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A Consideration of Development Journalism

In the Context of Rwandan Newspapers, 2013

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A Consideration of Development Journalism

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Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Texas at Austin
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May, 2014

A Consideration of Development Journalism

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Twenty years after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the country of Rwanda continues to struggle to realize successful strategies for national development. Development journalism is a widely practiced media model that implements theories of communication for development. Through content analysis of two Rwandan daily newspapers, one an independent English language newspaper and the other a government-owned Kinyarwanda language newspaper, this study examined the form that development journalism takes in Rwanda to understand more about the way it was implemented in the country, the historical, cultural, and structural challenges by development journalism and media more broadly in Rwanda; and the potential for development journalism to impact national development. Strong support was found for government sponsored pro-market programs demonstrating modernization and dependency theories of development rather than a pro-poor, participatory development and communication strategy.

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Introduction

Economic development remains a fundamental concern for much of the world, with development goals remaining elusive, and the success of many development strategies unclear. While journalism research in the developed world increasingly focuses on new media technologies, much of the world's population continues to struggle with basic needs and often lacks means of access to even old media technologies such as newspapers and radio. If journalism does in fact influence society, and journalism research is not to further increase gaps between the haves and the have-nots in an information society and become simply a myopic consideration of marginal impacts at the technological cutting edge, there remains an important place for study of fundamental principles that apply to new and traditional technologies alike. Among those fundamental questions, the role that journalism can or does play in national economic development persists unanswered, and thus critical. This paper continues the inquiry into the role of journalism in national development by examining its practice in the developing East African nation of Rwanda.

Development journalism is a journalism method that aims to promote improvements in living conditions for people in developing countries. The model rests on a foundation of development and communication theories, and has evolved with those theories. Development journalism has been defined in part by its departures from traditional Western journalism, and those differences have at times made it

controversial. The development journalism model, and research on its potential impact on society, had its hey-day in the 1970s and 1980s (Vilanilam, 1979; Mckay, 1993). In the decades since, practice and research have continued fitfully as media, governments, and scholars strive to find successful strategies to improve the lives of millions of people around the world. In order for development journalism to contribute to societal improvement in countries like Rwanda, renewed vigor is needed in research to understand the processes through which development communication can be effective.

Background

The small East African country of Rwanda became a focus of the world's attention when its centuries-long simmering ethnic conflict and civil war of the 1990s exploded into genocide during 100 days in the summer of 1994. As many as one million ethnic Tutsi and politically moderate Hutu Rwandans were killed in violence planned and perpetrated by ethnic Hutu extremists. The brutal events were the result of hundreds of years of ethnic division exasperated by decades of European colonial policies focused on political control and economic development, and infamously enabled to some extent by the country's mass media (Beyene, 2012).

Ethnic and socioeconomic class divisions in the modern Rwanda date from the 15th century, when Tutsi herdsmen established hegemonic control over Hutu farmers. The monarchic Tutsi *umwami* king eventually ruled the hierarchical Rwandan society through a strict patron-client system that subjugated the Hutu lower classes of farmers and laborers to the will of the wealthier Tutsi cattle owners. The historical meanings of the terms Tutsi and Hutu and their political significance were not fixed racial or tribal traits, but fluid and based in economic status rather than ethnicity before being "substantially altered within the context of the colonial state" (Newbury, 1988, p. 10).

Rwanda's colonial history began in the late 19th century, and though not long, had direct and indirect, but frequently negative, consequences that have repercussed to the present. Landlocked and inaccessible, Rwanda was first colonized by Germany,

which introduced the earliest plans for economic development by seeking to build a railroad to increase trade, income, and ultimately taxes. As a result of the First World War, Rwanda became a Belgian colony from 1916 to 1962.

The Belgians continued the Germans' emphasis on economic development. Belgian officials "agreed that economic development in Rwanda was essential, and that it could take place only if the administration gained firmer control over the kingdom" (Dorsey 1994, p. 14). They established that firmer control through enforcement and manipulation of the *umwami* monarch's power. While enabling a high degree of control, however, the historical patron-client system was not conducive to economic efficiencies. Belgian attempts at promoting efficiencies in agricultural production and trade through the 1920s and 1930s began to erode the economic and political controls that the Tutsi patrons (*shebuja*) wielded over their Hutu clients (*abagaragu*). Modernization schemes aimed at improving production centered in the Hutu population heightened ethnic divisionism, and “because of the Belgian development policy, Hutu became both the impetus and the central components for the formation of development capital" (Dorsey 1994, p. 19; and Newbury, 1988).

With increased Hutu economic autonomy came increased political power, and in Rwanda's first municipal elections in 1960, the Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu (Movement of Hutu Emancipation Party, PARMEHUTU) political party won the majority of seats. A 1962 referendum abolished the monarchy and established Rwanda

as a republic led by President Gregoire Kayibanda, the PARMEHUTU party leader who had previously been a newspaper editor. King Kigeri V, who had assumed power less than three years earlier following the mysterious death of longtime monarch King Mutara Rudahigwa III, fled into exile.

Internal and regional political conflicts marked Rwanda's first republic. Tutsi who had fled the country before independence invaded from Burundi in 1963, and the government's response killed an estimated 10,000 Rwandan Tutsi and sent many more thousands into exile. In 1973, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana took power from Kayibanda in a bloodless coup, and the new ruling party became the Mouvement Revolutionnaire National pour le Developpement (National Revolutionary Movement for Development, MRND). Economic development remained slow and frequently hampered by border conflicts with neighboring countries.

A single party political system remained in place until the 1990s when the political process began opening to multi-party participation. One effect of this democratization was that "as new political parties emerged, new journals with an extremely critical voice entered the fray and not without consequences" (Dorsey, 1994, p. 32). Privately owned newspapers such as *Ijambo*, *Kanguka*, *Isibo*, and *Kangura*, that were associated with political movements, began openly fomenting dissent and conflict.

In 1990, at the request of the Rwandan government, the World Bank implemented the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) focused on reducing Rwanda's

dependency on production of coffee, the country's main cash crop, and increasing efficiency in agricultural production and energy production with the goal to increase the country's gross domestic product. Writing in 1993, historian Dorsey stated, "despite the war and civil unrest, the country's most pressing problems are still economic development, food security, and population density" (1994, p. 35).

On April 6, 1994, a plane carrying President Habyarimana was shot down above Kigali by still-unknown attackers. That event triggered plans by Hutu extremists to begin the systematic and brutal elimination of the Tutsi from Rwanda.

News Media in the Genocide and Beyond

While it has been debated whether the Rwandan media played a causal role in the 1994 Genocide, it is commonly held that the role of news media was at the very least a key in facilitating the killing (Thompson, 2007; Carver, 1996, cited in Mironko, 2007; Beyene, 2012). Two media outlets in particular, the newspaper *Kangura* and radio station Radio-Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) were implicated in perpetrating the Genocide. Leadership of each media organization was convicted of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Hassan Ngeze, founder and editor of *Kangura*, and Ferdinand Nahimana and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, founders and managers of RTLM, were found guilty of acts of genocide and crimes against humanity. In its legal findings, ICTR said that "through fear-mongering and hate propaganda,

Kangura paved the way for genocide in Rwanda, whipping the Hutu population into a killing frenzy," and that "a specific causal connection between the RTLM broadcasts and the killing of [Tutsi individuals and their families]—either by publicly naming them or by manipulating their movements and directing that they, as a group, be killed—has been established" (ICTR, 2003, p. 292). Among the news media activities cited in the judgment was the cover of *Kangura* No. 26[1] that answered the question "What Weapons Shall We Use To Conquer The *Inyenzi* Once And For All" with the graphic of a machete.

As noted above, opening the political process to multiple parties in 1990 resulted in a proliferation of private news outlets. Beyene (2012) identified three contributing structural factors in the media's promotion of genocide: ownership, journalism training, and market segmentation. Media outlets that were implicated in the Genocide were privately owned with strong ties to political parties; there was a complete lack of professional and ethical journalism training in Rwanda; and the segmented media market failed to provide audiences with diverse and critical perspectives.

Rwandans' experience with the media and the Genocide resulted in a public suspicious of media motives, and a lack of media credibility (Beyene, 2012). As Kanuma proposed, "Because many in Rwanda's news media were willing accomplices in the dissemination of the ideology of mass murder, today the press is in the unenviable

[1] An image of the *Kangura* No. 26 cover is attached as Appendix 1.

position of being trusted less by most people than the government" (2006, p. 22). A Reporters Without Borders report noted that "Rwanda's media is still haunted by the mass killing of its Tutsi population in 1994 and the big part played in preparing and carrying it out by media outlets" such as *Kangura* and RTLM (2011). The process of national reconstruction and peace-building involved "a total change in the media, with the appearance of English-language publications and growth of a Kinyarwanda-language media," (RWB, 2011) but the Genocide's legacy has had a negative impact on press freedom because of government restrictions on perceived dissent and incitement.

State of Media in Rwanda.

Building a professional media infrastructure has been an ongoing challenge in Rwanda. The country has had a short history of mass media. Newspapers have been the longest established news media outlets. *Kinyamateka*, begun in 1933 by the Catholic Church, was Rwanda's oldest newspaper until it ceased publication in 2013. The government newspaper *Imvaho* ("Truth") began publication in 1959 (Kabuye, 2012). The English-language *The New Times*, founded in 1995, has advertised itself as the country's first daily newspaper, an accomplishment less than 10 years old.

Before the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, there was no professional school of journalism in Rwanda, and the country had no tradition of formal journalism education or training (Thompson, 2007). Journalists were either trained on the job, or in fewer

instances, outside the country. The first professional journalism program was established in 1996 at the National University in Butare, but "its original curriculum was very theoretical and focused on the role of the media—not the formation of journalists" (Thompson, 2007, p. 25). As recently as 2009, Patrice Mulama, executive secretary of Rwanda's Media High Council, remarked that of the more than 400 registered Rwandan journalists, only 27 percent have "some journalistic training" (Haba, 2009, p. 4).

Since 2002, media in Rwanda have been overseen by the Media High Council (formerly the High Council of the Press). The Media High Council (MHC) has described itself as "an independent public institution whose primary responsibility is to promote and protect media freedom and regulate the media by ensuring respect of the law and professional code of ethics in Rwanda" (Media High Council (MHC), 2010-2011, p. 5). The MHC controls accreditation of journalists (in 2010 there were 141 accredited print journalists, about 30 percent of the total accredited journalists) and media licensing (33 licensed print media outlets, with only one outside Kigali), and arbitrates complaints for such things as defamation or intimidation. A focus of the MHC is to emphasize the media's contribution to national unity and reconciliation. MHC has expressed its belief that media at this stage of Rwanda's socioeconomic development should be "informative (an informed citizenry is a catalyst to socio-economic growth), educative and entertaining at the same time" (2012, p. 18).

The Media High Council could have a critical role in addressing Rwandan's mistrust of media based on the country's historical experience of hate propaganda and incitement to violence. According to Beyene, countries with "press councils and journalism training are more likely to regulate such undesirable behavior and discourse" (2012, p. 16). The establishment of the Media High Council and annual reports on the state of the media may be aimed at addressing such distrust of the media as well as the government's tendency to silence critical voices under the guise of suppressing hate speech.

The Rwandan government has been widely considered to be antagonistic toward press freedom, though there have been signs of improvement. In its 2013 country report on Rwanda, Freedom House rated the press "Not Free" and gave poor marks on the legal, political, and economic environment of the media. Freedom of the press is guaranteed by Article 34 of the Rwandan constitution, but Freedom House noted that "other clauses broadly define circumstances under which these rights can be restricted, and in practice the media remain under the tight control of the government" (Freedom House, 2013). As described by Freedom House, this control takes the form of strict regulations and accreditation and licensing requirements.

The Freedom House report illustrates the media dilemma in Rwanda; in order to address the historical experiences of unregulated, untrained and untrusted media, the government instituted controls that have been viewed as antithetical to the free

practice of the press. But some scholars feel that extra controls may at times be necessary, that "Africa needs a condition where subversive elements from outside will not be permitted to perform disruptive communication" (Lee, 1986, p. 189). Rwanda's historical experience with unfettered private media development resulted in media outlets that fomented discontent and, ultimately, violence. Beyene (2012) noted Western democracies also have free speech limitations, for example with incitement to violence not accepted speech. In the Rwandan context, that balance has been more delicate ethnically and politically and has resulted in conditions where any speech that promotes disunity or hate could be considered incitement. Freedom House noted that the government had made "progressive amendments" to its 2009 media law, but that significant limitations and periodic abuses of the press persist.

The result has contributed to an uncertain media environment. Much of the focus on media within Rwanda has been on sustainable enterprise models, freedom, and responsibility from an indigenous African perspective (MHC, 2012, p. 13). Rwandan President Paul Kagame also has expressed his sentiment on the importance of unbiased local journalism over "misrepresentation" from outside journalists (MHC, 2012, p. 13). Significant structural challenges remain a reality for indigenous Rwandan media, especially for non-government-supported outlets. Kanuma stated that "the independent press has never earned money and so it can afford neither the staff, the infrastructure… nor the capacity to publish newspapers or broadcast on a regular basis," trapping

independent media "in a vicious cycle of poverty" (2006, p. 22). Underpaid journalists may be susceptible to corruption and influence by large investors or the government. Rwanda has experienced regular media outlet failures resulting from high production costs, low circulation, lack of advertising revenue, and government intervention. In 2012, there were "several dozen" publishers registered with the government, though "only about 10 of them published regularly" (Freedom House, 2013).

A 2010 study by Search for Common Ground, a nongovernmental organization focused on conflict prevention, presented the difficult conditions for newspaper publishers in Rwanda. While almost half of survey respondents nationally never read a newspaper, only 5 percent nationally read a newspaper every day, with a slightly higher 7 percent of respondents in the capital Kigali. This result was qualified, however, by the fact that many newspapers are not published every day. Another 14 percent read a newspaper more than once a week, and 33 percent once a week or less. In contrast, 77 percent of respondents listened to the radio every day or nearly every day. Of the four most frequently read newspapers in 2010—*Imvaho Nshya*, *Umuseso*, *The New Times*, and *Kinyamateka*—only two, *Imvaho Nshya* and *The New Times*, continued to publish through 2013.

Low readership numbers for newspapers in Rwanda, however, belie the relative importance that the medium has maintained for agenda-setting in the country. The relative proportion of the news hole in newspapers as opposed to the high

entertainment content of radio and television, for example, yields an outsized possibility for agenda-setting by newspapers. The High Council of the Press's Rwanda Media Monitoring Project (RMMP) in 2004 reported that of 16 media outlets in all formats, two newspapers, *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*, carried by far the most news items, more than double the number on the national Radio Rwanda (p. 9). Pollock et al. noted that newspaper circulation was growing annually in Africa, and that newspaper coverage was particularly relevant because "newspapers set news agendas for broadcast media (e.g. radio) to communicate broadly to the public" (2010, 10). While newspapers may be considered elite media, they nonetheless "play a very important agenda-setting role" (Haque, 1986, p. 86) for other media.

Historically, newspapers' role in agenda-setting was illustrated during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Between 1990 and 1994, "*Kangura* set a trend" that provided the media generally with "a language and tools with which to convince the population to undertake violence as a form of 'self defence'" (Kimani, 2007, p. 111). The media market in Rwanda at the time was dominated by radio, as it continues to be today, but newspapers played an important agenda-setting role. Radio broadcaster RTLM, as a strategy to animate its audience, drew from the *Kangura* newspaper with questions like "In which issue of *Kangura* will you find the sentence "We have no more Tutsi because of Kanyarengwe"? and "When did *Kangura* become the voice to wake up the majority of people and defend their interests?" and listeners were encouraged to

read issues of *Kangura* to learn more (Temple-Raston, 2005, p. 33). Before the Genocide, issues of *Kangura* were known to be widely shared, photocopied, read aloud, even framed (Kagwi-Ndungu, 2007).

The agenda-setting capacity of newspapers is very relevant for development journalism, a model of journalism practice that promotes national economic development. Salawu (2001) noted how newspapers offer functions conducive to development communication that radio and television do not. Newspapers have enduring qualities that broadcast media do not, and can be read and re-read as convenient, or stored away for future use. Salawu (2001, p. 173) quotes Nwoso that print also offers flexibility in the place, speed, and time of exposure to development news items that promotes and understanding of development as processes rather than events.

Journalism and Development in Rwanda

Journalism is recognized in Rwanda as playing an important role in national development. While there is little indication in the literature of any formal development journalism training program for Rwandan journalists, Rwandan authorities have recognized the media's role in national development. President Kagame tied the country's media reform efforts to its national development, stating, “In Rwanda, we regard the media as an important partner in our country’s development. That is why we

have made reform of the media a priority" (cited in Lootsma, 2012). Louise Mushikiwabo, minister of information, noted that the media have a responsibility to promote the government's Vision 2020, its national development plan, and stated that media ethics do not require them to "follow what the government says," but to lead in the direction the government wants to go. Vincent Karega, then minister of natural resources, also noted the media as an important contributor to development (Haba, 2009). The recognition of the importance of the press for national economic development has extended even beyond Rwanda's borders. The board chairman of the Media High Council described an aim of The African Editors Forum (TAEF), hosted in Rwanda in 2012, to "help the realization of the vision set by the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Union (AU) in evolving the continent's political and development terrain" (MHC, 2012, p. 5).

At a 2012 MHC National Dialogue on Media Development meeting, Collin Haba, managing editor of *The New Times*, stressed that the public was not interested in negative news, but the trend was for development journalism to be more profitable and that "weekend papers which carry development stories are maintaining circulation" while Western-style dailies were struggling (MHC, 2012, p. 49). Reported comments from the floor at the meeting also stressed the government's role in communicating positive development stories to the media.

Rwandan National Development

National economic development is, unsurprisingly, a priority in Rwanda. Rwanda is a small country, and with a population of 11.3 million in 2012, has one of the highest population densities in Africa. One of the poorest countries in the world, its gross national income (GNI) per capita in 2012 was US$ 570, which was more than double the 2005 GNI per capita of US$ 278 (Africa Development Bank, 2013). Rwanda's 2012 Human Development Index (HDI) rank was 167th out of 187 countries, with an HDI of 0.434 on a scale of 0 to 1. The United States, by contrast, ranked 3rd in HDI, with a score of 0.958 and GNI of US$ 43,480 (UNDP, 2013). Some three quarters of the Rwandan population was engaged in the agriculture sector. The infant mortality rate was 92.9/1000, and life expectancy was 55.7 years. The mean number of years of schooling in 2010 was 3.3.

The Rwandan national development plan is called Vision 2020. The goal of Vision 2020, inaugurated in 2000, is "to transform Rwanda's economy into a middle income country (per capita income of about 900 USD per year, from 220 USD in 2000)", which would require an annual growth rate of over 7 percent. To accomplish that growth rate, Vision 2020 aims to "transform from a subsistence agriculture economy to a knowledge-based society, with high levels of savings and private investment, thereby reducing the country dependence on external aid" (MINECOFIN, 2000). Vision 2020 emphasizes six "pillars" with three cross-cutting areas:

Pillars of the Vision 2020

1. Good governance and a capable state
2. Human resource development and a knowledge-based economy
3. A private sector-led economy
4. Infrastructure development
5. Productive and market-oriented agriculture
6. Regional and international economic integration.

Cross-cutting areas of Vision 2020

1. Gender equality
2. Protection of environment and sustainable natural resource management
3. Science and technology, including ICT

Ansoms and Rostagno (2012) examined the progress that Rwanda had made in the first decade of its Vision 2020. While they acknowledged that the country had met its GDP goal during that period, and had realized great success in effective technocratic governance and trade, Ansoms and Rostagno noted that in the first years of Vision 2020, while the percentage of the population living in poverty declined, the absolute number of people living below the poverty line actually increased, and they warned that "rising inequality seemed to be a major problem" (2012, p. 430). The focus of the plan, they stated, was on modernization, neo-liberal large-scale investment for maximum growth that failed to address issues that most directly impacted—and engaged—the poor majority. According to Ansoms and Rostagno, the government's focus on trade and business (explicit in Pillars 3, 4, and 6, but touching on all of them) meant that "poverty and inequality issues are inherent in the growth model" and contributions to broad poverty reduction "debatable" (p. 441). Even successes in good governance had focused on top-down efficiencies rather than participatory growth and feedback from the

grassroots level. As Ansoms and Rostagno described it, Rwanda had success at its development strategy, but ultimately the focus of that strategy was growth from the top rather than poverty reduction from the bottom. Such a top-down model would recall the country's historical colonial experience with development plans.

Literature Review, Development Communication and Development Journalism

Development journalism is a model for media participation in national development. Examinations of development journalism are frequently, and productively, firmly placed within the theoretical contexts of development and—encompassing the broader context in which development journalism is situated—development communication.

Development Theory

The model of development journalism has grown from and evolved with theories of development. Definitions of "development" reflect a broad uncertainty of development as a complex concept difficult to precisely define, and this vagueness reflects the many cultural and economic preconceptions or assumptions grounding any theory of development. The difficulty in defining development is reflected in a meta-analysis of development journalism studies by Fair & Shaw (1997) who found that only about one-third of studies conceptualized a definition of development. So while development and development communication literature offers no prescriptive definitions, the shifting—and sometimes contradictory—conceptions of development nonetheless provide significant insight into the development journalism model.

Leading development communication scholars Melkote & Steeves (2001) presented development conceptually in very simple form as "improving the living

conditions of society" (p. 33). Asian media scholar Cruz Quebral (1971) defined development as "the transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential" (p. 101). Domatob & Hall (1983) described development as "counteracting the dependency relationship of colonialism and promoting the supercession of the traditional, tribal-based societies by institutions supporting the new nation state" (p.) Focusing on rural development, Edeani (1993) described development as "the transformation for the better of the physical, psychological, social, economic, political, and cultural conditions of the rural populace" (p. 123).

Servaes (2004) and Melkote & Steeves (2001) each described three paradigmatic periods in the evolution of development theory. One can place the construction of each of these paradigms within a specific historical moment, but the prioritization and application of all three remain relevant. The first paradigm, beginning just after the Second World War and lasting well into the 1960s, was that of the "modernization paradigm." The modernization or "dominant" theory of development was "based on neo-classical economic theory, and promoting and supporting capitalist economic development" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, p. 34). It assumed the historical model of economic growth in the West as applicable to overcoming underdevelopment in the 20th century, where all societies pass "through similar stages, evolve to a common point:

the modern society" (Servaes, 2004, p. 57). Modernization was expressed in Rostow's controversial, and now largely outdated, five Stages of Economic Growth, ultimately achieving "the age of high mass consumption" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, p. 84).

The "dependency" paradigm marked the second historical moment in the evolution of development theory. Beginning in the post-colonial independence period, the dependency paradigm reflected the "elevation of the aspirations of the newly independent nations of the Third World for political, economic and cultural self-determination and an ideological distancing from Western forms of modernization" (Banda, 2006, p. 2). Melkote & Steeves described dependency as the "critical" paradigm, challenging the "economic and cultural expansionism and imperialism of modernization" (2001, p. 34). For development to occur under the dependency paradigm, a developing country needed to break the exploitative ties of the West and should "dissociate itself from the world market and opt for a self-reliant development strategy" (Servaes, 2004, p. 58).

The third and most recent development paradigm, termed "empowerment," (or alternatively, liberation, or emancipation), recognized the common reliance on hegemony in the modernization and dependency paradigms, and shifted the uni-directional development processes from outside-in (from the developed West to the undeveloped Third World), or top-down (from governments to the people), to multi-directional, with the local community as its foundation. As White (2004) stated, it was

increasingly agreed that "the fundamental flaw in development theory and practice is the logic which has initiatives of development process emanating from government or NGO programmes being controlled by urban-technical elites in alliance with international development agencies" (p. 7). The theory built upon Paolo Freire's writings on liberation and conscientization—the building of social consciousness—and as the name "empowerment" indicates, the paradigm re-focused the locus of power in the development process, and attempted to shift that locus from capitalist markets or national governments to the grassroots level. Empowerment proponents Melkote & Steeves (2001) proposed that "*real* change may not be possible unless we address power inequities between marginalized individuals and groups at the grassroots and those who make policy and aid decisions" (p. 36).

Development today is most often operationalized by the Millenium Development Goals (MDG) adopted by the United Nations Development Program and formally endorsed by 189 nations in 2000 (Tshabangu, 2013). The MDGs described eight development targets for 2015: 1. eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; 2. achieve universal primary education; 3. promote gender equality and empower women; 4. reduce child mortality; 5. improve maternal health; 6. combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; 7. ensure environmental sustainability; and 8. develop a global partnership for development (UNDP, 2013, p. 60). While operationalized in the MGDs, however, the UN quantifies development in its Human Development Index.

Stevenson (2004) proposed that the UN Human Development Index statistical definitions of development reverted to "near-universal acceptance of the traditional Western definition" (p. 91) of modernization theory. With the introduction of the Human Development Index by United Nations Development Program, measures of development became standardized comparisons to Western conditions, including such things as per capita gross domestic product. Unsurprisingly as a result, Stevenson noted, development remained defined by Western conditions such as the free market and democracy. The Rwandan Vision 2020 development plan also reflects a more modernization theory over participatory theory of development (Mutebi et al, 2003; Ansoms & Rostagno, 2012).

Development Communication Theory

It is a widely accepted assumption that the media play a central role in the promotion of development (Edeani, 1993, 126; Domatob & Hall, 1983, 9; Ocwich, 2010, 250; Xu, 2009, 2). Exactly what is that assumed influence, and how it occurs, has shifted with the evolution of development theory described above.

The modernization paradigm was driven by strong media effects and Rogers' (1962) diffusion of innovations theory. As development communication researchers adopted the diffusion of innovations theory, they firmly believed that "the necessary route to the development of an individual from a traditional to a modern person was

the acceptance of new ideas from sources external to the societal system" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, p. 145). Communication scholars, including Schramm, Lerner, and Pye all reflected the state of communication research at the time in promoting a one-way flow of information, described as the hypodermic needle of mass communication effects, as the preferred stimulus for development (Jacobson, 2004, 69; Murthy, 2001, 6).

That theoretical conception of communication of strong effects and diffusion remained largely intact with the emergence of the dependency paradigm of development. Critical analysis introduced concepts of political economy that didn't necessarily change the effects or processes of communication, but did result in shifting the seat of the source of communication from market or technological forces to the newly independent governments. Under the dependency paradigm, nation-building and development initiatives maintained the "two-step flow model of media influence, with the notion of 'opinion leaders' playing a key role in bringing about modernizing practices among their fellow citizens" (Banda, 2006, p. 2). Development communication, however, counted new imperatives that included promotion of formal national development agendas and national cohesion. As Lent (1978) expressed the post-colonial position of dependence:

> Because Third World nations are newly emergent, they need time to develop their institutions. During this initial period of growth, stability and unity must be sought; criticism must be minimized and the public faith in government institutions and policies must be encouraged. Media must cooperate, according to this guided press concept, by stressing positive, development-inspired news,

> by ignoring negative societal or oppositionist characteristics and by supporting governmental ideologies and plans (p. 12).

Berger (1997) suggested that development communication theory that proposed such a government-media partnership to "successfully stimulate social improvement, political stability, and economic growth" (p. 13) was largely unsuccessful in practice owing to its hijacking by government propaganda. A further result was that development communication became "mired in the shrill UNESCO debates concerning cultural imperialism, Third-World dependency, and Western media hegemony in the 1970s and 1980s" (Berger, 1997, p. 14). Those debates coalesced around UNESCO's New World Information and Communication Order that pitted newly independent developing nations against the West in an attempt to rebalance unequal power in international communication.

The empowerment development paradigm introduced into development communication the participatory model. That resulted in the possibility of a dramatic shift in development communication processes, if not a clearly formulated new development communication process[2]. Under the modernization or dependency paradigms, a classical "extension" process was employed that would transmit or diffuse new technologies or improved practices to the uninformed rural poor. Instead of the

[2] Servaes (2004, 58), for example, has termed the empowerment paradigm "another development," highlighting that "there is no universal path to development, and that development must be conceived as an integral, multidimensional, and dialectic process which can differ from one society to another."

transmission value of communication, the empowerment paradigm, by contrast, stressed the organizational value of communication through participation at the grassroots level. Leading proponents of participation strategies in development communication Melkote & Steeves (2001, 336) described a participatory approach in which individuals and communities were engaged—perhaps by a "development support communicator" (White, 2004, p. 12)—to articulate and manage development goals rather than having them directed from the outside. Participants themselves became the change agents for development, resulting in ownership and trust in the process, and increased potential for success.

Definition(s) of Development Journalism

In a meta-research case study of 20 development journalism studies published between 1967 and 1986, Fair (1988) remarked that "in terms of conceptualizing development journalism, no consensus was found" (p. 168), citing the difficulty of applying conceptual definitions to development journalism or national development. Nearly half of the studies examined by Fair included no conceptual definition of development journalism. Of those that did, definitions included "any news that relates to the primary, secondary or tertiary needs of a country's population," "news that satisfies the needs of a country's population and contributes to self-reliance," "news that related to development or to social, economic or political problems," and, in two

cases, included positive or "good news" characteristics. Operational definitions of development journalism, on the other hand, while displaying variation, were part of most studies with "topics or categories of the news that were considered to be development journalism" (p. 169). Conceptualizing development journalism means considering journalism practice from theoretical and ethical perspectives different than those common to Western practice. Haque (1986) presented the Western media system traits as having "evolved primarily as a commercial libertarian system" with news content characteristics such as "negativity, elite individual and event orientation, emphasis on human interest, drama, conflict and so on" (p. 84). Common definitional elements of development journalism included its promotional intent, focus on process rather than events, and more recently, its participatory structure.

The promotional or "good news" quality of development journalism, in contrast to the negativity of Western media, was frequently a definitional element of the model. The development journalism model was first expressed by Alan Chalkey working with the Philippine Press Institute (Mckay, 1993; Tshabangu, 2013). Writing in a training manual for development reporters, Chalkey proposed:

> A journalist's main task is to inform, to give his readers the facts. His secondary task is to interpret, to put the facts in their framework, and where possible to draw conclusions…But you have a third task, a positive one. Perhaps the best word for it is 'promotion.' It is your job not only to give the facts of economic life, and to interpret those facts, but to promote them, to bring them home to your readers. You must get your readers to realize how serious the development problem is, to think about the problem, to open their eyes to the possible solutions – to punch a hole in the vicious circle (quoted in Mckay, 1993, p. 239).

Edeani (1993) elaborated further in his definition of development journalism as:

> the kind of journalism which pays sustained attention to the coverage of ideas, policies, programmes, activities, and events dealing with the improvement of the life of a people…and insists that reporting of and commenting on events by the mass media must be constructive and committed to the improvement of the life of the people. This orientation differs from that of Western journalism which holds that news reporting should not take any stand one way or the other but should merely present the facts and allow the people to make up their minds – the usual classical objectivity principle" (p. 126).

Development journalism didn't reject the ideal of objectivity, but assumed a social responsibility for the promotion of a development agenda. Edeani made a distinction, however, between a "developmental" journalist, who only publicizes the official dogma of government, and a true "development" journalist, who "is body and soul strongly committed to the ideals of development journalism in all its facets and to the interests of the generality of the people whose own initiatives and ideas on development are given full rein in news stories and commentaries" (p. 132).

As noted above, definitions of development journalism have over time reflected the evolution of the theory and practice of development and development communication. As a result, the definition continued to be reprioritized and refocused. Musa & Domatob (2007), for example, described development journalism as "biased toward a view of not only what the media do but also what the role of journalists ought to be in society," and that "this means such a role will be continuously renegotiated in

different societies at different times" (p. 316). Their examination of development journalism focused on the post-colonial conditions in which development journalism was practiced, and the resulting ethical differences from those of Western journalism. Development journalists were cast as truth tellers, civic advocates, investigative watchdogs, and economic boosters and liberators. While the development journalist recognized the ideals of truth and neutrality, she or he adopted "both a relativist and a teleological ethical approach" (p. 321) that prioritized communal values and social responsibility differently than in the Western tradition. The development journalist's goal was not process-focused to report the objective truth—which is the Western tradition was frequently adversarial—but rather outcome-oriented to promote a socioeconomic advance.

Writing from the period of the dependency paradigm, Domatob & Hall described the purpose of development journalism "to contribute to national development goals, inform citizens of relevant governmental policies, introduce national leaders, foster political stability, promote national integration and educate;" the development journalist was to participate in the development process "as one of the mobilizing agents in societies that are predominantly underdeveloped" (1983, p. 11). That mobilizing intent quickly became a contentious aspect of development journalism. Development was seen as conditional on forward progress, and reporting that tested

official—usually government—doctrine and unified vision was regarded as a barrier to that progress.

In Africa, the continent's colonial history provoked a strong dependency paradigm. Scholars attributed early formal recognition of development journalism in the period of African independence to Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah, himself a journalist by training. Writing in *The African Journalist*, Nkrumah stated "The true African…newspaper is a collective educator – a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism, and to assist African independence and unity." (quoted in Domatob & Hall, 1983, p. 10) The perception of development journalism as government propaganda antithetical to a free press became an oft-cited, and frequently defining characteristic of the model. The tensions between Western journalism ethics of objectivity and dedication to a free press, and the perceived requirements for communal values and social responsibility in the developing world, were stratified in UNESCO's 1978 New World Information and Communication Order, intended to address inequities in the global flows of information. Ibelema (2008) contended that the separation between the two models of journalism practice derived from "the libertarian philosophy of press freedom with its emphasis on the dissemination of information for its own sake without regard for its consequences," (p. 33) and the advocacy orientation of development journalism, but asserted that the differences between the models "have never been as fundamental as the critics tend to suggest" (p. 33). Aggarwala (1979)

differentiated "development" journalism, which maintained a role of critical objectivity but was characterized by its focus on development-related content, from "developmental" or authoritarian government mouthpiece journalism.

A less controversial, but no less significant break from the Western journalism tradition was to focus on processes rather than events; to, for example, "find ways to deal with a continual problem such as famine or disease, rather than treating it as episodic" (Ali, 1980, quoted in Mckay, 1993, p. 239). Murthy (2001, p. 9) observed that development journalism comprised "the entire gamut of socio-economic and cultural development" (p. 9) and emphasized relevance to the larger context of development rather than events. In the broad African context, development journalism reflected aspects of modernization, dependency, and emancipation theories and was "informed by the Habermasian notion of the public sphere as a space for rational deliberation, elite print media, public broadcasting, or community media…foregrounded as tools for development and deepening of liberal democracy" (Wasserman, 2011, p. 5). But as Servaes noted, "any cursory review or systematic analysis of the content of African media will show that African countries are still trying to build 'nation-states' and pursuing development along the path of Western experience" (2004, p. 55); the modernization and dependency paradigms are foregrounded.

Development journalism was sometimes defined prescriptively by what it should be, but more regularly it was defined descriptively, as simply journalism in developing

countries or about development topics (Ngomba, 2010, 64). A frequently referenced operationalized definition in the research literature is Vilanilam's (1979) description:

> News relating to the primary, secondary, and tertiary needs of a developing country. Primary needs are food, clothing, and shelter. Secondary needs are development of agriculture, industry and all economic activity, which lead to the fulfillment of the primary needs, plus development of education, literacy, health environment, medical research, family planning, employment, labour welfare, social reforms, national integration and rural and urban development. Tertiary needs are development of mass media, transport, tourism, telecommunication, arts and cultural activities" (p. 34).

More recently, scholars and practitioners made efforts to move beyond topical definitions of development journalism to include stylistic elements. In a manual for the International Center for Journalists, Djokotoe (2013) described 10 guidelines for development journalists: 1. broaden the development story; 2. humanize the development story; 3. focus on ordinary people, not big shots; 4. look for unusual angles; 5. report from the field; 6. use news events to explain issues; 7. avoid technical jargon; 8. use statistics carefully; 9. follow up stories; and 10. read widely. An Indian guide to development journalism similarly gave direction for style and technique, monitoring public services, exposing social evils, promoting empowerment, reporting emerging India, utilizing the right to information, and sources (Bhattacharjea, 2005). As those guides indicated, empowerment and participation entered the definition of development journalism beginning in the 1990s. Gunaratne (1996, p. 5; quoted in Tshabangu, 2013, p. 314) defined development journalism as "analytical interpretation,

subtle investigation, constructive criticism and sincere association with the grassroots (rather than with the elite)."

Recently, the grassroots empowerment expansion in development journalism was compared to Western movements begun in the 1990s toward public or civic journalism. Banda noted that, "one can readily detect the notion of a subjective journalistic engagement in the emergence of the so-called 'public' or 'civic' journalism movements" (2006, p. 5). Similarities between participatory development journalism and public journalism stemmed from increased democratization and representation of ordinary citizens in either the newsroom or the news hole, and an aim of "problem-solving rather than problem-exposing reporting" (Ocwich, 2010, p. 242). Increased citizen participation was conjectured to change the frame through which the news was presented in order to improve potential outcomes of the reporting (Banda, 2006).

Selected Quantitative Research on Development Journalism

The progression of development communication theory from modernization to dependency and empowerment has been expressed in journalism research as well, though that expression has been more often considerate of theory than practice. Quantitative examination of the implementation of development journalism has been an intermittent, if not frequent or particularly deliberative occurrence in the professional literature. Studies have typically been—or at least included—content

analyses of print media in developing countries to quantify the use of development journalism relative to non-development journalism. Some studies also included interviews with journalists to qualitatively gauge the impact of the development journalism model on their work.

Early studies of development journalism reflected assumptions of the dominant modernization paradigm. Melkote & Steeves (2001) noted that the professional literature implicitly expected media to carry "strong pro-development content," and that "increased exposure to mass media messages would obviously create the 'climate for modernization' in the villages in the Third World" (p. 218). This predilection toward prioritizing quantity of development content to demonstrate influence of development journalism persisted in the literature, as evidenced by the frequency of content analyses that measure the quantity or prominence of development content. Research in development journalism maintained an assumption of strong effects theory, although development theory and development communication theory have largely discarded the belief in such a direct practical impact.

A foundational study that set an early standard for quantifying development journalism was Vilanilam's (1979) award-winning research on Indian newspapers. Vilanilam operationalized development journalism in his description of 14 development

topics[3], and differentiated development news from government news and political news. He recognized that government broadly was a cross-cutting entity and made an important distinction between frames of development, governance, and politics. In development, for example, government was present in the topic of "administrative reforms" that promoted development through "elimination of red-tape and bureaucracy, introduction of measures which create better relations between the governors and the governed [and] people's grievances" (p. 35). By contrast, the government news category included defense and foreign relations, committees, inaugurations and dedications, appointments, and the like. Political news encompassed elections, party politics, and regionalism. His examination of four newspapers found that all devoted more news hole to government and political news than to development news. Overall development news comprised less than 15 percent of news. Vilanilam concluded that the poor showing of development news demonstrated little "awareness among the sample newspapers' publishers, editors, and reporters about the special responsibility of journalists in developing countries."

Development journalism was found much more prevalent in Sutopo's (1983) study of six Indonesian dailies. Firmly grounded in research models such as Vilanilam's,

[3] Vilanilam's 14 development news categories consisted of: administrative reforms; agricultural development and food production; economic activity; education, employment and labour welfare; family planning; health, hygiene, and medicine; housing; industrial, scientific, and technological development; mass communications; national integration; rural and urban development; social reforms; and telecommunications, tourism and transport development.

Sutopo measured the quantity of operationalized development journalism, and the relative proportion of news in each of 12 development topics. Sutopo found a high proportion of development journalism in the Indonesian newspapers, filling between 38 percent and 66 percent of news hole—more than non-development news in five of the six newspapers. Sutopo hypothesized that the formal government agenda as expressed in Indonesia's five-year plan, focused on self-sufficiency in food production, would result in more news content on that development topic, but that was not supported by the data. Even the two government-controlled newspapers in the study placed food production in third and fifth place among development topics, which indicated that forces other than official policy set the agenda. Sutopo did find that the two government newspapers devoted more news to development journalism than did the four independent newspapers. In an early recognition of the potential for participatory communication in development, the researcher posited that governments were recognizing that development journalism needed to be more than a simple outlet for government programs. Suptop wrote that "in many cases the governments realized they could not stand alone because not only does the government need to inform but also needs to be informed. Development needs participation from the people" (p. 19). The research community, and Sutopo's own research, however, had not yet integrated that participatory concept; there was no examination of ordinary citizens as sources or actors in development journalism.

Ogan & Fair (1984) included sources in their study of operationalized development topics in a broad, international study of development journalism in nine countries on four continents. They found that national development news of the kind that features broad government pronouncements occurred nearly four times as often as stories predominantly about rural development, and government sources were more frequently and more prominently consulted than non-government sources. In findings matching earlier studies (e.g. Ogan & Swift, 1982; quoted in Ogan & Fair, 1984) and criticism of development journalism as Pollyanna government public relations rather than critical reporting, Ogan & Fair found coverage was predominantly positive in tone, leaving the researchers to propose that development journalism needed "greater use of critical sources" (p. 187). Regarding the relative priority of development news overall, the researchers found it to be "relatively low" and more frequently taking the form of "spot" news than "longer feature items one would expect for process-oriented news analysis" (p. 180).

In the 1980s the importance of news sources and actors continued to gain influence in development journalism, perhaps in response to criticisms from the West. McDaniel (1986) lent credence to those criticisms with his study of sources featured in development news stories on broadcast television in Malaysia and Pakistan. McDaniel found a "surprisingly large proportion" of development news stories in broadcasts, 29.5 percent, and an "even more pronounced" (p. 168) frequency of government and

political personalities in that coverage, more frequent even than in other news categories. McDaniel concluded that one possible interpretation of the result was that development journalism was being used as a vehicle for the promotion of government personalities in addition to publicizing government development programs.

A well-known development journalism initiative that was not associated with any single government and perhaps able to avert such pressures was Depthnews, the development news service run by the Press Foundation of Asia. In his content analysis of Depthnews, Mckay (1993) measured the prominence of operational themes (population, health, environment, women, etc.) and news sources and actors other than traditional authority figures to determine Depthnews' level of performance of the development journalism model. Mckay noted a "distinctly practical bent" (p. 237) to development journalism, and defined it strictly operationally by topics, sources and actors rather than conceptually. Not surprisingly, Mckay found that the majority of Depthnews articles dealt with development issues, though at 60 percent perhaps not as much as might be supposed for a development news service. Sources and actors were predominantly male and either government or intellectual, the traditional authority figure types, with only 9 percent of sources and 18 percent of actors classified as "citizens," indicating a fairly mild participatory strategy for coverage.

In addition to content factors like topics, sources, and actors, structural considerations such as ownership, language, and training have been prominent in

development journalism studies. Vilanilam (1979) found "conclusive evidence" (p. 47) that ownership was a major contributing factor to the prominence of development news. He found that independent newspapers—those with no other business or industrial interest than journalism—published more development news than did "conglomerate-controlled" newspapers—those with other competing interests.

More than 20 years after Vilanilam's study of Indian newspapers, Murthy (2001) did a content analysis of four newspapers, two English language and two Telugu language, to consider if language had any impact on development coverage. Murthy coded stories for 12 subject categories, one of which was "development." Murthy then coded for 12 topical development themes drawn from India's published development goals and previous research studies: health, education, literacy, transport and communication, agriculture, industry, housing, population control, energy, ecology, human rights, and national integration. Matching results of studies of earlier studies of Indian media (Vilanilam, 1979; Haque, 1986), Murthy found that "coverage of developmental news is neither significant nor encouraging" in any of the sample newspapers, accounting only for between 4 and 8 percent of news items. The highest percentage of news items and news hole given to development themes was in one of the Telugu newspapers, but at only 8 percent and 11 percent respectively, coverage lagged far behind that of the political, arts, and crime news categories. The two Telugu newspapers devoted more coverage to local news, while the English language

newspapers gave more to national issues. In the development news categories covered, the English language newspapers devoted the most coverage to agriculture and human rights, while the Telugu newspapers devoted the most coverage to the transport and communication theme. Murthy noted that, "Although literacy and population planning have been high on the agenda of the government in view of low literacy and burgeoning population, the newspapers did not provide adequate coverage" (p. 104). Murthy concluded that news coverage was event-driven rather than process-driven, and that reporters "lacked an investigative spirit and an in-depth understanding of the developmental issues" (p. 104). Haque (1986) similarly suspected that "while media people [in India] have engaged in debates on the importance of development journalism, they have still been following the traditional Western concepts of news" (p. 84).

Structural considerations were central in Pollock et al.'s (2010) frame analysis of one specific development theme, HIV/AIDS—one of the eight Millenium Development Goals—in six major English-language newspapers in Sub-Saharan Africa. The study focused on the outlook of news coverage—improvement or decline in HIV/AIDS—and the primary action sources for combatting HIV/AIDS—government or societal—within different models of press-state relations, including the "free" participatory model, and the "non-free" hegemonic model. Rwanda was listed in the non-free hegemonic category, but was not included in the study. Results of the study as an examination of

development journalism were quite ambiguous. Pollock et al found that in countries with higher levels of HIV/AIDS infection, there was more reported government activity in combating AIDS, but interestingly, countries with higher levels of government press control—more hegemonic model—showed less reported progress in combating AIDS. Development journalism is usually described as advocacy journalism, focusing on good news but also outcomes-oriented and frequently driven by government priorities. The higher level of reported government activity in combating AIDS could be indicative of a development journalism model. The lack of reported progress in combating AIDS, particularly in hegemonic press systems, was a result counter to what would be expected under a development journalism model.

The self-identification of journalists was the focus of Ngomba's (2010) interviews with journalists from 14 different media outlets in Cameroon to study how their role in development communication had changed in the two decades since an earlier study by Wete (1986). Wete found Cameroonian journalists firmly in the dependency paradigm of development journalism. Journalists expressed "dissemination of information about development activities" to be the "most important role of the mass media," and dedication "to the service of national unity and progress (quoted in Ngomba, 2010, p. 66). Wete also found a difference between English- and French-speaking journalists, with English-speakers "more inclined toward a critical role for the media." The journalists interviewed by Ngomba in the 2000s, English- and French-speaking,

conceived their role as primarily critical, with a reduced social responsibility requirement. The researcher attributed this to a movement for increased professionalization—or Westernization—of journalism in Cameroon. Ngomba noted, however, that efforts continued, particularly through the government's Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization, to engage journalists as "de facto the main 'communicators' usually charged with handling communication for development across Africa" (p. 73), and concluded that there was a need in Cameroon to train (and re-train) journalists in the "competencies and commitment to work hand-in-hand with those engaged in development and social change processes" (p. 74).

Journalist interviews also were part of Tshabangu's (2013) investigation of development journalism in the work of Zimbabwean journalists. Tshabangu also performed a content analysis of Zimbabwean newspapers to measure the relative frequency of development news to non-development news. The researcher applied Vilanilam's (1979) operationalized definition of development journalism topics and found that only 10 percent of news items were development news. The low development content was not surprising considering Tshabangu's interviews with journalists revealed that "they did not have any understanding of development journalism philosophy and principles" (p. 317). Government ministries or authorities accounted for 50 percent of news sources in the development news items, with only 5 percent of sources classified as beneficiaries, indicating little if any attempt at a

participatory model. Tshabangu concluded that in Zimbabwe, development journalism was not institutionalized as a result of tabloidization of news, the commercial imperative of the independent newspaper, lack of specialized training, a national slump in development, and the Westernization, juniorization, and urban focus of the journalism profession.

The development journalism studies above show development journalism to be a model of conflicting imperatives and influences. Development journalists popularize government-directed development programs, serve as watchdogs over those same governments, urge broad national unity and independence, and further market reforms and empowerment of individuals. It is assumed that journalism is an important part of communication for development. But how that importance is achieved in manifest content of development communication, and what factors impact its production, remain incompletely understood and need more consideration in the specific historical, political, cultural, and economic context in which they occur. The example of Rwanda, with its low measures of economic development, and history of extreme conflict and opportunity for growth—particularly involving news media—offers an opportunity to gain understanding of those elements that affect the process of development journalism and its possible outcomes to promote national development.

Research Questions and Methodology

This study examined the development news content of two Rwandan newspapers in an attempt to tease out the theoretical bases upon which development journalism in Rwanda is applied in practice, and the historical and political dictates that influence that practice, and so to gain insight into the vocational imperatives of Rwandan journalists and the print news media. The two newspapers chosen were the highest circulation newspapers in the country, and displayed significant structural differences—in language and ownership—for comparison: *Imvaho Nshya* the government-owned, local Kinyarwanda language daily newspaper, and *The New Times* the privately-owned, English language daily. The author supposes that for a country with Rwanda's history and current socioeconomic conditions, development would be an "obtrusive" issue (Zucker, 1978, cited in Severin & Tankard, 2001), one that is directly experienced by a public struggling to improve their living conditions. That issue obtrusiveness implies an engaged rather than passive audience with implications for application of agenda-setting, diffusion, and/or participatory media theories. Understanding this significance is based on knowing if and how development journalism is practiced in Rwanda. To examine the prominence of development journalism in Rwanda, the author asked the following research question:

> RQ1. What percentage of news stories in *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers is development news?

If structural circumstances of news outlets can influence news content, it is possible that the more commercial imperatives of a privately-owned newspaper would place a different weight on development content than would the social or political imperatives of a government-owned newspaper, or that the expectations and receptiveness of an indigenous Kinyarwanda language audience would be perceived differently than those of readers in English, the international language of business. To examine if the structural differences between the two newspapers were significant to the prominence of development journalism in each, the author asked:

> RQ2. Is there a difference in quantity of development news coverage between the privately-owned, English-language *The New Times* newspaper and the government-owned, Kinyarwanda-language *Imvaho Nshya* newspaper?

Development is a broad category that is operationalized differently in the UN's Millenium Development Goals and the Rwandan government's Vision 2020, and may be realized differently on the international, national, regional, and personal levels. The author quantified specific characteristics of the newspaper content to determine how the development journalism model was operationalized and applied in Rwanda, and what that application indicated about the theoretical constructs of development and journalism—whether the development characteristics portrayed in Rwandan development journalism reflected a modernization, dependency, or empowerment paradigm, and what those characteristics revealed about agenda-setting processes in development communication. This led to the following research question:

RQ3. Which development news categories are most frequently covered in the two Rwandan newspapers, and do those frequently used categories match development priorities expressed by the Rwandan government's Vision 2020, or by the United Nations' Millenium Development Goals, or reflect other development concerns? Is there a difference between the two newspapers in which categories dominate coverage?

But the process of development and practice of development journalism is not based solely on development subject themes, but also on the way development goals are conveyed or transmitted to the public. Indeed, research has indicated that development success may be dependent on the manner in which goals are introduced to or considered by the public (Melkote & Steves, 2001). Change agents may be international or business leaders driving market processes as in the modernization paradigm, government authorities directing development projects as in the dependency paradigm, or local citizens building grassroots movements as in the participatory paradigm. So whether development is a directed, mediated, or participatory process may be significant to its success, and leads to the following research question:

RQ4. What percentage of sources and actors (individuals described in news stories) represented in development journalism in Rwanda are government, NGO, or intellectual authority figures, and what percentage are citizen beneficiaries or participants in development programs? Is there a difference between the two newspapers in sources and actors used?

Finally, the objective or subjective role of journalism practice in national development programs, whether that has been relegated to "government say-so" journalism or taken a more critical function, has been a topic of dispute (Berger, 1997). The critical posture

that Rwandan development journalism takes—to be supportive and promotional toward official national development projects, or challenging and critical in a watchdog capacity—indicates the influence of the Western journalism model of press independence, but also locates Rwandan journalism practice in the development theory continuum from modernization through dependency to participation. That influence and location is examined with the research question:

> RQ5. What percentage of development journalism in the Rwandan newspapers is positive or encouraging in story valence, and what percentage is negative or discouraging? Are there differences in story valence between the two newspapers, or among the development news categories?

Methodology

For this study, the author conducted a content analysis of news stories and editorials in two Rwandan daily newspapers.

Berelson (1952) defined content analysis as a "research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). The quantitative results of content analysis then serve as basis for inference and discourse in broader context, as described by Krippendorff (1980). In this study, content analysis takes the form of the second, alternative paradigm of two paradigms described by McQuail in an effort to "identify and understand the particular discourse in which a text is encoded" (2010, p. 361). The frequency and form of textual

elements are quantified in an effort to better understand the theoretical assumptions and normative practices manifested in the text.

In content analysis, an appropriate sample needs to be drawn to produce valid results (Krippendorf, 1980). If too few or a biased sample of the population is used, data will be unreliable. But selecting too large a sample may be an inefficient and unnecessary waste of resources.

Constructed-week sampling is a stratified random sampling technique that has been demonstrated to account for cyclical variation in news content to produce reliable and efficient results. In his foundational study of front-page photographs from six Wisconsin newspapers, Stempel (1952) found that two constructed-weeks produced results statistically sufficient to represent a year's population of newspapers. Riffe, Aust, & Lacy (1993) studied the relative and absolute value of simple random, consecutive-day, and constructed-week samples in a study of the number of local news stories in the six-month population of a newspaper's edition. They found a single, 7-day constructed-week to be statistically superior to 14- and 21-day simple random samples, and to all 14-, 21-, and 28-day consecutive-day samples for the population of newspapers. For their six-month population, they found a single constructed-week to be as efficient as four separate constructed-weeks, which nicely matched Stempel's findings of two constructed-weeks sufficient to represent a year.

The population for the current study was the daily news and editorial content of *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* published during 2013. The year 2013 was chosen to be reflective of the most current development data and journalism content available. A two-week constructed-week random sample was drawn using the online random number generator at random.org. The author attempted to acquire hard copy print newspapers for the random sample during a field visit to Rwanda at the end of 2013. He was not successful. Editorial offices at the newspapers struggled to understand the purpose of the request for specific back issues, and ultimately were unable to fulfill the request. At their suggestion, the author attempted to find the hard copy publications at the national library in Kigali, but found holdings there limited. A complete run of print copies was finally located in a high-ranking government official's office, but limited accessibility and insufficient time remaining in the field visit to create digitized facsimile copies for the study conspired to thwart the effort.

The editorial office of *Imvaho Nshya* informed the author that the same content as the print editions was freely available for both papers in their online archives.[4] A comparison of available content found that the content of the online and print issues of *Imvaho Nshya* did match. There was a slight variation in content of *The New Times*, however, with the online editions lacking some very brief international news agency

[4] At the time of writing, the online archive for *The New Times* could be found at http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/, and for *Imvaho Nshya* at http://www.orinfor.gov.rw/printmedia/newspaper.php?type=rw.

items that were present in the print editions. There was no additional original content in the online editions. The study, therefore, is an analysis of online newspaper content, but correlates very closely to the print editions issued in country. The author felt that the international news agency items missing from the online sample were very short, not development-focused, and not numerous enough to have a large impact on the study's overall findings.

The two newspapers chosen, the privately owned, English language *The New Times*, and the government-owned, Kinyarwanda language *Imvaho Nshya*, were selected as the highest circulation newspapers in the country, and the only newspapers currently published daily in Rwanda. The author assumed the high circulation and daily publication to reflect an increased potential for agenda-setting influence and likelihood of professional level standards and practices. The differences in ownership and language between the two newspapers also were important to compare those structural elements. And having both newspapers published daily facilitated the constructed-week and random sampling methodology.

The unit of analysis was the news story or editorial/commentary. The author will refer to both content types as "story" except when the difference between the two is relevant. Every story from each randomly-selected day's issue was coded.

To answer RQ1 and RQ2, about the quantity of development news in *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*, and any difference in quantity, stories were coded into four

categories: 1. development news; 2. domestic government and political news, and other domestic non-development news; 3. international news (non-development); and 4. sports and entertainment news. News categories were described based on previous studies of development journalism, including Vilanilam (1979), Mckay (1993), and Murthy (2001). Total number of stories as well as number of words for each story category were counted to quantify the relative importance of development news in total coverage.

A more detailed examination of development news topics, sources, and actors was the basis of the next two research questions. Three concepts stood at the heart of RQ3, to understand the agenda-setting influences exhibited in the new content. The first was to discover which specific development topics were most prominent in development news coverage. The second was whether those most prominent topics matched the aims set forth by the Rwandan government's Vision 2020, or the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals, or presented some other development priorities. And third, to compare the prominence of development topics between the English-language, independent newspaper and the Kinyarwanda-language, government-owned newspaper to find if they express different or similar priorities.

The researcher found categorizing development news challenging because development weaved through other traditional categories—local, international, business, politics, even arts and entertainment and sports (Pelz, 2010) news. Many

times a reporter with a government beat did straight political news one day, but development the next. And development news was not categorically exclusive. A story could be both political and development, both international and development. The 12 development topics coded for the study were adopted or adapted from previous studies of development journalism—especially Vilanilam's (1979) foundational and oft-cited research, but also Mckay (1993), Murthy (2001), Ogan & Fair (1983), Osae-Asare (1979), and Sutopo (1983)—and minimally adjusted to appropriately reflect the Rwandan Vision 2020 goals and the UN's Millennium Development Goals. The 12 topics coded for this study included:

1. Administrative reforms/good governance: elimination of red tape and bureaucracy, government accountability. It should be noted that this is not all government topics, but those dealing with increasing accountability, efficiency, and building democracy;
2. Agriculture (food production, market): farming, fertilizers, cattle, animal husbandry, land reforms, mechanization;
3. Business: private sector business development, industrial development, trade, investments, consumerism, mining, raw materials, energy, entrepreneurship, banking;
4. Education: development of schools and universities, reforms in educational system, promotion of literacy, libraries, adult education and skills development;
5. Family planning: sex education, contraception;
6. Health, hygiene: drinking water supply, eradication of epidemics including HIV/AIDS, malaria, etc., health promotional activities, provision of public restrooms, maternal health and child mortality, proper nutrition;
7. Housing: problems of the homeless, inadequate facilities in urban, home construction, rural to urban migration, demolition and relocation of homes;
8. Infrastructure: telecommunication, transportation, tourism, environment, cultural institutions, office and factory construction, bringing electricity and water;
9. Labor: workers' rights, unemployment programs, worker's health, occupational safety;

10. National integration and peace-building: genocide education, promotion of inter-ethnic activities, returnees, *umuganda*[5];
11. Technology and science: knowledge-based development, information and communication technologies, mass communication, media, science and technology research;
12. Women, gender equality, and child welfare: women's cooperatives, domestic violence, sexual violence and abuse.

Instead of development topics, RQ4 considered which news sources and actors were most prominent in the newspapers' coverage in order to test the importance of the participatory development paradigm. This research question considered whether change agents presented in stories were heterophilous from the development target audience—for example, a government official in the national capital would have different attibutes such as "beliefs, values, education or social status" (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 209) than a provincial farmer, as might be expected in the modernization or dependency paradigms of development—or homophilous—similar in attributes, as might be expected in the empowerment paradigm. Four main source/actor categories were drawn from previous studies (Mckay, 1993; Ogan & Fair, 1984): 1. government, 2. NGO, 3. intellectual/other expert figure, or 4. local citizen or beneficiary.

Finally, RQ5 queried the valence of development news coverage, whether it was predominantly encouraging/positive, discouraging/negative, or balanced/neutral. As

[5] Umuganda is the monthly public service traditionally required by the government.

noted above, one of the frequently cited—and sometimes maligned—aspects of development journalism has been its promotional tenor, supportive of most frequently government-sponsored development projects. To consider the relevance and context of this valence, and to test for influence of the Western, critical press model, each story was coded as: 1.positive, 2. negative, or 3. balanced.

Determination of the valence category, being strictly subjective and qualitative, meant that the English and Kinyarwanda language coders needed to establish clear category descriptions. "Positive" stories were those that presented only a development advancement or success, while "negative" stories presented a development problem or failure. "Balanced" stories manifested a development topic as an incomplete success, or described serious efforts made to address a problem. Intercoder reliability on a 10 percent sample of English language stories was tested, results examined and discussed, and yielded Scott's Pi score of 0.82, above the 0.8 level of acceptability (Krippendorff, 1980).

Results

Research questions 1 and 2 examined the total percentage of development news stories in *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers, and compared the percentages between the two. As seen in Table 1, for total coverage of both newspapers combined, development news accounted for 31.5 percent of news coverage, and was the highest percentage of the five categories. When news categories were compared between the two newspapers, *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* exhibited similar proportions of development news coverage, 31.3 percent and 31.9 percent respectively. However, in neither case was development news the top news category; for *The New Times*, sports and entertainment took the top spot with 33.5 percent of coverage, while for *Imvaho Nshya* the top category was domestic non-development news at 40.3 percent.

Table 1. Frequencies, Percentages and Chi-Square Tests of News Story Categories in *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*

News Story Category		*The New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*	Total
Development news	N=	152	94	246
		31.3 %	31.9 %	31.5 %
Domestic, non-development		118	119	237
		24.3 %	40.3 %	30.3 %
International, Africa		28	14	42
		5.8 %	4.7 %	5.4 %
International, other		25	8	33
		5.1 %	2.7 %	4.2 %
Sports and entertainment		163	60	223
		33.5 %	20.3 %	28.6 %
Total	N=	486	295	781

χ^2 =29.746 , 4 d.f., p<.001

The above data include all news reporting, editorial, and commentary distributed by both newspapers. There was, however, a significant difference between the two newspapers, likely because *The New Times* almost daily published a magazine supplement. Each of these supplements focused on topics such as education, society, sports, and women, and while development news content was present—perhaps more frequently than might be expected—the format varied greatly from the traditional news hole represented in the regular newspapers. To achieve a more direct comparison between the two newspapers, magazine content was removed from the sample. The result seen in Table 2 did not change the overall percentages for each category drastically. The percentage of total development news coverage for both newspapers combined rose slightly to 32.5 percent, and it remained the most frequent overall news category. The percentage of development news published by *The New Times* rose slightly to 32.9 percent, but comparison of the two newspapers remained very close with only 1 percent difference. With the removal of magazine content, however, development news became the highest overall category for *The New Times*, surpassing sports and entertainment.

Table 2: Frequencies, Percentages and Chi-Square Tests of News Story Categories in Traditional News Hole between *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*

Story Category		*The New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*	Total
Development news	N=	127	94	221
		32.9 %	31.9 %	32.5 %
Domestic, non-development		86	119	205
		22.3 %	40.3 %	30.1 %
International, Africa		26	14	40
		6.7 %	4.7 %	5.9 %
International, other		23	8	31
		6.0 %	2.7 %	4.6 %
Sports and entertainment		124	60	184
		32.1 %	20.3 %	27.0 %
Total	N=	386	295	681

χ^2 =31.766 , 4 d.f., p<.001

The importance of the development news category may be dependent not only on the number of stories published, but also by the relative size of the news hole dedicated to it. Table 3 examines the mean word count for stories in each category to determine if development news stories were significantly different from other news categories. Across newspapers, the mean word count for development news stories was 431. This result was less than domestic non-development news at 441, but the difference was not statistically significantly different. The mean word count for development news was significantly different, however, from that for the sports and entertainment category, which had a mean of only 308. This indicated that while sports and entertainment news was a frequent category for both newspapers (32.1 percent for *The New Times* and 20.3

percent for *Imvaho Nshya*), it was a smaller proportion in "column inches" of the overall news hole than that percentage indicates.

Table 3: Mean, Standard Deviation, and T-Tests and Levene's Tests of Word Counts between News Story Categories

	Development News	Domestic, non-development	International, Africa	International, other	Sports and entertainment	Total
N=	221	205	40	31	184	681
Mean	430.615	440.585	430.100	366.323	307.527	397.402
Std. Deviation	222.3069	272.1352	240.6156	209.4306	190.8336	237.6460
Std. Error Mean	14.9540	19.0067	38.0447	37.6148	14.0684	
Levene's F		2.132	1.376	.024	6.507	
Levene's Sig.		.145	.242	.877	.011	
t		-.412	.013	1.588	5.912	
df		394.541	51.763	40.096	403	
Sig. (2-tailed)		.680	.990	.120	.000	

Research question 3 examined more closely the development news stories to determine which of the 12 described development topics were most frequently present. Table 4 presents the number of stories that reported each of the 12 development topics. Note, that each story was coded for up to two different development topics. Topics were not necessarily mutually exclusive, and a story may have been both agriculture and business development, for example, or women/gender equality and education. As a result, the total number N increased from 211 stories to 245 topics represented. The results indicated trends in prominence of certain topics, but were unfortunately statistically insignificant (p=.140).

Table 4: Frequencies, Percentages, and Cramer's V and Chi-Square Tests of Development Topics between *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*

Development Topic		*The New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*	Total
Administrative reforms	N=	11	16	27
		7.8 %	15.4 %	11.0 %
Agriculture		14	12	26
		9.9 %	11.5 %	10.6 %
Business		29	9	38
		20.6 %	8.7 %	15.5 %
Education		12	11	23
		8.5 %	10.6 %	9.4 %
Family planning		2	1	3
		1.4 %	1.0 %	1.2 %
Health		8	8	16
		5.7 %	7.7 %	6.5 %
Housing		2	4	6
		1.4 %	3.8 %	2.4 %
Infrastructure		29	23	52
		20.6 %	22.1 %	21.2 %
Labor		4	7	11
		2.8 %	6.7 %	4.5 %
National integration		10	3	13
		7.1 %	2.9 %	5.3 %
Technology & Science		2	1	3
		1.4 %	1.0 %	1.2 %
Women, Gender Equality		18	9	27
		12.8 %	8.7 %	11.0 %
Total	N=	141	104	245

Cramer's V = .256; χ^2 = 16.041, 11 d.f., p=.140

However, Research Question 3 went on to examine the development topics in the news as they related to development priorities of the Rwandan government, expressed in its Vision 2020, and of the United Nations, expressed in the Millennium Development Goals. In order to better reflect the development priorities presented in Vision 2020 and

the MDGs, the author re-coded the data into eight development topics. This was done by combining family planning with health into a single health category; housing with infrastructure for a single infrastructure topic; labor with administrative reforms for a single administrative reforms topic; and finally technology and science with education for a single education topic. Results of the re-coded data analysis are in Table 5. The most frequent overall topic was infrastructure at 23.7 percent, followed by business and administrative/labor reforms tied at 15.5 percent. The least frequent overall topic was national integration at only 5.3 percent. The largest difference between the two newspapers was in the business topic, with an N more than three times higher in *The New Times* than in *Imvaho Nshya*, comprising nearly 12 percentage points more of development topic coverage in *The News Times* compared to *Imvaho Nshya*. By contrast, in *Imvaho Nshya* the administrative/labor reform topic had an N over 50 percent higher than in *The New Times* (23 versus 15) that accounted for nearly 12 percentage points more coverage for that development topic. Smaller differences favored national integration and women/gender equality in *The New Times*, and infrastructure in *Imvaho Nshya*.

Table 5: Frequencies, Percentages and Chi-Square Tests of Development Plan Topics between *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*

Development Plan Topic		*The New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*	Total
Administrative and labor reforms	N=	15 10.6 %	23 22.1 %	38 15.5 %
Agriculture		14 9.9 %	12 11.5 %	26 10.6 %
Business		29 20.6 %	9 8.7 %	38 15.5 %
Education		14 9.9 %	12 11.5 %	26 10.6 %
Health		10 7.1 %	9 8.7 %	19 7.8 %
Infrastructure		31 22.0 %	27 26.0 %	58 23.7 %
National integration		10 7.1 %	3 2.9 %	13 5.3 %
Women, Gender Equality		18 12.8 %	9 8.7 %	27 11.0 %
Total	N=	141	104	245

$\chi^2 = 14.356$, 7 d.f., $p<.05$

Research Question 4 turned the focus to sources and actors represented in the development news stories, and asked if government, NGO, professional/intellectual/other experts, or local citizen/beneficiaries were most frequently identified. As Table 6 shows, government sources and actors were by far the most frequent at nearly 50 percent overall followed distantly by local citizen/beneficiaries at 24 percent. Comparing *The New Times* to *Imvaho Nshya*, the percentage of government sources and actors was equally and similarly high, at 51 percent for *The New Times* and 48 percent for *Imvaho Nshya*. But differences were

found for other source/actor categories: NGO sources/actors were the least frequent overall, though more than twice as likely in *The New Times* (11.3 percent to 5.4 percent in *Imvaho Nshya*); local citizens/beneficiaries were more than 10 percent more common in *Imvaho Nshya*, at nearly one-third of all sources/actors referenced in that newspaper's development journalism.

Table 6: Frequencies, Percentages and Chi-Square Tests of Source/Actor Types between *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*

Source/Actor		*The New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*	Total
Government	N=	144	97	241
		50.9 %	47.8 %	49.6 %
NGO		32	11	43
		11.3 %	5.4 %	8.8 %
Professional/Intellectual/Other Expert		52	32	84
		18.4 %	15.8 %	17.3 %
Local Citizen or Beneficiary		55	63	118
		19.4 %	31.0 %	24.3 %
Total		283	203	486

$\chi^2 = 11.879$, 3 d.f., $p<.01$

Table 7 presents analysis of which sources/actors were most frequently referenced in stories for each development topic. Government sources/actors were the most frequent in all development topics, with one exception. For the topic of education, non-government experts—a category that combined NGO, professional, intellectual, and other experts—predominated, at 46 percent, double the number of government sources/actors. While government overall represented 50 percent of all sources/actors,

that percentage was even higher for topics including administrative/labor reforms (65 percent), national integration (64 percent), and health (60.5 percent). The study found below average reference to government sources/actors for the topics of women/gender equality (38 percent), business (41 percent) and agriculture (43 percent). Local citizens/beneficiaries were above the average of 24 percent for the topics of agriculture (33 percent), education (31 percent), and women/gender equality (29 percent), but well below average in health (10.5 percent) and business (16 percent).

Table 7: Frequencies, Percentages, and Cramer's V and Chi-Square Tests of Sources/Actors Used in Development Topics

Development Topic	Government	Expert	Citizen	Total
Administrative/ Labor Reforms	50 64.9 %	11 14.3 %	16 20.8 %	77 15.8 %
Agriculture	27 42.9 %	15 23.8 %	21 33.3 %	63 13.0 %
Business	34 41.0 %	30 36.1 %	19 16.1 %	83 17.1 %
Education	9 23.1 %	18 46.2 %	12 30.8 %	39 8.0 %
Health	23 60.5 %	11 28.9 % %	4 10.5 %	38 7.8 %
Infrastructure	56 57.1 %	19 19.4 %	23 23.5 %	98 20.2 %
National Integration	18 64.3 %	3 10.7 %	7 25.0 %	28 5.8 %
Women, Gender Equality	21 38.2 %	18 32.7 %	16 29.1 %	55 11.3 %
General	3 60.0 %	2 40.0 %	0 0.0 %	5 1.0 %
Total	238	125	118	481

Cramer's V= .210; χ^2 = 42.895, 16 d.f., p<.001

Research Question 5 considered the valence or outlook perspective for development journalism produced by the two newspapers in Rwanda, whether it was predominantly positive and promotional, negative and representing problems or failures in development, or balanced coverage. The majority of development news in *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* was positive, averaging 65 percent of combined coverage. A balanced valence was a distant second at 25 percent average, and negative coverage was even farther behind at only 10 percent average. However, the study discovered significant differences in story valence between the two newspapers. A full 77.5 percent of development news in *Imvaho Nshya* was positive, but in *The New Times* that number was only 55 percent; still the majority, but more than 22 percent less frequent. In contrast, *The New Times* was nearly twice as likely to present negative coverage—albeit at a low 12 percent to *Imvaho Nshya*'s 6 percent—and twice as likely to present balanced coverage—32 percent to 16 percent—that included incomplete success or serious ongoing challenges.

Table 8: Frequencies, Percentages and Chi-Square Tests of Story Valence between *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*

Story Valence	*The New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*	Total
Positive	70 55.1 %	73 77.5 %	143 64.7 %
Negative	16 12.6 %	6 6.4 %	22 10.0 %
Balanced	41 32.3 %	15 16.0 %	66 25.3 %
Total	127	94	221

$\chi^2 = 11.020$, 2 d.f., $p<.01$

Table 9 presents analysis of the valence of development news stories for each of the 12 development topics. Among topics represented by more than 10 total news stories, women/gender equality (81.5 percent), infrastructure (77 percent), and national integration (77 percent) most frequently showed positive valence. Labor (27 percent) and education (17 percent) showed the highest negative valences. Perhaps most interestingly, the only topic with a negative or balanced valence represented more than its positive category was administrative reforms, with 48 percent balanced coverage and 44 percent positive. While only represented by three stories in the study, all three of the family planning stories showed balanced coverage.

Table 9: Frequencies, Percentages, and Cramer's V and Chi-Square Tests of Story Valence in Development Topics

Development Topic	Positive	Negative	Balanced	Total
Administrative Reforms N=	12 44.4 %	2 7.4 %	13 48.1 %	27
Agriculture	17 65.4 %	3 11.5 %	6 23.1 %	26
Business	23 60.5 %	2 5.3 %	13 34.2 %	38
Education	15 65.2 %	4 17.4 %	4 17.4 %	23
Family Planning	0 0.0 %	0 0.0 %	3 100.0 %	3
Health	12 75.0 %	1 6.3 %	3 18.8 %	16
Housing	3 50.0 %	2 33.3 %	1 16.7 %	6
Infrastructure	40 76.9 %	3 5.8 5	9 17.3 %	52
Labor	4 36.4 %	3 27.3 %	4 36.4 %	11
National Integration	10 76.9 %	2 15.4 %	1 7.7 %	13
Technology and Science	3 100.0 %	0 0.0 %	0 0.0 %	3
Women, Gender Equality	22 81.5 %	1 3.7 %	4 14.8 %	27
Total N=	161 65.7 %	23 9.4 %	61 24.9 %	245[6]

Cramer's V = .291; χ^2 = 41.583, 22 d.f., p<.01

[6] The total in this case is 245 because one of the stories was coded as a "general" topic, not one of the specific categories.

Discussion

This study found that national economic development was a focus of journalism practice in Rwanda, but the development journalism model represented in *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers exhibited more traditional journalism practice than 21st century development communication theory. Content analysis of the two newspapers demonstrated some very positive signs for media development in the country, but the model of development journalism in Rwanda exhibited a tendency toward traditional modernization theory combined with political conditions of the dependency paradigm rather than the more current participatory development theory.

Nearly one-third (32.5 percent) of all news stories in the study met an operationalized definition of development journalism as a subject category and list of development topics. Compared to previous studies of development journalism (Mckay, 1993; Murthy, 2001; Osae-Asare, 1976; Sutopo, 1983) this was a median range result, below reported highs in the 52 percent range in Malaysia (Mustafa, 1979), but well above the 10 percent found in a Zimbabwe study (Tshabangu, 2013), and slightly above McDaniel's (1986) "surprisingly large" 29.5 percent. Rwanda was ranked 167 out of 187 countries in the Human Development Index, which would indicate that development was a very salient subject for the Rwandan audience. This study found that salience to have qualified recognition in development journalism practice in Rwanda. Overall, development was the most frequently used news category, and development stories

matched or exceeded other news categories on story length, another gauge of significance. This may indicate a positive sign for media in Rwanda. In 2003 an International Monetary Fund report on Rwanda's poverty reduction strategy (PRS) noted that "the PRS process has been fairly high-profile in Rwanda within government (though less so in the ill-developed media which tend to focus on more sensational news)" (Mutebi et al, 2003, p. 264). The quantity of development news found in this study indicated that the media were taking their own participation in the development process more seriously.

That trend was particularly true for the privately owned *The New Times*. When the quantity of development news was compared between the two newspapers, *The New Times* exhibited as much coverage as the government-owned *Imvaho Nshya*. This was a change from what was found by Rwanda's High Council of the Press (2004) when only five issues of the then-weekly *Imvaho Nshya* carried 32 development news items, while nine issues of the bi-weekly *The New Times* carried only 17. This trend of advancing development news in *The New Times* may have reflected the newspaper's managing editor Collin Haba's assertion in 2012 that "papers which carry developmental stories are maintaining circulation" and "development journalism is bringing in more money for media and this trend is going on globally" (MHC, 2012, p. 49).

But this result seemed to contrast with Soola's (2003) assertion that commercialization of news was "perhaps the most potent threat to the use of the media

for development goals" because the target audience for development, the often rural poor, was not attractive to advertisers since they lack "enough purchasing power to justify the advertiser or sponsor's patronage" (p. 122). Closer examination of the development topics represented in the newspapers' development news began to shed light on and reinforce Soola's contention, and to present a challenge for development journalism in Rwanda. The specific development topics featured in *The News Times* were strongly oriented toward market and capital development, rather than pro-poor, rural programs. This discussion will elaborate further on that fact below.

Among the most interesting results in this study derived from the 12 development topics subsequently re-coded into eight topics to illuminate priorities expressed in Rwanda's Vision 2020 and the UN's Millennium Development Goals. Of those topics, the most frequent in both newspapers was infrastructure, encompassing telecommunication, transportation, electricity and water, tourism, and construction. Infrastructure was one of the key pillars of Vision 2020 development strategy, but as Short (2008) noted, "areas such as transport limitations and energy problems – issues that directly affect industry—do not figure in the Millennium Development Goals" (p. 65). The most frequent topics after infrastructure were business and administrative reforms, also pillars of Vision 2020 not present in the MGDs. Many of Rwanda's governance reforms focused on building regulatory oversight conducive to private sector investment (Mutebi et al, 2003). Viewed together, these development priorities

"might be taken to suggest that Rwanda does indeed put an emphasis on sustainable development – at least of its industry" (Short, 2008, p. 60).

The result also can help explain the emphasis on development shown by the *The New Times* in light of the contradiction Soola perceived between the commercial imperative of independent media and the purchasing power of the poor. The development expressed by Vision 2020 and most reported in the newspapers was pro-business rather than pro-poor, and the business audience does have the purchasing and advertising resources needed by commercial press.

Vilanilam (1979) found that independent newspapers carried more development news than other newspapers, and proposed that was because independents did not have to contend with external priorities competing for readers' attention. From that perspective, the independent *The New Times* may be free of *Imvaho Nshya*'s burden of official or political imperatives of a government-owned newspaper. Both Rwandan newspapers carried similar percentages of development news, but *Imvaho Nshya* carried a much higher percentage of domestic non-development news, while *The New Times* published more sports and entertainment popular content. The competing imperatives of the two newspapers were evidenced among development topics in *The New Times*' significantly larger focus on business—which accounted for 21 percent of its development content compared to 9 percent for *Imvaho Nshya*—and *Imvaho Nshya*'s

emphasis on administrative reforms—22 percent of all its development content compared to 11 percent for *The New Times*.

In contrast to Vision 2020, the Millennium Development Goals focus overwhelmingly on a pro-poor agenda that spotlights health (in three of the eight MDGs), education, women and gender equality, and eradication of poverty. Overall, the MGDs had a poor showing among development topics in Rwanda, though with informative differences between the two newspapers. Women and gender equality was the third most-frequent development topic in *The New Times*, while it was tied for second-to-last in *Imvaho Nshya*. This might be seen to indicate a relatively high economic status for women in the country, and/or a comparatively low social priority. That was a disappointing result for the government newspaper in a country with a large number of widows of the Genocide, but perhaps reflective of the low position of gender equality as a "cross-cutting area" of focus in Vision 2020.

Health as a development topic was the second least-frequent topic in *The New Times*, and tied for second least-frequent in *Imvaho Nshya*, despite comprising three of the MGDs, in the forms of HIV/AIDS, maternal health, and child mortality. Health did not earn a top-level representation in the pillars of Vision 2020. Though education was present among the Vision 2020 pillars in the form of "human resource development" it had a poor showing in both newspapers.

The content analysis results for agriculture, however, were a complicating factor. While low on the list for *The New Times*, as might be expected in a country with a majority of poor engaged in subsistence agriculture and little purchasing power, agriculture was the third most-frequent development topic in *Imvaho Nshya*. Though agriculture occupied some three-fourths of the population, it was only a small percent of development coverage, and even of that a portion was focused on modernization rather than grassroots sustainability. Agriculture, present in the MGD goal to eradicate hunger, was stressed as a pillar of Vision 2020 in its "productive and market-oriented" form. As Ansoms & Rostagno (2012) described, that difference presented smallholder farmers, the majority of Rwanda's population, with a problem: government and business interests pushed them to "insert themselves in a stringent programme aimed at modernisation of the agricultural sector (monocropping, regional crop specialisation, market orientation)" (p. 441) .

Combined with the low results for education, health and gender equality, and the prominence of infrastructure, business, and administrative reforms, this indicated an overall development agenda set by the Rwandan government's Vision 2020, but expressed with competing influences within development journalism. Development priorities exemplified in both newspapers combined clearly reflected Vision 2020, but differences between them indicated that development journalism practice varied based

on each newspaper's structural imperatives. Development journalism at *Imvaho Nshya* reflected a political governance imperative, and at *The New Times*, a commercial one.

Study findings on sources and actors represented in development news illuminated the communication processes that supported development. The desired result of development expressed in Vision 2020 and featured in Rwandan development journalism, as described above, was traditional modernization with emphasis on capital and markets. The communicators of that paradigm were, with equal tradition, government authorities. Government comprised nearly half of all sources and actors found in development journalism in this study, a result shared equally by both newspapers, another indication how development was framed and its agenda set. Mason (2007) noted that "ultimately, the reliance on elite sources leads to tight limits on the amount of dissent that can take place…especially in a time of crisis" (p. 110). A notable finding for the study was the low result for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). As Ansoms & Rostagno described, "the Rwandan government exerts extensive control over the management, finances and projects of non-governmental organisations" (2012, p. 443) with the result that involvement of civil society in development was limited (Mutebi et al, 2003).

If civil society fared poorly in the study, the presence of regular citizens and beneficiaries of development activities showed slight promise. Nearly one quarter (24 percent) of all sources/actors comprised local citizens or beneficiaries. By comparison, in

Mckay's study of the highly-regarded Depthnews, 27 percent were "citizens," which Mckay found to be a mild participatory representation. Given the demonstrated pro-government and pro-business results above, the 24 percent presence of local citizens and beneficiaries in this study allowed some potential for communication of a pro-poor agenda, which Ansoms and Rostagno contended, "starts with the acknowledgement of the population's views on, and perceptions of, poverty" (2012, p. 442).

The modest, but not-small number of citizen sources and actors in Rwandan development journalism was unexpected because, as Mutebi et al. noted, participatory development communication could prove "difficult in a country whose governance has for many years been authoritarian and non-participatory, and whose citizenry is therefore often characterised as obedient and lacking in policy-oriented civil society organisations" (2003, p. 253). Citizen sources/actors numbers were highest not in infrastructure, administrative reforms, or business, where government sources/actors led, but in agriculture, education, and women and gender equality, areas that were not government development priorities. Only in the absence of government did development journalism empower citizens to more fully participate in the development process.

A significant failure in this regard, however, was the inadequacy of participatory communication in the area of health, which matched its poor showing in quantity with the lowest citizen participation of any topic. By any measure, health is an obtrusive issue

for Rwandans. Average life expectancy was 55.7 years in 2012, and the infant mortality rate was 92.9/1000. HIV was the main killer of people over 5 years old, and second only to malaria for children under 5. Despite that obtrusiveness, evidence in this study showed that health was not a priority issue on the government agenda, and placed it near the bottom in frequency within development media. The combined evidence demonstrates significant weakness in the model of development journalism practiced in Rwanda.

Is development journalism in Rwanda "government say-so" journalism? Minister of Information Louise Mushikiwabo asserted that Rwandan media is not required to "follow what the government says," but should go "where the government wants to go" (Haba, 2009, p. 5). Results in this study indicated that in development areas such as health, journalism did not stray from limitations expressed actively or passively by the Rwandan government. Development journalism was by definition expected to promote a positive outlook, and results of this study were overwhelmingly positive, at 65 percent. That was a high result compared to limited available earlier studies elsewhere, particularly Ogan & Fair (1984) who recorded results at 34 percent positive, and Ogan & Swift (1982) at 50 percent. Numbers measuring negative valence were similarly small, at 10 percent for this study compared to 16 percent for Ogan & Fair and 23 percent for Ogan & Swift. But in contrast to Ogan & Fair, negatives were higher in the independent newspaper instead of the government newspaper. Though *The New Times* was widely

considered to be pro-government, that result provided additional evidence of the ability of independent media and free press to challenge government hegemony.

Limitations

This paper established only a baseline analysis of development journalism practice in Rwanda during a single year, 2013. While the two newspapers studied were well-established, the only dailies and carried significant news content, there are numerous other print, radio, and television outlets that may present development communication differently. Additionally, development is a long and complex process that occurs, when it does, over the course of decades, and a single year gives at best only a snapshot of an evolving system. To understand whether any impact development journalism can or does have on national development—directly through strong media effects, or agenda setting, or participatory communication—will require a broader inquiry and significant resources.

It is reasonable to question whether the development journalism study model used here and traditionally in the study of development journalism can have comparative value, or if the particular historical, cultural, political, demographic, and media tradition of a country is too impactful to allow the journalism researcher to draw broader conclusions. This study model, perhaps, is a valuable lens through which to examine the role of development journalism in a particular setting, but may provide

limited opportunity for prescriptive implementation elsewhere, in other national, regional, or development contexts.

Conclusion

On the surface, development journalism was found to be an active, engaged model in 2013 in the Rwandan newspapers *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*. But detailed examination revealed significant weaknesses in the model's implementation. Notably, the government's pro-business development agenda was reported mostly intact by the newspapers, unchallenged and poorly audited by participants or by any significant pro-poor representation.

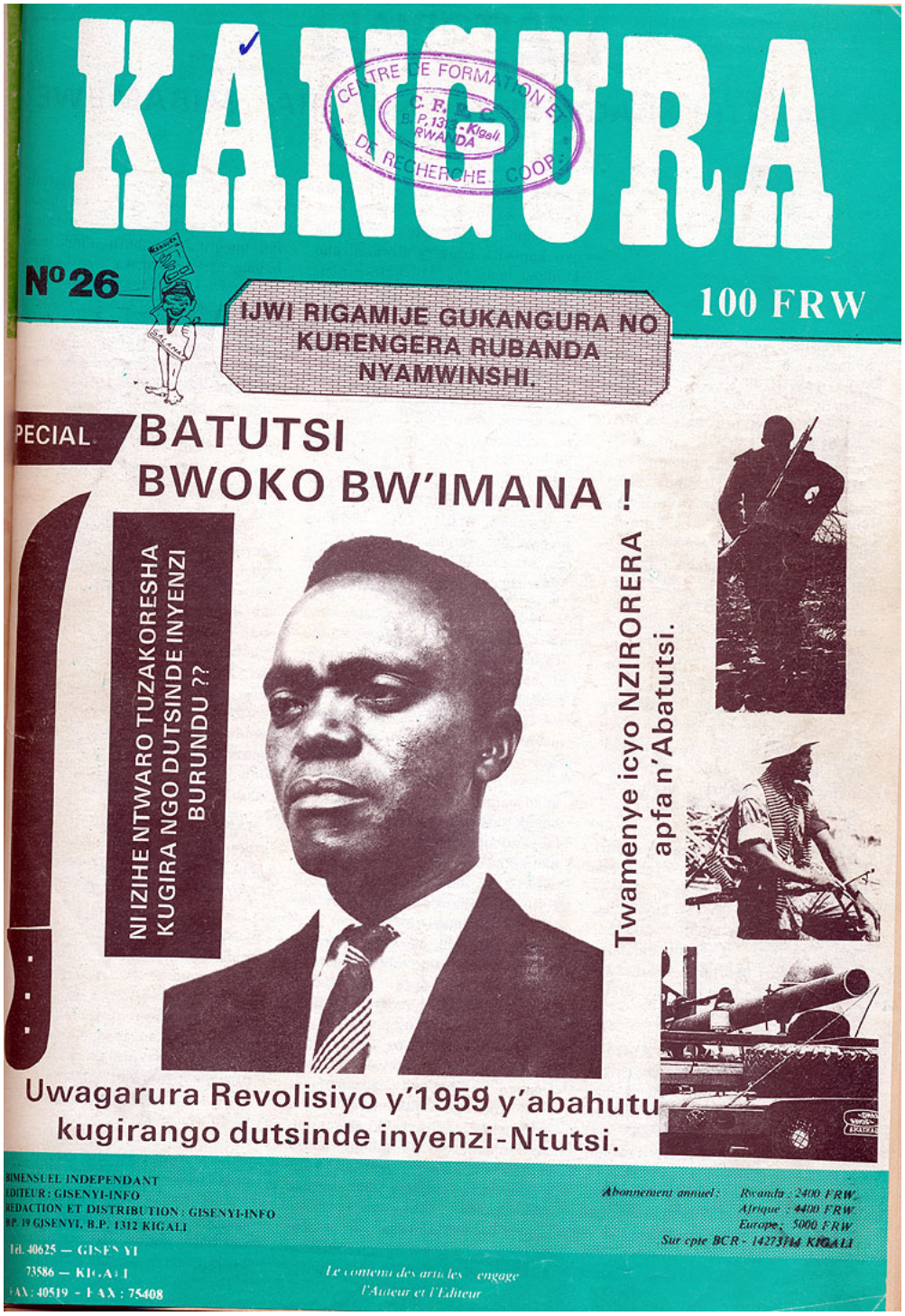
The results of this study have to be considered in the context of two significant, alternately reinforcing and contradictory historical legacies: colonialism and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. German and Belgian colonizers asserted economic development in an authoritarian modernization paradigm implemented via strategies that pitted indigenous society against itself; Rwandans have historical reason to distrust development processes. With political independence in Rwanda came magnified ethnic conflict, and with independent press came hate media; Rwandans have no successful experience with nor expectations for a free press. Rwandan society has reason to be wary of authority, but also fearful of unfettered participation.

Additionally, Rwanda's media face many structural challenges, including lack of available formal training, under-developed commercial environment, and restrictive government. Pratt (1993) pointed out that development media do not require a well-developed media system. His work showed "no strong relationships…between media

growth and economic development," and "no relationships…between democratic norms and economic and media development" (p. 103). Structural challenges may make development journalism more difficult, but they do not make it impossible.

Government and media representatives in Rwanda have considered journalism to be a significant part in the success of national development plans, echoing assertions by journalism and development communication scholars. The theoretical bases for development journalism have focused on the legitimacy of goals—modernization through open markets, national control to overcome dependency, or democratic participation—and effectiveness of outcomes. Rwanda's national experience of colonialism, extreme conflict, underdevelopment, and emerging stability provide an important historical, cultural, and economic context to better understand those theories of development communication theories and their real-world application in development journalism.

Appendix: Cover of *Kangura* No. 26



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