Development news an analysis of the concept with specific reference to television in Jamaica.

Carole Joy. Embden

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Development News: An Analysis of the Concept
with Specific Reference to Television in Jamaica

By

Carole Joy Embden

A Thesis
submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of
Communication Studies in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts at
the University of Windsor


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ABSTRACT

Development Journalism is a concept in the communications field that has not been clearly defined. Some studies defined development news as government propaganda giving positive news about development programs and projects, while others identified the concept with critical news about development programs and projects.

Previous research in this area concentrated mainly on the quantity of development news in a particular medium. This study also examines its quality.

This study is based on an examination of the concept in relation to its practice on Jamaican television.

The study, a content analysis of Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation's television news, indicates that the concept had tendencies in each of the previously defined directions, but that development journalism was used more for highlighting positive news about development programs, policies and projects. It further revealed that development news in Jamaica needed greater analytical depth.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my husband and sons, Donovan, Nataki and Hasani, and my parents Percival and Dorian Powell for all of your love and support.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract

Dedication

Acknowledgements

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>The problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Background to the problem</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Purpose of study</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Research questions</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Definitions</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Setting of study</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.1</td>
<td>The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.2</td>
<td>The news department</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.3</td>
<td>News production</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Development news as a Third World</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phenomenon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Development journalism as government</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>propaganda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Impact of government control</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government control and development news</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in the Caribbean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Theoretical framework</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(viii)
CHAPTER 3
METHODS

CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

How much of JBC TV news is development news?
(Research question number 1) 56

To what extent is development news on JBC TV positive?
(Research question number 2) 62

To what extent can Development news on JBC TV be seen as government propaganda?
(Research question number 3) 63

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 75

BIBLIOGRAPHY 79

APPENDICES 85

VITA AUCTORIS 87
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem

In the continuing debate on the socio-economic and political role of the media, the new phrase, "development journalism", has sparked some controversy among communicators.

While some people believe development journalism is similar to what is known in the West as investigative journalism, the more common view is that it stresses the importance of the media in supporting governments' development efforts. Opponents of this view claim that development journalism is merely governments' 'say so' reporting, espousing government propaganda. Proponents of the concept claim that development journalism looks at the process of development, not just as events, and that it examines the impact of development programs and projects in the long term.

This conflict over development journalism has continued and communicators are still unclear as to
2.

the meaning of the concept.

1.2 Background to the Problem

The concept of development journalism emerged from two sources.

First, development journalism emerged from Asia's attempt at utilising the media in promoting national development. Secondly, development journalism arose from the debate over the domination by the Western media of media in developing countries.

In the conceptualization of development journalism from Asian sources, the Philippines and China are the two nations from which this concept emerged, with journalists Juan Mercado and Alan Chalkley cited as major contributors. In addition to Chalkley and Mercado, the Press Foundation of Asia (P.F.A.) has also been credited for promoting the concept and coining the term "development journalism".

Lent (1979) noted that the PFA, in promoting development journalism, established a news agency program to promote training in development journalism. The news agency, known as Development Economics and
Population Theme (DEPTH), dealt specifically with in-depth reporting, and Lent notes that DEPTH news, "through the work of Mercado and Chalkley, experimented with a news style that eventually stood out as a symbol of new journalism for developing countries" (66).

Ogan (1982:5-6) explained that the development journalism approach sought to highlight news "that reflected social relevance and underlined a sense of commitment of Asian journalists to economic development in the broadest sense of the term".

Secondly, development journalism came into focus and received more attention in the late sixties, when developing countries increasingly voiced their concerns over the domination by the Western media of the news of the developing world. Worried about imbalances in the flow of news and distortions in the news about Third World countries, political leaders and media managers later brought their concern to international attention.

In addition, they argued that the flow of communication between the industrialized nations and the developing Third World is one way, weighted heavily in favour of the Developed World. It has been
estimated that over 80 percent of world news flow comes from four major transnational agencies in developed countries, the Associated Press, United Press International, Agence France-Presse and Reuters (Weaver & Wilhoit 1984).

Nordenstreng (1984:28) points to a huge discrepancy in the flow of news between developed and developing countries.

Quantitatively it may be estimated that the total flow of communication taking place between the industrialised part of the world (inhabited by some one third of mankind) and the Third World (comprising about two thirds) takes place at least a hundred times more in the direction from industrialised to developing countries than vice versa.

It is also argued that this one way dominance of news on the part of developed countries has a tendency to distort the news from the Third World. Mustapha Masmoudi (1972:173), the former Tunisian Minister of Information, claims information is transmitted based on the interests of the developed countries.
Information is distorted by reference to moral, cultural or political values peculiar to certain states, in defiance of the values and concerns of other nations. The criteria governing selection are consciously or unconsciously based on the political and economic interests of the transnational system and of the countries in which this system is established.

Third World countries complained further that news about them highlights the negative aspects of their usually fragile economies and societies. Masmoudi (1979:176) also notes that a great deal of attention is given to protests, coups and similar events.

Moreover [they often] present these communities when indeed they show interest in them — in the most unfavourable light, stressing crises, strikes, street demonstrations, etc, or even holding them up to ridicule... the present day information system enshrines a form of political economy and cultural colonialism which is reflected in the often tendentious interpretation of news concerning the developing countries. This consists in highlighting events whose significance in certain cases is limited or even non-existent; in collecting isolated facts and presenting them as a "whole"; in setting out facts in such a way that the conclusion to be drawn from them is necessarily favourable to the interests of the transnational system.

Third World countries, over the past two decades and a half, have been voicing these concerns and have called for changes at seminars, conferences, in the
media, and from any available platform, whenever the opportunity has arisen. These criticisms, taken as a whole, form the basis of what has been termed the New International Information Order (N.I.I.O).

Consequently, the concept of a New International Information Order sparked heated debates, with Western countries aligned in strong opposition.

McPhail (1987) outlined one view of this new information order which, he argues, "seeks a restructured system of media and telecommunication priorities in order for developing countries to obtain greater influence over their information, economic, cultural and political systems" (14).

United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which was once a strong advocate of the free flow doctrine, decided to investigate the claims of the developing countries. It appointed the MacBride Commission to study and analyse the situation. The report of this commission, Many Voices, One World is the outcome of the investigation.
7.

The report noted an imbalance in the flow of news and suggested a shift from a "less just present order to a more just new order." Western nations have expressed unhappiness with this proposal and have suggested that it is just a ploy by Third World governments to use the media for their own purposes. They have also charged that the new order is an attempt on the part of Third World governments to control the press. According to Yadava (1984), Western communicators and officials also feel that UNESCO is showing favouritism to Third World countries, and the organisation has been charged by some Western spokesmen with "grave misdemeanor in tending to view with sympathy the Third World grievances against the Western media systems" (xxiii).

Consequently, the United States, the leader of the Western nations, along with other top Western countries, have withdrawn from UNESCO as a sign of protest. One communication scholar, Harris (1977), views this conflict as a smoke screen.

...what has happened is that Western commentators, and the Western news media in particular, have contrived to cloud the issue by erecting a smokescreen which is designed to minimize the legitimacy of the Third World demands in the international community.
Harris (1977) further states,

This smokescreen has taken the form of positing as a direct equation the desire by the Third World to nullify existing news imbalances and automatic endorsement of the abandonment of press freedom (27).

Nevertheless, developing countries continued their call for government policies to deal with the situation, as well as for government controlled news agencies which would allow them to control news from outside their region. In this way the content of the news about each country could be more easily monitored. 'Spot' and 'action' news would be minimized and news of development in the country highlighted.

Out of this, two differing definitions of development news have emerged. On the one hand, it has been defined as positive news about development programs, policies projects and accomplishments, and on the other hand, as news critical of development programs and projects.
1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the concept of development journalism, through an examination of the concept in relation to its practice in television in the Caribbean, specifically Jamaica.

This study will also provide useful empirical data on a developing country (Jamaica) that has a Western based approach to the media, and is regarded "as the dominant nation in the region, which sets socio-political and cultural trends" (Logan and Kerns 1985:2).

1.4 Research Questions

In attempting to clarify the development news concept, the following research questions were found to be central:

1 - How much of Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) television news content can be classified as Development News?

2 - To what extent is Development News on JBC-TV positive with respect to development projects?

3 - To what extent can Development News on JBC-TV be seen as government propaganda?
1.5 Definitions

'Positive' as used in this study, means uncritical in tone and highlighting successes instead of failures.

The term 'government propaganda' usually carries negative connotations, and is often used disparagingly. However in this study, the term means generally an effort to spread ideas, information and opinions about government projects and programs in an attempt to motivate people.

The terms First World, Second World and Third World as used in the study, refer to, (1) developed countries with a capitalistic political system; (2) developed countries with a Socialist system; (3) developing countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

1.6 Setting of the Study

1.6.1 The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC)

In this study, the researcher looks at development journalism as practiced by television
broadcasters in Jamaica. Specifically, the researcher examined news content on the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation Television (JBC-TV).

JBC-Television was selected not only because it is the only visual electronic medium on the island, but because television has experienced phenomenal growth in the Caribbean. Regional figures indicate that while there were approximately 3 TV sets per 100 in 1965, this figure increased five-fold to approximately 15 sets per 100 in 1985, according to Stevenson (1986:118).

The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (J.B.C.) was first proposed by a Government Ministry Paper on January 31st 1958, and established with the Jamaica Broadcasting Law of December 19th 1958. In 1959 a commercial radio broadcasting licence was issued for ten years. This licence has been subsequently renewed. Some four years after the J.B.C began operations, a television service was officially inaugurated on the first anniversary of the island's independence from Britain, 4th August 1963.

The J.B.C, which is a statutory organisation, (i.e., government controlled, but not a part of the civil
service), is under the portfolio of the Ministry of Information, headed since 1980, by the Prime Minister and Minister of Information and Finance, Edward Seaga (1980-1988). A board of nine members and the General Manager have the responsibility for the direction and general control of the Corporation's activities. The board is appointed by the Minister of Information.

The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation currently has six departments: programmes radio, programmes television, sales, engineering, news-sports-public affairs and accounts. Initially there were ten departments, with news being separate from sports and public affairs. However, in an effort to economize, a number of departments were made redundant and others were merged where feasible.

1.6.2 The News Department

The JBC newsroom provides news for both radio and television. It is headed by a Director/Consultant and Assistant Director of News. The newsroom has a staff of over forty personnel including reporters, producers, editors and technical staff. The staff structure can be outlined as follows:
The staff, all Jamaicans, contribute to compiling the nightly news which airs at 7:30 each evening. There is also an international newscast and a late night news recap, as well as morning news headlines. The 7:30 evening news is the major daily prime-time news, and on weekdays, it is half an hour in duration, including commercials. On weekends, the news time is approximately fifteen minutes. The news during the week is presented by an anchor and co-anchor, while on weekends it is presented by a single anchor.

1.6.3 News Production

There are basically three presentation formats for television news stories in Jamaica. There is the 'live' news story that is read by the anchor; the field report, otherwise called the 'wrap', done by a reporter; and the 'voice over', with the voice of the anchor over video footage. With the voice over, the anchor is not visible; with the 'wrap' the anchor usually does what is called a 'lead in', which is a paragraph or two capsuling or hinting at the upcoming story. The reporter then takes over the rest of the story, although sometimes not actually appearing on camera.
"Live" stories are non-visual, either because no pictures or video footage are available, or because the producers feel the story does not warrant the extra time.

In writing a television news story it is understood by journalists that background information has to be limited. As Bliss and Patterson (1971:108) note:

In broadcast news there is not the room or time... for background that exists in print journalism. When a story has been in the news for days, even weeks, it is assumed that the listener knows the background. Only the latest developments in these so-called 'running stories' are reported.

In television news in Jamaica, as is the case with most news organisations, the objective is for simply written, accurate, clear stories, uncluttered by nuances and analysis. Batscha (1975) points out that the best television writing occurs when the audience is not aware of the writing. He explains:

The key terms are clarity, comprehensibility, accuracy, conciseness and conversational tone. The report tends to be on a surface level, headline in nature and comparable in length of composition to the first few paragraphs in a newspaper article....It is an 'all purpose' story for an audience that is plural and national (128-129).
The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation News Department has been making attempts to follow such a style and system. Over the years, including this past year, there have been various training seminars to improve and maintain this writing style for bringing the news of the people to the people.

Television news in Jamaica is viewed as a "news show", with the most important stories placed at the beginning of the program, progressing to the least important stories at the end. Normally international news is carried in the last segment of the newscast, unless it is something dramatic like the space shuttle disaster, or has a major impact on Jamaica or the region as a whole.

Television news producers in Jamaica pay a great deal of attention to the visual content of the news and they seek to obtain pictures and clips for their news stories whenever practical. Graphics and captions are also used to enhance the visual quality of the show.

It is obvious that Jamaican television producers are no different from news producers elsewhere, as Batscha (1975) describes TV news:
Pictures are what television can do best, they argue. Pictures distinguish their news reports from newspaper reports. Pictures are what the audience wants. Sometimes this perception causes a dilemma for the producer: not all stories are visual, and on a given day there may not be film available for the most important stories. The producer cannot choose to ignore that prospect; ...To maintain journalistic standards, the day's most important story, the lead, even if non-visual, will probably be aired first (187).

News stories are first filed by reporters. Those taken from the wire copies are re-written by the desk editors and checked by the producers, the executive director/producer, and consultant editor/director who has the final say on what is aired. The director, in collaboration with the assistant director, pays particular attention to anything that may be libelous. They also discuss general editorial content and give guidance and guidelines on what to cover. In some instances, guidance is given regarding the treatment of a particular story, but how a story is treated is left basically to the reporter's discretion. The majority of stories to be covered are usually assigned the evening before by the director and the assistant director. In the case of weekends, decisions on assignments are
completed from the Friday evening. The producers in consultation with the director decide what will be aired on each nightly newscast.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The term "development journalism" has been used since the 1960's in developing countries. Chalkley claims that it has caught on and "seems to be enjoying an unusual spate of popularity. But like most other catch phrases, people appear to be more keen to talk of them than to put into practice" (1980:215).

Studies conducted on development news support that view. A study of development news in the Indian press by Haque (1986) found that development news occupied less than 11 percent of news space. Another study by Ogan and Fair (1984) on development news in selected Third World newspapers noted a similar allotment of space to development news. They pointed out "that only 11.3% of the stories were predominantly about rural development, while 39.4% took a national focus" (180-181).

Still another researcher, Vilanilam (1975) in his study on development news in two leading Indian
papers, concluded that more space is allocated to spot and sensational news than to development news.

The inevitable conclusion which this study leads us to is that two leading newspapers of India consider parliament and state legislature proceedings, strikes, personal news about ministers... more newsworthy and significant than what is or is not happening in the fields of family planning, employment, labour, welfare, housing... it is indeed disheartening that the newspapers under study did not choose to turn to the most important problems facing the people. (Vilanilam, 1975:40).

2.1 Development News: A Third World Phenomenon

The focus on the Third World in the literature raises the question: Is development news solely a Third World phenomenon? Literature indicates that the primary concern of media in developing countries has shifted from the Western style of spot and sensational news to concern with showing the West that people in the developing countries are "not just mere statistics or objects of charity but human beings like themselves, struggling to improve their living standards against tremendous odds" (Aggarwala 1980:26).

Stevenson and Cole (1984:9) note that the definition of development news that is sometimes used,
aligns the concept not only to special information needed by the Third World, but "to information that describes the progress being made in the Third World in national development".

In addition, Haque (1986:83) notes that development journalism has been used in less developed countries in an attempt to address development concerns. These less developed countries, as Haque pointed to, have accepted development as the first order of duty.

However, there are others who feel that development journalism is not identified solely with Third World or less developed countries. McPhail (1987:24) suggests that the Western press is basically a development press and that

From a theoretical point of view, the concept of a 'free press' or the 'free flow of information' philosophy, reflects a situation where the 'free press' is basically a development press in favour of free enterprise and a capitalistic social system.

He further notes that the Western press "has in fact successfully developed itself into an ideological arm of the capitalistic and free enterprise system" (Ibid).
One of the first developed nations to use development journalism, according to McPhail (1987:27), was Canada, which he claims showed signs of practicing development journalism from the early part of the 20th century. "Media systems in Canada developed in such a way as to be an early example and case study of development journalism" (27).

However, development journalism in Canada did not evolve because of any empathy with the Third World or development journalism philosophy. It evolved in that country's attempt to establish its own identity separate and apart from that of the United States, its immediate neighbour. McPhail (1987:28), in reviewing the Canadian situation, quoted the Fowler Royal Commission on Broadcasting, which dealt with the issue.

But as a nation we cannot accept, in these powerful and persuasive media, the natural and complete flow of another nation's culture without danger to our national identity. Can we resist the total wave of American cultural activity? Can we retain a Canadian identity, art and culture - a Canadian nationhood?
23.

According to McPhail, Canada has been practicing development journalism from as early as 1935. He cited the creation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1934, the National Film Board (NFB) in 1939, The Massey Royal Commission on Culture and the Arts 1949, a Ministry of Communication, and Telesat Canada 1968. McPhail (1987) also noted Canada’s progress in the feature film industry with the establishment of the Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC) in 1967.

Canada is not the only First World country which is said to be involved in development journalism activities. McPhail also highlights Europe and Australia, which have been very active in attempting to influence their media cultures. Australia, in particular, has been "insisting on Australian content rules so that the pervasiveness of U.S. television does not overwhelm their native cultural identity" (McPhail, 1987:31).

McPhail also emphasizes that "...development journalism or development communication... is the underlying rationale for all media and communication systems whether they be the Western free press model,
the Socialist model as evidenced by TASS, or development journalism as applied to LDCs" (295-96).

Not all communicators, especially those concerned with development journalism, would agree with McPhail's argument. It could be claimed that he confuses communication policy with journalism practice, for example.

Another example of development journalism and fostering culture by regulation is a recent change in the Revenue Act requiring Canadian ownership in the magazine industry (29).

According to Ogan and Fair (1984), there have been attempts by new and established large wire services, including the Associated Press (AP), United Press (UP) and Reuters to include development journalism in their news service items. They claim that these organisations "have been developed to fill in the gaps in coverage of development news in both the U.S press and that of Third World countries" (174).

Ogan and Fair highlighted Inter-Press-Service (IPS) and the use being made of development news in that organisation. IPS has over forty bureaus and serves over four thousand client newspapers, governments and
universities in the world in five languages.

Ogan and Fair (1984) also noted that the themes of the stories from IPS focused on developmental concerns. It was pointed out that over 75 per cent of the stories were from developing nations but had an impact on, or were relevant to First World countries. This is an important point to take into consideration. Does it mean that where the First World is concerned, a story can only be development news if it originates from a developing country or deals with a developing country? What does the term mean to the developed world?

Sussman (1983) explained that in the First World, developed countries, the term development journalism has little meaning and is not generally practised. However, in the case of Second World countries he noted that a major share of space and time is devoted to development journalism. In that system, Sussman further explains, its practice is "designed to muster factory or farm workers to follow new procedures, make better use of equipment or generally be more productive" (115).

Stevenson and Cole (1984:22) also support the view
that development journalism is not practiced by the
Western world, noting that there is a discernable lack
of development news and lack of interest in development
news on the part of the developed world.

Ogan (1982) has attributed the lack of interest to
a fear of government control.

Whether it is called development support
communications or development journalism,
there is the distinct danger that this
philosophy of communications will take the
form of 'government say-so journalism' and
that countries which control their
international communications in this way
will also be tempted to control
communication flow into and out of the
country (7).

Schramm and Atwood (1981) suggest that because of
the inherent nature of development news it is not
evident in the West.

Neither the pace of news itself nor the
training of the typical newsman have been
especially well suited to development news.
News moves in a series of bulletins and
retakes and revised leads and news
bulletins, events piling on events
so that an editor always has the sense of
covering the world inadequately, always having
to leave out items of importance, sometimes
not able even to follow up events that he has
already published to let his readers learn how
the story came out (88).
Furthermore, Stevenson and Cole (1984) noted that when development news is defined as reporting progress in the Third World it is usually not included in the news.

It is the kind of news not related to specific, fast moving events, that too often gets left out of the news in the crush of more pressing events. Too often this kind of information, even when it is available, gets held over day after day while editors hope for a slow enough news day to squeeze it in but eventually discard it when the slow news day fails to materialize. (60)

Nevertheless, communicators and media officials have been encouraging Western news organisations to carry development news, especially when reporting on the Third World. Ogden and Fair (1984) noted attempts by some major news organisations and news sources to alter their approach to such reporting. They criticized the Third World for not making use of those services. It is time, they say, "that the editors and publishers of Third World newspapers began to avail themselves of those services and to expect their own reporters to write more critically and analytically about development" (189).
In concluding, it can be said that according to the literature, development journalism is not only a Third World phenomenon. It is evident in other parts of the world, but to a lesser extent than in the Third World.

2.2 Development Journalism as Government Propaganda

Another question raised in the literature is: Is development journalism a guise for government propaganda?

There are two main contrasting views to development journalism. The earlier view posited by Aggarwala (1980) implies an adversarial relationship between the government and the journalist. In that relationship, journalists criticize and analyse plans, projects and policies, their implications and their impact on society.

The other view on development journalism is that it contributes to the government’s attempt at achieving development. Critics of this latter view say that it is just an excuse to portray the successes of government projects and policies. They claim that it is too uncritical of government. Lent (1979) notes that "presses in some developing nations have become mere
extensions of the government information service, disguising this fact by calling themselves development newspapers and journalists" (17).

Lent (1979), in his examination of development news as practiced in Asia, highlighted the role of government in development news, which he noted is now merely "promoting government policies" (17). McDaniel (1986) also indicates that political personalities play a key role in development issues. He also notes that it is believed in some circles that development journalism is only a public relations strategy for government officials, and that "critics regard such journalism as little more than a thinly disguised effort by Third World governments to manage the content of news, often to give flattering publicity to political figures" (167).

The study by Vilanilam (1975) seems to give some credence to this belief. He found that in India, parliament and government proceedings, personal news about ministers, inaugurations and dedications were the order of the day. He noted that "political education is essential for the people in a democracy. But, the overemphasis laid on power politics and insignificant
and repetitive inaugurations and dedications by persons in authority cannot be justified" (40). Haque (1986) reported a similar trend, as he claimed the Indian elite press is preoccupied with disseminating political and government information.

The literature reviewed points to the fact that in the initial stages of the development of the concept, development journalism was viewed as being an adversary to the government, examining the process of development and its impact on the people and society, as well as criticizing and interpreting development programs. This is more likely to happen, however, in independently owned media organisations without any government control.

Still, there is another interpretation where development journalism is viewed as assisting government in its development efforts. This concept has been aligned to development support communication, which according to Boyd (1974) focuses on development projects, identifying and analysing community innovations, reporting progress in development programs and projects, stimulating awareness and helping to
31.

cohalesce and express community interests. Critics claim, however, that kind of development journalism can degenerate to government 'say so' journalism. This situation leads to the question of the impact of government control on development journalism.

2.3 Impact of Government Control

Sussman (1977) equates development journalism with government control. He cites instances from UNESCO meetings and articles to show that UNESCO maintains that for development journalism to be successful it needs to be controlled by the state. He notes UNESCO's defense of this type of development journalism.

Its avowed aim is to assist countries in harnessing the mass media for the fulfillment of their contribution to development. That is now more than a UNESCO policy, it is a full time commitment of the organisation, says M'Bow. Nations require coherent sets of principles and norms designed to act as general guidelines for communications organs and institutions....The news media in other words are expected to conform to such national strategies. Thus says M'Bow in the words also used in formal UNESCO documents, "communication infrastructures must be set up"...another euphemism for government controls (20).

Other writers have cited examples to prove that development journalism is, as Sussman (1977) says,
"the absorption of development news and all else in a no holds barred management, by government, of all aspects of journalism. Development news is one part, but it is used to justify complete control in the name of economic progress" (39).

Richter (1978) suggests a possible explanation regarding this use of development journalism by governments.

Its successes alerted governments to the importance of economic and social reporting and its potential usefulness, if systematically applied to mobilising mass support behind government policies. Intended to enlarge the area of free debate the concept has been taken over by governments, extended to cover all communications and integrated into an official variant of new journalism (189).

Lent (1977) gives another reason for government control under development journalism. He links it to the development of a nation and its growth period during which time criticism is kept at a minimum while the public faith in government programs, institutions, and policies is encouraged. The media must cooperate, according to this guided press concept, by stressing positive development inspired news, by ignoring negative societal or oppositional characteristics and by
supporting governmental ideologies and plans. The government in these situations usually employs either authoritarian methods or "employment of subtle guidelines issued to media and a redefining of traditional ideas of democracy and freedom of the press" (Lent 1977:68).

As noted earlier, some communicators believe government control of development journalism is necessary and agree that "if information is allowed to cause dissent or loss of international prestige, it detracts from the greater goal. By this reasoning, the control of news is not only a legitimate right but also a national necessity" (Rosenblum 1979:206). However, there are others who feel that government should not have control over the media and development journalism.

Lent (1979) noted that in Malaysia and the Philippines the media have been embarrassingly uncritical of the government. This approach by media houses, it is claimed, opens the door and makes it easier for government to control the news media.
The most often cited example of government controlled development news is that of the Philippines under the Marcos régime, where the press was forbidden to criticize the government, the president or his family.

Other cases, primarily in authoritarian states, have been cited as examples of government control of the media in the name of development. In Brunei, no information regarding cabinet meetings is released. In Kuwait, private citizens are often forbidden to give interviews unless these are arranged by the government, and foreign publications are censored, withdrawn or confiscated. Lent (1979:70) notes that in Kuwait press councils are established by government, rather than the media, and that generally in Asian, African and Latin American countries editors are arrested, injured, or even killed if they don't toe the government line.

**Government Control and Development News in the Caribbean**

There have been few studies conducted on development news in the Caribbean region. The main reason for this, as suggested by Ogan and Fair (1985),
has been the difficulty in defining the concept of development news.

The little research that is available, however, indicates that there is a mixture of Western and development style journalism in the region. The research also shows that there are three kinds of media control which has an impact on development journalism: control by a government appointed board; direct control or ownership by the government; and regulation of privately owned media (local and foreign). It is very tempting for governments in Third World and developing countries to control the media.

A report from the Caribbean Workshop on Communications Development (1973) highlighted this dilemma.

Consider the head of government who sees himself as facing a threatening array of social, economic and political enemies. For him the press is a weapon which can be used by his enemies to stir unrest among his unsophisticated people and to block his national goals. He is convinced that the mass media must be used to win cooperation with his nation building plans and that these plans are so important that inaccurate reporting and irresponsible opinions must not be allowed to stand in their way (4).
Looking at the situation from this point of view, control of the media appears logical. The government cannot afford any criticism of its efforts toward nation building. Nevertheless, a situation where there is free expression makes it easier and more democratic for the people to know what the government is doing, whether it has a positive or negative impact on the country.

However, giving the media a free reign can, according to the Report from the Caribbean Workshop on Communications and Development (1973), give rise to a feeling of distrust by governments who fear irresponsible reporting.

...it is admitted that the media have not always acted responsibly. By focusing on criticism of government and failing to report constructive government actions, independent newspapers and radio have sometimes earned the mistrust of political leaders. Government media, on the other hand, are often viewed with skepticism by readers (9).

In Jamaica, for instance, the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation is viewed with the latter kind of skepticism. Over the past twenty years, under successive governments, it has been criticized by some members of the public as lacking in credibility.
The report by the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development, *Regional Seminar on Development Journalism* (1977) suggests that establishing credibility and successfully carrying out the role of development journalism can be achieved and practiced "effectively by the media only to the extent that they perform it with a spirit of independence and are seen by the people to be doing so" (13).

It was also suggested that the government and the media should engage in "frequent dialogue" (13) in order to achieve understanding towards development journalism. The seminar noted that a lack of understanding "creates avoidable conflicts and unnecessary and harmful restrictions on the freedom of the media" (13).

If there is a free press, including radio and television, there is bound to be conflict between the government and the media. Inherent in the concept of democracy is the need for an opposition. So inevitably where there is some amount of freedom and democracy there is dissent and criticism. Attempts at control will give rise to conflict and a lack of credibility.
Ogan and Fair, (1984:187) note that with development news there is the need for a greater use of critical sources, and "extensive or even medium range analysis of the development topics and less dependence on government". Lent⁷ (1979) suggests that to "end the hassle" over control and press freedom concerning development news, many governments should wipe the term "freedom of expression" from their constitution, and call it what it is: "authoritarianism" (17).

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Development Journalism had its genesis in the oldest of the development communication theories, the modernization paradigm. The theorists of that paradigm believe that the mass media are agents of social change.

Schramm (1964:137-141) highlighted twelve ways in which the media can assist in the development program, they include: (1) widening of horizons, (2) focusing attention, (3) raising aspirations, (4) creating a climate for development, (5) helping indirectly to change strongly held attitudes or practices, (6) feeding
the interpersonal channel, (7) conferring status, (8) broadening policy dialogue, (9) enforcing social norms, (10) helping to form tastes, (11) affecting attitudes and (12) helping in all types of education and training.

In addition, the broadcast media, more than the print media, are seen as being effective tools in such a process because they can reach the public that cannot read or write. Generally, development communication theorists believe that being exposed to the content of the media could bring about the required change for development. Hedebro (1982) notes that the media have the potential of acting either for participation in development or against it.

In their selection of news items and programs and through a certain mode of presentation the media can stimulate interest in societal matters. The media can give individuals knowledge that will increase their understanding of the community. In turn, this will give them a greater chance of exerting control over their environment. In this way the media can assist in creating a positive climate for participation. What the media will do is determined by the context in which they exist. Just as in the case of ideology, political, economical, historical circumstances are the decisive factors (109).
This assumption of the early theorists that the media can bring about development has been modified and it is now accepted that the media alone are not capable of producing development.

A Report on the seminar, *Communications and Information for Development Purposes in the Caribbean Area* held in Guyana in 1974 also noted that fact.

All possible channels of communication, as well as the media, must therefore be utilised to support the developmental process. In this perspective there is need for national communication policies which, like educational and cultural policies must form part of a comprehensive development strategy (6).

Communicators feel that information has only a supportive role in development purposes, and to regard communication as an agent of social change is a misplaced emphasis. One of the leading communicators in the Caribbean region, Everold Hosein (1974), also came to the conclusion that the role of the media in development has been exaggerated.

Beyond the problems of selective exposure and perception, we have considerable research data in agricultural extension, public health and family planning showing that information is an insufficient basis for behavioral change.
Hosein concluded:

To know what one should do is not the same as to do what one should do. The mass media have been ineffective in altering behavior associated with deeply held beliefs. Let us modestly conclude that a mass media package of information and education is not likely to have considerable impact in initiating national commitment or changing behavior associated with national development goals (21).

While the modernization paradigm has been effectively criticized and rejected (Rogers 1976; Hamlink 1983), it continues to provide a basis for official policy in the Third World. Development journalism is linked with this theory as it is seen as being able to inform, educate and motivate people on issues which concern development.

The four "classic" theories of the press have been used to highlight the role of the media. They are: the authoritarian, Soviet communist, libertarian and the social responsibility theories. The authoritarian theory assumes that the government controls all information. With the Soviet communist theory, the media is supportive of government efforts. It is also viewed as an extension of the authoritarian press
theory. With the libertarian theory, the media is totally free and acts as the watchdog of the government. With the social responsibility theory, the media is critical but also sees its role as that of keeping the public broadly informed.

Some communicators today, however, view development journalism as a new theory. Ogan (1982) noted that some theorists have referred to it as the "fifth theory of the press maintaining that the position of developing countries is such that journalists have never experienced quite the same relationships with their society before" (10).

Development journalism has sometimes been used synonymously with the term development communication or development support communication. The development support communication approach focuses on development objectives taking into consideration the needs of the people, such as food, clothing, shelter and health care. Ogan states that depending on the emphasis, development journalism may reflect either the authoritarian or the social responsibility theory. In the context of development support communication, Ogan notes that the authoritarian press theory is evident. This theory
posits the press as advancing and supporting the policies of the government in power, where the media are more often than not government controlled or censored. With this press theory, the media never criticize government, its officials or the political machinery. Lent (1979) summed up the rationale for this theory.

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 governmental 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 (68).

When development journalism is defined as analysing and being critical of government, Ogan notes that the social responsibility theory of the press is evident. The social responsibility theory of the press has as its main tenets informing and entertaining the public, bringing the truth to the public, and speaking out in defense of civil rights and liberties. Within this theory, the press represents the people rather than the government.
McQuail (1987), in discussing his six theories of the press, identified development media theory as the fifth theory. He explained that the development theory of the media is unified by the "acceptance of economic development itself (thus social change), and often the correlated 'nation building' as an overriding objective. To this end, certain freedoms of the media and of journalists are subordinated to their responsibility for helping in this purpose" (121). McQuail further explained that development media theory emphasizes the use of the media positively towards a nation's development. He highlights the main principles as:

- Media should accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy.

- Freedom of the media should be open to restriction according to (1) economic priorities and (2) development needs of the society... Journalists and other media workers have responsibilities as well as freedom in their information gathering and dissemination tasks (121).

He further states that:
In the interest of development ends, the state has a right to intervene in, or restrict, media operations and devices of censorship, subsidy and direct control can be justified (Ibid).

The following principles of development journalism, as defined by both the proponents and opponents, are also evident in the development media theory; the use of the media in highlighting positive development tasks, the issue of freedom of the media and government control are common traits to be found in development journalism.

McQuail's, sixth theory, the Democratic-Participant media theory, is partly linked to all the other media theories. McQuail further explains that it leans more in the direction of "developed liberal societies but joins some elements present in development media theory," especially in its emphasis on the 'basis' of society" (1987:121-122).

He also explains that the "central point of a democratic participant theory lies with the needs, interests and aspirations of the active 'receiver' in a political society" (122). This principle is also a part of development journalism, which is seen in part as motivating people and policy towards the wants and needs
of the people.

Development journalism is a combination of all the theories mentioned, authoritarian, social responsibility, development media theory and democratic-participant media theory.

However, Lorimer and McNulty (1987:73) point out that the differences between the press systems are not as large as would be expected based on the names given to them as theories of the press. They explained that "the shortcoming of these various viewpoints is a lack of consideration of the press within the context of a particular democratic community". Lorimer and McNulty also highlighted development journalism which they say is the "only viewpoint to consider the individual democratic community...[even though] to a limited extent" (Ibid).
CHAPTER 3

METHODS

In order to examine the concept of development news on J.B.C. television, this study will use the content analysis method.

The data for the study consist of randomly selected prime time news stories for one composite week and one continuous week. This sample framework was borrowed from the UNESCO research design for the analysis of foreign news content (Sreberny 1981).


This type of sampling eliminates any bias resulting from using the same day of the week for two or more consecutive days in the sample. The sample yielded a total of fourteen newscasts, comprised of two hundred and forty individual news stories.
Some critics might claim that the sample size is too small. However, according to Berelson (1952), for most purposes in content analysis, a sample of this size is adequate.

There has been some discussion on what is an adequate sample size for content analysis. Guido Stempel (1952) conducted an investigation into the problem and found that there is basically no difference between large and small samples in media content analysis. He summarised:

To investigate this question we examined a single subject category for a single newspaper for an entire year thus getting a universe parameter to compare samples to.

We drew ten samples each of sizes six, twelve, eighteen, twenty four and forty eight and compared the sets of samples to each other.

Our results indicate that for a single category all five of the sample sizes do an adequate job and that increasing the sample size beyond twelve does not produce marked differences in the results (233).

Berelson (1952) also maintains that a small carefully selected sample will reveal results that are
equally valid to those from a large sample, with the added advantages of taking up less time and effort.

The first half of the year was chosen for the content analysis because the large number of national holidays and special events in the latter half may reflect biases. In August, there are annual independence and festival celebrations, as well as the celebrations of Jamaica's 25th independence anniversary. In October there is also the celebration of National Heroes' Day.

Video recordings of the newscasts, along with the scripts, were utilized for analysis. Individual stories were categorized based on their subject matter.

The topic categories utilized (Appendix 1) were based on the Jamaican situation and on the development goals and emphases of the Jamaican government as outlined in its 1980 manifesto Change Without Chaos, a National Programme for Reconstruction.

To determine whether a news item was development news oriented or not, and to assess the quality of the development news story, each item was analyzed according to the ten question measurement scale of development

(1) Does the item emphasize development processes rather than events?

(2) Does the item contain content critical of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues?

(3) Does the item discuss the relevance of development projects, policies, problems or issues to national, regional or local news?

(4) Does the item provide contextual or background information about development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues?

(5) Does the item speculate about the future in relation to development needs?

(6) Does the item discuss the impact of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues on people?

(7) Does the item discuss development processes in other regions?

(8) Does the item compare the subject with original goals?

(9) Does the item compare the subject with government claims?

(10) Does the item make any reference to development needs of the people?

A positive response to a question gained one point. An item with ten positive responses will be highly developmental. All items with at least one positive response were taken to have some measure of development reporting and were further analyzed as per the research
questions. News items with five or more positive responses will clearly have a greater intensity of development news than those under five. Those news items that did not manage to gain a positive response were termed non-development in nature.

The placement of development items in the newscast is also of prime importance. Normally, the more important the story, the closer it is placed at the beginning of the newscast.

The length of each story (timed in seconds) and its format (whether it is a 'voice over', a live story, read by an anchor alone, or a field report sometimes called a 'wrap') were also deemed relevant and coded. The timing was necessary in order to be able to draw a comparison between development and non-development news over the air-time allotted.

Referral to key political officials in the items was also coded. "Political officials" here refers to government members, members of parliament, members of the ruling Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), officials of the Peoples National Party (PNP) and officials of government affiliated organisations and institutions.
In identifying whether a story was positive or negative, coding was based on whether an item was uncritical or critical of government's projects; if the story was uncritical, then it was deemed positive. If it was critical, then it would be coded as negative.

Before the actual coding was done, a pre-test was conducted to ensure that all coders agreed on what items qualified as development news. Two independent coders as well as the author participated in this test. The coders were a graduate student and a former graduate student of the University of Windsor who volunteered to assist in the project.

This procedure was based on the ten question criteria for development news. Each item, including economic stories and those dealing with international aid, was evaluated according to the 10 question measurement scale. If an item received at least one positive response, it was counted as a development news item. The coders examined about ten percent of the items. Coder number 1 found nine to be development oriented, coder number 2 found eight and coder number 3 found nine items. The eight selected by coder number 2 matched those selected by coders number 1 and 3. There
was therefore a 96.2% agreement between the coders on what stories were development oriented. This test ensured that all coders understood and agreed on what a development story was before the actual coding took place.

The code sheet outlined the substantive categories used as well as other variables such as placement of the story in the newscast, length of story, type (format) of story, presence of political figures and, of course, the criterion questions for intensity (See Appendix 2).

The questions of reliability and validity cannot be ignored. To deal with reliability the researcher used the reliability co-efficient test.

The coders examined a sample of the material in order to determine the coefficient of reliability and thus to eliminate any individual biases that might be present in coding the data. A comparison was made with the sample coded by the researcher to determine the inter-coder reliability using the reliability test. A coefficient of .90 was attained during the pre-test and this study can therefore be
said to be valid.

Not all news items dealing with the Jamaican economy were identified as development news. News items dealing with the economy were, as were all the others, compared to the ten question reporting criteria for development news. For instance, news items dealing with the foreign exchange rate, or the visit of an International Monetary Fund team to the island were not classified as development news if they did not specifically address or refer to development processes, programs, policies, or projects. Because not all economic news classified as development news, there was no overrepresentation of development news in the sample. In addition, by making the differentiation, the bias that could be inherent in the sample was eliminated. This therefore contributes to validity.

However, the literature indicates that validity in content analysis is said to be often a judgement call and, according to Budd et al (1967), it is not very important in some cases. They report that "validity is important only if the words or symbols enumerated are to be used in scientific explanation" (69).

Content analysis does have a limitation, in that it
deals only with the manifest content of the communication, i.e., what is explicitly in the text. The method does not allow for interpretation during documentation. The content is not coded in terms of implicit meaning, 'latent' effects, or measures or forces. Kerlinger (1973) notes the nature of this research method.

Content analysis, while certainly a method of analysis, is more than that. It is ... a method of observation. Instead of observing people's behavior directly, or asking them to respond to scales, or interviewing them, the investigator takes the communications that people have produced and asks questions of the communications (475).

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1. There is a school of content analysis that advocates reading between the lines, negative content analysis and interpretation of latent content. This school of thought is of the belief that manifest content alone is not adequate in the content analysis method (Lorimer & McNulty, 1987, Stempel, 1987).
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Two hundred and forty items were coded and analyzed for the two week sample period.

Basically, the data in the study support the view that development news is positive news about development programs and they further suggest that there is some emphasis on government and political officials in development news. The study also indicates that slightly less than thirty percent of JBC-TV news content is development news.

Research Question Number 1

The first research question asked: How much of J.B.C. television news content can be classified as development news? The data in table 1 show that 27% of J.B.C television news content can be classified as development news. Of the 240 items, 62 had at least one positive response on the selection criteria for criteria for development news. One hundred and seventy five items were classified non-development, and of that number, 74 were international stories from the major
news networks of ABC, NBC, CBS, and VISNEWS. The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation television newscast could on an average, therefore, be said to contain approximately one fifth development news items.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF DEVELOPMENT NEWS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>N=240</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Dev. News</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dev. News</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is consistent with what has been found in other developing countries, which showed an average of less than 20% (Haque 1986; Vilanilam 1975; McDaniel 1988). However, those studies were conducted in developing countries in Southern Asia and the Far East. The results of this study are much closer to the results of studies of development news in the print media in Latin America and the Caribbean. Ogan and Fair (1984) found 40.4% and 34.8% in 1982 and 1983 respectively. Ogan and Rush (1985) in their study of CANA and Interlink News services, found development stories...
constituted 24.5% and 42.3% of their services respectively. J.B.C.'s average of around 27% could, then, be said to be a reasonable percentage for the region at this time. However, the question remains of how well development news is reported.

Table 2 shows the frequency of positive responses to Shah's (1987) selection criteria for development news. The scores for the reporting criteria range from 1 to 10. If an item received 10 positive responses it meant that it satisfied all the criteria for reporting development news.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRITERIA SCORE OF NEWS ITEMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of positive responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Development news in this sample received low scores on the selection criteria, with 91% touching on three or less. This indicates that the greater portion of development news focused on just a few of the areas represented by the selection criteria. Shah's (1987) study of development news in India revealed a similar pattern, as in that study, over three quarters of development news items satisfied three or less of the reporting criteria. Although development news is aired on J.B.C. television, the majority of the items focused on a limited area.

### TABLE 3

**DISTRIBUTION OF CRITERIA SCORE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRITERIA Item</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>% (*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>111</strong></td>
<td><strong>172.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*(*) due to multiple coding percentages do add to 100).
Table 3, which indicates the distribution of criteria scores, is multiple coded. It shows that, for the criteria score for development news items, more news items made reference to development needs of the people than for any other criterion, (51%).

Development news also scored relatively high on whether the item speculated about the future in relation to development needs (28%), whether it discussed the impact of projects, plans, policies, problems or issues on people (26%), and whether the item provided contextual or background information about development projects, plans, policies or issues (25%). That those categories received the highest scores suggests that reporters are trying to highlight the projects in a positive way.

In contrast, very few of the development news items (1%) compared the subject of discussion to government claims, and only 11% of the news items contained content critical of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues. It is also possible that reporters at JBC are afraid to be critical of development projects and programs because of the relationship between the government and the station, as the station is a
government organisation and the government has a direct input into its operations.

The data indicate that the news stories ranged in length from 15 seconds to 305 seconds (just over 5 minutes in length), and that the average length was 61 seconds. The data also shows that the average duration of development news was longer than non-development news. Development news averaged 78 seconds, while non-development news averaged 55 seconds.

This finding is similar to Shah’s (1987) study, which found that whenever development news is aired, it receives more airtime than non-development news. A T-test illustrated that there was a significant relationship between development news stories and length of the item ($t = 2.8628; p = 0.0049$).

The data in tables 2 and 3 add a further dimension to the response to research question number one. It could be said that J.B.C. news content was comprised of 27% of development news over the sample period, and that the development news items were on an average longer than non-development news, but that the number of dimensions reported on were limited.
Research Question Number 2

Research question two states: To what extent is development news on JBC TV positive with respect to development projects?

Table 4 shows that 62% of development news stories (over two-thirds) on JBC TV were positive in tone.

**TABLE 4**

**TONE OF NEWS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FREQ.</th>
<th>DEV. %</th>
<th>FREQ.</th>
<th>NON-DEV. %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>91.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>175</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This contrasts with non-development news, where less than one-tenth (9%) were positive. On the other hand, non-development news items were mostly neutral (91%), whereas only (26%) of development news items placed in the neutral category. A striking feature is that there were no negative non-development news stories. On the other hand, there were (12%) negative
news items reflected in development news. This table suggests that development news items were written in a positive way to highlight a particular issue, whereas the tone of non-development news is generally neutral. It could be that more of an effort was being made by reporters to write critical development stories. However, there was more emphasis on the positive aspect of development. This is evident in the wide disparity between positive development and non-development news items. This high percentage of positive development news supports the view that development news is positive news. A chi square test indicated a significant association ($X^2 = 58.566; DF= 2; P= 0.000$).

Research Question Number 3

Tables 5 through 8 combine in answering research question number three. The question states: To what extent can development news on JBC TV be seen as government propaganda?

Table 5 shows that 22 categories were highlighted as development news. Multiple coding was allowed, therefore the percentage total reflected more than one hundred percent.
TABLE 5

SUBJECT AREAS REPRESENTED BY PERCENTAGE OF ITEM IN WHICH APPEARED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORIES</th>
<th>FREQ.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trade agreement</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cost of living</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prices</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stock</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exchange rate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>health</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>science</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tourism</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local politics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family planning</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culture and arts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personalities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international aid</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trade promotion</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natural disasters</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labour relations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>int. relations</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Total**             | **99**| **150.0 (%)**

(*)items multiple coded

The top five categories in development news were international aid (23%), trade promotion (18%), health (14%), cost of living (12%) and tourism (11%)
The Jamaican government's main commitment was in reviving the economy. The categories highlighted in the table 5 represented some of those areas that were high on the government's agenda for development.

Economic development of the island, which includes negotiating international aid, is the top priority on the government's development programme. That category as indicated in table 5, received the highest percentage of coverage. Issues least mentioned were family planning, science, and culture and arts. Categories such as ecology, religion, crime and diplomatic issues were not reflected as development news. This finding is similar to Shah's (1987) study of development news on All India Radio and Ogden and Rush's (1985) study on development news in CANA and Interlink.

In analysing these findings and answering research question number three, it could be said that development news emphasizes government development goals, as all the news classified as development news dealt with issues that were a part of the Jamaican government's development program.

The general data indicate that all but five of
the development news stories highlighted partisan and non-partisan government officials, 60 out of 65 (92%), while in the case of non-development news, that number was 45 out of 175.

Table 6, which compares the appearance of political and government officials in development and non-development news shows that over half of the non-development news (57%) does not include government or political figures, for development news that figure is 8%.

**TABLE 6**

**DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL FIGURES IN THE NEWS (LOCAL)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>DEVELOPMENT</th>
<th>NON-DEVELOPMENT (JAMAICAN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># OF ITEMS</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JLP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEAGA</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANLEY</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CABINET</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER-JA</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-JA</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table indicates that other Jamaican officials (28%), the Prime Minister Mr Seaga (20%), the cabinet (18%), and non-Jamaicans (15%), consistently maintained a relatively high percentage of exposure in both development news and non-development news. The category of "other Jamaican official" received a higher percentage than the government or the Prime Minister. This category represents officials or organisations and institutions in the islands, but not government representatives. This is a significant finding as it suggests that not all development news focuses on government or political figures.

The table also shows that there is only a large difference between development news and non-development news in two categories, "other Jamaican" and the "cabinet". However, the Prime Minister and his cabinet combined, appeared much more often than any other group (38%). Michael Manley, leader of the other major party, the Peoples National Party (P.N.P.), had a relatively low percentage in both development and non-development news (1% and 3%) when compared to Mr Seaga (20% and 11%). This is expected as Mr Seaga is the leader of the nation.
The P.N.P as a party, however, was highlighted in development and non-development news more often than the ruling J.L.P, 6% of development news and 5% non-development news compared to the J.L.P's 3% development and non-development news.

The data in table 6 help to further clarify the answer to research question number three. Question three states: To what extent is development news on JBC television government propaganda? This table suggests that although government officials play a key role in development news, other Jamaican officials have been given more of an emphasis. This finding does not altogether support the view that development news is a mouthpiece for the government.

The format of the news should be taken into consideration as it is an indication of the importance given to a news item. An item with a field reporter and appropriate visuals 'wrap' would be more highly profiled, likely to draw attention and generally be viewed as being most important. Those stories with the anchor alone in the 'live' mode would be seen as the least important, while those with the anchor reading under the visual, 'voice over', would fall somewhere in
the middle range of importance.

**TABLE 7**

**FORMAT OF NEWS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FREQ.</th>
<th>DEV.</th>
<th>FREQ.</th>
<th>NON-DEV-NEWS (Jamaican)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V/Over</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrap</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep. off cam.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above data shows that of all the news items, very few Jamaican field reports (wraps) with reporters on camera have been aired on J.B.C. television over the sample period.

In the case of non-development news, most of the presentations were live, read by the newscaster alone (66%). In development news, however, live presentations were almost half that of non-development news (36%). The dominant format for development news was the 'voice
over' category which accounted for 46% of the total. When combined with the field reports, however, just over two thirds (64%) of development news carried visual support. On the other hand, approximately the same amount of non-development news had no visual support (65%). This data suggests that there is an attempt to include more visual content on development news than on non-development news.

Table 7 shows that there is an emphasis on development news in its manner of presentation, leaning more towards visual presentation. It also indicates that more importance is given to development news than non-development news in the mode of presentation.

A chi square analysis indicates a significant relationship between the format of news and the type of news ($X^2 = 16.184$, DF = 3, $P = 0.001$).

The findings revealed that development news highlighting Prime Minister Seaga had more visual content than all the other categories. However, the categories reflecting other Jamaican officials, non-Jamaican political officials and cabinet ministers also had high visual content. On the other hand, the
category representing the leader of the Peoples National Party (P.N.P.), Mr Manley, recorded only 3% for visual content. A surprising factor that the data highlighted was that the P.N.P received over twice as much visual coverage in the voice-over category than the ruling J.L.P.

In contrast, there is not a large difference between the treatment of the cabinet and the P.N.P., 17% compared to 13%. The data also highlights the importance placed on the Prime Minister in development news. He received the largest percentage of visual support. A Chi square test which evaluated whether the differences are large enough to support that there is a relationship between the format of development news and inclusion of political officials shows that there is not a significant relationship (p = 0.489875).

The placement of the items in the newscast is also of importance. Placement measures the importance accorded to various news items. Usually, news items thought to be most important are placed before the first break in the newscast, that is, during the first ten minutes of the newscast. The second ten minutes are usually allocated to stories of medium importance. The
stories that are thought to be least significant to the public are usually placed in the final ten minutes of the newscast. This segment usually includes the international stories, as well as 'low priority' local news. This format is presumably based on the inverted pyramid style of newswriting: the most important information at the top, the least important at the base.

The data indicates that development news items were most often lead stories or second stories over non-development news, 15% and 12% compared to 4% and 6%. There were progressively less development news and more non-development news after the fifth news item. A T-test conducted indicated that there was a significant relationship between development news and the sequence in the newscast ($T = -2.3716; P = 0.0191$).
Table 8 shows that the majority of the development news items were placed in the first segment of the newscast. That means they were judged to be the most significant.

Even though less than 20% of total news items are development news, the majority of development news items (80%) are placed within the first ten minutes of the news show (before the first break). Non-development news is not as highly profiled, with only 40% being placed before the first break.
This table suggests that there is an emphasis in highlighting development news by placing those items in the first ten minutes of the newscast. A T-test conducted indicated that there is a significant association (T = 2.3716; P = 0.0191).
CONCLUSION

This thesis focused attention on the controversial concept of development journalism by examining the concept in relation to its practice on Jamaican television.

The study highlighted two major factors to be considered in arriving at a more adequate understanding of the concept. These two factors are the role of government officials in development news and the tone of development news.

The findings revealed that although the role of government and political officials is very prominent in development news, "other Jamaican officials" are also prominent. The findings also reveal that an emphasis was placed on government and political officials in development news as suggested by their representation in the format of development news.

With respect to the tone of development news, the concept has often been identified with positive news about government programs. The data concluded that 62% of development news is positive in tone about development programs and projects. This confirms that
a positive news tone characterizes the concept of
development journalism, and this is similar to Ogan and
Rush's 1984 study of development news in CANA and
Interlink where over half of the development news was
positive in tone.

This study does not support the concept that
development journalism has an adversarial relationship
with the government (Aggarwala 1979), or that
development journalism offers criticism of "development
plans and the exercise of such plans" (Ogan 1982:6). The
small percentage of negative development news, shows
however, that development journalism can be critical of
development programs and plans, but in this case the
small percentage (12%) suggests that it tends to be more
equated with the promotion of government information.

The findings of the study support, to a limited
extent, the view that development news is a "mouthpiece
for government propaganda" (Ogan 1982:6). This is
reflected firstly in the relationship between the format
of news and government officials where the emphasis on
visual content is mainly on the Prime Minister and the
cabinet. Secondly, this position is reflected in the categories highlighted as development news, where international aid, trade promotion, health, cost of living and tourism emerged as those most frequently highlighted by the JBC-TV.

However, the large percentage of "other Jamaican" officials featured in development news indicates that development news in Jamaica is not always a "mouthpiece for government propaganda", and that there is an attempt to include other personnel and issues in development news.

The findings suggest that there is a mixture of both Western and developmental styles of news media philosophies, where there is some criticism of the government development programs and projects as well as an effort to promote government development programs and projects. This is contrary to Logan and Kern's 1985 study of news media concepts in the Caribbean, where they claim that "since 1980 both the Jamaican and Grenadian news media have returned to Western style news media philosophies after changing national political events overturned the developmental traditions introduced by earlier governments."
In concluding, it could be said that in the case of Jamaica, the media (JBC TV) basically reflect the political agenda in the country. The government's agenda at this time is highly developmental, and the percentage of development news (27%), the duration of development news items which are longer than non-development news stories, as well as the high placement of development news items, reflect this development approach.

Recommendations

Future studies should therefore examine the concept of development journalism in other regions of the world, as the Jamaican media system as well as the Caribbean system is a mixture of Western and developmental concepts and are not typical of the rest of the world.

Further, studies could also be undertaken comparing the practice of development news in the print media and the electronic media, to determine if the concept remains the same or if it varies with the type of medium.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:


Caribbean Workshop in Communications and Development. What is communication for development? Report of workshop held in Georgetown, Guyana, Dec 3-8, 1972, sponsored by UNESCO (Georgetown, UNDP)


APPENDIX 1

CATEGORIES:

(1) Trade agreement  (15) culture and arts
(2) cost of living    (16) ecology
(3) prices           (17) religión
(4) stock            (18) human interest
(5) exchange rate    (19) personalities
(6) agriculture      (20) industry
(7) health           (21) international aid
(8) science          (22) education
(9) diplomatic       (23) trade promotion
(10) crime           (24) natural disaster
(11) tourism         (25) labour relations
(12) local politics  (26) international relations
(13) housing         (27) other
(14) family planning (28) most important category
### APPENDIX 2

#### DEVELOPMENT NEWS CODE SHEET

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Coder</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Anchor</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of item</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 - Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 - Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>8-9</td>
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<td>Report gender</td>
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<td>Sequence in News</td>
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<td>2 - W/Over</td>
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<td>3 - Wrap</td>
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<td>Trade agreement</td>
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<td>Criteria for</td>
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<td>Does the item emphasize development</td>
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<td>Exchange rate</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>processes rather than events?</td>
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<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Does the item contain content critical</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health education</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>of development projects, plans, policies,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>problems or issues?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Diplomatic</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>Does the item discuss the relevance of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>development projects, policies,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Foreign</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>problems, or issues to national or</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Housing</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>local news?</td>
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<td>Family planning</td>
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<td>Does the item provide contextual or</td>
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<td>Culture and arts</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>ment projects, plans, policies or</td>
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<td>Relief</td>
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<td>Interest</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>Does the item speculate about the</td>
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<td>future in relation to development</td>
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<td>International aid</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>34</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>projects, plans, policies or issues</td>
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</tr>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>Labour relations</td>
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<td>Does the item discuss development</td>
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<td>Other (specific)</td>
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<td>with original goals?</td>
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<td>with government claims?</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>Does the item make any reference to</td>
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<td>development needs of the people?</td>
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<td>Staff</td>
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<td>Hanley</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Other J.A./Person/Org.</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>Own</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.A./Person/Org</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
VITA AUCTORIS

Carole Joy Embden was born in St. Catherine, Jamaica. She attended the Central Branch Primary School and St. Hugh’s High School for girls. She completed her undergraduate programme in Mass Communication at the University of the West Indies where she graduated in 1980 with a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree.

After graduation, she was employed in the government service as an Information Officer, during which time she was also a free-lance television presenter the Jamaica Information Service.

In 1984, she accepted a position at the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation as a Producer/Editor/Reporter. There, her work involved producing the morning television news show, anchoring weekend television news shows, producing news features and producing and presenting radio news.

She was awarded the 1987/88 Rotary Scholarship which enabled her to pursue the Master of Arts program in Communication Studies at the University of Windsor.
During her postgraduate studies at the University of Windsor, she was the host of the campus and community radio station CJAM's Arts Focus and Caribbean News Programs. She received three awards for her work on those programs at the Annual CJAM awards in March 1988.

She returns to Jamaica to resume her position at the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation.

She is married and has two sons.