The role of social media in socioeconomic and political change (On-Air Political Influence)

Overview

In 1948 the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information declared access to information an essential freedom—one that underpins all others. In this sense access to information can be understood as an end in itself. Yet a 1962 UNESCO survey found that over 70% of the world lacked access to adequate information. In response the UN called for all countries to include a media development strategy within their economic development plans. In addition to securing this fundamental right, they said, “information media have an important role to play in education, social, and economic progress.”

More recently, the UN recognized the important role of independent media in bringing about good governance — something increasingly demanded by citizens across the globe. People want “their voices to be heard and they want institutions that are transparent, responsive, capable and accountable.”

Since the late 17th Century, Enlightenment theorists had argued that publicity and openness provide the best protection from the excesses of power. Investigative reporting, which in some cases has led to the ouster of presidents and the fall of corrupt governments, has made the media an and credible watchdog and boosted its credibility among the public.

Scientific democracy presupposes active participation of citizens: In reality the media must keep citizens engaged in the conducting of governance by informing, educating and mobilizing the public. Since 1980 the transformation of societies from authoritarian regime had resonance among citizens facing pervasive corruption, weak rule of law, and predatory or incompetent and inept governments unable to deliver basic services. However, media can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to so. They need the requisite skills for the kind of in depth reporting that a new democracy requires. In addition to this, there must be mechanism to ensure they are held accountable to the public and that ethical and professional standards are upheld.

"By making one part of a country aware of other parts, their people, arts, customs, and politics; by permitting the national leaders to talk to the people, and people to the leaders and to each other; by making possible a nation-wide dialogue on national policy; by keeping the national goals and national accomplishments always before the public--thus modern communication, widely used, can help weld together isolated communities, disparate subcultures, self-centered individuals and groups, and separate developments into a truly national development." - “Father of Communication Studies”, Wilbur Schramm -

Mass media such as newspapers had been around for years before the existence of radio. In fact, radio was initially considered a kind of disembodied newspaper. Although this idea gave early proponents a useful, familiar way to think about radio, it underestimated radio’s power as a medium. Newspapers had the potential to reach a wide audience, but radio had the potential to reach almost everyone. Neither neither illiteracy nor even a busy schedule impeded radio’s success—one could now perform an activity and listen to the radio at the same time. This unprecedented reach made radio an instrument of social cohesion as it brought together members of different classes and backgrounds to experience the world as a nation. Over the years, radio has had a considerable influence on the political landscape of the United States. President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Depression-era radio talks, or “fireside chats,” remain one of the most famous uses of radio in politics.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) says that addressing poverty requires not just a transfer of economic resources to the needy but also making information available to the poor so that they can participate more meaningfully in political and social life. After all, the poor cannot assert their rights if they don’t know what these are. If they are unaware of
the laws and procedures for availing themselves of their entitlements or the mechanisms they can use to remedy their deprivations, they will always remain poor. Democracy cannot take root if the poor and powerless are kept out of the public sphere. The argument is that effective media are the key as they can provide the information poor people need to take part in public life.

Ideally, the media should provide voice to those marginalized because of poverty, gender, or ethnic or religious affiliation. By giving these groups a place in the media, their views—and their afflictions—become part of mainstream public debate and hopefully contribute to a social consensus that the injustices against them ought to be redressed. In this way, the media also contribute to the easing of social conflicts and to promoting reconciliation among divergent social groups. Indonesians called it the "euphoria press." Euphoria is a wonderful thing, but it does not always give birth to good journalism.

The role of media in a democracy (Television, radio, magazines, books, Internet, etc.)

It is a hard fact that democracy is impossible without a free press. As early as the 17th century Enlightenment theorist, such the French political philosopher Montesquieu had argued that publicity and openness provide the best protection against tyranny and authoritarianism. A fearless and effective watchdog is critical in inexperienced democracies where institutions are weak and struck repeatedly by political pressure. Noble laureate Amartya Sen outlined the need for transparency guarantees such as a free press and the free flow information. Moreover,

| \( \Phi. \) Media brings political information to the public on a daily basis. Information and critical public discussion are an inescapably important requirement of good public policy. |
| \( \Phi. \) Media has a profound effect on public policy because most people rely on the information from the media to make their choices in an election. Democracy cannot take root if the poor and powerless are kept out of the public sphere. |
| \( \Phi. \) So, if the media chooses not to cover something, then most people will never get that information. Ideally, the media should provide voice to those marginalized because of poverty, gender, or ethnic or religious affiliations—become part of mainstream public debate and contribute to a social consensus that the injustice against them ought to be redressed. |

Three essential roles (The right to inform and be informed):

1. Serves as a “watchdog” over government, a media explosion often follows the fall of dictatorships.

2. Sets the public agenda

3. Supports the free exchange of ideas, information, and opinions: Despite constitutional guarantees and in many cases, also wide public support, the media in fledgling democracies have been crippled by stringent laws, monopolistic ownership and brute force.

\( A \) testimony to this is in 2002, more than 20 journalists were killed because of their work and more than 136 were, and still are, in prison because authorities were (are) displeased with their reporting (many of these were reporting in new democracies).
Most people rely on the media for all or most of their information regarding politics. Whatever the media chooses to talk about is the information that people receive (Agenda Setting). If the media chooses not to talk about it, then people are generally uninformed about the issue (Agenda Cutting). If people are uninformed about the issue then it will not be a priority in the legislative arena. Freedom of the press is essential in a democracy in order to share ideas about how the government should operate and what agenda the government should pursue.

“*A press that is free to investigate and criticize the government is absolutely essential in a nation that practices self-government and is therefore dependent on an educated and enlightened citizenry.*” – Thomas Jefferson

Fundamentally, it is well known that information empowers people to determine their own development path. At its heart, development – if it is to be sustainable – must be a process that allows people to be their own agents of change: to act individually and collectively, using their own ingenuity and accessing ideas, practices and knowledge in the search for ways to fulfill their potential. Independent media play a critical role in improving governance and reducing corruption, increasing economic efficiency and stability, and creating positive social and environmental change. Three sections addressing three areas where media can have a positive effect on societies:

(i). Governance Impact (media as watchdog): A strong, free, and independent media sector leads to lower corruption levels

(ii). Economic Impact: Access to information helps citizens hold their governments accountable

(iii). Social Impact: A plural media improves government responsiveness by giving a voice to the vulnerable.

(i). **Governance Impact (media as a watchdog):** Media improve governance by monitoring the actions of those in power and alerting the public to corruption or abuse of trust. Corruption has a negative impact on society, particularly in furthering poverty and income inequality. Numerous studies show a robust link between a free, strong, and independent press and reduced corruption. A free press exposes private and public sector corruption. It monitors government officials and increases voters’ knowledge, allowing voters to hold corrupt politicians accountable during elections, causing politicians to reduce corruption. Media as watchdog played a good role in Latin America, where it is widely accepted that sustained investigative reporting on corruption, human rights violations and other forms of atrocity has helped build a culture of accountability in governments, that is, media exposure, particularly of corruption in the government officials, has played a role in bringing down governments. The toppling of four presidents-Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil in 1992, Carlos Andres Perez 1993, Abdala Bucaram of Ecuador in 1997, and Alberto Fujimori in 2000- was due in large measure to investigative reporting on their complicity in corrupt deals.

In South Asia new democracy and people upheaval for reform, even thought 36 journalists have been slain since the restoration of democracy in 1986, has resulted in the ouster of corrupt officials such as President Joseph Estrada of the Philippines in 2001. Most of the killing have taken place in countries where the rule of law is weak and judiciary is unable and unwilling to defend press rights. Just it has been happening in Ethiopia (East Africa), the courts are dishonest and inept, the murders seldom punished. Since the press is often caught in a chicken-and-egg situation, its freedom are not guaranteed unless other democratic institutions perform their functions well-needs peoples government established by overwhelming majority.
What is governance, and what makes it good? Necessary ingredients include participation by as broad a section of the population as possible, accountability and transparency. All of these qualities require the action of free, independent and vigorous information media. Only when journalists are free to monitor, investigate and criticize the public administration's policies and actions can good governance take hold. Yet in much of the world, press freedom, where it exists at all, is under increasing attack.

(iii). **Economic Impact**: Media improve the efficiency of the economy by providing actors more and better information with which to make decisions and improving stability. It enhances political coordination in the development of sound economic policy. Economic actors need accurate and timely information to allocate resources efficiently. Investors and other groups increasing value and demand a governance-monitoring role from the media. A free and independent press can provide information and monitoring to the economic policy development process leading to more effective economic policies. It can also reduce political risk and increase good governance—conditions that are important for robust economic development. Media sector development can reduce political risk, increasing stability for higher risk countries.

(iii). **Social Impact and media as information tool**: Media catalyze positive changes in society by providing the information that influences public opinion. Information leads to increases in awareness and changes in behavior across social issues in order for development to be just and sustainable; citizens must productively participate in the decisions that shape their lives. Participation requires an informed citizenry. A free and independent media supply timely and relevant information to citizens allowing them to change their own behavior and to demand higher social standards for society. Information access linked to less environmental degradation. Social media in democracies have contributed to public education on elections. Public-affairs programs on radio and television provide the depth; context and critical analysis and news programs and commercials do not.

The proponents of watchdog journalism have high hopes for what it can do, especially in the control of corruption. By exposing wrongdoing, they say, the press prompts investigations of those involved in malfeasance and catalyzes changes in laws and regulations. It helps shape public opinion against corrupt governments and generates public hostility against those who abuse their office.

Some significant events that media has played in political unrest are:

- The Media as Watchdog Perhaps the most instructive case is that of Latin America, where it is widely acknowledged that sustained investigative reporting on corruption, human rights violations and other forms of wrongdoing has helped build a culture of accountability in government and strengthened the fledgling democracies of the continent. There, media exposure, particularly of corruption in high places, has helped bring down governments.
- The downfall of four presidents — Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil in 1992, Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela in 1993, Abdala Buckram of Ecuador in 1997 and Alberto Fujimori in 2000 — was due in large measure to investigative reporting on their complicity in corrupt deals. Such reporting has made the press a credible — and prestigious — institution in the region’s new democracies. Because it has functioned effectively and independently, the media enjoy the public’s support and trust.
- In Southeast Asia’s new democracies, sustained reporting on malfeasance in public life has resulted in the ouster of corrupt officials and raised public awareness on the need for reform. In the Philippines, investigative reporting provided evidence that led to impeachment charges being filed against President Joseph Estrada in 2000 and fuelled public outrage against his excesses. Estrada was ousted from office in a popular uprising on the streets of Manila in January 2001. In Thailand, investigative reports unearthed evidence of the shadowy business dealings of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. In Indonesia, the press has uncovered wrongdoing that led to the filing of charges against high officials, including the powerful speaker of Parliament, Akbar Tanjung, in 2001.
- This success has come at a great cost. The New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists tallied 117 journalists killed in Latin America from 1988 to 1998.7 In the Philippines, 36 journalists have been slain since the restoration of democracy in 1986.8 In Thailand and Indonesia, crusading journalists have been beaten up, threatened and killed. Worldwide, 15 of the 68 murdered journalists in 2001 were slain because of investigative work related to corruption.9 Most of the murders have taken place in countries where the rule of law is weak and the judiciary is
unable and unwilling to defend press rights. Because the courts are dishonest and inept, the killers seldom get punished. Those who wish the press ill — whether they are officials, drug cartels or insurgent movements involved in illicit trades or the protection of crime — can operate with impunity.

Specific media application

The Philippines

As mentioned above, on January 17, 2001, during the impeachment trial of Philippine President Joseph Estrada, loyalists in the Philippine Congress voted to set aside key evidence against him. Less than two hours after the decision, activists, with the help of forwarded text messages, were able to organize a protest at a major crossroads in Manila. Over the next few days, over a million people arrived. “The public’s ability to coordinate such a massive and rapid response – close to seven million text messages were sent that week – so alarmed the country’s legislators that they reversed course and allowed the evidence to be presented. ... The event marked the first time that social media had helped force out a national leader” (Shirkey). On January 20, 2011, Estrada resigned.

Moldova

The first widely-recognized use of social media as a tool of political revolution occurred in Moldova in 2009. Activists used Facebook, Live Journal (an electronic diary service/social network), and Twitter to organize protests and bring attention to the political unrest in the former Soviet republic.

Iran

In June 2009, Neda Agha-Soltan and some friends headed to the center of Tehran, Iran, to join an anti-government protest following the disputed presidential election. Stuck in traffic, she got out of the car. Agha-Soltan was shot and died. Video of her death was captured on a cell phone. “With links to the video posted on YouTube, Face book and Twitter, the amateur clip eventually harnessed the attention of the mainstream media, grabbing headlines on CNN and in the ‘New York Times.’ Agha-Soltans’ death became a symbol for the Iranian anti-government movement, and online social media amplified that symbol for the rest of the world to see”

Tunisia

In December 2010, Mohammed Bouazizi set fire to himself – “a desperate act of defiance following his denied attempts to work as a street vendor to support his family. ... The scenes of his self-immolation captured by passers-by and posted on YouTube as well as those of the mass protests that followed his funeral, quickly circulated in Tunisia and beyond” (Cottle). On January 11th protests reached the centre of the capital city Tunis, and Tunisian president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali responded by ordering in the army and imposing a night-time curfew. The next day, tens of thousands took to the streets in Sfax, Tunisia’s second city (“International: No Sign of an End”). On January 14, 2011, Ben Ali fled the country, ousted by a spontaneous populous uprising. “Tunisia’s population of 10 million people, known for their high levels of education and civic pride, became the first people in the Arab world to take to the streets and oust a leader.

Egypt

Google executive Wael Ghonim helped spark Egypt’s 2011 unrest. Egyptian businessman Khaled Said died after being beaten by police, who had videotaped themselves taking confiscated marijuana. Hoping to draw attention to police corruption, he copied that video and posted it to YouTube. Ghonim created a Face book page called ‘We Are all Khaled Said.’

Proposal and entanglement for action

We note that media can make full use its potential to contribute to the consolidation of democracy if its rights are protected. Moreover, media need to have the requisite skills for the kind of textured and in-depth reporting that new democracies require. Typical initiatives which have contributed to creating an enabling environment that allows the media to be an effective and instigative agent for deepening democracy and which strengthen the media as a democratic institution include:

(i). Safekeeping of journalists
(ii). Augmenting social media accountability
(iii). Structuring media efficiency
(iv). Promoting democracy

(i). Safekeeping of journalists:
Without doubt, the institutional arrangements of democracy provide the most hospitable environment for watchdog reporting. The constitutional and legal protections for a free press as well as access to government-held information give journalists not only the right, but also the tools with which to monitor government. The checks and balances inherent in the representative system also legitimize journalistic inquiry as part of a broader framework of government accountability to citizens. This is why watchdog reporting cannot take place, for example, in Burma, North Korea, Ethiopia, etc. New democratic leaders not only dismantled information ministries and state censorship but also liberated the media from state ownership, paving the way for entrepreneurs who took advantage of the commercial opportunities to create a market hungry for news. Emboldened by their freedom, their prestige and their profits, the media in many new democracies now poke their noses into areas of public life from which they had once been barred, exposing corruption in malfeasance in both high and low places, and in areas like the military, which previously have not been subjected to press scrutiny.

(ii). Augmenting social media accountability: Carefully researched, high-impact investigative reports help build the media’s credibility and support among the public. The media accountability as a democratic institution is enhanced if they are accountable to the public, acknowledge their mistakes and ensure that ethical and professional standards are upheld. The press as an institution is strengthened if journalists have demonstrated that they serve the public interest by uncovering malfeasance and abuse. Not only that, a credible press is assured of popular backing if it is muzzled or otherwise constrained. Investigative reporting is also seen as contributing to journalistic freedom. By constantly digging for information, by forcing government and the private sector to release documents, and by subjecting officials and other powerful individuals to rigorous questioning, investigative journalists expand the boundaries of what is possible to print or air. At the same time, they accustom officials to an inquisitive press. In the long term, the constant give and take between journalists and officials helps develop a culture—and a tradition—of disclosure. In the end, even if in the short-term, exposés make little impact; they educate citizens and provide information, a process that over time enriches democratic discourse. Media can also indirectly reduce corruption. A 2000 study found that in countries with weak civic monitoring capabilities (including a strong, independent media) high levels of education might not have the expectedly positive impact on corruption (i.e. better educated bureaucrats should provide better public services). Without being monitored, politicians may use their education to become more efficiently corrupt. The study “examine(s) the impact of higher education on corruption…, while controlling progressively for other variables that have been identified to influence corruption (e.g. press freedom).” The results support the study’s hypothesis that “in countries with low levels of civic monitoring of those in power, education may actually increase corruption.”
(ii). **Structuring media efficiency:**

The Southeast Asian experience affirms these findings. The different outcomes of journalistic investigations on official assets one in the Philippines, and the other, in Thailand, both in 2000 show that the impact of investigative reports is contingent upon the configuration of social and political forces at a particular point in time and on the ability of interested publics to mobilize against the wrongdoing that has been exposed. Newspapers and broadcast stations liberated from the constrains imposed by dictator find that reporting on a democracy requires new skills and fresh talent. In some cases wealthy businesspeople or some elites who connection with foreign states subside the media, which end up being mouthpiece for their interest. An independent new organization must strive toward financial viability. A great deal also depends on how the debates on the revelations of wrongdoing are framed in the public discourse. Aymo Brunetti and Beatrice Weder argued that watchdog reporting is “potentially a highly effective mechanism of external control” against two particularly pernicious types of corruption. The first type is extortive corruption where a government official has the power to delay or refuse service in order to get a bribe. The authors posited that the press can provide a vehicle for voicing complaints about such extortions. Victims, they said, have a strong incentive to expose this type of corruption to journalists. Press reports, in turn, increase the risks of exposure of corrupt bureaucrats, and over time, act as a deterrent to official extortions. Vibrant democracy needs independent and pluralistic media. Here, the word independent refers to independence from governmental, political or economic control, or from control of materials and infrastructure essential for the production and dissemination of media products and programs.

(v). **Promoting democracy:** When media are constrained from investigating and exposing the impact of changes in national and global security policy and when they are the victims of political spin and propaganda it adds significantly to the weakening of civil liberties and democracy. Journalists themselves face restrictions on their freedom of movement and increasingly strident demands from authorities to reveal sources of information as well as renewed pressure from political leaders for journalism in the so-called “national interest,” which are barely-disguised code words and warnings to journalists and media to toe the government line. Medium (plural media) can be effective only if it is accessible to a wide section of the population, moreover, media sector development can reduce political risk, increasing stability for higher risk countries.

**Social accountability and Finote democracy as voice of the voiceless**

Based on the assumption that effective and accountable governance is unlikely to be achieved without an attentive and active citizenry the World Bank has recently introduced the concept of social, or collective, accountability. From this point of view civic engagement involves more than just voting, but also participation in civil society organizations and community policy making. Academic democratization research has also increasingly drawn attention to the importance of an active and supportive citizenry in the process of democratic consolidation. The lack of a vibrant civil society in many new democracies has been linked to the persisting problems of corruption and in effective governance in these countries. Elements of a democratic political culture include cognitive mobilization, indicated by interest in public affairs and political knowledge, the willingness to participate in political life, further the sense of civic competence and the belief to have an impact on the course of politics, and support of democracy both as it actually exists and as a general ideal. If citizens are ignorant about political issues, or do not make an effort to have a say, despise their representatives and do not believe in democratic values, then the viability of that democracy might be seriously at risk. Equally important are the political orientations of individual citizens and the degree to which they are congruent with the values and institutions of the democratic system. Elements of a democratic political culture include cognitive mobilization, indicated by interest in public affairs and political knowledge, the willingness to participate in political life, further the s
ense of civic competence and the belief to have an impact on the course of politics, and support of democracy both as it actually exists and as a general ideal.

**Why Finote Radio?**

The Stars emit their photon of light to witness Ethiopian unity with natural color that reflects its various ethnic beauty manifested through its colorful natural flag.

![Image of the Star](image-url)

The Martyr's are enlightening us with naturally signaled voices carried by electromagnetic radiations through Finote radio!

Learning from Finote radio to Live together in peace and harmony is a dynamic, holistic and lifelong process through which mutual respect, understanding, caring and sharing, compassion, social responsibility, solidarity, acceptance and tolerance of diversity among individuals and groups (ethnic, social, cultural, religious, national and regional) are internalized and practiced together to solve problems and to work towards a just and free, peaceful and democratic society. This process begins with the development of inner peace in the minds and hearts of individuals engaged in the search for truth, knowledge and understanding of each other's cultures, and the appreciation of shared common values to achieve a better future. Learning to live together in peace and harmony requires that quality of relationships at all levels is committed to peace. Human rights, democracy and social justice in an ecologically sustainable environment. Core values of Peace, Human Rights, Democracy and Sustainable Development, and related Values which Support Them: Love self-worth/self-esteem trust and respect positive self-criticism openness deep sense of responsibility concern for others fidelity/loyalty sense of sacrifice sense of reconciliation courage gentleness endurance. Compassion kindness. Moral fortitude. Sensitivity to others' needs = goodwill. Nurturing, supportiveness, Spirituality, Gratitude, Equality and Justice, Respect for Human Dignity, Appreciation of Diversity, Freedom and Responsibility, Democracy, Respect for Law and Order, Freedom and Responsibility, Equality, Self-discipline, Active and Responsible Citizenship, Openness, Critical
Advocacy is important when significant parts of the population are excluded from the mainstream media and corrupt tyrannical governments subjugate the country. Finote democracy the voice of Ethiopian unity strives for the emergence of a political culture that is conducive to the consolidation of the new democratic order in a unified Ethiopia. Finote radio programs, based on EPRP’s modern vision of humanitarianism and egalitarianism, have focused on the following:

- Providing a forum where a broad range of voices – opposition parties, civil society actors, independent experts and ordinary citizens – can express alternative views.
- Supporting objective news and information programs, so that people can make informed decisions and counter state-controlled media.
- Cultivating alternative media, so that multiple voices and opinions will be heard.
- Mobilizing popular participation in the transition process: educating Ethiopian people about fundamental change of regime and the formation of people's provisional government that will structure a well-founded democratic institution once and for all.
- Can entertain people with dominant collective narratives in reference to integrative and comprehensive stories - provided by the ethos of the society.
- Bring people of Ethiopia closer to each other by surfacing up the salient facts shared or collective emotions. It enables ordinary citizens to connect and organize themselves with little to no costs, and the world to bear witness.
- Became school of Social movements that have implemented in many different forms and on different levels in order to transform our societies to a democratic nation state. The recent new wave of protests is a highlight that should be brought to focus on the role of Finote radio as a main force behind recent popular movements that shook the foundation of the Ethnic based state.
- Multiplying the impact of transition activities by disseminating information on successful local peace and participatory efforts media sector.
- Making the media available to a broad segment of society helps redress long-standing social inequities and gives representation and voice to citizens so they can participate more meaningfully in public life. Finote radio fulfill instrumental functions in political communication as a reporter of events, as a platform for the expression of political opinions, as an instrument of political party organization and weapon in inter-party and intra-party conflicts, as a watchdog on governmental actions.

The EPRP through Finote radio as social media of political communication, recognizes a truly democratic society requires citizen participation. If they do their jobs well, the media keep citizens engaged in the business of governance and prompt them to take action. As a tool for information dissemination, the media aid the public in making informed choices, such as whom to vote for and which policies should be endorsed and which, opposed. In many new democracies, radio has become the medium of choice, taking the place of newspapers in drawing citizens to the town square for discussion and debate. Compared to television, radio is a less expensive and more accessible medium and is especially popular in poor countries where the media infrastructure is not well developed. FM radio with its localized signal can be an instrument for promoting grassroots democracy. Web has served as a bulletin board for citizens.

Finote radio is a manifestation of the microscopic channel that intertwines all Ethiopians, and finally:

- Finote for Ethiopian unity and prosperity!
- Finote for People’s government, for equality and justice
- Finote for unwavering and scientific Democracy!
Finote for the overwhelming majority to enjoy freedom of expression association, and political organization!

Finote for all Diasporas to enjoy and educate their children!

Finote for enlightenment and accuracy of information!

Finote is a manifestation of abstract and concrete news!

Finote for world peace

International Conventions Supporting Media Freedom

* Universal Declaration of Human Rights
* International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
* International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
* Charter of Paris for a New Europe
* Budapest Summit Declaration: Towards a Genuine Partnership in a New Europe
* European Convention on Human Rights
* American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man
* American Convention on Human Rights

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