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Angaben zur Veröffentlichung / Publication details:

Wimmer, Jeffrey, and Susanne Wolf. 2005. "Development journalism out of date? An analysis of its significance in journalism education at African universities." München: Universität München, Kommunikations- und Medienforschung. https://doi.org/10.5282/ubm/epub.647.

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MÜNCHENER BEITRÄGE ZUR KOMMUNIKATIONSWISSENSCHAFT NR: 3 (MAI 2005)

Development journalism out of date?

An analysis of its significance in journalism education at African universities

Jeffrey Wimmer, Susanne Wolf [1]

1. Introduction

A characterisation of Africa would go beyond the scope of this article. The political systems, the single countries and cultures are too heterogeneous. Still, many countries of this continent have something in common – the need for development. For many scientists and politicians (social) development is inseparably linked to communication and information.[2] A journalistic concept dealing with development through communication has been the so-called 'development journalism'. It is the aim of our article to evaluate its significance within African journalism education these days. This is carried out via the following steps: Firstly, we will work out the theoretical and empirical basis of the phenomenon of development journalism and refer to its connection to journalism education in Africa. Through the evaluation of African journalism education on the basis of training locations and programmes we will be able to empirically examine numerous theoretical assumptions and pursue the question which position development journalism takes in current journalism education. The findings should then clarify which future processes are to be expected in the further development of African journalism education.

2. The concept of development journalism

The discussion about development communication also represents the starting point for development journalism (Ogan 1982: 3-5). Development journalism follows the former discussion about development politics and fundamentally presumes the following: (1)

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[2] Accordingly the former Tanzanian publicist and later politician Julius Nyerere stated: "While others race to the moon, we try to reach the village".

Elektronische Publikationen der Universität München. Kommunikations- und Medienforschung.
Münchener Beiträge zur Kommunikationswissenschaft Nr. 3, Mai 2005.
URL: http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/archive/00000647/

Development is a central social objective, (2) the mass media play a decisive role in this process (e.g. Domatob and Hall 1983: 9; Kunczik 1995: 84-6). The assumptions of development communication concerning modernisation and dependency do not seem to be applicable any more in a global world. More recent approaches do not act on the assumption of an (easily influenced) linear path of development any more, but track down differentiated social processes of globalisation and fragmentation, which apply to the countries of the southern hemisphere as well as the northern ones.[3] However, these processes can be heterogeneous and cause conflicts which affect large parts of the population. Since the focus of development journalism is set on journalism education and practice in the southern hemisphere and therefore constantly faces difficulties, it remains apparent up-to-date. Development journalism comprises the reporting on ideas, programmes, activities and events, which are related to an improvement of the living standard, mainly in the rural regions.[4] Basically, it is assumed that journalism is able to influence the development process by reporting on development programmes and activities. Accordingly, it is the journalists' duty to 'critically examine and evaluate the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation, and the difference between its impact on people as claimed by government officials and as it actually is' (Aggarwala 1979: 181). The reporting on national and international events is only desirable if they constructively contribute to the development and improvement of the living standard (Kunczik 1995: 84).

Different forms of development journalism can be identified in literature (overview in Kunczik 1995: 90-4). The first form is comparable to a western style investigative journalism. It comprises reporting which critically examines development projects on the one hand and controls government activities on the other hand. However, freedom of the press would be a basic requirement for it. The other form of development journalism can be defined as benevolent-authoritarian. It allows systematic manipulation of information in favour of a subtle development serving the common welfare. More recent conceptions include a Chinese version of this concept (which comprises distinct class-character following the communist party) or an intellectual development journalism: "The journalists should [...] form a kind of free intelligence and should critically examine the aims of national development and the applicable instruments in a rational discourse and solve them by reasonable criteria free of social constraints" (Kunczik 1986: 270).

A pragmatic solution for the mentioned descriptive and normative views is offered by the so-called socio-technological development journalism (Domatob 1985; Kunczik 1995). Following the fundamental assumptions of development journalism, this approach also strictly adheres to the needs of the population and supports the (normative) perception that the people concerned should participate in the development projects. Accordingly, journalism has the following tasks: on the one hand, motivating the audience to actively cooperate and on the other hand, defending the interests of those concerned (Kunczik 1986: 272). The interaction of population and journalists is a requirement for this. The audience should be involved in the decision making process. To do so, the journalist must be capable of distinguishing the crucial points and of comprehensibly pointing up every (social) process for the recipients, as complex as it may be. Assistance for interpretation has to be provided for decision making. The journalist himself has to be committed to finding solutions. Of

[3] From a cultural point of view see e.g. Biccum (2002); from the perspective of development sociology see e.g. Goetze (2002) and from the viewpoint of development politics see e.g. Schuurman (1996).

[4] The origin of the term dates from the 1960s (Domatob and Hall 1983: 11). It was introduced at the University Los Banos on the Philippines (Quebral 1975).

course, it is also important to show success-stories achieved by single citizens, which can serve as role models for the audience (Napoli 2002: 264). The credibility of journalism is crucial for the success of this undertaking. Credibility can be achieved through a "grass roots approach": Journalism has to be structured decentrally and participatively and has to counteract the metropolis-trend in the various social processes (Kunczik 1986).

Since development is considered as a solution for social problems in general, development journalism is no longer exclusively limited to the rural areas. Thus, the problems and the audience of the – immensely growing – urban area have to be central topics of reporting as well (Kunczik 1995: 223-4). One of the requirements is that the journalists are capable of entertaining their audience (Domatob and Hall 1983: 16). In this spirit and on the basis of Aggarwala, Hemant Shaw extends the tasks (1990: 1035-36):

> "Development news should examine critically, evaluate and interpret the relevance of development plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues. It should indicate the disparities between plans and actual accomplishments, and include comparisons with how development is progressing in other countries and regions. It also should provide contextual and background information about the development process, discuss the impact of plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues on people, and speculate about the future of development. And development news should refer to the needs of people, which may vary from country to country or from region to region, but generally include primary needs, such as food, housing, employment; secondary needs such as transportation, energy sources and electricity; and tertiary needs such as cultural diversity, recognition and dignity."

This journalistic view differs clearly from an objective journalism: Reporting should only present the facts and the recipients may form an opinion of their own (Edeani 1993: 126). Yet for a long period this kind of journalism lacked (and partly still lacks) the fundamental requirements in most of the African countries (as well as in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc): the philosophical basis of an independent press, the experience with a democratic system and a strong economy that sustains the press system in order to free media from government subsidies (Napoli 2002: 262). Development journalism does not reject objectivity as such, but the social and national development is an even higher journalistic aim, to which for instance news-selection has to be subordinated.

Equally, legal and economic security of the journalists should be ensured. Otherwise the risk of a government-loyal 'developmental journalist' (Edeani 1993: 131-2) emerges. The developmental journalist reports about development projects only on an 'ad hoc basis' (Edeani 1993: 131). The opinion and involvement of the government are more important criteria for reporting than the development projects themselves. Ultimately, this journalism can make a contribution to the stabilisation of unjust power structures and become a servant of governments.

3. Guidelines in journalism education?

In the 1980ies economic security was equally indispensable for the instructors. Economic problems frequently caused high fluctuation in African training staff: For instance, five different directors headed the School of Journalism at the University in Nairobi in seven years (Murphy and Scotton 1987: 16). In this case a coherent orientation in education is questionable. Consequently, following many authors, it seems to be reasonable to call for a well-organised journalism education and to warn of precipitant and idealistic actions which can ultimately be counterproductive. Amongst other things it is counterproductive to apply western concepts of journalism education to African universities without any adaptations.

They are not always suitable for the specific African needs. In their critical analysis of African journalism education Murphy and Scotton (1987) point out that some African programmes could be used in the United States without any changes in the curriculum, the training staff, the literature etc. A similar situation could be observed in Uganda during the 1970ies. Despite a decade of independency, university courses for African language and literature were exclusively held by British and Northern Americans (Hochheimer 2001).

Besides technical and political restrictions the history shows, that a dysfunctional journalism education could be the cause for job dissatisfaction of journalists (e.g. Domatob and Hall 1983: 25-7; Grossenbacher 1988: 142-62). René Grossenbacher sums up his interview survey of journalists in Benin and Senegal: "Journalism education, as it is practiced at European and Northern American institutes as well as in African countries, evidently does not contribute to socializing the graduates in a context specific to developing countries (Grossenbacher 1988: 215; similar Domatob and Hall 1983: 26). The evident "discrepancies between expected and actual job situation" and the unhappiness with the job arising from it could be avoided by orientating the education towards development journalism (Kunczik 1986: 276). Furthermore, the training is linked to many more requirements. Besides legal and economic preconditions it should amongst other things be checked preliminarily whether the future journalists want to live and work in the rural regions most in need of development (Kunczik 1986: 275). But also the instructors have to fulfil certain requirements as well. They are not always capable of getting across the – sometimes complex – participative elements of development journalism (e.g. Zeppenfeld 1983).

4. Research design

The concept of development journalism does not seem to be widespread and probably out of date. Furthermore, it is difficult to allocate via content analysis (e.g. Lent 1978; Encanto 1982; Ogan 1987).[5] René Grossenbacher even calls it a 'fiction' (1988: 216-21). On the contrary, international studies (e.g. Weaver 1998; Wu 2000) have provided evidence for a cross-national consistency in terms of journalistic news-selection. Professional journalists assumedly follow the same criteria everywhere. However, these studies examined countries of the southern hemisphere only on a case-by-case basis. To make it even more difficult, development journalism requires many prerequisites. Domatob and Hall attribute its success to several factors (1983: 26): "human and capital resources, organizational flexibility and supporting infrastructure". The authors have not yet considered that education plays an important part in the process of socialization and is partly a precondition for successful journalism. So far content structures of journalism education at university level in Africa do only exist in theoretical approaches (Murphy 1987; Domatob 1987; Hochheimer 2001). It should be mentioned though that current case studies based on survey-designs reveal new tendencies in development journalism (e.g. Ramaprasad 2001; Ramaprasad and Kelly 2003).

Even though important studies concerning development journalism have been conducted, one can identify three nearly unexplored areas: (1) *Internationality*: There are no cross-national studies. (2) *Methodology*: Content analyses of the media products are the predominant method. If survey-designs are being used, then only with journalists as subjects. (3) *Object of investigation:* There is no evaluation of journalism education or an interview survey of journalism educators, although both are undoubtedly important for

[5] Only the analysis of radio programmes shows an exception: They partly have a high proportion of topics relevant to development (e.g. Saxer and Grossenbacher 1987).

socialization. The various assumptions dating from the 1980ies have thus not yet been examined neither completely in an empirical way nor in journalism education.

Following our theoretic considerations, we therefore formulate the following research question: *What is the significance of the concept of development journalism in current African journalism education?* Our sample refers to the structure of journalism education at universities and similar institutions with diploma, bachelor and/or master's degrees in African countries south of the Sahara with the exception of South Africa. This area covers the most disadvantaged countries of the African continent, and therefore, it is especially interesting to examine the importance of development journalism in this exact field.

The methodical procedure consists of different steps: First, a research of the current institutions offering journalism education and, second, a document analysis of the institutions` training programmes available on the world wide web. Identifying the relevant institution we firstly took a look at the whole of African universities teaching journalism due to a list issued by the African Council on Communication Education (ACCE) of the year 1988. This information was supplemented with the International Association of Universities´ (IAU) index of universities of the year 2002. Beside short descriptions of the respective institution (the superordinated university resp. faculty, size etc.), also the mostly topical URLs were named in some cases. If this information was missing, the institution's country and name had to be searched via the internet which also made possible to check out the internet presentation of further institutions. In a second phase of investigation further African institutions were systematically detected by means of a worldwide internet directory of universities.[6] In a third step of inquiry we finally exploratively found out additional institutions which were not listed in the various directories. For it we typed terms as `journalism education`, `Africa`, 'communication science', 'mass communication' and also the names of all countries in the entry mask of 'Google'. Since the ACCE´s data was generated in the year 1988 an additional investigation via the internet seemed to be reasonable. The advantage of such inquiries via the internet is the easy and economic procedure which can soon deliver the intended result. However, often this is not the case because – logically – only the information actually available on the internet can be included in the analysis. In connection with that it has to be noticed that there might be a certain reason for why exactly these institutions are online (and others are not) as e.g. an open and extroverted philosophy of the institutions, financial means which make a detailed online presentation with a description of the different study programmes etc. possible. These aspects could also be linked to the content of the respective programme and therefore have a systematically distorting effect on the data basis. Therefore, depending on the cognitive interest, it has to be decided if an investigation via the internet or other ways of collecting the desired documents is to be preferred. In our case, however, this was the only possibility to gain data at all. Although we tried to get in contact with every single institution, it turned out to be an extraordinarily hard, tedious and little engaging process. Furthermore, in the long run there were lacking financial means since many institutions were neither provided with email nor facsimile (or at least they were not listed in the index) at the time of ACCE´s survey in 1988 which was all in all in the early ages of the internet era, above all in the African internet age. However, it has to be assumed that the inquiry of the overall 19 training programmes may deliver revealing insights regarding the role of developmental journalism within these institutions as e.g. if it is part of the curriculum and in which way etc. Sector 5.2 explicates the criteria on the basis of which the analysis of the documents was carried out.

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[6] Among these specific internet directories are inter alia: www.africaonline.com/AfricaOnline/education/universities.html, www.braintrack.com, www.awmc.com/directory, und http://sosig.ac.uk.

To explore further factors of 'education' and 'job understanding' we conducted a group discussion with African and German journalist trainers. We had this opportunity due to the fact that several African journalist trainers were staying in Germany during our project phase.[7] On this occasion the German International Further Education and Development Ltd. Company (InWent) (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung GmbH), staff of the Munich Institute of Communication Science, and the International Institute for Journalism (IIJ) organized a conference called "News from the global village. Media reporting about third-world-countries in German media" in Feldafing near Munich. The group discussions could be carried out during this conference (Salau, Behmer and Wimmer 2003). Group discussions offer the opportunity to generate opinions of several test persons at the same time in a relatively economic way. Furthermore, the discussion in a group can be more vivid and inventive than interviewing single persons since the participants may inspire one another to make a contribution to the discussion. However, therefore a tolerant atmosphere providing the possibility for everyone to participate in the discussion is an essential precondition. The fact that other members are participating in the discussion can also have a negative impact e.g. if group pressure occurs and as a consequence of that single attitudes are not expressed or as well in connection with the answering of more intimate questions.[8] However, since the data generated from the group discussion only play a minor role within this article we will not explain the group discussion's methodology as well as its analysis in more detail. The following results focus on the analysis of the institutions where journalists are trained resp. its training programmes.

5. Results

5.1 Batch-wise institutionalisation of journalism education at universities

We noticed an increasing institutionalisation for the chosen African region. This is partly due to an expansion and differentiation of training possibilities and contents (see Education programmes). In the late 1980ies the transnational 'Textbook Project' identified 41 institutions (Nordenstreng and Brown 1988). The association 'African Council for Communication Education' (ACCE) listed 40 institutions in its last enquiry, which already dates back 15 years (ACCE, 1988). Currently we count 82 institutions offering journalism education on (quasi-) university level (status April 2003).[9] (See Table 1).

Table 1: Journalism education at universities in Africa in comparison 1988 – 2003

	ACCE 1988	Wimmer/Wolf 2003
Angola	-	2
Benin	1	1
Burkina Faso	3	3
Burundi	1	1
Cameroon	1	5
Congo Republic	1	1

[7] African and Asian journalist trainers participated in a programme of the International Institute for Journalism in Berlin.

[8] For an overview see also e.g Flick, von Kardorff and Steinke, 2003 or as well Bortz and Döring, 1995.

[9] A more detailed documentation of universities, training programmes and the group discussion will gladly be provided upon request.

Democratic Republic of Congo	1	2
Ethiopia	-	2
Gambia	-	1
Ghana	3	3
Guinea	-	1
Ivory Coast	2	5
Kenya	3	4
Lesotho	-	1
Liberia	1	1
Madagascar	-	1
Malawi	-	1
Mauritius	-	1
Mozambique	1	2
Namibia	-	2
Niger	-	1
Nigeria	13	20
Rwanda	-	1
Senegal	1	2
Sierra Leone	-	1
Swaziland	-	2
Tanzania	2	3
Togo	-	1
Uganda	-	3
Zambia	4	4
Zimbabwe	2	4
Total	*40*	*82*
The following countries do not offer any journalism education at universities: Botswana, Central African Republic, Chad, Djibouti, Eritrea, Gabon, Guinea, Mali, Somalia and Sudan.		

In the francophone countries of Africa (e.g. Benin, Togo) the education at universities used to be behind for a long time – even though comparatively many publicists started a political career (e.g. Julius Nyerere in Tanzania). Also the British ideal of the 'born publicist' has delayed the journalism education at universities in many countries for a long time (e.g. Sierra Leone has current at last one training facility). During the past decade a vast extension can be observed in the field of universities. This expansion is being supported by the respective national politics (e.g. deregulation, encouragement of private initiatives etc.) and by international influences (e.g. development cooperation, UNESCO etc.). The extension is being sustained likewise by established political actors (governments, parties etc.) and non-established political actors (mainly NGOs, churches). Yet, the proceeding liberalisation and deregulation causes problems, too. In Kenya these drawbacks become clear: Where the state withdraws completely from the social area, the quality of education can deteriorate because of the schools' problems with funding. Despite this principally positive institutionalisation, a country-wide education does not yet exist. Large white spots are still visible on the African map (e.g. no journalism education in Botswana, Chad, Gabon etc.). Additionally, one can spot massive gaps between urban and rural areas respectively a metropolis-trend in education. Development journalism is in effect aimed at counteracting this situation.

The institutionalisation is only partly linked to a (western orientated) higher professionalism. A job proposal at the Unity College in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, shows vividly and exemplary some of the restrictions in teaching:[10]

"Unity college, Ethiopia's first private college, is seeking applications from dynamic and highly qualified professionals to serve as instructors in communications skills for the spring semester. Leading candidates will be considered for post of head of department of journalism and communications. The ideal applicant will hold an MA in a related field and be able to demonstrate either education or ample work experience in Western-style communication arts. Teaching or training experience preferred. BAs acceptable for seasoned professionals."

A small pool of specialists – which hold the 'MA to be Head of Department' – limits the possibility of choice of the academic management. Furthermore, western orientation or education in journalism is a must for university teaching.

5.2 Analysis of the education programmes

Till the end of the 1980ies university teaching lacked depth in content: They limited themselves to the mere teaching of applied media practice (Murphy and Scotton 1987; Grossenbacher 1988). The same applies to the literature used. Till the mid-eighties the meanwhile out-dated book 'Mass Media and Development' (1964) by Wilbur Schramm was often the only international book in libraries and in classes (Dissanayake 1986; Grossenbacher 1988). Equally, empirical research was of little importance for a long time. These conditions have changed dramatically. On the basis of an analysis of 19 training programmes accessible via the internet, we can state the following: (1) There is a *latent core-curriculum* showing a distinctive western structure almost everywhere. Sporadically the integration of empirical research is used (e.g. via the possibility of empirical theses). (2) This involves a *differentiation* in *content* and *form* and – which is particularly important to us – an *integration* of *specific African characteristics* (e.g. religious communication, Siswati journalism, Africa studies: Information, literacy, geography and history, languages like Kishwahili etc.).

We have designed a two-dimensional analysis of these characteristics which explicitly show the existence of *development journalism* in *education*: The first dimension looks at the content of the courses offered. We included courses, which are marked as 'development communication' or 'communication for national development'.[11] Besides, also those education subjects were categorised as development journalism-relevant which only cover particular aspects of development journalism, such as attending to the needs of the rural population or emphasizing participative communication. 'Rural sociology', 'women in society', 'rural community newspaper', 'participatory communication' would be offerings falling in this category. The second dimension reveals the significance of these development journalism-specific offerings within the entire training schedule. We distinguished between the following levels: (1) the mention of development journalism-specific aspects in the self-presentation of the university, (2) the labelling as area of specialisation within the schedule, as (3) compulsory course offering or (4) elective course offering and finally, (5) the offering of courses which treat partial aspects of development journalism. Offerings pointing out the Africanization in journalism education also belong to this category. (See Table 2)

Table 2: Offerings for development journalism

[10] Source: http://www.ethioyellowpages.com/pages/unitycollege.html; consulted on 26th August 2003.

[11] However, the title of a course only gives limited insight into the content of the curriculum.

	(1) self-presentation	(2) area of specialisation	(3) compulsory course offering	(4) elective course offering	(5) partial aspects
CIERRO, Burkina Faso	+	+	+	-	-
ESSTIC, Cameroon	+	-	+	-	+
CERCOM, Ivory Coast	-	-	-	-	-
Unity College, Ethiopia	+	+	-	-	-
ISTC; Ivory Coast	-	-	-	-	-
Daystar, Kenya	+	+			
KIMX, Kenya	-	-	-	+	+
University of Mauritius	-	-	+	-	+
University of Namibia	+	-	+	-	+
NIJ, Nigeria	-	-	-	-	+
University of Jos, Nigeria	+	-	-	+	+
School of Journalism, Rwanda	+	+	-	-	-
CESTI, Senegal	-	+	+	-	-
Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone	-	-	+	-	+
University of Swaziland	+	+	-	+	+
Augustine University of Tanzania	+	-	-	+	-
Iringa Campus School of Journalism, Tanzania	+	+	+	-	+
TJS, Tanzania		-	-	-	+
Makere University, Uganda	-	-	+	-	+

Key: - = non-existent, + = existent

This table shows an ample heterogeneity between the universities: Development journalism is existent almost everywhere, although to a highly different extent. Partial aspects of development journalism play a role in most of the training programmes. In at least ten analysed programmes the idea of development, respectively the covering of Africa-specific concerns, seems to be of such central significance that it is included in the self-presentation of the education institution. For instance, ESSTIC in Cameroon states as its aim 'to train future African journalists adapted to national and regional realities'. The University of Namibia 'aims at providing a firm foundation for graduates who can be actively engaged in the process of creating an information society in Africa'. There has even been installed a specific research agenda "including areas such as information and development or the

problematic field of access to information by disadvantaged groups". Part of the primary focus of the University of Jos in Nigeria includes 'providing a Centre for Development Communication Studies.' At the School of Journalism in Rwanda development journalism seems to enjoy outstanding significance since the first two years of training consist of general courses. Afterwards, the student is required to choose between two tracks of specialization: 1) journalism and 2) communication and development. There is a clear distinction between the professional skills for print media, radio, TV, new technologies, news analysis and news reporting and communication and development as part of the communication process in national, economic and social development, covering of areas such as e.g. agricultural of health.

5.3 Journalism education and journalism – The case study Tanzania

Finally we would like to demonstrate the (seemingly) successful integration of guidelines in journalism education and attitudes of practising journalists with regards to an Africa- and development-specific Journalism at the example of Tanzania. Tanzania was characterised by the long-lasting state socialism 'ujamaa', which led to a sort of developmental journalism in education. As a result of the political change and the improved economic situation, new western-oriented curricula were introduced in the mid-nineties. They consist of three focal points: theory of mass communication, journalistic practice and media ethics. A current survey of journalistic attitudes shows the following (Ramaprasad 2001): Journalists consider western-oriented media functions, such as information, analysis or entertainment, as being the most important, but at the same time they appreciate African media functions, such as national development (Ramaprasad 2001: 544-8). This is also demonstrated by the fact that Tanzanian journalists consider the journalistic benefit for the country (e.g. national development, fighting corruption) as more important than personal profit (e.g. salary, job security) (Ramaprasad 2001: 548-9).

The African journalism instructors joining the group discussion (amongst them one staff member of the Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of Dar es salaam – formerly Tanzania School of Journalism) agree with the evaluation of media functions and the personal work attitude mentioned above. Furthermore, journalism instructors see themselves more as 'watchers' of the government as opposed to servants in the past. Thus, the BA in journalism at the Augustine University states as its objective: 'A three-year course emphasizing a broad academic approach to media studies and how the media function in society. Besides learning and specialised training in the print media, broadcasting, or public relations, students are challenged to explore critical questions, engage in extensive research, and examine areas of planning and media management.' The analysis of current education programmes shows that all three Tanzanian education institutions offer – at least partly – development journalism as a subject (See Table 2). Also the location of the three universities across the country should help to reduce metropolis orientation: The Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of Dar es salaam is located in the capital, the Augustine University in Mwanza in the north at the shores of Lake Victoria and Iringa Campus School of Journalism at the Tumaini University in the centre of the country.

6. Conclusion

Development journalism nowadays seems to have a firm position in African journalism education. This development does not take place on a big scale, but it definitely happens in

niches. Its dimension is due to a largely accepted professionalization in journalism education - an 'American journalism training' respectively, and therewith the emphasis on 'practical training, technical and professional performance'. Further research is necessary, especially a representative interview survey of African journalism-instructors is still missing. The questionnaire developed by Ramaprasad and Kelly on the basis of Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) could provide a useful foundation for further research (2003: 308-12). Furthermore, we have to define more precisely the influence of education on journalistic everyday life. The mere teaching of certain contents – such as the elements of development journalism – does not necessarily mean that the journalists act accordingly, a circumstance which is also suggested by many journalist interview surveys conducted so far. However, our case study Tanzania shows a particular consensus between the attitude of the journalists and their teachers. A possible causality in this relationship would have to be additionally researched with different methodical designs.

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