.
- Hyman, Gerald F. 2008. [\*Assessing Secretary of State Rice's Reform of U.S. Foreign Assistance in Carnegie Papers Democracy and Rule of Law Program 90\*](#).
- This paper examines Bush Administration policies regarding foreign assistance and media development.
- Jacobson, Thomas. 2008. Media Development and Speech in the Public Sphere in [\*Media Matters Section 1: Why Media Matters: Global Perspectives\*](#) (Annenberg Reader).
- This paper asks if a Western style press should be a universal goal of national development.
- Kaplan, David. 2008. [\*Empowering Independent Media: U.S. Efforts to Foster Free and Independent News Around the World\*](#). Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.
- This report provides an in-depth assessment of American media assistance efforts abroad.
- Kumar, Krishna. 2009. [\*One Size Does Not Fit All: Objectives and Priority Areas for Media Assistance in Different Societies\*](#). Washington, DC: The Center for International Media Assistance.
- This paper recommends media development strategies be differentiated based on the type of society being targeted for media development assistance: authoritarian states, democratizing countries, war-torn societies, and post-conflict societies.



- Kumar, Krishna. 2006. [\*Promoting Independent Media: Strategies for Democracy Assistance\*](#). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Focusing heavily on USAID media assistance projects (an organization for which Kumar works), this volume documents the range of media assistance programs linked to democracy promotion.
- Kumar, Krishna. 2004. *USAID's [\*Media Assistance: Policy and Programmatic Lessons\*](#)*. PPC Evaluation Working Paper No. 16. Washington, DC: USAID.
- This paper evaluates the success of USAID media assistance programs.
- LaMay, Craig L. 2007. [\*Exporting Press Freedom: Economic and Editorial Dilemmas in International Media Assistance\*](#). New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers.
- This book explores the history and practice of media assistance programs and examines their links to foreign policy agendas.
- Miller, James. 2009. [\*NGOs and 'Modernization' and 'Democratization' of Media: Situating Media Assistance\*](#). *Global Media and Communication* 5(1): 9-33.
- Miller suggests that media assistance practitioners rarely critically reflect on their activities and evaluate the underlying assumptions behind their activities.
- Neil, Garry. 2006. [\*Policy Review: Assessing the Effectiveness of UNESCO's New Convention on Cultural Diversity\*](#). *Global Media and Communication* 2(2): 257-62.
- This article explores the debates surrounding the signing of the UNESCO convention.
- Olson, Ann. 2008. [\*The Role of Media-Support Organizations and Public Literacy. Strengthening Independent Media Worldwide: A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance\*](#). Washington, DC: CIMA.
- This paper argues that media assistance must focus on media literacy in order to encourage societies with newly developed or developing independent media to value the role an independent media plays in Democratic societies.
- [Price, Monroe E., Bethany Davis Noll, Daniel DeLuce. 2002. Mapping Media Assistance. Oxford: Programme in Comparative Media Law & Policy.](#)
- This paper maps media assistance donors and investors in order to determine where money is being spent, how it is being spent, and if any effective strategies or patterns emerge from the map.
- Putzel, James and Joost van der Zwan .2006. *Why Templates for Media Development do not Work in Crisis States: Defining and Understanding Media Development Strategies in Post-War and Crisis States*. London: Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science.

- This report presents the findings from a joint CSRC, Annenberg School for Communication, and Stanhope Centre workshop on media development in crisis states.

Souter, David. 2010. [\*Towards Inclusive Knowledge Societies: A Review of UNESCO's Action in Implementing the WSIS Outcomes\*](#). Paris: UNESCO Information and Communication Sector.

- This report outlines UNESCO's successes and failures in implementing WSIS reforms.

Tettey, Wisdom J. 2006. [\*The Politics of Media Accountability in Africa: An Examination of Mechanisms and Institutions\*](#). *International Communication Gazette* 68(3): 229-48.

- This article outlines various mechanisms for media accountability in countries around Africa.

### *Broadcasting*

Banda, Fackson. 2006. [\*Negotiating Distant Influences: Globalization and Broadcasting Policy Reforms in Zambia and South Africa\*](#). *Canadian Journal of Communication*. 31(2): 459-467.

- This article examines the impact of deregulation, privatization, commercialization, communitarianism, and technological convergence on broadcasting in Zambia and South Africa.

Gilboa, Eytan. 2002. "Global Communication and Foreign Policy." *Journal of Communication* 52:731-48.

- This study investigates the effects global communication is having on the formulation and conduct of foreign policy and shows that it both constrains leaders and officials yet provides them with opportunities to advance their goals. The article presents a taxonomy where global communication is viewed as an actor in the policy process with corresponding attributes of type, activity, context, and concept.

Horan, Deborah. 2010. [\*Shifting Sands: The Impact of Satellite TV on Media in the Arab World\*](#). Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

- Horan notes the positive impact of satellite television on the Arab media environment.

Nelson, Michael. 1997. *War and the Black Heavens: The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

- Nelson reviews the role of surrogate international broadcasting during the Cold War and finds that American-supported radio efforts Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were essential to the formation and organization of

political opposition groups behind the Iron Curtain able to eventually challenge Communist rule and establish stable transitions to democratic governance.

Nisbet, Erik C., Nisbet, Matthew C., Scheufele, Dietram A., and Shanahan, James E. 2004. "Public Diplomacy, Television News, and Muslim Opinion." *Press/Politics* 9(2): 11-37.

- This study tests competing claims regarding the sources of anti-American sentiment with a special focus on the impact of television news and finds that attention to TV news coverage contributes significantly to anti-American perceptions and that the type of TV network to which individuals turn for their news has either amplifying or buffering effects on the main effects of attention to news coverage.

Orme, Bill. 2010. [Broadcasting in UN Blue: The unexamined Past and Uncertain Future of Peacekeeping Radio](#). Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

- Orme looks at the dominance of peacekeeping radio in conflict countries in Africa and critiques the deployment and hasty removal of previous UN stations.

Teer-Tomaselli, Ruth. (2001). Who is the community in a community radio: A case study of community radio stations in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. In K. Tomaselli & H. Dunn (Eds.), *Media, Democracy and Renewal in Southern Africa: New Approaches to Political Economy*. Colorado Springs, CO: International Academic Publishers.

- This book chapter documents the first wave of findings from a study conducted between 1999 – 2004 exploring the linkages between stations and their communities.

Teer-Tomaselli, Ruth. and Thembisa. Mjwacu (2003) 'Developing Communicative Competence: The Potentials and Limitations of Community Radio. A Comparative Case Study within Kwa-Zulu Natal', pp. 79–97 in N. Malmelin (ed.) *Välittämisen tiede. Viestinnän näkökulmia yhteiskuntaan, kult-tuuriin ja kansalaisuuteen*, Dept of Communication, Publication No. 8. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

- This book explores the successes and failures of community radio in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

Teer-Tomaselli, Ruth, and Keyan G. Tomaselli. 1994. [Broadcasting: Media and Democracy During Transition in South Africa](#). Paper delivered at Media and Democracy Conference, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, January.

- The authors present the results of South African broadcasting policy as a test of theories of media and democracy.

## *Funding Media Development*

Becker, Lee B., and Tudor Vlad. 2009. ["Funding for Freedom of Expression Organizations: Report of a Survey of IFEX Members."](#) James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research.

- This report focuses on where funding comes from and the difficulties IFEX members face with regard to funding and budgeting.

Becker, Lee B., and Tudor Vlad. 2005. ["Non-U.S. Funders of Media Assistance Projects."](#) Report prepared for the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation.

- This paper examines 70 non-U.S. funders of media assistance projects, splitting them into three groups: foreign governments, NGOs, and multinational organizations.

Graves, Peter. 2007. [\*Funding of Independent Media Development Abroad: A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance.\*](#) Washington, DC: National Endowment for Democracy.

- This is a survey report of U.S. media development aid regarding sources of funding.

Green, Andrew. 2009. [\*Challenges to U.S. Government Support for Media Development.\*](#) Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

- This report examines shortfalls in the U.S. Government's ability to support media development and offers solutions to address the shortfalls.

Myers, Mary. 2009. [\*Funding for Media Development by Major Donors Outside the United States.\*](#) Washington, DC: CIMA.

- This report addresses four questions: How much are European and other governments and donors spending on international media development? Where is the money going? What sort of development is it being spent on? What are the trends in terms of donor priorities and approaches?

----. 2007. "Donor Support for Media Development: The Demand for Accountability" Paper for the Uppsala University Conference: "Whose Voices? Media and Pluralism in the Context of Democratisation" September 20-21, 2007 at the Collegium for Development Studies Uppsala University.

- This paper examines donor policies related to media development and examines some donor experiences with regard to media development assistance.

Nelson, Anne. 2009. ["Experimentation and Evolution in Private U.S. Funding of Media Development."](#) Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

- According to this report, new technology donors are replacing traditional revenue sources for American media.

## *Journalism: Professionalization and Training*

- Becker, Lee B., and Wilson Lowrey. 2000. "[Independent Journalism Training Initiatives: Their Impact on Journalists and Journalism Education.](#)" Paper read before the Professional Education Section, International Association for Media and Communication Research, Singapore, July 2000.
- This conference paper looks at journalism training programs using a case study of the Knight International Press Fellowship Programs.
- Colmery, Ben, et. al., .2009. "There Will Be Ink: A study of journalism training and the extractive industries in Nigeria, Ghana and Uganda" Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.
- A team of six students from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, working with IPD Journalism training director Anya Schiffrin surveyed media coverage of the extractive sector and interviewed African journalists who had training in business and economic reporting.
- De Beer, Arnold S., and Keyan G. Tomaselli. 2000. [South African Journalism and Mass Communication Scholarship](#): Negotiating Ideological Schisms. *Journalism Studies* 1(1): 9-33.
- This article presents a historical overview of the development of journalism research in South Africa.
- Fritz, Plasser. 2005. [From Hard to Soft News Standards?: How Political Journalists in Different Media Systems Evaluate the Shifting Quality of News.](#) *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics.* 10(2): 47-68.
- This academic study compares how Austrian and American journalists assess news quality.
- Kaplan, David E., 2007. [Global Investigative Journalism: Strategies for Support.](#) Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.
- This report explores the rapid growth of investigative journalism overseas and suggests ways to best support and professionalize its practice in developing and democratizing countries.
- Presnall, Aaron et. al. 2007. [An Imperative to Innovate: Sustainable Journalism Training in Central and Eastern Europe, Final Report to the Knight Foundation.](#) Jefferson Institute.
- This report details the successes and failures of journalism training programs in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania.
- Richter, Andrei. 2008. [Post-Soviet Perspective on Censorship and Freedom of the Media.](#) *International Communication Gazette* 70: 307-24.

- This article explores how media laws influence journalism in twelve post-Soviet states.

Rockwell, Rick and Krishna Kumar. 2003. "[Journalism Training and Institution Building in Central American Countries.](#)" USAID Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination. Washington, DC: USAID.

- This paper critically evaluates the Latin American Journalism Project (LAJP) and The Center for Latin American Journalism (CELAP) effectiveness as promoting journalism norms and democratization in Latin America.

Uche, Luke Uka. 1991. [Ideology, theory and professionalism in the African mass media.](#) *Africa Media Review* 5(1): 1-16.

- This article suggests a 12-stage process for identifying the ideology of particular media systems in Africa.

### *Media, Law, and Policy*

Braman, Sandra. 2006. [Change of State: Information, Policy, and Power.](#) Boston, MA: MIT Press.

- In this book, Braman outlines how the United States government uses information policy to assert domestic and international political power.

Becker, Lee B., C. Ann Hollifield, Adam Jacobsson, Eva-Maria Jacobsson, and Tudor Vlad. 2009. "[Is More Always Better? Examining the adverse effects of competition on media performance.](#)" *Journalism Studies* 10(3): 368-385.

- This paper challenges the classic market theory notion that more competition among media outlets is better for consumers in developing media environments by showing that high levels of competition do not serve the goals of media development.

Buckley, Steve et. al. 2008. [Broadcasting, Voice, and Accountability: A Public Interest Approach to Policy, Law, and Regulation.](#) University of Michigan Press.

- This book provides guidelines, tools, and real world examples to help assess and reform the enabling environment for media development that serves public interest goals

Chan, Joseph Man (1994) Media Internationalization in China: Processes and Tensions. *Journal of Communication*, 44(3): 70-88.

- This article explores five inter-related trends in Chinese media (1) free goods, (2) trade regulation, (3) competition, (4) demonstration, and (5) cooperation.

CIMA Working Group. 2007. [Toward Economic Sustainability of the Media in Developing Countries.](#) Washington, DC: The Center for International Media Assistance.

- This working group paper seeks to guide policymakers on how to improve U.S. foreign assistance with respect to economic sustainability of free and independent media.

CIMA Working Group. 2007. [Media Law Assistance: Establishing an Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media to Flourish](#). CIMA Working Group Report.

- This report gives recommendations to policymakers on how to improve U.S. foreign assistance with respect to the legal enabling environment for free and independent media.

Djankov, Simeon D., Caralee McLeish, Tatiana Nenova, and Andrei Shleifer. 2001. ["Who Owns the Media?"](#) The World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 2620.

- This paper examines patterns of media ownership in countries around the world.

Dutta, Nabamita & Roy, Sanjukta. 2008. ["The Role of Foreign Direct Investment on Press Freedom"](#), MPRA Paper 10185, University Library of Munich, Germany.

- This paper argues that foreign direct investment in a media sector enhances media freedom.

Fairbairn, Jean. 2009. ["The Business of Changing Lives,"](#) *Internews Community Media Sustainability Guide*.

- This report focuses on how community media can achieve sustainability by responding to the unique needs of the community the media serves.

Hollifield, C. Ann., Lee B. Becker, and Tudor Vlad. 2006. ["The Effects of Political, Economic and Organizational Factors On the Performance of Broadcast Media in Developing Countries,"](#) Political Communication Research Section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research, Cairo, Egypt, July 2006.

- This paper examines how newly independent media in developing nations face increased market competition from private networks as they shift from state controlled media to public service broadcasting.

Horwitz, Robert Britt. 2006. [Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa](#). 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Based on research commissioned by the ANC government, this book documents the role of South African communications policy in its democratic transition.

Jannusch, A. Sofie, ed. 2006. ["Money Matters. How Independent Media Manage to Survive."](#) 2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium *Forum Medien und Entwicklung*.



- This report includes pieces from the participants in the German Forum Medien und Entwicklung (Media and Development) Symposium of the same name.

Lange, Yasha and Thomas Hughes. 2007. [\*A Handbook on Best Practices: Building Sustainability for Media Centres\*](#). Copenhagen: International Media Support.

- This paper presents the results of a workshop on media centers. In undertaking this workshop, it was recognized that all media centers are unique. The participating institutions represented media centers at differing stages in their development and performing varied roles, from lobbying for media policy reform to providing training opportunities and producing media publications. Nevertheless, despite these differences, there are considerable similarities and therefore scope for sharing knowledge.

Mendel, Toby. 2008. [\*Freedom of Information: A Comparative Legal Survey\*](#). Paris: UNESCO.

- Commissioned by UNESCO, this volume examines the legal hurdles to information rights.

Price, Monroe E. and Peter Krug. 2002. [\*The Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media: Contribution to Transparent and Accountable Governance\*](#). USAID Office of Democracy and Governance Occasional Papers Series. Washington, DC: USAID.

- This paper identifies the main components of the legal environment that enable media to advance democratic goals.

Price, Monroe Edwin, Beata Rozumilowicz, & Stefaan Verhulst. (2002) *Media Reform: Democratizing the Media, Democratizing the State*. London: Routledge.

- This edited volume includes chapters from participants from scholars and practitioners such as Naomi Sakr, Jack Qiu, and Monroe Price on the role of media in political transition.

### *Monitoring and Evaluation of Media Development Programs*

Banda, Fackson, and Guy Berger. 2008. [\*How to Assess Your Media Landscape\*](#). Grahamstown, South Africa: Global Commission for Media Development (GFMD).

- Commissioned by the Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD), this report surveys the available tools and indicators for assessing media development programs.

Becker, Lee B. 2007. [\*“Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Media Monitoring.”\*](#) Keynote Address delivered to the Conference, On Media Monitoring–The Media and Their Contribution to Democracy, organized by Swiss GIS, Swiss

- Center for Studies on the Global Information Society at the University of Zurich, June 29-30, 2007.
- This lecture transcript examines difference aspects of the methodology of evaluating the success of media development assistance and programs.
- Becker, Lee and Tudor Vlad. 2009. [“Validating Country-Level Measures of Media Freedom with Survey Data.”](#) Paper presented to Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research, Chicago, IL, November 20 & 21, 2009.
- This work examines the reliability and validity of measures of press freedom.
- Becker, Lee B., Tudor Vlad, and Nancy Nusser. 2007. [“An Evaluation of Press Freedom Indicators.”](#) *International Communication Gazette* 69(1): 5-28.
- This paper evaluates the Freedom House, Reporters sans frontieres, IREX, and Committee to Protect Journalists press freedom measures and offers suggestion for their use by future researchers.
- Burgess, John. 2010. *Evaluating the Evaluators: Media Freedom Indexes and What They Measure*. Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.
- This report evolved out of a workshop at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania in November 2007 on “Measuring Press Freedom and Democracy: Methodologies, Uses, and Impact.” This report provides a narrative evaluation of existing indicators and incorporates the findings presented at the 2007 workshop.
- Danida. 2007. [Technical Advisory Note: Monitoring and Indicators of Communication for Development](#). Copenhagen: Denmark Department of Foreign Affairs.
- This technical assistance note is designed as a M&E resource for Danida’s employees and contractors working on communication development.
- Davis, Alan. 2009. *Monitoring & Evaluation in Media Development: A Discussion Paper*. Washington, DC: Institute for War and Peace Reporting.
- This paper lays out 5 steps the media development community should take to establish a system of monitoring and evaluation.
- . 2005. “Monitoring & Evaluation,” *Media Development: A Discussion Paper*. Washington, DC: Institute for War and Peace Reporting.
- This paper lays out ways in which the media development sector can more effectively monitor and evaluate its efforts.
- De Luce, Dan. 2003. [Assessment of USAID Media Assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1996–2002](#). USAID Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination. Washington, DC: USAID.
- This paper is a critical assessment of USAID’s efforts to build and strengthen independent media in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the two-fold objective of

implementing the Dayton Peace Accords and promoting democratization in the country.

DFID. 2005. [Monitoring and Evaluations Information and Communication Development \(ICD\) Programmes. Guidelines](#). London: DFID.

- This document provides guidelines for monitoring and evaluation for those working on communication development programs with the Department for International Development.

Fust, Walter. 2008. [“Media Development Indicators: A Framework for Assessing Media Development”](#) International Program for the Development of Communication IPDC at its 26th session, 26-28 March 2008.

- The paper suggests five major categories of indicators that can be used to analyze the media development of a country.

GAO Report. 2005. [“Independent Media Development Abroad Challenges Exist in Implementing U.S. Efforts and Measuring Results”](#) Report to the Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. Washington, DC: GAO.

- The report focuses on how the U.S. government lacks specific measurement tools to gauge the impact of U.S. media development.

Global Fund for Media Development. 2010. “Media Sector Assessment: Towards a Toolkit,” Pilot Study.

- This paper provides guidance on data sources, existing tools, and analysis of data for either comprehensive assessment or evaluation or for analysis of specific subsectors of the media.

Holtz-Bacha, Christina. 2004. [“What is “good” press freedom? The difficulty of measuring freedom of the press worldwide”](#) Paper delivered at the International Association for Media and Communication Research .IAMCR, Porto Alegre/Brazil, July 25-30.

- This paper explores the difficulties of comparing press freedom across national boundaries.

Hyman, Gerald. 2000. [Conducting a DG Assessment: A Framework for Strategy Development](#). USAID Technical Publication Series. Washington, DC: USAID.

- This handbook was developed to enhance the ability of strategic objective teams—those USAID officers and their partners responsible for program management—to monitor progress in achieving planned results and use performance information to guide program implementation.

List, Dennis. (2005) *Know Your Audience: A Practical Guide to Media Research*. Wellington, NZ: Original Books.

- Written by Dennis List, founder of Audience Dialogue, this book is designed for media development professionals conducting media research, particularly those working in developing countries.

Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA). 2003. [Gender and Media Baseline Study \(GMBS\)](#). Johannesburg: MISA & Genderlinks.

- MISA in collaboration with Gender Links conducted the Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) in 12 SADC countries during September 2002 and published the results in March 2003.

Mody, Bella. (1991) *Designing Messages for Development Communication: An Audience Participation-Based Approach*. New Delhi: Sage.

- This book outlines evaluation techniques featuring audience privation.

Mosher, Andy. 2009. [Good, But how Good?: Monitoring and Evaluation of Media Assistance Projects](#). Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

- Mosher examines the different forms of M&E, the growing popularity of logframes, and the challenges associated with popular metrics.

Mytton, Graham. (1992) *Handbook on Radio and Television Audience Research*. Paris: UNESCO.

- First published in 1992, this training manual in audience research has been republished several times and in multiple languages.

Norris, Pippa & Dieter Zinnbauer. 2002. [Giving Voice to the Voiceless: Good Governance, Human Development & Mass Communications](#). Human Development Report Office. Occasional Paper.

- This report suggests a typology for comparing media access and freedom across countries.

Puddephatt, Andrew. 2008. [“Diagnostic Tools and Performance Indicators”](#) Paper 1.2 in *The Role of the News Media in the Governance Reform Agenda* Co-sponsored by the CommGAP Program at the World Bank and the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at HKS.

- This paper assesses the media development indicators developed by UNESCO (see UNESCO, 2008).

Puddephatt, Andrew. 2007. *Defining Indicators of Media Development: A Background Paper*. Paris: UNESCO.

- This background paper was prepared as a resource for UNESCO’s development of media development indicators (see UNESCO, 2008).

UNESCO. 2008. [Media Development Indicators: A Framework for Assessing Media Development](#). Paris: UNESCO.

- This report puts forward five major categories of indicators and a number of sub-indicators that can be used to analyze the media development in a specific country.

Wanchek, Natasha, and Lynn Carter. 2010. *Indicator Gap Analysis: Media Draft*. Washington, DC: USAID.

- This report critically assesses indicators like MSI, UNESCO, and Freedom House and suggests that much work is left to be done.

## **Media's Influence on Development**

### *General*

Guseva, Marina, Mounira Nakaa, Anne-Sophie Novel, et al. 2008. ["Press Freedom and Development: An Analysis of Correlations Between Freedom of the Press and the Different Dimensions of Development, Poverty, Governance and Peace."](#) Paris: UNESCO.

- This paper argues that freer press can contribute to achievement of the Millennium Development Goals and to attainment of an acceptable and viable level of development and that a free press constitutes an instrument of development as such, in the same way as education or investment.

Jensen, Robert & Oster, Emily (2009) *The Power of TV: Cable Television and Women's Status in India*. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124(3): 1057-1094.

- This paper explores the effect of the introduction of cable television on gender attitudes in rural India. Using a three-year individual-level panel dataset, it finds that the introduction of cable television is associated with improvements in women's status, including significant increases in reported autonomy, decreases in the reported acceptability of beating and decreases in reported son preference. The effects are large, equivalent in some cases to about five years of education in the cross section, and move gender attitudes of individuals in rural areas much closer to those in urban areas. These results have important policy implications, as India and other countries attempt to decrease bias against women.

La Ferrara, Eliana, Chong, Alberto, and Duryea, Suzanne. 2008. "Soap Operas and Fertility: Evidence From Brazil." Bureau for Research and Economic Analysis of Development Working Paper 172.

- This study examines fertility choices in Brazil, a country where soap operas (novelas) portray families that are much smaller than in reality. Using Census data for the period 1970-1991, the authors found that women living

in areas covered by a Globo cable signal have significantly lower fertility rates. The study suggests that novelas, and not just television, affected individual choices.

Panos London. 2007. [“Common Knowledge: How access to information and ideas can drive Development.”](#) London: Panos.

- This briefing outlines the main arguments supporting knowledge as a tool for development, focusing on the key sectors shaping and influencing people’s lives.

Panos London. 2007. At the Heart of Change: [The Role of Communication in Sustainable Development.](#) London: Panos.

- This paper explores how ICTs can give ‘voice’ to the poor and contribute to more sustainable development.

#### *Media, Democratization, & Good Governance*

Abdi, Jamal and James Deane. 2008. [“The Kenyan 2007 Elections and Their Aftermath: The Role of Media and Communication.”](#) London: BBC World Service Trust.

- This paper is a case study of the role of media in the disputed 2007 Kenyan elections.

Adsera, Alicia, Carles Boix, and Mark Payne. 2000. [“Are you being served?: Political Accountability and Quality of Government.”](#) Inter-American Development Bank Research Department.

- This paper examines political accountability mechanisms by examining levels of corruption and effective governance across nations using newspaper readership as the dependent variable to explain the distribution of corrupt practices and ineffective governance.

Anable, David. 2006. [The Role of Georgia’s Media--and Western Aid--in the Rose Revolution.](#) *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 11 (3): 7-43.

- This article assesses the role of media and media assistance in the 2003 transition of power in Georgia.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Behr, Roy L & Iyengar, Shanto. (1993) *The Media Game: American Politics in the Television Age.* New York Toronto: Macmillan Maxwell Macmillan Canada.

- This seminal academic work in political communication studies considers the impact of negative advertising on American elections.

Aspen Institute Forum on Communications and Society. 2008. [“Media and Democracy.”](#) August 10-12, 2008. Aspen, CO: Aspen Institute.

- This report summarizes the results of the 2008 Aspen Forum on Communication and Society on Media and Democracy.

Aspen Institute. 2001. [Sustaining Media Pluralism in Democratizing Societies: A Report of the Second Annual International Roundtable on Journalism and Free Expression](#). Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

- Craig LaMay serves as rapporteur. The report summarizes discussions on the role of media in democratic transition in Chile, Indonesia, and elsewhere.

Barnett, Clive. 1999. [The Limits of Media Democratization in South Africa: Politics, Privatization and Regulation](#). *Media Culture Society* 21(5): 649-71.

- This article documents the impediments to democratic reform of the South African media system.

Bennett, W. Lance, Regina G Lawrence, and Steven Livingston. 2007. [When the Press Fails: Political Power and the News Media From Iraq to Katrina](#). Vol. Studies in communication, media, and public opinion, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- This academic book notes that the American journalism largely failed in its coverage of Iraq because of its tendency to “index” the opinions of dominant politicians rather than produce original watchdog reporting.

Berger, Guy. 1998. [Media & Democracy in Southern Africa](#). *Review of African Political Economy* 25(78): 599 - 610.

- Berger examines the tensions between northern depictions of media and democracy and those in South Africa.

----. 2002. [Theorizing the Media-Democracy Relationship in Southern Africa](#). *Gazette* 64(1): 21-45.

- Berger applies more general theories about media and democracy to the southern African case.

----. 2005. “Modernisation and Africa’s emerging engagement with the Information Society.” Paper presented to conference “AfroGEEKS: Global Blackness and the Digital Public Sphere”, University of California, Santa Barbara. May 19 – 25, 2005.

- Berger argues that the contemporary debate about the digital divide in Africa mirrors the modernization discourse of the Bretton Woods School.

Bertelsen, Dale A (1992) Media Form and Government: Democracy as an Archetypal Image in the Electronic Age. *Communication Quarterly*, 40(4): 325-337.

- This article concludes that media form (i.e. technology) and governance are inter-related.



Besley, Timothy and Robin Burgess. 2001. [Political Agency, Government Responsiveness, and the Role of Media](#), *European Economic Review*. 45: 639–640.

- In this article, Besley and Burgess look at the role of the media in enhancing governmental responsiveness to public needs and concerns.

Besley, Timothy and Robin Burgess. 2002. [“The Political Economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India.”](#) *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117: 1415-1452.

- The authors look at how media in India can promote democratic accountability.

Besley, Timothy and Andrea Prat. 2006. [Handcuffs for the Grabbing Hand? Media Capture and Government Accountability](#), *American Economic Review*. 96(3): 720–736.

- This article suggests that there are certain features of a media system that can influence the extent to which the media can promote democratic accountability.

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

- This study analyzed the relationship between media organizations, the government and its foreign policies. Cohen predicted that the growth of mass media would continue to impact the policymaking process, and laid the groundwork for theories of the media’s ability to shape foreign policies (now discussed as the so-called “CNN Effect”).

Coffey International Development. 2007. *The Role of Communication in Governance: Detailed Analysis*. London: Coffey International Development.

- The aim of this paper is to examine the role (both positive and negative) that communication plays in promoting good governance.

Carothers, Thomas. (1999) *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

- Carothers critically examines the successes and failures of different development activities related to democratization including: governance reform, election support, and promoting independent media.

Curran, James & Leys, Colin (2000) *Media and the Decline of Liberal Corporatism in Britain*. In *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, (Eds, Park, Myung-Jin & Curran, James) London: Routledge.

- Curran examines the structural relationships between media and the British political system.

- DFID. 2002. "The Media in Governance: A guide to assistance. Developing free and effective media to serve the interests of the poor." London: Department for International Development.
- This guide attempts to help government and development agencies to better support media development with the goal of ameliorating poverty.
- Finkel, Steven, Anibal Perez-Linan, Mitchel A. Seligson, and C. Neal Tate. 2008. ["Deepening Our Understanding of the Effects of US Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building. First and Final Reports."](#) Washington, DC: US aid.
- This report examines quantitative data of USAID to foreign countries and the development of a free press and democratization.
- Hackett, Robert A. & Zhao, Yuezhi (2005) Media Globalization, Media Democratization: Challenges, Issues, and Paradoxes. In ["Democratizing Global Media: One World, Many Struggles,"](#) (Eds, Hackett, Robert A & Zhao, Yuezhi) Lanham, Md.:Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- This edited volume contains pieces by journalists and academics exploring the media democracy relationship in the context of the proliferation of global media.
- Hafez, Kai. 2005. Arab Satellite Broadcasting: ["Democracy Without Political Parties?"](#) *Transnational Broadcasting Studies* Fall.
- In this article, Hafez questions the extent to which satellite broadcasters can provide a proxy for real democratic debate within Arab countries.
- Hallin, Daniel. 2000. ["Media, Political Power & Democratization in Mexico. In \*De-Westernizing Media Studies\*,](#) edited by James Curran, and M. Park. London: Routledge.
- This chapter looks at the relationship between the media and the state in Mexico and their role in promoting democratic transition.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Huntington predicted that the growth in use of mass media technologies would foster a new wave of democratization in authoritarian and post-Soviet states.
- Hyden, Goran & Leslie, Michael (2002) Communications and Democratization in Africa. In *Media and Democracy in Africa*, (Eds, Hyden, Goran, Leslie, Michael & Ogunimu, Folu Folarin) New Brunswick, NJ:Transaction Publishers, pp. 1-28.
- This is the introductory chapter to the authors edited volume on the relationship between media and democratization in Africa.
- Inglehart, Louis Edward. 1998. *Press and Speech Freedoms in the World, From Antiquity Until 1998: A Chronology*. Westport, CN: Greenwood.

- Covering prehistoric times to mid-1998, this book provides a year-by-year report of the efforts to free the press throughout the world. Inglehart provides a thorough overview of free press and free speech principles and the continuing effort to extend those freedoms almost everywhere.

Islam, Roumeen. 2003. [“Do More Transparent Governments Govern Better?”](#) *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3077*.

- This paper explores the link between information flows and governance or institutional quality. Economic theory expounds on the importance of information on economic outcomes either through its direct effect on prices and quantities or through its effect on other factors such as institutions and the quality of governance.

Iyengar, Shanto. 1991. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- This study outlines how mass media technologies and television in particular fundamentally alter how political opinions are formed, and in fact are counterproductive towards achieving real, tangible political accountability.

Iyengar Shanto, and Kinder, Donald R. 1987. *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Experimental design demonstrates the media has the ability to set the national agenda, prime what people think is important within issues, and frame the way we think about the world.

Jacobs, Sean. 2002. [How Good is the South African Media for Democracy? Mapping the South African Public Sphere After Apartheid](#). *African and Asian Studies*. 1(4): 279-302.

- Jacobs argues that the democratic potential of South African media reforms have been undermined by broader movements towards neoliberal economic policies.

Keane, John. 1991. [The Media and Democracy](#). London: Polity.

- Keane looks at the origins of modern free press ideals and examines the extent to which they have been undermined during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

Kivikuru, Ullamaija (2006) Top-Down Or Bottom-Up?: Radio in the Service of Democracy: Experiences From South Africa and Namibia. *International Communication Gazette*, 68(1): 5-31.

- This article considers two different for a for giving voice to the voiceless, radio and parliamentary representation. Kivikuru examines two case studies, South African community radio and its support apparatus, Democracy Radio, and the Namibian People’s Parliament.

- Knight Commission. 2009. [\*Informing Communities: Sustaining Democracy in the Digital Age\*](#). Report of the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Digital Age. Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute.
- This report examines how American Fourth Estate journalism has been challenged by the rise of new media.
- Leeson, Peter. 2008. [\*Media Freedom, Political Knowledge, and Participation\*](#). *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 22(2): 155–169.
- This paper examines the relationship between media freedom from government control and citizens' political knowledge, political participation, and voter turnout.
- Lewis, Orion. 2006. [\*How the News Media Balances International, Political and Economic Pressures\*](#). Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association April 14, 2006.
- This paper analyzes political and economic pressures that affect media liberalization in China.
- Lines, Kathy. 2009. [\*Governance and the Media: a Survey of Public Opinion\*](#). London: BBC World Service Trust.
- Lines summarizes the results of an elite opinion poll about the role of the media in promoting good governance.
- Lowenstein, R. (1970). Press freedom as a political indicator. In H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill (Eds.), *International Communication, Media, Channels, Functions* (pp. 129-142). New York: Hastings House, Publishers.
- "Lowenstein created his own measure of World Press Freedom, in 1966 and 67. In this book chapter he argues that 'A completely free press is one in which newspapers, periodicals, news agencies, books, radio and television have absolute independence and critical ability, except for minimal libel and obscenity laws. The press has no concentrated ownership, marginal economic units or organized self-regulation.'"
- McCombs, Maxwell E. and Shaw, Donald L. 1972. "The Agenda Setting Function of the Mass Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36: 176-87.
- This book synthesizes hundreds of scientific studies carried out on this central role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion and argued that across the world the mass media strongly influences what the pictures of public affairs "in our heads" are about. In addition to describing this media influence on what we think about and how we think about it, the study also discusses the sources of these media agendas, the psychological explanation for their impact on the public agenda, and the subsequent consequences for attitudes, opinions and behavior.

- McConnell, Patrick J. and Lee B. Becker. 2002. [“The Role of the Media in Democratization.”](#) Paper presented to the Political Communication Section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research. Barcelona, July 2002.
- This paper looks at changes in the role of the media in democratization over time, noting a longitudinal trend towards increasing cynicism.
- McLoughlin, Claire, and Zoe Scott. 2010. [Topic Guide on Communications and Governance.](#) Washington, DC: World Bank CommGap & Governance and Social Development Resource Center.
- This guide explores the principal debates surrounding the relationship between communications, government accountability and responsiveness, and state-society relations in developing countries.
- Moehler, Devra C. 2010. [Democracy, Governance, and Randomized Development Assistance.](#) *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* 628(1): 30-46.
- The article reviews recent and ongoing DG field experiments, and offers lessons about the prospects and obstacles to the future development of a useful body of experimental evidence on the political economy of development.
- Nixon, R. (1960). Factors related to freedom in national press systems. *Journalism Quarterly*, 37, 1: 13- 28.
- Nixon finds evidence that there is a relationship between press freedom and literacy and annual income.
- Norris, Pippa. 2006. [“The Role of the Free Press in Promoting Democratization, Good Governance, and Human Development Democratization,”](#) Paper presented at the UNESCO meeting on World Press Freedom Day: Media, Development, and Poverty Eradication, Colombo, Sri Lanka 1-2 May 2006
- This paper examines the role of a free press in strengthening good governance, democracy, and human development and finds a free press does matter for a range of indicators of good governance, and it is integral to the process of democratization.
- Norris, Pippa. 2010. [Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform,](#) The World Bank.
- This book examines the role that free and independent media can play in good governance.
- Rozumilowicz, Beata. [Democratic Change: A Theoretical Perspective](#) in *Media Reform: Democratizing the media, democratizing the state. Annenberg Reader.* Philadelphia: Annenberg School for Communication.

- This paper reviews competing definitions of “democracy” and “media reform”, and identify how these definitions influence the ability of the media to aid democratization.

Scheufele, Dietram. 2000. “Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication,” *Mass Communication and Society* 3: 297-316.

- This article calls for a reformulation of relevant research questions and a systematic categorization of research on agenda-setting, priming, and framing. An analytic model is developed that to serve as a guideline for future research in these areas.

Sen, Amartya. (2001) *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Drawing upon examples from India and the former USSR, Sen argues that individual freedom is the ultimate goal of development.

Stiglitz, Joseph. 2008. [“Fostering an Independent Media with a Diversity of Views.”](#) *in Information and Public Choice: From Media Markets to Policymaking*, R. Islam, ed., World Bank: Washington, DC: pp. 139-152.

- This chapter looks at the political incentives to providing distorted information that undermines democratic practice and how this can be overcome by better regulation and policy.

Tomaselli, Keyan G., and Ruth E. Teer-Tomaselli. 2008. [Exogenous and Endogenous Democracy: South African Politics and Media](#). *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 13(2): 171-80.

- This article examines the 2007 annual congress of the ruling African National Congress in light of the history of media-state relations during and after the political transition

USAID. 1999. [The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach](#). Washington, DC: Center for Democracy and Governance.

- The strategic approach presented in this paper offers guidance to USAID missions, rather than any blueprint, for making choices about which media activities might be most appropriate in a given context.

Wasserman, Herman, and Arnold S. De Beer. 2005. [A Fragile Affair: The Relationship Between the Mainstream Media and Government in Post-Apartheid South Africa](#). *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 20(2/3): 192-208.

- This article explores the tensions between the media and government in the first ten years of South African democracy.

Weaver, Donald L., Graber, Doris A., McCombs, Maxwell E., and Eyal, Chaim H. 1981. *Media Agenda-Setting in a Presidential Election*. New York: Praeger.

- This study found that the media's primary impact in shaping the outcome of democratic elections was in its ability to place particular issues on the public agenda, or alternatively, to keep particular issues off the public agenda by focusing on other (less controversial) topics.

Winston, David (2004). "Digital Democracy and the New Age of Reason," *Democracy and New Media*, eds. Jenkins and Thorburn. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- This study argues that the growing use of the Internet will inevitably challenge government's abilities to control their information environments, resulting in a more robust global civil society.

### *Media & Economic Development*

Coyne, Christopher J. and Peter T. Leeson. 2004. ["Read All About It! Understanding the Role of Media in Economic Development,"](#) *Kyklos*. 57: 21-44.

- This paper discusses how media development affects economic development.

Coyne, Christopher J. and Peter T. Leeson. 2008. ["Media as a Mechanism of Institutional Change and Reinforcement"](#) Paper presented at the Association of Private Enterprise Education Meetings, Las Vegas, NV, April 6-8, 2008.

- This paper argues that mass media is a mechanism of institutional evolution and identify three important effects media has on institutions: gradual, punctuation, and reinforcement.

Djankov, Simeon; Islam, Roumeen; and McLiesh, Caralee. 2002. "Media Ownership and Prosperity." In ["The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development,"](#) Washington, D.C.: The World Bank Institute.

Islam, Roumeen. Eds. 2002. ["The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development,"](#) Washington, D.C.: The World Bank Institute.

- This edited volume contains contributions from major thinkers in the field including Joseph Stiglitz, Robert McChesney, and Edward Herman about the role of media in promoting economic development.

James, Barry. 2006. ["Media Development and Poverty Eradication,"](#) Paper presented at a UNESCO-sponsored conference in Colombo, Sri Lanka marking World Press Freedom Day on May 3, 2006.

- This paper argues for better linkages between media development and poverty eradication efforts.

Stiglitz, Joseph. 1999. ["On Liberty, the Right to Know, and Public Discourse: The Role of Transparency in Public Life."](#) Paper presented as the 1999 Oxford Amnesty Lecture, Oxford, U.K.



- This lecture transcript outlines the economic and social benefits of greater transparency of government.

----. 1985. [Information and Economic Analysis: A Perspective](#). *The Economic Journal*. 95: 21-41.

- This article provides an update on Stiglitz's 1975 book chapter on the same topic.

----. 1975. "Information and Economic Analysis." In M. Parkin and A.R. Nobay, eds., *Current Economic Problems*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

- This chapter looks at the failures of traditional supply and demand theories about information and economic development.

World Bank. 2002. Chapter 10: The Media in [World Development Report 2002: Building Institutions for Markets](#). Washington, DC: World Bank.

- This chapter outlines the benefits of a flourishing media sector for commerce, public health, and governance.

### *Media, War, & Conflict*

Aspen Institute Forum on Communications and Society. 2004. [In Service of the Truth and the Common Good: The Impact of Media on Global Peace and Conflict](#). Aspen: Aspen Institute.

- This report documents the conclusions of a round table on peace and conflict and the media. It also explores the tensions between competing conceptions of "truth" in conflict situations.

BBC World Service Trust. 2009. [The Role of Media in Fragile Situations: A research dialogue across disciplines](#). Report of research symposium, Stanmer House, Brighton UK, January.

- This report summarizes the results of a multi-day conference on the current and potential role of the media in crisis states.

Brooten, Lisa. 2006. [Political Violence and Journalism in a Multiethnic State: A Case Study of Burma \(Myanmar\)](#). *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 30 (4): 354-73.

- Using Burma as a case study, this article evaluates whether the primary role of journalists in conflict situations should be objective reporting or facilitating conflict resolution.

Putzel, James and Joost van der Zwan. 2006. ["Why Templates for Media Development do not Work in Crisis States: Defining and Understanding Media Development Strategies in Post-war and Crisis States."](#) London: Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science.

- This paper looks at media development strategies in strong and weak states, how those strategies transform public authority and the practice of politics, media regulation in fragile states, and how to develop effective media strategies for fragile states.

### *Media for Development*

BBC World Service Trust. 2010. [Africa Talks Climate Change: The Public Understanding of Climate Change in Ten African Countries](#). London: BBC.

- This executive report summarizes the results of a multi-country study of African attitudes towards climate change. It is the introduction to a larger BBC project called [Africa Talks Climate](#) designed to promote education about climate change through communications for development.

BBC World Service Trust. 2008. [Left in the dark: The unmet need for information in humanitarian responses](#). London: BBC World Service Trust.

- This policy brief highlights the need for greater attention to media for development projects geared towards information provision in humanitarian disasters.

Cohen, Jon, Laurie Zivetz and Mia Malan. 2008. [Training Journalists to Report on HIV/AIDS – Final Evaluation of a Global Program](#). September. Washington, DC: Internews Network.

- This report assesses the USAID funded Local Voices project, which trained journalists in developing countries how to improve and expand their coverage of HIV/AIDS.

Inagaki, Nobuya. 2007. [Communicating the Impact of Communication for Development](#). World Bank working paper no. 120. Washington, DC: World Bank.

- The paper highlights the empirical evidence of communication's impacts within development programs, and presents current trends in theoretical underpinnings and communication approaches. The paper proposes areas of further research to address theoretical and research gaps in the field.

Servaes, Jan E. 1999. *Communication for Development: One World, Multiple Cultures*. Cresskill: Hampton Press.

- This book documents the evolution in post-war thought about development and communication and identifies the various options in communication policymaking and communication research.

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- This edited volume explores the different approaches to entertainment education.

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- This study examined the efficacy of HIV prevention messages in the entertainment education soap opera Twende na Wakati in Tanzania. It found that soap opera viewing was associated with reduced number of sexual partners and moderately increases in condom usage.

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- This report calls for better M&E of ICT for development projects.

Yoder, P. Stanley, Hornik, Robert & Chirwa, Ben C. (1996) Evaluating the Program Effects of a Radio Drama About Aids in Zambia. *Studies in Family Planning*, 27(4): 188-203.

- This study examined the effects of a radio drama on improving knowledge about HIV/Aids among Bemba speakers in Northern Zambia. It found that during the 9 months of the broadcast, overall knowledge about Aids in the sample population increased dramatically, but failed to identify the extent to which this increased knowledge resulted from the program alone.

### *New Media*

Bambauer, Dereck. 2006. Cool Tools for Tyrants. *Legal Affairs* January/February 5.

- Bambauer argues that contrary to popular wisdom, ICTs have offered authoritarian governments new tools for surveillance.

Berger, Guy. 2007. Background Paper: New Media and Press Freedom in the Developing World. Paper delivered at New Media: The Press Freedom Dimension. Challenges and Opportunities of New Media for Press Freedom. Sponsored by the World Press Freedom Committee, co-sponsored by

UNESCO, in partnership with the Coordinating Committee of Press Freedom Organizations, and The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, at Paris.

- This paper examines the different challenges to press freedom posed by old and new media.

Clinton, Hillary. 2010. [Remarks on Internet Freedom](#). The Newseum, Washington, DC, January 21.

- In January 2010, Clinton asserting that the “right to connect” is a fundamental human right.

Goldsmith, Jack, and Time Wu. 2008. *Who Controls the Internet? Illusions of a Borderless World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- This book argues that the Internet is not necessarily a challenge to the concept of sovereignty, and that in actuality governments and corporations govern the Internet and are thus able to control its uses and functions to their own benefits, perhaps at the detriment to the development of global civil society.

Howard, Philip N. 2010. *The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy demonstrates how, since the mid-1990's, information technologies have had an integral role in political transformation: many young democracies have become more entrenched and durable; some authoritarian regimes made significant transitions towards democratic institutions and practices; others became less authoritarian, hybrid regimes where information technologies support the work of particular actors such as state, political parties, journalists, or civil society groups. Indeed, across the 74 cases studied, having a comparatively active online civil society proved to be both a necessary and sufficient cause of transitions out of authoritarianism. Moreover, having a state with a well-developed information and communication infrastructure was both a necessary and sufficient cause of institutional entrenchment in countries that were already emerging democracies.

Innis, Harold. 1950. *Empire and Communications*. Toronto, Canada: Dundurn Press Limited.

- *Empire and Communications* is one of Innis's most important contributions to the debate about how media influence the development of consciousness and societies. In this seminal text, he traces humanity's movement from the oral tradition of preliterate cultures to the electronic media of recent times. Along the way, he presents his own influential concepts of oral communication, time and space bias, and monopolies of knowledge.

International Telecommunications Union. (2010). [Core ICT Indicators 2010](#). ITU Partnership on Measuring ICT for Development.

- This proprietary report provides internationally comparable data on information and communication technology in different countries.

Kalathil, Shanti. 2008. ["Scaling a Changing Curve: Traditional Media Development and the New Media."](#) Washington, DC: The Center for International Media Assistance.

- This paper presents recommendations on how media development programs can take advantage of new media.

Lagerkvist, Johan (2005) The Rise of Online Public Opinion in the People's Republic of China. *China: An International Journal*, 3: 119-130.

- Lagerkvist explores whether online forums in China demonstrate the hallmarks of civil society.

McMahan, David T, and James W Chesebro. 2003. Media and Political Transformations: Revolutionary Changes of the World's Cultures. *Communication Quarterly* 51 (2): 126-53.

- This book suggests that a relationship exists between the dominant communication technology of a nation-state and the controlling political structure and process of a nation-state.

Morozov, Evgeny. 2009. "Think Again: Twitter." *Foreign Policy*, Aug 6.

- This article argues that Twitter and other new media technologies were actually more harmful than helpful for organizing Iranian political opposition groups in the aftermath of Iran's disputed elections in June 2009.

Morozov, Evgeny. 2010. "Why the Internet is Failing Iran's Activists." *Prospect* 166.

- This article argues that the hype surrounding the role of new media technologies in fostering political opposition to authoritarian regimes—In Iran in particular—is counterproductive, and that governments are adapting quickly to regain control over digital information spaces, such as the Internet.

Movius, Lauren B. 2009. Surveillance, Control, and Privacy on the Internet: Challenges to Democratic Communication. *Journal of Global Communication* 2 (1): 209-24.

- This article reviews the threats to democracy poised by new ICTs.

Zuckerman, Ethan. 2010. Talk at TED Global 2010. Oxford, UK.

- This speech suggests that the true impact of the growing global access to the Internet is not necessarily political, but rather social, and that scholars should focus on examining the long-term, subtle impact that Internet usage has on social habits and norms.