

**An Agrarian Society's Developing Press System: Malian  
Journalists' Views on Media, Ethics, and Democracy**

**Dr. D. Dwayne Cartmell II**

**Dr. M. Craig Edwards**

**Dr. Shelly Sitton**

**Dr. Cindy Blackwell**

Oklahoma State University

Department of Agricultural Education, Communications and Leadership

448 Agricultural Hall

Stillwater, Oklahoma 74078

Tel.#: 405.744.0461

FAX#: 405.744.5176

dwayne.cartmell@okstate.edu

**Dr. James W. Hynes**

Sam Houston State University

**Dr. Tracy Irani**

University of Florida

**Abstract**

*Fledgling democracies need a press corps that can monitor their institutions and interrogate critical issues. This study describes the perceptions of Malian journalists about their role in a democracy. Fourteen journalists who attended professional development training in the United States during July 2007 provided the data. They were chosen following an orientation in Bamako, Mali, about the training, interviews, and subsequent vetting by the U.S. Embassy. The data were collected before the training's seminars began. Questions were asked that addressed four domains relevant to the work and behaviors of journalists as well as items that described selected personal and professional characteristics. Items were adapted from earlier work by Mwesige (2004) with Ugandan journalists. An importance scale was employed to collect data about three of the domains: "5" = "Great Importance" . . . "1" = "No Importance." Another scale was used to assess journalists' attitudes about the "justifiableness" of various ethical issues: "5" = "Always Justifiable" . . . "1" = "Never Justifiable." Frequencies, means, and standard deviations were calculated and reported. Influencing public affairs was viewed as the most important aspect of their jobs. Meeting the public's need for information was seen as the most important function of news media. Certain deceptive practices were viewed as more justifiable than behaviors related to matters of confidentiality. "Freedom of Speech and Assembly" was considered highly important in a democracy. The findings will be useful when examining the training's impact and when planning similar professional development opportunities in the future.*

**Key words:** Africa, Mali, Media, Professional Development

## Introduction

Many scholars and practitioners argue “freedom of the press” is an essential pillar on which a functional and sustainable democratic society rests. Ostensibly, a free press corps is the “Fourth Estate,” or guardian of individual rights and civil liberties. These media professionals are ultimately “gatekeepers” or “watchdogs” of accurate, objective, and socially relevant information and knowledge. They form a corpus entrusted to educate and inform a nation’s citizens about its institutions and the important issues that traverse society.

Ellen Hume, director of the Center on Media and Society at the University of Massachusetts, asserted that a free and professional media sector performs four important functions in a democracy:

First, it is a watchdog on the powerful, holding them accountable to the people. Second, it casts a spotlight on issues that need attention. Third, it educates the citizens so they can make political choices. Fourth, it connects people with each other, helping to create the social ‘glue’ that binds civil society. (2005, section 1, para. 7)

Fledgling democracies, in particular, are sensitive to the need for a professional press corps, including media professionals who monitor its institutions and interrogate the critical issues confronting its people. James Wolfensohn, former president of the World Bank, has spoken on this issue. Informed by the World Bank’s study *Consultations with the Poor*, Wolfensohn (1999) stated freedom of the press “is absolutely at the core of equitable development” (para. 18) and is “the searchlight of transparency” (para. 19) to be shone on a nation’s institutional actors and their behaviors that influence economic growth, capital investment, and entrepreneurial capacity-building.

To that end, a developing nation’s agricultural, food, fiber, and natural resources sector is especially critical to its economic growth and well being. The food and agricultural industry is filled with large and small businesses that serve as vital spokes in a nation’s economic wheel and, thus, provide for the welfare of its citizens. However, despite an economic dependency on agriculture, agricultural producers and businesses of many developing societies are fragile and rife with uncertainty. Their need for information and promotion and how that interfaces with the role of media and communications actors is an essential relationship.

### *The Case of Mali, its Agrarian Aspect, and its Media*

The abovementioned may be even more acute in the West African nation of Mali. The U.S. Department of State (2005) reported that 36% of Mali’s gross domestic product (GDP) is derived from agriculture and its manufactured goods are primarily processed agricultural products accounting for an additional 22% of the nation’s GDP in 2003. What is more, 70% of the Malian workforce is employed in the food and agricultural industry.

Mali’s web of environmental and natural resources includes the fiber crop cotton, its number one export (USAID, 2004), of which it is one of Africa’s foremost producers. Cotton may be an example of an existing agricultural commodity that is well positioned to add greater value to Mali’s economic future (Kilman & Thurow, 2005; National Cotton Council of America, “U.S. Program Will Help . . .,” 2005). This outlook also could include significant growth in

textile and textile-supporting industries, thus stimulating more business opportunities and development at different points in the value-chain. In addition, the production of plant-produced sugar may provide another important agronomic revenue stream in the future (USAID, 2004). The role of a well-informed and professional media would be integral to the development and promotion of these and other agribusiness initiatives in Mali.

Devolution of governmental control of Mali's media and communications networks occurred in the 1990s (Pringle, 2006a). As a consequence, an "explosion" of commercial media providers erupted throughout the country; however, few Malian reporters and broadcasters have received the training necessary to perform their jobs professionally. For example, Perret (2005) reported that in Mali,

one often comes to journalism without training, after studies of every kind. In the absence of a specialized local school, for a long time, future journalists have had to get their training abroad, most of the time at the Center for Information Science and Technology (CESTI) in Dakar [, Senegal], incidentally in Abidjan [, Côte d'Ivoire]. Such training generally depends on the availability of scholarships which have been getting fewer in numbers over the years. (p. 29)

Radio communications is of particular significance in Mali. A plethora of radio outlets exists currently (Pringle, 2006a); estimates are upward of 150 private stations that provide coverage to 83% of the nation (USAID, 2004). That fact conjoined with a low rate of literacy, which is estimated to be 31% nationally (U.S. Department of State, 2005, "People" section, "Education"), makes radio the medium of choice, as well as a necessity, for an overwhelmingly high percentage of Malians. So, if viewed as a significant and essential "societal good," Mali's radio broadcasting system and its affiliated stations should be staffed by competent and ethical media professionals, or what Michael Leslie (1995) called *professional communicators for development*. Similar challenges and training opportunities in the print and television sectors also exist, as does the need for properly educated teachers of professional media standards and practices. Media opportunities involving the Internet, while limited, are emerging, as well (USAID, 2004).

Mali is a nation in its second decade of democratic reform (Pringle, 2006a, 2006b) and is one of the world's 10 poorest countries (Pringle 2006b; U.S. Department of State, 2005). Societal support for unfettered but professional journalists is a prerequisite for the fulfillment of Mali's democratic principles and ideals. Its economic institutions, infrastructure, and governance could be made transparent and accessible by professional media coverage that seeks to inform its audience through an ethical prism of truth, clarity, and balance. These aims support and complement the U.S. Millennium Challenge global initiative to reduce world poverty through increased economic growth in developing nations (Millennium Challenge Corporation, 2005). Priorities ascribed to by the World Bank would be bolstered, as well, by training and education that better professionalize Mali's media, including those journalists who report on agriculture and the challenges of farmers and other rural citizens.

However, inherent to being a "professional" are standards and benchmarks for skills and

practices journalists are expected to acquire and model. These standards of journalistic professionalism include behaviors that demonstrate accuracy, objectivity, balance and fairness, sensitivity to significant societal issues and forces, technical competence, and a consistent adherence to ethical codes, standards, and procedures. However, more must be known about the attitudes and viewpoints of the Malian media professionals who would aspire to achieve that purpose. A base of literature that might describe the views and attitudes of African journalists generally or Malian professionals specifically is scant or non-existent (Mwesige, 2004).

### *Theoretical Framework*

As a component of his “theory of planned behavior” or “perceived behavioral control,” Ajzen (1991) posited that, “a relation between a person’s salient beliefs about the behavior and his or her attitude toward that behavior” (p. 192) exists. He called this associational state an individual’s “belief salience” for a given behavior and theorized it influences how and what one perceives, which, in part, determines a person’s “intentions” or “planned behaviors.” Ajzen further stated his reasoning was “compatible with Bandura’s . . . concept of perceived self-efficacy” (p. 184), i.e., a well-established theoretical basis for understanding the relationship between the level of self-confidence held by an individual to perform a given task and his or her actual performance. Accordingly, the participants’ views about the importance of selected aspects of their jobs, news media, ethical issues, and democracy were conceptualized as “proxies” or indicators of their “planned behaviors” (Ajzen) as working journalists.

### **Purpose and Objectives**

The purpose of this study was to determine selected Malian media specialists’ perceptions of their role as journalists in a democratic society. To that end, this study sought to describe selected characteristics of Malian journalists, describe their views on selected aspects of their job, describe their views of selected functions on the news media, ascertain their views on selected controversial ethical issues, and gain their views on democracy.

### **Methods and Data Sources**

This was a descriptive study that includes data derived from a purposeful sample (Creswell, 2005; Merriam, 1998) of 14 Malian journalists. Purposeful sampling makes it possible for researchers to “intentionally select individuals and sites to learn and understand the central phenomenon” (Creswell, p. 204).

These journalists attended one month of professional development training as part of a project funded by the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs: “Nurturing the “Fourth Estate”: Professional Development for Media Specialists in the Republic of Mali, West Africa.” (For the purpose of this paper, the term “journalists” is used hereafter to reference the study’s participants.) Seminar topics were presented by professional media practitioners in Oklahoma, by faculty members in agricultural communications and education at Oklahoma State University, and by other content experts.

The journalists had participated in a one-day orientation in Bamako, Mali, during March 2007. The purpose of the project was explained by the researchers, and participants (approximately 80) were invited to complete an application and return the following day to be interviewed for possible participation in the training to take place in the USA during July 2007. (Mali is a Francophone country. However, the language of the orientation meeting was English, and simultaneous translation—English to French—was provided.)

About 45 journalists returned the next day for interviews. Participants' applications were required to be completed in English, and participants were to speak English during their interviews to the extent possible; however, translators were available to assist interviewees as needed. The researchers and invited project team members who were professional journalists in the USA conducted the interviews in teams of two. A rating scale regarding answers to project-related questions and criteria was used by the interviewers to score and rank the interviewees. An interviewee's level of English proficiency was also an important selection criterion.

After return to the USA, the researchers selected 16 journalists for submission of their names to the U.S. Embassy in Mali for visa application interviews. Of the initial 16, four were rejected. So, four additional applicants were sent to Embassy officials to be interviewed. Ultimately, a total of 14 journalists were granted visas for the purpose of traveling to the USA to participate in the training program.

To gain information from these journalists, the researchers developed a questionnaire designed to elicit responses in five areas: (a) personal/professional characteristics; (b) views on their jobs; (c) perceptions of the news media in Mali; (d) perceptions on selected ethical issues; and (e) views on democracy. This data was collected prior to the start of the training program.

Questionnaire items were adapted from earlier work by Mwesige (2004), who developed an extensive attitudinal profile of Ugandan journalists regarding their work and role in another Sub-Saharan African country that also was transitioning to democracy. According to Mwesige, many of his items were adapted and borrowed from earlier assessments developed by other researchers, including Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman (1976) and Weaver and Wilhoit (1986, 1996). This study's instrument included 43 items addressing four areas or "domains" pertinent to the role of journalists and questions describing selected personal and professional characteristics of the participants. Three domains—"aspects of their job" (9), "functions of the news media" (13), and "aspects of democracy" (7)—employed an importance scale: "5" = "Great Importance"; "4" = "High Importance"; "3" = "Average Importance"; "2" = "Low Importance"; "1" = "No Importance." Another scale was used to assess journalists' attitudes about how "justifiable" were various controversial ethical issues, i.e., the behavior of a journalist vis-à-vis the issue or act described (14): "5" = "Always Justifiable"; "4" = "Frequently Justifiable"; "3" = "Sometimes Justifiable"; "2" = "Seldom Justifiable"; "1" = "Never Justifiable." Regarding data analysis, frequencies, means, and standard deviations were calculated and are reported in Tables 1 – 4.

### **Findings/Results**

Thirteen participants were male, and one participant was female. Most ( $n = 13$ ) had been educated at a university or college. The average age was 36.64 with a range of 20 to 47 years. Notably, the researchers identified substantial variability among the participants regarding their past and current involvement in journalism, i.e., the sample included full-time professionals, part-time reporters, and "occasional" or "itinerant" journalists, or, in the case of two participants, it was a career to which they aspired. However, the sample did include reporters for Mali's national (i.e., government-owned) newspaper, *L'Essor*, the owner/manager of two private newspapers, employees of Mali's national television and radio network (*ORTM*), a developer of video training packages for adult farmers, a program host for a private urban radio station, owners/managers of two private urban radio stations, the manager of a network of 20 rural radio stations, the communications director for the University of Bamako, and a teacher of English communications.

As shown in Table 1, the journalists perceived all items regarding selected aspects of their job were of average importance or higher (i.e.,  $\geq 3.00$ ). Of high importance (i.e.,  $\geq 4.00$ ) were a “chance to influence public affairs” ( $M = 4.36$ ,  $SD = .63$ ), “a chance to develop a specialty” ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = .73$ ), “amount of ‘creative freedom’ you have in reporting” ( $M = 4.14$ ,  $SD = .77$ ), “chance to help people” ( $M = 4.08$ ,  $SD = .95$ ), and “job security” ( $M = 4.00$ ,  $SD = 1.30$ ).

Table 1

*Journalists’ Views About the Importance of Selected Aspects of Their Jobs*

<i>Aspects</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Chance to influence public affairs	14	4.36	.63
Chance to develop a specialty	14	4.29	.73
Amount of “creative freedom” you have in reporting	14	4.14	.77
Chance to help people	13	4.08	.95
Job security	14	4.00	1.30
Editorial policies of the organization	14	3.93	1.00
Promotion/advancement in the organization	14	3.86	1.03
Salary	14	3.64	1.28
Fringe benefits (insurance, healthcare, etc.)	14	3.21	1.31

The most important functions of the news media according to participating journalists were “getting information to the public quickly” ( $M = 4.77$ ,  $SD = .44$ ) and “provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems” ( $M = 4.43$ ,  $SD = .76$ ) (Table 2). Conversely, the least important functions of the news media were to “be an adversary of business by being constantly skeptical of their actions” ( $M = 1.57$ ,  $SD = .85$ ) and “be an adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions” ( $M = 1.71$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ).

Table 2

*Journalists’ Views About the Importance of Selected Functions of the News Media*

<i>Functions</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Get information to the public quickly	13	4.77	.44
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems	14	4.43	.76
Give ordinary people a chance to express themselves	14	4.21	1.05
Develop intellectual and cultural interests of the public	14	4.07	1.07
Influence public opinion	14	4.00	1.24
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed	14	4.00	1.11
Investigate claims and statements made by the government	14	4.00	.79
Concentrate on news that is of interest to the widest possible audience	14	3.93	1.14
Provide entertainment and relaxation	14	3.29	1.07
Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified	14	3.00	1.62
Set the political agenda	14	2.71	1.34
Be an adversary of public officials by being constantly	14	1.71	1.07

skeptical of their actions			
Be an adversary of businesses by being constantly skeptical of their actions	14	1.57	.85

The journalists perceived the most justifiable ethical issues were “using hidden microphones or cameras” ( $M = 3.36$ ,  $SD = 1.34$ ) and “paying people for confidential information” ( $M = 2.93$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) (Table 3). The least justifiable ethical issues were “making use of personal documents such as letters and photographs without permission” ( $M = 1.57$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ) and “agreeing to protect confidentiality and not doing so” ( $M = 1.86$ ,  $SD = 1.70$ ).

Table 3

*Journalists' Views About the Justifiableness of Selected Ethical Issues and Related Behaviors*

<i>Ethical Issues</i>	n	M	SD
Using hidden microphones or cameras	14	3.36	1.34
Paying people for confidential information	14	2.93	1.07
Disclosing the names of rape victims	14	2.79	1.48
Being paid by a source to facilitate information-gathering process	14	2.57	1.40
Using confidential business or government documents without authorization	14	2.50	1.09
Badgering unwilling informants to get a story	14	2.50	1.51
Using re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors	14	2.36	1.34
Claiming to be somebody else	14	2.14	1.17
Getting employed in a firm or organization to get inside information	14	2.07	1.21
Being paid by a source to change a story	14	2.00	1.57
Being paid by a source to kill a story	14	2.00	1.36
Being paid by a source to publish a story	13	1.92	1.26
Agreeing to protect confidentiality and not doing so	14	1.86	1.70
Making use of personal documents such as letters and photographs without permission	14	1.57	1.16

Finally, the most important aspects of democracy according to the journalists were “freedom of speech and assembly” ( $M = 4.85$ ,  $SD = .38$ ) and a “free and fair election process” ( $M = 4.69$ ,  $SD = .48$ ), as reported in Table 4. The two least important aspects were tied: “government control of people reading political publications they want to read” ( $M = 2.23$ ,  $SD = 1.54$ ) and “politics are only the thing of a few people and have nothing to do with the majority” ( $M = 2.23$ ,  $SD = 1.54$ ).

Table 4

*Journalists' Views About the Importance of Selected Aspects of Democracy*

<i>Aspects</i>	n	M	SD
Freedom of speech and assembly	13	4.85	.38
Free and fair election process	13	4.69	.48
Freedom to express political views publicly	13	4.54	.66

---

Competition between political parties	13	4.46	.88
Every citizen should have an equal chance to influence governmental policy decisions	13	4.23	1.36
Politics are only the thing of a few people and have nothing to do with the majority	13	2.23	1.54
Government control of people reading political publications they want to read	13	2.23	1.54

---

### Conclusions

The participants were mostly males who varied significantly in their professional experience as journalists as well as their level of current employment or “engagement” in journalism. Careers in print, radio, television, and education were represented in the sample and included the national government and private enterprises as places of employment.

The journalists indicated their opportunity to “influence public affairs” was the most important aspect of their job. They perceived the most important function of news media was to meet the public’s need for receiving information promptly and to help people better understand complex issues. The journalists held little importance for taking an adversarial role vis-à-vis the business community or with public officials.

Regarding controversial ethical issues and behaviors, the participants viewed being deceptive as more justifiable than reneging on explicit “promises” or commitments regarding having permission (or not) to use a source’s documents or violating matters of confidentiality. The journalists viewed an individual’s rights, including access to “free and fair” elections, as holding high importance in a democracy but the government controlling information or aspects of political elitism or exclusion were seen as much less important.

### Educational Importance, Discussion, and Implications

Mali is in an exciting period of democratic growth (Pringle, 2006a, 2006b). However, the extent of that growth will hinge on the development of a free press system grounded in professional standards and codes of behavior. In an address to the journalists who provided data for this study, Dr. Mohomodou Houssouba, a Malian scholar and expatriate, noted,

[T]he hope is that the profession would experience a new awakening by moving beyond the basic notion of free speech. Indeed, while free speech is the cornerstone of democratic journalism, journalists cannot content themselves with this invocation of such a freedom detached from a broader sense of responsibility, which begins with a culture of professional solidarity and rigor. (personal communication, July 25, 2007)

A society’s support for unrestricted but professional journalists, editors, media managers, and teachers of journalism is a must for the fulfillment of democratic principles and ideals, and especially in a fledgling democracy such as Mali. Moreover, it is critical those who are charged with providing professional development and training for Malian media professionals have a better understanding of Malian values, perceptions, and views about a democratic society and a free press system. Albeit a modest contribution, this study was a step toward that end.

What is more, the role of a well-informed and professional media is integral to initiatives designed to foster growth, expansion, and development of a nation’s agricultural sector and rural populace. In particular, economic institutions, infrastructure, and governance can be made

transparent and accessible by a professional media corps that practices “economic journalism” as a voice for the poor (Wolfensohn, 1999). Leslie (1995) labeled that role as being *professional communicators for development*. But inherent to that aim is the continual need to prepare and professionalize those communicators.

This study, however, may have revealed a notable contradiction. The journalists were averse to taking an “adversarial” or skeptical position regarding business or public officials. Viewed through a “Western” prism, that would appear to be somewhat antithetical to their societal mission and the essence of the “Fourth Estate” ideals (Hume, 2005). In a study of Ugandan journalists, who also downplayed the significance of that function, Msewige (2004) opined that the word “adversary” may have been problematic (see Table 2) due to its “very extreme tone” (p. 86); thus, it may have tempered the respondents’ ratings of that item’s importance. So, more should be learned about the origin(s) of that perspective and the “cultural lenses” fomenting it before passing a final judgment. Similar concerns and caveats may apply to some of the views expressed about the “justifiableness” of selected ethical behaviors, e.g., violations of source confidentiality. Msewige also reported a sense of ethical ambiguity or “relativism” among his Ugandan journalists, especially as it related to matters of confidentiality. Other more culturally appropriate means of government and business accountability may be discovered.

The findings of this study may have rather limited generalizability beyond the participating sample. For example, the relatively large standard deviations found for many of the questionnaire’s items (Table, 1, 2, 3, and 4) cast some suspicion on its internal consistency and stability. Msewige reported as much for a portion of a similar instrument. Differences in language may have been partially responsible for these shortcomings. The questionnaire was in English but French translation was available to the participants per their needs and requests. So, the issue of language differences and the possible confounding effects of “context-” or “culturally bounded” understandings should be considered. Nevertheless, for this particular phenomenon, very little empirical data has been reported previously. As the researchers go forward, these findings will be useful when examining the impact of training delivered through the project described.

### References

- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50(2), 179-211.
- Creswell, J. W. (2005). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Hume, E. (2005). Freedom of the press. eJournal USA. Retrieved January 13, 2006, from <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1205/ijde/hume.htm>
- Johnstone, J. W., Slawski, E. J., & Bowman, W. W. (1976). *The news republic: A sociological portrait of American journalists and their work*. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Kilman, S., & Thurow, R. (2005, August 5). To soothe anger over subsidies, U.S. cotton tries wooing Africa. *The Wall Street Journal*.
- Leslie, M. (1995). Mass communication and development—A critical review. In A. K. Pillai & L. W. Shannon (eds.), *Developing Areas: A Book of Readings and Research* (pp. 358-365). Providence, RI: Berg Publishers Limited.

- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Millennium Challenge Corporation. (2005, November 8). Millennium challenge corporation board names fiscal year 2006 eligible countries. Press release. Retrieved January 26, 2006, from [http://www.mca.gov/public\\_affairs/press\\_releases/pr\\_110805\\_fy06\\_select.shtml](http://www.mca.gov/public_affairs/press_releases/pr_110805_fy06_select.shtml)
- Mwesige, P. G. (2004). Disseminators, advocates, and watchdogs: A profile of Ugandan journalists in the new millennium. *Journalism*, 5(69). Retrieved June 1, 2007, from <http://jou.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/5/1/69>
- Perret, T. (2005, March). Médias et démocratie au Mali: le journalisme dans son milieu. *Politique Africaine*, pp. 18-32.
- Pringle, R. (2006a). Democratization in Mali: Putting history to work. United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved January 2, 2008, from <http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/pwks58.pdf>
- Pringle, R. (2006b, Spring). Mali's unlikely democracy. *The Wilson Quarterly*, 31-39.
- United States Agency for International Development. (2004). USAID/Mali annual report FY 2004. Retrieved January 31, 2006, from [http://pdf.dec.org/pdf\\_docs/PDACA035.pdf](http://pdf.dec.org/pdf_docs/PDACA035.pdf)
- United States Department of State. (2005). Background note: Mali. Bureau of African Affairs. Retrieved January 10, 2006, from <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2828.htm>
- Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, C. G. (1986). *The American journalist: A portrait of US news people and their work*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, C. G. (1996). *The American journalist in the 1990s: U.S. news people at the end of an era*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Wolfensohn, J. (1999, November 24). Press freedom gives poor people in developing countries a voice. Gannett News Watch. Retrieved January 13, 2006, from <http://www.gannett.com/go/newswatch/99/november/nw1124-2.htm>
- World Bank Institute. (2004). Past reports on the status of projects in execution (SOPE). Retrieved January 23, 2006, from <http://www1.worldbank.org/operations/disclosure/SOPE/FY04/SOPEreportFY04AFR.pdf>