

document to a developmental document, shifting from the *politics of democracy* to the *economics of democracy*, so that Ghanaians may look at it as the source of renewed hope for the future (Fiadjoé, 2011, p. 3 [*italics in original*]).

But to loop back to the Directive Principles of State Policy, Article 162(5), which guarantees the freedom and independence of the media, also imposes the duty on “all agencies of the mass media ... to uphold the *principles, provisions and objectives* of [the] Constitution.” Those *principles and objectives* are enunciated in Chapter 6 of the Constitution as “The Directive Principles of State Policy.” A re-reading of the eight articles in which the directive principles are expressed shows that the word “development” is mentioned 14 times (not counting the many other denotations – such as “education” and “health” – and connotations – such as “empowerment” and “welfare” – that also operationalize the idea of development). In fact, the whole of Article 38 is dedicated to “Educational Objectives,” and although there is no similar exclusive treatment under a rubric of “health objectives,” considerations of health are both implicitly conveyed and directly mentioned under Article 36 – on Economic Objectives (specifically, 36(10)), – and under Article 37 – on Social Objectives (specifically, 37(5)). Obviously, it would require the availability and agency of a conducive media milieu to ensure that the democratic dividend is distributed in a way that “contribute[s] to the overall development of the country” (Constitution, Article 36(2) (c)) for example. This expectation is also based on the vision and promise of the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS, 2003), which seeks to pursue a private sector led liberal market economic policy that, nevertheless, ensures “the protection of the vulnerable and excluded within a decentralized, democratic environment” (Government of Ghana, 2003, p. 2).

Extrapolating from the foregoing, it is easy to illustrate the conjunctive role expectations of the media and/or development in terms of what Merrill (1974, p. 45) refers to as the “reference theory” of media-government relationship. What this theory suggests is that investments in, for example, education, health, or agriculture, will benefit from related investments in a “school broadcast media,” or a “social marketing foundation” campaign, or a “farm radio forum” program.

Our conclusion on the premise and role expectation, therefore, is that the prevailing legal and policy regime is so sufficiently development-oriented as to engender or enable the attendant journalistic interest and attention to media and/or development.

## Promise: Role intentions

As noted earlier, the relationship among media, communication and national development has been normatively asserted (Manyozo, 2012; Melkote & Steeves 2015; Servaes, 2021) and empirically ascertained (Schramm, 1964; Tietzsch 2013; Wilkins, Tufte & Obregon, 2014). Studies also suggest both constitutive and consequential links between the presence and nature of media use and such development variables as education, health, agriculture, good governance/democracy and (gender) empowerment (cf. Rogers, 1993; Lennie & Tacchi, 2015; Singh, 2016). Based on the logics of the theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour (Ajzen, 2005; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010), we sought to determine from the behavioural intent (promise) of journalists the prospects of their practising or promoting the premise and role expectation of media and/or national development. Accordingly, we asked informants questions pertaining to their personal or attitudinal factors (i.e., ability and willingness) and their social or normative factors (i.e., institutional culture and audience expectations).

In answer to the question about their view of media and/or national development, the responses reflected a general sense that journalists believe their role to be both indicative of, and instrumental to, national development. The media also have the important watchdog responsibility to hold public officials accountable to the people as expressed in the so-called fourth estate mandate. This is illustrated in the following response by an informant:

*As you know, the media is the fourth realm of the state. And for that matter, we are more like the voice of the people. So, we make a great impact. So, whatever we say, and whatever we do, directly and indirectly affect the community. (B., Marhaba)*

Another point of emphasis is the surveillance function of providing the public with timely, factual and accurate information, particularly to enable citizens to make decisions concerning their lives and also keep the government in check. This response is emphasized by another informant, who said

*I think that we must be able to bring out the issues that are important in our current situation... not covering up anything; bringing out the truth and helping the people to decide on what to do; helping them to take very important decisions based on the information that we give them. (C., CBC)*

Yet another informant agreed that national development is an important feature of the fourth estate function of the media, but only if journalists first understand what national development is and

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