

The Impact of Media Political Incitement on Social Unrest in Uganda: A Case Study of Kampala Central Division in Kampala District, Uganda.

Friday Christopher¹, Sekate Erinewo², Ndyamuhaki Milton³

¹Assistant Lecturer, Kampala International University, Kampala, Uganda
fridaychristopher@rocketmail.com or fridaychristopherian@gmail.com
+256781447337

²Research Assistant, Kampala, Uganda

³Education Officer, Kanungu District Local Government
ndyamuhakimilton@gmail.com

Abstract: This study was about the Impact of Media political Incitement on Social Unrest in Uganda: in Kampala Central Division in Kampala District, Uganda. This study aimed at examining the impact of media political incitement in the propagation of social unrest in Uganda; thus, specifying on different types of social unrest that have been caused by media political incitement, challenges facing media in reporting on political issues, and possible solutions to the challenges affecting media in reporting on political issues in Kampala Central Division. The total population of the participants selected in this study was 40; whereby the researcher employed the Slovene's formulae to calculate the sample size of 36 participants. Majority of the respondents in this study were male by 58.33%, yet their counterparts (female) constituted to 41.67% respectively. Findings indicate that Media practitioners called for sustaining collective action aimed to public decisions; public representation of the goals, demonstrations; political violence; traffic blockades and wild strikes; and desire for change as strongly agreed by 47% of the participants. 44% of the participants supported the journalists were used as political campaign tool to mop up party support of either the ruling party or the opposition; audience does not receive a complete image of the political scene; drawing the attention of voters to how politicians are fulfilling their responsibilities to society; as challenges faced by the media practitioners during dissemination of political issues to their audience. The study further proposed that following ethics of the profession; letting electorates know the thoughts and characters of the candidates; exercise the power to provide information; setting the public agenda to inform the electorate about the candidates would address the above challenges. political incitement included media practitioners called for sustaining collective action aimed at influencing public decisions; challenges such as they suffer stress through news-sourcing and possible solutions to include media practitioners let electorates know the thoughts and characters of the candidates. The researcher recommended that media should be independent and try to give the public the correct information.

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provided the study with a deep background for understanding the role of media political incitement on social unrest. It drew different sections such as background and problem statement; general objective of the study, objectives and research questions; scope and the justification, conceptual framework and the definitions of the key terms employed by this study to address the phenomenon.

1.1 Background of the study

1.1.1 Historical Perspective

Information is a key factor in beginning of conflicts around the World. The media acts a watchdog in the society; exposing to the public what is essential but hidden, however, it can also mobilize for violence and or hatred. There is the mainstream media also known as traditional media and social media. Currently, social media can act as a tool for widening the democratic space; however, it can also lead to destabilization of peace and spring of violence. McKinley was running for a second term in office with a new vice president (Theodore Roosevelt). During the campaign, Hearst's New York Journal and other newspapers set up a drum-beat of extreme political criticism. At one point the Journal labeled McKinley "the most hated creature on the American continent" and said: "If bad institutions and bad men must be got rid of only by killing, then the killing must be done."

The New York Times explained that a similar call for McKinley's assassination was seen in a doggerel poem written by a then-famous writer named Ambrose Bierce. So, when McKinley actually was assassinated in September of 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt and his cabinet members personally blamed Hearst for McKinley's assassination. Speaking of the incident later, Senator Lewis Schwellenbach said the attacks were "the most cowardly in all the sordid career of journalism which that man (Hearst) has pursued." There are many other incidents of strong media rhetoric or grossly misleading images that seemed to justify violence in

media history. For example, the 1915 film “Birth of a Nation” falsely depicting African Americans during the Reconstruction era in the worst possible light. The film apparently triggered a wave of lynching. “Media-promulgated stereotypes of various and diverse groups of people cause harm in both direct and indirect ways by presenting oversimplified, mostly negative, and often deceptive depictions (Lester, 2006).

In Africa, the newspaper *Kangura*, published in Rwanda in the early 1990s for example issue no 22, 23 of October 1991, Issue no 27,28 of December 1991, Issue 42 of May 1993 and Issue no 43 of June 1993, openly advocated genocide of Tutsi people and in 1994, an estimated 800,000 Tutsi were killed by Hutus at the urging of *Kangura* and Radio Rwanda. *Kangura*'s editor, Hassan Ngeze, along with broadcast colleagues, was convicted of crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to life imprisonment, re-affirming the international legal principle that leaders of the mass media organizations can be held responsible for inciting genocide.

Uganda experienced two days of rioting when government troops responded to rioters throwing stones, blocking roads and lighting fire with excessive lethal force, resulting in the deaths of at least 40 people (source: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/09/10/uganda-investigate-2009-kampala-riot-killings>).

1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective

The study is supported by social production functions theory posited by Omodei and Wearing, (1990) which emerges as an appropriate candidate for explaining dissatisfaction that results in unrest. The theory states two universal goals: physical well-being and social well-being. These are accomplished through five main instrumental goals (stimulation, comfort, status, behavioral confirmation and affection (Ormelet *al.*, 1999: 62). The assumption is that individuals strive for these goals. The means to reach these goals can be deduced from the theory of rational choice. When wellbeing is not met and frustration occurs, it is a tool to stimulate or incite people into voicing their concerns either peacefully or violently.

1.1.3 Conceptual Perspective

(ICHRP, 2002) described the term media simply as individuals and organizations that communicate with the public via print, radio, television and internet broadcast, and video and film production. The term is used as a collective noun for the press or news reporting agencies. In the computer world, media is also used as a collective term that refers to different types of data storage options. The media are by far the most important source of information about politics and conflicts for most-people, which grants them a considerable influence over citizens' perceptions, opinions and behavior.

Media political incitement is defined in ICCPR to mean the advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence, which often precedes mass atrocities like genocide, mass displacements and war (Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). This Media political incitement is as a result of disgruntlements among some sections of the populace who want their voices heard and can use any media to air out their feelings (Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights).

Renn et al, (2008) defined social unrest as complex events influenced and triggered by social causes, accidents and natural disasters seen by high complexity, uncertainty, and ambiguity, easily triggering effects onto other sectors of society and capable of inducing a breakdown or collapse of the social or political system.

1.1.4 Contextual Perspective

In Uganda, the NRM-controlled regulatory body governing radio in Uganda, the Broadcasting Council, suspended the licenses of three Luganda-speaking stations (*Suubi FM, Radio Sapienta and Akaboozi*) and withdrew the license of another, Central Broadcasting Station (CBS), all without notice or a prior court order. On September 10 and 11, 2009, political discord between the central government and the Buganda cultural institution sparked riots that left at least 40 people dead in Kampala. Baganda youth began rioting when police blocked a delegation representing the Buganda kingdom from visiting Kayunga district. Police and soldiers threatened journalists trying to photograph and report on the unfolding events. In the wake of the riots, the Broadcasting Council also pressured these and other stations to suspend specific journalists whom the Council deemed had “incited violence.”

The government of Uganda further sanctioned media clampdown during and after. The inconsistency of some of the national laws in Uganda like the Access to Information Act 2005, with its obligations under international law and its constitution has not made the situation any better. The government also takes advantage of the vagueness in national laws to suppress critical appraisals.

1.2 Research Problem

The media is usually used to spread political incitement through hatred communication and incite social unrest leading to violence. Most importantly, the media act as an instrument for widening democratic space, but it can lead to destabilization as per Varghese (2011). Previously, the government has used threats of judicial action to scare Ugandans to not post flammable messages online, but

that has remained in the myths as even up-to-date there is continued media political incitement causing social unrest, due to the fact that media practitioners to enjoy considerable latitude.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following stated objectives:

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- a) To examine the different of social unrest that have been caused by media political incitement in Kampala Central Division.
- b) To establish the challenges facing media in reporting on political issues in Kampala Central Division.
- c) To find out possible solutions to the challenges affecting media in reporting on political issues in Kampala Central Division.

1.4 Research Questions

- a) What are the different types of social unrest that have been caused by media political incitement in Kampala Central Division?
- b) What are the challenges facing media in reporting on political issues in Kampala Central Division?
- c) What are the possible solutions to the challenges affecting media in reporting on political issues in Kampala Central Division?

SECTION TWO METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Design

The researcher used a cross sectional survey design since it is suitable for providing essential information and reliable findings about the study.

2.2 Study Population

A population simply refers to any collection of specified groups of human beings or of non-human 40 entities such as objects, educational institutions, time units, and geographical areas, prices of wheat or salaries drawn by individuals. The researcher targeted 40 respondents that worked as his study population from different areas that make up Kampala Central Division. Some of these areas are Kisenyi, Lubaga, Kamwokya, and some media houses. The target population was considered due to national transport restrictions enforced by Uganda Police Force (UPF).

2.3 Sample Size

The sample size used was 36 respondents determined using Yamane (1967:886) who provides a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes. This formula was used to calculate the sample size of the study from the total population of 40 respondents.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where n is the sample size, N is the population size, and e is the level of precision. When this formula is applied to the above sample, we get the equation below.

$$n = \frac{40}{1 + 40(0.05)^2} = 36 \text{ participants}$$

Therefore, the study employed a representative of 36 participants of whom were 14 youths from Kamwokya, 4 businessmen and 4 women from Kisenyi, 4 politicians and 10 media personalities respectively.

2.4 Sampling Techniques

The following techniques were used;

This study employed stratified random sampling techniques because the study area is divided into smaller units, the division is considered as a non-overlapping group of homogenous characteristics called strata. Simple random sampling resulted in the population being considerably below or over represented. The advantage of stratified random sampling over simple random sampling is that "stratified random sampling overcomes the problems of under or over representation of sample as each identifiable strata of the population is taken in to account".

Consequently, simple random sampling was used so as to select respondents that were included in the study. Specific attention was paid to inclusion of both male and female respondents in the study sample. This technique ensured that each member of the target population had an equal and independent chance of being included in the sample. The media personalities were purposively selected to participate in the study because of their role of publishing on issues.

2.5 Data Collection Techniques

Considering the nature of the data collected was perceptual and attitudinal, self-report techniques are more relevant than any other for collecting them. The main techniques chosen for this study thus were questionnaires, and interviews.

Questionnaire survey: was employed to collect data. The researcher used an interviewer based semi structured questionnaire to collect information from the respondents. The technique was appropriate because it handled a large sample size and saves time and money. Furthermore, the study targeted categories of respondents who were literate and capable of responding to questionnaire items easily.

Interview guides: were used to obtain data from the respondents (Interviewees). The researcher conducted the interviews for the media personalities, businessmen women, youths and key politicians from the study area. This technique allowed the researcher to obtain information that could not be directly observed, historical information and gain control over the line of questioning, and provides the opportunity to clarify items on the spot during the interview process.

2.6 Data analysis

Data analysis involved analysis of quantitative and qualitative data by use of both descriptive and inferential statistical analyses. Descriptive statistical analysis consisted of frequency and percentage distributions and bars charts. Inferential Statistics included Chi square (Chi square is more effective for determining Levels (Onen&Oso, 2009) and relationships were analyzed using Pearson's Correlation Coefficient (r) since it is one of the most appropriate coefficients of determination of relationship in research (Onen&Oso, 2009). This was achieved using the Statistical Package Social Sciences (SPSS) software version 16.0.

SECTION THREE

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

3.1 Forms of social unrest caused by media political incitement

Table 1: Forms of social unrest caused by media political incitement

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Sustaining collective action aimed at influencing public decisions	1.00	5.00	2.32	0.905
Public representation of the goals, unity and values	1.00	5.00	4.45	0.569
Demonstrations	1.00	5.00	3.98	0.695
Political violence such as administrative, judicative, executive	1.00	5.00	3.27	1.018
Traffic blockades and wild strikes	1.00	5.00	4.13	0.775
Desire for change can turn into social unrest.	1.00	5.00	3.07	1.055
			3.48	0.959
Average			3.48	0.959

Source: Primary Data July, 2021

The results on table 6 show an average mean value is 3 .48, which indicates that respondents stated that sustaining collective action aimed at influencing public decisions as one type of social unrest. The average standard deviation is 0.959, which indicates that

respondents had variation in responses regarding the claim that sustaining collective action aimed at influencing public decisions is one of the social unrest types. The author distinguishes four forms of violence: lynching, unrest, vigilantism and terrorism. From the information revealed in table 6, respondents believed that social unrest also happens through public representation of the goals, unity and values. This is revealed by a mean value of 4.45. This implies that the respondents strongly agreed that media political incitement cause public representation of the goals, unity and values. However, a standard deviation value of 0.569 under the same test revealed varied responses from the respondents interviewed. The standard deviation implies that a few respondents were in agreement with the claim that media political incitement cause public representation of the goals, unity and values. This is in line with (Tilly 2004) who notes that social movements emerge as a synthesis of three elements: These are campaign such as a public representation of the goals, unity and values as requisites for sustaining the coherence of a social movement. From table 6, it can be revealed media political incitement brings about demonstrations. This is shown by a mean value of 3.98 which implies that to a greater extent, the respondents agreed that demonstrations are caused by media political incitement which lead to social unrest, as represented by the standard deviation value of 0.695 thus varied responses from the respondents. The standard deviation value shows some respondents' dissatisfaction on the claim of media political incitement bring about demonstrations which leads to social unrest. This is in line with Barnes et al (1979), who noted that within the semantic area of activities that underlie social unrest protests, demonstrations and political violence are most frequently mentioned. These manifestations are also part of another social science tradition, i.e. the theory and concepts of political participation.

Political violence such as administrative, judicative, executive as another type of social unrest was strongly agreed as indicated by a mean value of 3.27. However, a standard deviation of 1.018 reveals varied responses from the respondents interviewed over the same test. The standard deviation value also showed that respondents were in disagreement with the claim.

The researcher wanted to know if the respondents ever practiced Traffic blockades and wild strikes during social unrest in Kampala Central Division. The results from table 6 above portrayed a mean value of 4.13 which implied that the respondents strongly agreed. Furthermore, the standard deviation value of 0.775 is a manifestation of varied responses from respondents as far as the test is concerned. This implies that media political incitement causes this type of social unrest. This is also in line with Kaase (2002) distinguishes between conventional and unconventional political participation. While unconventional political participation includes activities such as signing boycotts, traffic blockades and wild strikes.

According the study findings, it was sure revealed that desire for change can turn into social unrest as shown by a mean value of 3.07. This implied that respondents strongly agreed with this statement due to a standard deviation value of 1.055 which showed variation in responses as far as social unrest types are concerned. This is in line with Kaase (2002) who affirms that unconventional or unexpected forms of expressing a desire for change or intervention can turn into social unrest.

3.2 Challenges facing media in reporting on political issues.

The study established the challenges facing media in reporting on political issues and the findings were as follows. Political campaign tool to mop up party support of either the ruling party or the opposition was both strongly agreed and agreed upon by 33% of the respondents.

The study found out that journalists suffer stress through news-sourcing, processing and presenting whereby 36% strongly agreed, 28% of them agreed, the neutral respondents equaled to those who disagreed with this statement by 14% and at least 8% of the respondents strongly disagreed.

According to the findings, 36% of the respondents strongly agreed that the audience does not receive a complete image of the political scene. Those were seconded by 25% of the respondents who agreed. 19% of the respondents were neutral unlike 14% of the respondents who disagreed, and 6% of them who strongly disagreed with this statement.

The findings from the above table also portray that Media fails to draw the attention of voters to how politicians are fulfilling their responsibilities to society. It was found out that 33% represented both respondents who strongly agreed and agreed ones. The same statement also witnessed an equivalent in neutral and disagreed respondents by 14% while at least 6% of them strongly disagreed.

The researcher intended to discover whether media personalities are paid Corruption not to report the bad deeds about the politicians, a sharp percentage of 44 of the respondents strongly agreed and 22% of them agreed. Continuously, 14% of the respondents were neutral while 11% of the respondents disagreed and slightly 8% of them strongly disagreed.

According to the findings, 39% of the respondents strongly agreed that the need for the press to distance itself from political relationships remains a big issue associated with the media while reporting on political issues. 36% of the respondents agreed and 14% of the respondents were neutral. It was found out that 8% of the respondents disagreed and only 3% of them strongly disagreed.

3.3 Possible Solutions to the challenges affecting Media in reporting on Political issues.

The study found out possible Solutions to the challenges affecting Media in reporting on Political Issues the findings were presented. 36% of the respondents strongly agreed that media and media personalities should follow ethics of their profession. This also brought about most of the respondents 39% agreed. Also 11% of them respondents were neutral, yet 8% of the respondents disagreed and at least 6% of them strongly disagreed.

Let electorates know the thoughts and characters of the candidates was strongly agreed upon by 44% of the respondents and followed by 22% of them who agreed. 11% of the respondents were neutral as 14% of the respondents disagreed and the lowest percentage strongly disagreed by 8%.

The researcher asked the respondents whether the exercise the power to provide information can reduce the risks associated with Media in reporting on Political Issues. It was found out that 36% of the respondents strongly agreed with this statement and 25% of them agreed. 11% of the respondents were both neutral and strongly disagreed, while 14% of them disagreed.

The study suggested that setting the public agenda to inform the electorate about the candidates would curb the challenges faced by the media in reporting on Political Issues. This statement was positive as 22% of the respondents strongly agreed and the highest percentage of them agreed by 50%.11% of the respondents were neutral. But the respondents who both disagreed and strongly disagreed were represented by only 8%.

Respondents were told to suggest whether exposing the people to the key issues bothering the society had a positive impact in declining the media challenges. 42% of the respondents strongly agreed, 25% of them agreed, 14% represented neutral respondents, 11% of them disagreed and slightly 8% of the respondents strongly disagreed.

According to the findings, narrowing down the voters' range of options before elections could solve the problems. This was true when the highest percentage (42%) of the respondents strongly agreed, followed by 22% of them who agreed, 11% represented both neutral and strongly disagreed respondents while 14% of them disagreed as presented in Table 8 above.

SECTION FOUR DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Discussion of the findings

4.1.1 Forms of social unrest that have been caused by media political incitement

The study found out that media takes the leading role in politically causing incitement of social unrest among the people. Media practitioners through Televisions channels and social media platforms such as Facebook, twitter, Instagram and YouTube were greatly used to spread social unrest activities including Sustaining collective action aimed at influencing public decisions; Public representation of the goals, unity and values; Demonstrations; Political violence such as administrative, judicative, executive; Traffic blockades and wild strikes; and Desire for change can turn into social unrest. This is in line with Kaase(2002) who asserts that activities associated with social unrest are often linked to unconventional political participation such as demonstrations, rent and tax strikes, traffic blockades and wild strikes. And Sanchezem (2006) who breaks political violence into administrative, judicative, executive as performed by the citizens against the political system.

4.2 Challenges facing Media in reporting on Political issues.

The findings also indicated that there were several issues associated with media practitioners while reporting political issues to their audience whereby journalists were used as political campaign tool to mop up party support of either the ruling party or the opposition; Journalists suffer stress through news-sourcing, processing and presenting; Audience does not receive a complete image of the political scene; Drawing the attention of voters to how politicians are fulfilling their responsibilities to society; Corruption and The need for the press to distance itself from political relationships as presented in Table 7 of the recent chapter of this study. This matches Kasoma's (2000) assertion that politicians particularly those in government, have necessarily, always been involved in and with the press, legally and extra legally and their involvement was in ordering journalists to do this and do that, complaining about acts or omissions by journalists and the press, warning journalists and the press to report on what those in government are saying, even if it does not conform to what they are doing or not doing.

4.3 Possible solutions to the challenges affecting media in reporting on political

Results of the findings in Table 8 suggested measures that can be adopted in order to minimize the challenges affecting media in reporting on political issues in Kampala Central Division. It was found out that there is a need to follow ethics of the profession; let

electorates know the thoughts and characters of the candidates; exercise the power to provide information; set the public agenda to inform the electorate about the candidates; expose the people to the key issues bothering the society; and narrow down the voters' range of options before elections. This is supported by Gambo (2014). He states that drawing from the All-powerful Model, Agenda Setting and the identified media ubiquity models postulated by Noelle-Neumann, McCombs and Shaw (1972), and Dennis and Merrill (1991) respectively, conceptualized three forms of media i.e. the power to provide information; setting the public agenda; and affecting the thoughts, opinions and attitudes whereby these powers are exercised by journalists who work in the media to inform the electorates about the persons that are vying for political positions and expose the people to the key issues bothering the society.

5.2 Conclusions

5.2.1 Forms of social unrest that have been caused by media political incitement

The study concluded that media practitioners took the lead role in causing, and promoting social unrest activities amongst the citizens of Kampala Central Division through various media platforms. Media practitioners called for Sustaining collective action aimed at influencing public decisions; Public representation of the goals, unity and values thus Demonstrations; Political violence such as administrative, judicative, executive; Traffic blockades and wild strikes; and Desire for change which turned into social unrest which accounted to 39-47% of the respondents who strongly agreed as shown in the Table 6 of the previous chapter.

5.2.2 Challenges facing Media in reporting on Political issues.

It was further concluded that there were several issues associated with media while reporting political issues to their audience whereby journalists were used as political campaign tool to mop up party support of either the ruling party or the opposition; journalists suffer stress through news-sourcing, processing and presenting; audience does not receive a complete image of the political scene; drawing the attention of voters to how politicians are fulfilling their responsibilities to society; corruption and the need for the press to distance itself from political relationships which accounted to 33-44% of the respondents who strongly agreed.

5.2.3 Possible solutions to the challenges affecting media in reporting on political

Table 8 concluded that adopting measures like follow ethics of the profession; let electorates know the thoughts and characters of the candidates; exercise the power to provide information; set the public agenda to inform the electorate about the candidates; expose the people to the key issues bothering the society; and narrow down the voters' range of options before elections would minimize the challenges affecting media in reporting on political which accounted to 22-44% of the respondents who strongly agreed.

5.3 Recommendations

The researcher recommends the media should be independent and try to give the public the correct information. However, they should avoid publishing hate messages and messages of intolerance which can lead not only to social unrest but also politically instability and genocide. It is also recommended that the government addresses the political concerns of the people in Kampala Central Division so that the journalists cannot use those issues to incite the public into social unrest. The public should use peaceful means of protests to avoid the chaos and unrest that results from violent protests and strikes. The research further recommends that Media houses should pay satisfactory salaries, provide their journalists with adequate resources for them to be able to provide accurate and reliable news and also avoid corrupt politicians who pay them to cover their own successes ignoring their audiences' demands.

5.4 Areas for further research

This study has had the potentials to dig deep the different types of social unrest, challenges and possible solutions to challenges affecting the media in reporting political issues in Kampala Central Division. Nonetheless, more research is needed to assess the role of government in reducing journalists' abuse during political campaigns and elections.

REFERENCES

- Aday, L. A. and R. Andersen (1974). "A Framework for the Study of Access to Medical Care." *Health Services Research* 9, no. 3: 208-220
- Gambo, D. (2014). "The audacity of the pen in a challenging environment" te Lecture Presented at the Second Alex Ibru Legacy Lectures, Organized by the Dr. Alex Ibru Professorial Chair in Communication Studies, Holding at the EbitimiBanigo Auditorium, University Park, University of Port Harcourt, Thursday, May 15, 2014.
- Karikari, K. (1997) "Ethics in journalism" Case studies in practices in West Africa. Accra: Ghana University Press.
- Keidel, A. (2005). The Economic Basis for Social Unrest in China. http://www.carnegiendowment.org/files/keidel_social_unrest.pdf

- Li Q., Li J. (2005) An Efficient Topic-Specific Web Text Filtering Framework. In: Zhang Y., Tanaka K., Yu J.X., Wang S., Li M. (eds) Web Technologies Research and Development - APWeb 2005. APWeb 2005. Lecture Notes in Computer Science, vol 3399. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.
- Nwachukwu, F. G (2010). "Corruption in the media" a focus on the state owned media organisations in Nigeria, in Okon G. B. & Udoudo, A. (Eds.) Political communication & Nigerian democracy: a book of reading. Port Harcourt: Amethyst & Colleagues Publishers. Pp. 92-101.
- Ochonogor, C. I. (2011). "Discharging media responsibility functions in the face of inhibitions" Strategies & implications for democracy. A Lead paper presented by dr.. at the Departmental Seminar, Mass Communication Department of the Rivers State College of Arts & Science May 17.
- Omodei, M. M. and A. J. Wearing: 1990, 'Need satisfaction and involvement in personal projects: Toward an integrative model of subjective well-being', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59, pp. 762–769.
- Ormel, J., Lindenberg, S., Steverink, N. et al. *Social Indicators Research* (1999) 46: 61. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1006907811502>.
- Ormel, J., Lindenberg, S., Steverink, N. et al. *Social Indicators Research* (1999) 46: 61. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1006907811502>
- Ortwin Renn, Aleksandar Jovanovic, Regina Schröter A Theoretical Approach towards Understanding Social Unrest Draft document prepared as basis for discussion Version: 2.19 of Oct. 17, 2010 File name: SocialUnrest_v02.25aj04112010.docx.
- Renn, O., Webler, T. and Wiedemann, P.M. (Eds.) (1995). *Fairness and Competence in Citizen Participation* (Dordrecht: Kluwer).
- Sandra Oliver (2001). *Public Relations Strategy*, Kogan Page Ltd: London.
- Varghese, Anand (2011). How will the revolution be blogged and tweeted? PeaceWatch, Winter 2011, U.S. Institute of Peace.