

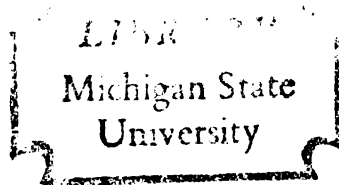
COMMUNICATION AND MODERNIZATION:
SIGNIFICANCE, ROLES, AND STRATEGIES

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

LUIS RAMIRO BELTRÁN S.
1968



3 1293 10336 7367





RETURNING MATERIALS:
Place in book drop to
remove this checkout from
your record. FINES will
be charged if book is
returned after the date
stamped below.

Jul 17 83

ABSTRACT

COMMUNICATION AND MODERNIZATION: SIGNIFICANCE, ROLES, AND STRATEGIES

by Luis Ramiro Beltrán S.

This is an exploratory study addressed to relate conceptually the main propositions and findings existing on the relationship between social communication and cultural modernization, and on communication's significance, roles, and strategies in the modernization of nations.

The problem which gave origin to this study is the absence in the literature of a comprehensive summary that may serve to analyze and integrate those propositions and findings. The lack of such summary seriously restricts the possibilities for building a much needed theory of developmental communication.

Consequently, the major objectives of this thesis are:

1. To summarize some of the main theoretical propositions and research findings about (a) the relationship between communication and the development of nations; (b) the significance of communication for development; (c) the roles of communication in development; and (d) and the nature of development strategy and of communication strategy, as well as the relationship between them.

2. To analyze the summarized propositions and findings, evaluating their merits and limitations, making comparisons among them, and attempting--at least in a partial and preliminary way--to articulate them.

3. To propose--on the basis of the analytical summary--some conclusions and suggestions for advancing the theory, increasing

the investigation, and improving the action in the field of developmental communication. The summary is selective and occupies most of the first three chapters. The analysis is partial and it is conducted mainly in the fourth chapter. The propositions are tentative and are contained mostly in the last two chapters. Chief among those propositions are the following:

1. There are clear correlations between communication and development.
In general, the higher the level of communication development of a country, the higher its level of general development. Inversely, the less developed a country is, the less developed its communication system is. Thus, communication is both an antecedent and a consequence of modernization.
2. Communication performs many positive roles in modernization. But it can also perform negative ones. Both should be studied.
3. Some of the roles communication performs in development are universal: they are performed in all cultures. Other roles are particular: they vary from culture to culture under the influence of given factors. Research on the universal roles is a long-term proposition leading eventually to strong principles of wide applicability. Research on the particular roles is a short-run proposition leading to limited stipulations applicable to specific circumstances. Both types of research are needed to build a theory of developmental communication.
4. No matter how tentatively, such theory must be built as soon as possible if communication is to have a full impact on modernization. One approach to the problem is to combine convergent propositions on

communication's roles on development and to refine them for empirical verification. Another possibility is to relate those propositions to overall models of social change and national development. A third alternative is to elaborate and expand the few existing preliminary models of developmental communication.

5. The roles of communication in development are determined by a host of complex and interrelated influences, among which ideological, teleological, and methodological ones are paramount. Some of these key determining factors are: political philosophy; economic doctrine; goal-direction; level of development; and origin, process, "mechanics," and time-organization of change.
6. Those factors, furthermore, contribute to determining the overall policy of national development itself. Thus, communication strategy is a crucial component of the broader general strategy of modernization. Neither strategy is meaningful, then, without the other.
7. Most developing countries are unaware of the problems and potentialities of communication in development. They seem to expect to develop without assigning adequate priority and resources to communication, the vital tool for achieving that development.
8. Historical experience indicates that, where such priority and resources are assigned to communication, modernization can occur faster. A short-term but very intensive effort to develop a country's communication system can stimulate and accelerate considerably the general development of that country. In turn, increased overall development will account for a sustained increment in developmental communication. These cycles of mutual positive influence should

repeat themselves until a point of parallel growth of the processes is reached. The less developed countries, then, have much to gain from establishing communication development as the launcher of heightened national development.

COMMUNICATION AND MODERNIZATION:
SIGNIFICANCE, ROLES, AND STRATEGIES

By

Luis Ramiro Beltrán S.

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Communication

1968

645702

Accepted by the faculty of the Department of Communication,
College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University, in partial ful-
fillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree.


Director of Thesis

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many persons for having generously contributed in making this study possible:

Dr. David K. Berlo, Chairman, Department of Communication, Michigan State University, due to whose encouragement and confidence it became possible for me to come to this academic institution to pursue a degree. Dr. Berlo--friend, teacher, and adviser--gave me unlimited moral support, intellectual guidance, and academic assistance, for which I am deeply indebted to him.

Dr. Everett M. Rogers, my thesis director, to whom this study owes so much. His stimulant orientation and patient supervision were of a decisive importance for me in designing and completing the thesis. With interest and cordiality, Dr. Rogers gave me unrestricted aid and illuminating advice at every step of the work. I thank him very much for it.

Dr. R. Vincent Farace, who kindly did a thorough revision of the draft manuscript and gave me excellent suggestions to improve it. Many thanks to him too.

In addition, I am grateful to Dr. Farace and Dr. Rogers for the special training they gave me, through reading courses, in the fascinating complexities of communication understood as an instrument of modernization. Their teachings helped me in building the framework of this study and in setting the direction of it.

Ing. Armando Samper, Director General, Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences (Organization of American States), under whose

inspiring and friendly leadership I have worked in that agency since 1955. Ing. Samper granted me the institution's honor scholarship to undertake the studies that led to this thesis. I reiterate here my sincere recognition to him for that distinction.

Ing. Enrique Blair, my director in the Andean Zone Office of I.A.I.A.S. in 1965, who cooperated in making viable my coming to M.S.U.

Mrs. Ruth Langenbacher, a kind and understanding lady, who is also a typist that remains efficient under strenuous time-pressure circumstances.

Mr. Joseph Ascroft, the talented colleague who gave me useful suggestions on the bibliographical support for the thesis.

Mr. Mario Vilches, the companion who converted, ably and promptly, some key propositions of the thesis into graphic illustrations.

Mrs. Betshabe v. de Beltrán, my mother and best friend, without whose spiritual support and abnegated help neither the studies nor the thesis would have been possible.

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Many communication practitioners, several social scientists, and a few strategists and implementers of national development believe that:

1. There is a close relationship of mutual influence between social communication and cultural modernization;
2. Communication has a high significance for development;
3. Communication performs many vital roles in development;
4. Communication strategies ought to constitute a crucial component of the overall national development strategies.

These assumptions are logical and it may not be impossible to validate them empirically. Already, in fact, some substantiating evidences are accumulating.

In general, however, there are few formal theoretical propositions available about developmental communication. Also, few systematic investigations have been conducted so far on the subject.

Precisely because of its relative paucity, that conceptual and empirical information could have been already put together, compared, and articulated. Only in that way could independently formulated concepts and unrelated research data be optimally utilized to construct a much needed theory of developmental communication.

Yet, to the knowledge of the present writer, such analytical and integrative summarization has not taken place.* Moreover, the different

*Some valuable summaries do exist on the relationship and on the roles but they are partial and not related, for instance, to the strategies.

4. To propose, also on the basis of the analytical summary, a set of factors as determinant not only of communication's roles in modernization but also of the inception of the very overall strategy of national development, of which communication strategy is a key part.
5. To stress that, therefore, a conscious and careful integration of the two strategies (the general of development and the particular of communication for development) should constitute an essential feature of all modernization plans and operations.
6. To show that a temporary but sharp increase in the communication ability of a developing country can act, as historical experience indicates it, as a very powerful stimulant and accelerator of overall national development.

The Method of Study

The methodology used towards accomplishing those objectives included three steps:

1. Documented summarization.
2. Critical review.
3. Formulation of propositions about theory, research, and action on the matter of concern.

Though the documentation was not intended to be all-inclusive, it probably did go beyond the length customary for a thesis. This was determined by an intention to approximate some appreciable degree of comprehensiveness. In turn, the intention was determined by considerations of potential utilization of the summary in countries where the

full range of literature existing on the subject of the thesis is far from easily available. As a consequence of this way of thinking, pertinent citations were utilized beyond the usual limits.

Nevertheless, the summary is selective rather than exhaustive, the analysis is partial rather than complete, and the propositions are tentative rather than final. In sum, this is an exploratory conceptual study, not an empirical investigation.

The Justification of the Study

The limitations of the study are, thus, self-evident.

Nevertheless, justification for it should exist in as much as the attempt may be regarded as:

1. A modest contribution towards expanding the basis for the formulation of a theory of developmental communication, by--at least--assembling, condensing, evaluating, and trying to relate valuable but rather disperse and, some times, insufficiently known information on the matter of concern.
2. A teaching tool, a sort of overview of the field that could be utilized to provide some broad orientation to those professional communicators who are particularly concerned with problems of modernization.
3. A promotional instrument that might be used to help bring awareness of the virtues of organized, intensive, and efficient developmental communication among policy-makers, development planners, and technical implementers in the developing countries.

The Terminology of the Study

Two meanings are attached, throughout the text, to the word communication. One is a process notion. The other is a system notion.

In the first case, communication will be defined--following the model of Berlo (1960)--as the process by which a person--performing as a source (of experience)--transmits a message, via some code (a given set of symbols or signals) carried through some channel, to another person or persons--who performs as a receiver of the message--with the intent of attaining some effect on the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of that receiver.

In the second case, communication will be understood as the system (a defined set of mutually influential elements) of social institutions existing with the specific purpose of promoting and facilitating human interaction through exchange of informative and persuasive attempts at influencing people's behaviors. These institutions count often on physical facilities to accomplish their goals; i.e., printing presses, radio transmitters, etc. Such facilities form, thus, a part of the system. The mass media of communication--newspapers, radio stations, television stations, etc.--are one type of those institutions. Another type is constituted by organized groups, such as a bureaucracy, a cooperative, an agricultural extension service, or a worker's union. They specialize in interpersonal communication.

The context should be able to tell which of the two meanings is intended in each case. Yet, the text will often imply that improvements in the system should account for increased effectiveness in the process. Thus, when referring to communication development, for instance, it will

mean the amelioration of the system in order to heighten the impact of the process.

Communications (in plural) will be used to refer to communication acts or to the contents and formats of those acts: the messages.

National development will be understood, for the purposes of this thesis, as an induced process of generalized change in a large social system (characterized as a "country") by which the structure, functions, and relationships of that system are altered with the purpose of achieving given levels of economic improvement, social justice, massive political participation, and overall cultural betterment.

Though some authors* find convenient to make semantic distinctions between the terms development and modernization, these terms will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

Definitions for other terms of especial relevance to the study will be provided in the respective chapters along the text.

The Content and Sequence of the Study

The first three chapters are devoted to providing a general background for the study and to presenting the review of pertinent research and the summary of propositions. The fourth chapter is an intermediate unit linking the analysis of propositions and results with the formulation of strategies. The last two chapters contain, essentially, the propositions the present writer derives from the preceding discussion about the determinants of communication's roles in development and about

*

For instance, Rogers (1968) and Black (1966).

the nature and relationship of development strategy and communication strategy.

Chapter I reproduces and evaluates some answers provided for this question: What makes a society change? It reviews both the purely economic and the noneconomic explanations that scholars have advanced towards understanding the origin and the nature of national development. It ends by postulating the need for a realistic compromise between them.

Chapter II reproduces and evaluates the answers provided by research to this question: How are communication and development related? It reviews several investigations conducted in different countries at the individual and at the aggregate level of analysis. It stresses the conclusion that clear correlations exist between those processes.

Chapter III records, in a condensed way, many of the answers provided by social theorists to this question: What does communication do in development? It enumerates several of those propositions but gives detailed treatment to three sets of concepts specifically relative to the roles of communication in national development.

Chapter IV constitutes an attempt to provide some answer to this question: How can the propositions on roles be linked with the design of strategies and be moved ahead towards a theory of developmental communication? To do so this chapter condenses further the three sets of roles presented in the preceding chapter and proceeds to compare them. It finds them highly convergent and thus amenable to fruitful combination as one alternative in the construction of a theory of developmental communication. However, the chapter also introduces some critiques of those propositions. It suggest too alternative possibilities, such as

expanding the few existing preliminary models on developmental communication, and linking the roles to overall models of national development. The chapter ends by stressing the notion that communication's roles in modernization should not be formulated without a tie to other factors prevailing in the development of societies, and should take into account the influences of concrete variations stemming from particular cultural configurations.

Chapter V constitutes an attempt to provide some answer for this question: How does development affect communication? To do so it postulates eight factors as exerting a determinant influence on developmental communication. They are: political philosophy; economic doctrine; goal-direction; level of development; and origin, process, "mechanics" and time-organization of change. The chapter then introduces qualifications and cautions to the analysis of those factors. Also, it shows that the different factors are interrelated and form a part of three major sets of variables: ideology, teleology, and methodology. Finally, it proposes that the concatenation of these sets amounts to the establishment of development strategies, of which communication strategies are shown to be a dependent but fundamental component.

Chapter VI constitutes an attempt to provide some answers to these two questions: Do the source and receiver decision-making processes that precede and follow, respectively, the communication process affect this latter process? What is the nature of development strategies and of communication strategies and how are they related to each other?

Most of the chapter's attention is placed on the second of these

questions and on its derivations. First, after showing the intimate relationships between the two types of strategies, the chapter deplores the fact that most underdeveloped countries are unaware of the problems and potentialities of communication for modernization. Second, it proposes that such modernization can be sizably accelerated and expanded by a short-term but highly intensive development of a country's communication system. Third, it derives from it all some recommendations for action and a few suggestions for research on developmental communication.

In sum, then, this study is an effort to conceptually interlock, on a preliminary basis, key notions about communication's significance, roles, and strategies in the modernization of nations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I THE DETERMINANTS OF CHANGE IN SOCIETY	1
The Strictly Economic Conception of Development	2
The Noneconomic Explanations of Development	5
The Need for a Realistic and Productive Compromise	8
II THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT	11
The Correlation at the Level of Nations	12
The Correlations at Lower Levels of Analysis	14
Summary and Implications of the Findings	15
III THE SIGNIFICANCE AND ROLES OF COMMUNICATION	17
The General Functional Roles of Communication in Society	19
The Dysfunctional Roles of Communication	20
The Specific Functions of Communication in National Development	22
IV TOWARDS A THEORY OF DEVELOPMENTAL COMMUNICATION	38
Convergence in Role-Propositions	40
Expansion of Developmental Communication Models	49
Linkage to Models of Overall National Development	53
The Convenience of a Two-Way Approach	56
V FACTORS AFFECTING THE ROLES OF COMMUNICATION IN DEVELOPMENT	58
Political Philosophy	60
Economic Doctrine	63
Goal-Direction	64
Level of Development	66
Origin of Change	68
Process of Change	69
"Mechanics" of Change	71
Time Organization of Change	72
Necessary Cautions in the Analysis	74
Determinants, Roles, and Strategies	80

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter (contd)	Page
VI THE STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE STRATEGY OF COMMUNICATION	88
The Concept of Strategy	89
Strategic Communication Behavior	90
Development Strategy, Communication Strategy, and Their Relationship	94
The Lack of Awareness of Communication's Problems and Potentialities	103
An Exception: The Communist Countries	106
Communication Development as a Launcher of National Development	111
Recommendations for Action	116
Suggestions for Research	120
BIBLIOGRAPHY	127

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Different types of mass media effects on attitudes	34
2	Relatedness of three sets of propositions (Pool's, Schramm's, and Rao's) on the roles of communication in national development	42
3	Basic variables in Rogers' preliminary model of developmental communication <u>Source</u> : Rogers (1967)	50
4	Graphic representation of the modifying process through which some of the universal roles of communication pass	61
5	Eight of the main factors determining modifications in the nature of communication's roles in national development	62
6	Graphic scheme of definition of "ideology" as a set of interpretive beliefs about human existence and social reality perceived along a time continuum . . .	83
7	Examples of interactions among factors determining communication's roles in national development . . .	85
8	Elements and relationships in the process of formulation of a strategy for national development (including communication)	87
9	Relationships of the communication process with the decision-making processes (about communication behavior) occurring in the source and in the receiver, before and after, respectively, that communication process	91
10	Representation of the precedence of the general development strategy over the developmental communication strategy which is subsidiary to it . . .	97
11	Simplified representation of elements in the process of formulating developmental communication strategies	100
12	Constant presence of communication throughout the continuous process of planning, implementing, and evaluating national development efforts	102

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure (contd)	Page
13 Description of national development as stimulated by a specially high increase in the development of communication, which in turn should be stimulated by the heightened level of national development	116
14 Hypothetical cumulative growth curves of national development and of communication development as determined by an initially very high increase in communication development	117

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Comparative summary of communication's roles in development as proposed by Pool, Schramm, and Rao	43
2	Factors determining the roles of communication in modernization	81

CHAPTER I

THE DETERMINANTS OF CHANGE IN SOCIETY

Modernization has numerous dimensions of which only some are economic.

(Joseph J. Spengler, in Weiner, 1966, p. 321)

. . . Thus we deceive ourselves when we think of economic development in the pallid terms of economics alone.

(Robert L. Heilbroner, 1963, p. 16)

To understand and predict any aspect of social life, we cannot ignore economic matters . . . In turn the noneconomic aspects of social life affect the economic . . . The empirical interdependence of economic and sociological variables is omnipresent.

(Neil J. Smelser, 1963, pp. 1 and 33)

Never has man become so aware of the social reality in which his existence takes place as he has in the last hundred years or so. His knowledge about the nature of his society--the anatomy and the physiology of it as well as its pathology--has expanded considerably in that period. In the last two decades, moreover, man has grown vitally concerned, in particular, with the changes that his society undergoes--their nature and their implications for his destiny.

What are the presumable origins of those changes and which are their possible consequences for society?

The question--which constitutes the object of attention of this chapter--appears to be of central interest, across the world, both for societal analysts and for policy-makers.

The ways in which social scientists are attempting to answer questions like that are diverse and, often, conflicting. Divergence exists not only between disciplines but also within each of them. Agreement is not envisaged on the immediate horizon. In fact, a universally acceptable general theory of social change appears yet far from available.

The Strictly Economic Conception of Development

One of the orientations--the economic approach--has been, however, predominant so far. From this perspective, save minimal exceptions, changes in the structure and function of human society are seen as--almost exclusively and directly--consequences of material forces, economic patterns, and technological arrangements. Everything else--any noneconomic variable of some apparent significance for change--are either mere derivations from the economic determinants or factors purely concomitant or ancillary to them.

Within such approach, innovative behavior in agriculture, for instance is explained exclusively in terms of economic determinants.

In fact, Schultz (1964, p. 26) says:

The niggardliness of agriculture in poor communities is frequently attributed to particular cultural values. These values relate to work, thrift, industriousness, and aspirations for a higher standard of living. They are then used to explain why there is so little economic progress and why particular economic development programs are unsuccessful in practice. As a rule, however, it is not necessary to appeal to differences in such cultural values, because a simple economic explanation will suffice.

That explanation, Schultz feels, lies in how profitable an innovation is, regardless of how congruent it may or may not be with the

people's values. The higher the profitability of a new idea--he proposes--the faster it will be adopted by farmers in traditional societies. He attributes profitability so much explanatory power that it is unnecessary to consider the influence of noneconomic factors, such as personality, education, and social environmental variables.

Schultz does, however, perceive the power of profitability to be limited by considerations of uncertainty and risk. In this sense, he indicates that his explanation may be neither as "simple" as he believes it to be nor as purely "economic" and as quasi-almighty as he asserts it to be.

Uncertainty--an emotional state of an individual, in this case a peasant--may be generated by situational variables, of which many can, indeed, be economic in nature. For instance, the shortage of capital savings, the lack of credit, and the absence of crop insurance facilities to cope with a restricted and unstable market, are factors which should indeed account for high levels of uncertainty.

However, the willingness or unwillingness to risk--given any level of uncertainty--capital and labor in an innovation is not an economic variable. It is a psychological variable having to do with the attitudes of the peasants. And these attitudes, in turn, are inevitably affected by social influences such as, to mention just one, the approval or disapproval that each social group may give to innovative deviant behavior on the part of their members.

Therefore, it does happen at times that even when profitability is high--and is perceived as high by the peasants (which is not always the case)--and even when capital is available to them and markets are

made safe for them, many farmers are still unwilling to risk and reluctant to innovate.

Furthermore, even in countries where farming is a modern enterprise relatively less affected by uncertainties and where farmers are, in general, relatively prone to innovation and quite risk-oriented, it still takes a good many years, and no less pains, to get them to change certain farming practices.

Profit-orientation itself is not an economic factor either. It is an attitudinal characteristic. Most people can be thought to have a "natural" inclination towards making material gains in life. Yet there is no reason to assume that most people seek material improvement just for the sake of it.

Human behavior is motivated by economic reasons as well as by noneconomic reasons. Some apparently economic reasons, however, may not actually be so. People may give up beliefs, shift attitudes, change habits, and work very hard to obtain material things. Yet, what they may get out of obtaining those things is not physical rewards only. Individuals do, of course, want better homes, nicer clothes, more entertainment, efficient household and work equipments, etc. But very often they want them because they are instrumental in attaining social recognition and prestige, in gaining higher status, and in acquiring power to influence the behavior of others.

Hence, at the bottom of what appears to be, on the outside, merely concrete economic influences, intangible but strong psychosocial drives may be in action. To ignore those nonmaterial facilitators and deterrents of change is, consistently, showing to be a serious mistake

of some development strategists and operators. Research is increasingly finding evidences of it all over the world.*

How can those noneconomic influences be, then, so easily dismissed as insignificant?

Economic factors are extremely important determinants of human behavior. But they are neither the only ones nor necessarily the dominant ones. They cannot, all by themselves, account for national development.

The Noneconomic Explanations of Development

The rigid one-sidedness of the purely economic approach towards social change has made it vulnerable to criticisms. They are increasing as the realization increases of the high complexity pervading the development task and as the diversity of influences part-taking in modernization becomes more evident.

Most of the critics--among which economists are not absent--point to weaknesses and gaps in the strictly economic interpretation of change. They consider it partial, unrealistic, and dehumanized.

Moving from condemnation to remedial suggestions, some of the critics have stressed rather the importance of psychological, social, political, and cultural influences in modernization as parallel to the importance of economic, technological, and ecological variables.

For instance, to the eyes of Hagen (1966, p. 129), an economist, "the purely economic theories of barriers which explain the absence of growth seem inadequate." For him, the "supposed economic pre-requi-

*See, for instance, Niehoff, (1966).

sites"--such as saving ability and market capacity--are either inexistent or hardly relevant.* Economic growth, he further claims, does not occur first and cause political and social change. They are, rather, mutually dependent.

Before a country's economy is able to "take-off" into self-sustained growth--Rostow (1960) has proposed--it must reach a given minimum level of increase in its rate of investment. For Hoselitz (1957), that increase is made possible by "environmental" conditions that operate in the pre-take-off period. These conditions, he suggests, are mostly noneconomic in nature as they involve innovations in the motivational, legal, familial, and educational arrangements of society.

Some economists play up the importance that for growth has the interaction among economic variables. They refer, for instance, to the relationships existing among savings, investment, entrepreneurship, productivity, consumption, etc. They fail, however, to perceive that often those variables are themselves influenced by noneconomic ones.

Smelser (1963, p. 103) notes on the subject:

If we move behind the immediate interplay of these variables, we find the value of each is determined in part by sociological variables such as kinship, social stratification, and politics.

A case in point is entrepreneurship, the spirit of initiative to undertake a business enterprise assuming risk for the sake of profit. This has usually been regarded as an economic variable. However, the degree to which entrepreneurship exists in a society is determined by:

*Models which propose given factors, economic or otherwise, as "pre-conditions" for development have been criticized by Hirschman (1958). They are questionable, he feels, since development has somewhere occurred in their absence.

religious factors, as it was shown by Weber (1948); by political factors such as nationalism, as it has been pointed out by Davis (1955); by the nature of the familial institution, as it has been stressed by Smelser (1963); and by personality or psychological characteristics, as it has been demonstrated by McLelland (1961).

A few critics of the purely economic approach towards development have ventured yet beyond proposing the mere concurrent significance of the economic and the noneconomic determinants of that development. They perceive noneconomic factors as direct antecedents of it.

For instance, Heilbroner (1963, p. 16), another economist, says:

Economic development is not primarily an economic but a political and social process.*

He sees much of early development as pre-economic in nature and, as such, concerned with the shaping of attitudes and with the creation of institutions conducive to capital accumulation, employment expansion, and income increase. Those preconditions demand, in his view, far reaching social changes and they, in turn, call for a previous mobilization of political energies.

The creation of those institutions, the implementation of those changes, and the mobilization of those energies are phenomena that cannot occur just by economic fiat. They require what Deutsch (1961) has called social mobilization, "the process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior." This overall process, as Deutsch sees it, involves numerous

*Italics are those of Heilbroner.

sub-processes of change in, for instance, institutions, roles, ways of acting, expectations, habits, needs, face-to-face associates, and responses to mass media, as well as changes in residence, occupation, social setting, and even in patterns of group affiliation and in images of personal identity.

It is only through the occurrence of drastic alterations in such values, behaviors, relationships, and institutions that economic growth becomes viable.

Therefore, noneconomic variables affecting the modernization process deserve at least as much attention as the economic ones get.

It is probably because of the realization of that necessity that a United Nations publication* included preponderantly in a manual for field workers a list of individual and social changes that they should seek to help bring about development. The same reason is probably in back of a relatively recent increase in scientific literature about those noneconomic factors.**

The Need for a Realistic and Productive Compromise

To separate the economic phenomena and processes from the non-economic ones is something far easier to do in theory than in real life. Thus, a heated controversy between advocates of the predominance of

*See Hays (1959).

**A partial list of authors who have written about noneconomic factors in modernization includes the following: Belshaw (1957); Cochran (1960); Davis (1955); De Vries and Medina Echavarría, eds. (1963); Eisenstaedt (1955, 1956-57), 1966); Hunt (1966); Katona (1951); Kautsky and Nash, eds. (1959); Kindleberger (1958); Lewis (1961); Linton (1952); Moore (1951, 1954, 1963); Nash (1959, 1964); Parsons and Smelser (1956); Shannon (1957); Smelser and Lipset (1966); Smelser (1963, 1966); and Spengler (1951, 1960, 1966).

economic variables and supporters of the precedence of noneconomic variables is likely to be as fruitless as it may be endless.

There is no need to select an absolute winner in the contest. What needs to be done is (1) to find out how can development best capitalize on the interaction of economic and noneconomic influences, and (2) to determine, objectively and systematically, under what specific circumstances and for what particular purposes, which of the two types of factors is likely to be more influential than the other.

In that way, development energy can be flexibly addressed to the most productive areas of action, without any of it being wasted in the sterile denial of the importance of either set of factors.

Meanwhile, however, the strictly economic approach is, in practice, the prevalent one. It is economists and engineers--not sociologists, psychologists, or anthropologists--who sit in the national planning boards of the developing countries and who advise the large private enterprises. It is the voice of those economists and engineers what considerably influences the decision-making behaviors of the political leaders who govern those countries.

Thus, if a more balanced and fertile approach towards the development task is going to emerge, the transition will be mostly to the credit of those economists and engineers themselves.

They can choose to stick to the notion that national development is hardly anything more than the increase in ability to produce, through industrialization and technified agriculture, material goods and services.

Or they can opt for widening the perspective by including the nonmaterial and yet vital components of the process of human

transformation and growth.

Their decision to embrace one or the other position will certainly not be inconsequential for the fate of the millions of human beings that form what has aptly been called the "third world."

CHAPTER II

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT

All over the world, it has been found that those individuals and villages that have access to the printed page or radio have more modern attitudes, are more progressive, and move into modern roles faster than those who do not.

(Ithiel de Sola Pool, in
Weiner, 1966, p. 99.)

There might exist--in either direction--causal connections between economic and noneconomic factors of development. To demonstrate them, however, is hardly a feasible task yet. Correlations, instead are already being computed. Communication is one of the areas where such verification is taking place.

It is logical to expect a mutual influence between the general development of a country and the particular development of its communications. Communication is instrumental--and often in a crucial way--to the operation of virtually all other processes of social life, be they economic or not.

Given that communication is such an all-pervasive and vital aspect of social existence, and given that societies evidently change, then communication and change must have something to do with each other.

In fact, correlations between the overall modernization of countries and the development of their communication resources and organization have been found by several researchers. Their studies were conducted at different levels of analysis: individuals, villages, nations.

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly review the major findings of some of the most important of those studies.

The Correlation at the Level of Nations

Substantial theoretical and empirical basis supporting the correlational stand at the level of nations were first made available through the work of Lerner (1957). He found that these two features are common to all societies: (1) the direction of change in communication is always from oral to media systems; and (2) the degree of change in communication behavior appears to correlate significantly with other behavioral changes in society. Lerner used data, provided by UNESCO, from groups of countries ranging from 54 to 73 in number, to compose indices for each of four major variables. They were: urbanization (including industrialization); media participation; literacy; and political participation. Then, to find out how these factors covaried, he computed correlations among them. Media participation was highly correlated with the other three factors; its coefficient, in fact, was second only to that of literacy.

Similar results were recorded by a UNESCO (1961) study of all underdeveloped countries--in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and South East Asia--having a population of at least 500,000 inhabitants. The study provided evidence of a very high correlation of mass media factors with economic factors in general development, especially with income.

An index of communication development was found by Cutright (1963) to be highly correlated with indices of political development, economic growth, urbanization, and education. His study, which covered

77 independent countries, was aimed at measuring the degree of association between political development and other types of socioeconomic development. Outright found not only that the development of communication facilities was strongly related to political modernization but that it had even higher correlation with economic development. Furthermore, he found communication development to be a better predictor of political development than economic growth.

Communication was, similarly, one of the factors that Lipset (1959) found to be strongly correlated with political development in the direction of democracy.

Correlations between a scale of economic development and scales representing the development of mass communication systems in 100 countries were also found by Schramm and Carter (1964).

Farace (1966) studied 54 variables for 109 countries—including the most developed and the least developed—and found support for the notion that mass media development is interdependent with achievements in many aspects of the "way of life" in a country.

Ascroft (1968) refers to similar evidences brought by factor-analytical studies conducted at the aggregate level by Schnore (1958), Deutschmann and McNelly (1962), and Farace (1965). Each of these investigations produced a factor on which the economic indices—such as per capita income and urbanization—and the communication indices—such as mass media exposure and education—were "loaded" most highly. The authors concluded that—at the macro level of research, where nations are the units of analysis—the dominant determinants of a nation's degree of development are that nation's economic level and

its ability to communicate with its people.

The Correlations at Lower Levels of Analysis

The existence of the correlations at the level of entire nations does not necessarily indicate that the same may be true at lower levels of analysis. Researchers have, however, found those correlations also at the village level and at the level of individuals.

Frey (1966a), in a survey involving a sample of nearly 460 villages in Turkey, found definite correlations between a mass media exposure index and numerous other indices of rural development in that country. The relationship was particularly strong in the case of four attitudinal and behavioral indices: geographical mobility, interpersonal communication, subjective poverty, and village development.

Working with data from Kenya, Colombia, and India, Keith, Yadav and Ascroft (1966) found that (1) mass media exposure acts as an intervening variable in the paradigm of modernization; (2) variability in mass media exposure was best explained by cosmopolitness, functional literacy, and education; and (3) along with education, mass media exposure was the most consistent predictor of indices of innovativeness and achievement motivation.*

* Before measures of exposure to communication media become fully meaningful, research needs to find out more about the effects of differences in the messages involved in that exposure. It is also necessary to define whether differences in exposure are mostly attributable to media availability or to general style of life. Additional investigation in those areas would enhance the reliability of media exposure as a predictor of other variables of importance in modernization, such as innovativeness.

A comparative study of two Indian villages, conducted by Rao (1966), also found clear correlations between communication development, on one side, and social, economic and political development, on the other. The data supported the notion that while economic development does lead to an increase of information, increased information--in turn--further economic development, the interaction being constant and cumulative.

Factor-analytical studies of certain aspects of modernization, at the individual level of analysis, include those of Deutschmann and Fals Borda (1962), Jain (1965), Rahim (1966), Donahew (1966), Ascroft (1966), Whiting (1967), Farace and others (1967), Ascroft (1968) and Kahl (1968). In all these studies communication variables show to be in a significant interplay with modernization variables.

Summary and Implications of the Findings

After reviewing a set of studies such as those described above in brief, Bebermeyer and Rogers (1966, pp. 1-2) concluded that "mass communication has a clear potential in national development and modernization."

More emphatically, McNelly (1966, p. 1) reports that ". . . a mounting number of studies have shown striking relationships between mass communication development and various economic, political, and social aspects of national growth."

In the same vein, Fagen (1966, p. 119) asserts:

Although the correlations themselves tell us nothing about causality, it is clear that the mass media have been both cause and effect, both mover and moved, in the complex interplay of factors which we call the modernization process.

At the light of such evidence and conclusions, many social observers feel that there can hardly be a well developed country that exhibits poor communications. Neither, they think, can there easily be an underdeveloped country that counts on a highly advanced organization for truly national communication.

National development implies organized collective interaction, massive mobilization, and--in pro democratic social systems--universal participation in the process of decision-making on matters of public interest. And interaction, mobilization, and participation can occur only through communication.

In sum, then, as Lerner (1958, p. 56) puts it, "Communication is both an index and an agent of change in a total social system."

The challenge rests with research to specify the circumstances under which communication functions as an antecedent, or as concurrent, or as a consequent factor of general national development.

The already recorded correlations, however, have immediate and valuable implications for the work of development strategists and of professional communicators involved in modernization tasks.

At the very least, those correlations serve to warn the national planners, the policy-makers and the development field operators that their duties cannot be optimally fulfilled if they ignore--in their blueprints, in their budgets, and in their change-promoting behaviors--the ever-present and vital communication aspects of them.

The correlational results also alert professional communicators to the fact that their particular instrumental activity cannot be usefully performed unless it fits tightly with the overall development activity of the country and acts to directly support it.

CHAPTER III

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND ROLES OF COMMUNICATION

Of all the technological changes which have been sweeping through the traditional societies of the underdeveloped world in the last decade--changes in the production of energy, in the process of agriculture, in the nature of weaponry--the most fundamental and pervasive in their effects on society have been the changes in communication.

(Max F. Millikan, in Lerner and Schramm, eds., 1967, p. 3.)

Though further study is yet necessary, research appears so far to have provided considerable evidence that communication and development do have a significant influence on each other.

The next problem lies in being able to determine--independently--what is the kind and the magnitude of communication's influence on development. In other words, what needs to be measured now is just how important communication actually is for modernization. If that importance is very moderate, the developing countries need not be too concerned with the relationship. If, on the contrary, that importance--as the correlations seem to suggest--is quite substantive, then those countries can no longer afford to ignore such relationship.

This chapter, then, has two purposes.

The first is to attempt to define where does research stand in respect to being able to gauge the influence of communication on change.

The second--supplementary to the other--is to condense, analyze, and attempt to relate some of the main propositions existing about what communication does in the process of national development. For it is

in terms of general roles and of specific functions that the significance of communication for development can realistically be appraised.

What should the criterion be to decide when communication is important for development and when it is not? To solve this question may well be a precondition to be able to find answers for the question of the significance of communication for development.

An answer to this pre-requisite problem has been advanced by Pool (1960, p. 1) in the following terms:

Communication is significant if it acts in a variable way upon the social events of which it is a part, not if it appears as a universal constant with no operational effect upon the interrelations of other social phenomena.

This represents a useful guiding point for the inquiry. Nevertheless, research has yet much to do before it is able to answer the ultimate question. In fact, as McNelly (1966, p. 10) points out, "It would be optimistic in the extreme to expect the emergence in the near future of any general theory of communication in social and economic development."

In other words, empirical investigation has not yet provided sufficient and thorough stipulations of the roles of communication in development. In the absence of them, the assessment of the magnitude of communication's impact on development remains pretty much a question of subjective preference, an article of faith. As such, it allows for a wide range of positions that go anywhere from denying communication any appreciable effect on modernization to raising its value for it up to a disproportionate level.

Out of that polarization, a sensible compromise seem to be emerging in what McNelly (1966) has labeled as the pragmatic position.

This viewpoint does not underestimate the merits of communication in regards to development. But it does not glorify them either. It avoids a rigid specification of the functions of media in modernization and allows, rather, room for different types of data and for diverse hypotheses. Regarding the effects of media, it leaves open the possibility of no impact, moderate impact, and strong impact, depending on circumstances. Also it sees media as capable of having both direct and indirect effects as well as long-run and short-run consequences. The flexibility of this approach may be quite beneficial for additional research on the matter.

Meanwhile, there certainly is an absence of enough decisive data to formulate plausible generalizations. This, however, can be explained without difficulty if some considerations are kept in mind. First, the concept of national development itself and the very existence of it as a directed process of socioeconomic change are new. Second, scarcely a decade or so has elapsed since the underdeveloped countries of the world initiated rigorous planning and formal organization for modernization. Third, a general theory of communication—not to speak of one particularly applied to development—is not yet in existence.

Through competent observation and enlightened intuition, however, initial postulations have been formulated to explain social change and to describe the mission that communication performs in it.

The General Functional Roles of Communication in Society

One of the first steps in the direction mentioned above is promptly recognizable in Lasswell's (1948) formulation of the three

central functions of communication in any society.* Those functions are surveillance of the environment; correlation of the members of society; and transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next.

Other functions have been suggested by different scholars as additions or elaborations related to those proposed by Lasswell. Wright (1964), for instance, suggested the inclusion of the entertainment function.**

Lazarsfeld and Merton (1948) proposed other specific functions such as: status conferral on individuals, organizations, and issues; and facilitation of enforcement of social laws.

Extending the human environment and enlarging the human capacity to cope with problems in the overall environment were proposed by Cooley (1937) as the two major general roles of communication. He perceived the specific functions of media to be the following: (1) to democratize power; (2) to enlarge social contacts; (3) to rationalize and humanize the social institutions; (4) to enlarge and animate "mental unity"; (5) to promote widespread sociability; and (6) to favor the development of both consensus and individuality.

The Dysfunctional Roles of Communication

Other analysts have perceived communication media as performing,

* Whatever the level of development of that society may be.

** This function has indirect but beneficial impact on development. While providing people with more "consumatory" than "instrumental" messages, it stimulates them also to desire new ways of life and it gives them a broader perspective of the world.

rather, negative functions for society as a whole.* Mills (1959, p. 311), for instance, felt that ". . . media have helped less to enlarge and animate the discussions of primary publics than to transform them into a set of media-markets in mass-like society."

Mills proposed that in such a kind of society--where the voice of individuals and of democratic groupings no longer really counts--a sort of "psychological illiteracy" is facilitated by the media in the service of subtle but strong manipulation of the people by the power elites.

Along those lines of thinking, he saw media as fulfilling these concrete roles: (1) to tell the man in the mass who he is--give him identity; (2) to tell him what he wants to be--give him aspirations; (3) to tell him how to get to be that way--give him techniques; and (4) to tell him how to feel that he is that way even when he is not--give him escape.

Two other negative media functions are commonly mentioned. One is "narcotization": the deliberate impairment of the audience's perception and reasoning capabilities. The other is "evasion-facilitation": the provision of an outlet for people to deny reality and the stimulation to live, vicariously, a semi-mythical existence. Media, thus, are perceived not only in the roles of stimulants but also in the roles of analgesics and tranquilisers. Even more, some social systems presided by the Communist ideology have assigned communication the

* Whether a message is "functional" or "dysfunctional" depends on for whom it is deemed to be so. For instance, the roles described by Mills may be dysfunctional for society but quite functional--useful, that is--for the power elite.

mission of total and radical transformation of the very character of individuals through a technique of "thought reform" that is elsewhere mostly known as "brainwashing."

At a not so awesome level, communication has also been observed able to perform, specifically, anti-change functions. At least the possibility of it is implied in McGuire's (1961) experiments on what could be taken as a technique for some sort of mental vaccination against persuasion.*

Virtually none of the preceding conceptualizations were constructed in direct reference to situations of development of a national social system. Neither did they involve, apparently, an effort to differentiate the roles of communication in relation to variations in other aspects of society or in reference to some determinant factors in the process of social change.

Nevertheless, such formulations opened up the road for those who started trying to define the communication functions specifically in terms of the relationship between communication and development.

The Specific Functions of Communication in National Development

Having reviewed what some analysts felt to be the roles of communication in society in general should prove helpful to review now what other analysts feel are the specific functions of communication in national development. The review will start by a terse enumeration of the functions postulated by authors who, apparently, did not deal in

* Under certain circumstances in a modernization situation, this can be judged as a possible counter-development function.

much detail with the topic. The propositions of those authors who probably did elaborate more on that subject will then be given a longer treatment.

Political scientists and sociologists took the lead in the exploratory enterprise. They were, however, promptly followed by communicologists themselves. And now social psychologists, anthropologists, educators and economists are joining the inquiry.

Not all of those scholars have chosen to state communication functions directly as such. Some have preferred to judge media potentialities in terms, rather, of the process of communication. Others have touched on the question through the general study of media effects. Some yet have postulated the roles just implicitly or even only tangentially.

In the fundamental works of Lerner (1957 and 1958), the following are suggested as some of the capital functions of communication in development:

1. To create new aspirations, especially of a material order.
2. To foster increased participation in the general activity of the total social system.
3. To help generate the new leadership needed by society to cope with the demands of the process of change.
4. To teach "empathy" (*), most commonly understood as a person's ability to put himself in the position or role of another person, particularly in roles which are outside his day-to-day experiences and his immediate social system.

*Lerner attributes communication media a substantial influence in inducing people to develop "psychical mobility," of which empathy is

The attention of Pye (1963) was placed on the roles of communication in the political aspects of national development. He, in essence, identified the following functions:

1. To magnify some individual actions so as to give them impact throughout the total social body.
2. To provide a basis for rationality in mass politics.
3. To provide a framework for prospectives of the future and for gauging the degree of vision of the leadership.
4. To help make people able to understand the nature of the political process and the motives and actions of politicians.
5. To facilitate the stipulation of society's rules for defining what are the antecedents and the consequences of political acts and what are leaders and followers to accept as plausible.

Also in particular relation to political development, Pool (1963) proposed two functions of media:

1. To provide a channel for expanding the scope of the leadership.
2. To confirm status.

Promoting unification in extra-political questions was also perceived by this author as one of communication's roles.

perceived by him as a central component. For instance, new literates are stimulated by the content of newspapers to identify themselves with new ideas, people, symbols and objects. This vicarious participation in a life that extends far beyond one's immediate environment is postulated by Lerner as vital for the modernization process.

Spector (1964) chose to stress the role played by communication, over the life-time of individuals, in the formation and in the modification of their fundamental attitudes in relation to modernization. He perceived mass media as performing, in that, direction the following functions:

1. To shape expectations about material objects and about social and ethical relationships.
2. To foster the formation and maintenance of institutions that promote innovative behaviors.
3. To promote the adoption of specific innovations.
4. To enlarge the educational capability of the country by massive promotion of attitudes, habits, and skills conducive to modernization.

Davison (1965) did not concentrate his specification of functions on any particular area. Among the ones he proposed were the following:

1. To help build nations out of mere geographical entities.
2. To link those processes which are vital to modernization: educational improvement, economic growth, and creation of a sense of nationhood.
3. To facilitate the emergence of the necessary new leadership.
4. To activate and reinforce desires for change and thus prepare the grounds for innovation.
5. To involve people in political activity.
6. To mobilize public support for the development programs.
7. To aid in giving people hope for a better life.

All the propositions listed so far contributed directly to

advance the analysis of what communication does for development. Their authors did explain some of them in detail and place them within some broader discussion of modernization aspects. But most of them did not attempt to group them under any given classificatory system. Neither did they try to formulate them in relation to a particular conceptual scheme of a more encompassing nature. Soon, however, other analysts took to do so. Their contributions in that direction will subsequently be summarized.

Pool: The Images that Precede Developmental Actions. Communication is such a decisive factor in modernization--Pool believes--that it can be considered as the bottleneck of it. He starts his appraisal of the roles of communication in modernization by rejecting the notion that, if certain other conditions of such modernization are met, the development of the communication system will somehow automatically follow.

Before he embarks in role-specification, Pool attempts to provide some broader framework for the analysis. He does so by constructing an indirect definition of modernization in terms of certain values and modes of behavior shared by the members of an advanced social system.

The definition is built by specifying behavioral patterns characteristic of modern man: (1) high aspirational level, energy, and discipline; (2) strong secular aspirations, especially those related to improving the material conditions of his life; (3) ability to compute strategies on a broad stage; and (4) ability to calculate strategies with relatively little inhibition by custom.

The following generalizations about key characteristics of a modern society were used by Pool to complete his definition: (1) As modernization prevails, ascribed status becomes less--and functional role becomes more--significant in interpersonal relations; (2) All these factors make it possible for the device of organized association to be used extensively in modern societies; and (3) There is, subject to retrieval, information covering advanced science and advanced technology somewhere in the society.

Pool (1960, p. 282) explains then his purpose in these terms:

Our inquiry concerns the extent to which, and the ways in which, the functioning of any of these seven features of modern life is sensitive to the kind of communication system that exists in a country.

Central attention is placed by Pool to a psychological precondition of the new behaviors demanded by modernity: the formation of some images that individuals have to construct in their minds before they become able to take developmental actions.

It is in generating the stimuli for those images to occur where Pool sees one of the main missions, and probably the highest direct impact, of the mass media in the service of development.

The following is a condensation of the main roles stipulated by Pool:

1. To create pro-development images. Media contribute--directly and powerfully--to build in people:

(a) An image of the whole world, of the entire human community that expands beyond the frontiers of one's own land;

(b) An image of the already modernized portion of the world,

an awareness of the fact that a better life is possible, a raising of the people's expectations;

- (c) An image of life as subject to deliberate change, so as to replace the fatalistic acceptance of a supernaturally determined fate;
- (d) An image of what it is to be cultured and educated, so that people will want to become literate, will enjoy cultural products, will embrace scientific explanations of man and nature, and will take technology as natural and desirable.
- (e) An image of the possibility of economic growth, a view of modernization as an opportunity for limitless progress, and a perception of that progress as a normal and continuous characteristic of life.

2. To promote a willingness for planning and operating on a large stage. Development cannot occur at a truly national

level unless the whole population becomes involved in the process of change. Thus, developmental activities must be conducted on a massive scale. Industry and trade have to reach the millions. So does government in all of its agencies and, particularly, in those of education. Culture must become cohesive so as to integrate all its different ethnical and linguistic components. Political parties and voluntary associations must attain a country-wide level of effective operation. And all that cannot happen except through some system of mass communication.

3. To foster the formation or consolidation of a national consciousness. Mass media are highly instrumental in leading

the people to think of each other, in the various regions of a country, as belonging to one and the same national community in spite of whatever differences those regions may imply.

4. To produce identification with new symbols, objects, and situations. To become truly incorporated to the changing national life, people have to learn, along with different values, goals and norms, the many new symbols, objects, situations, and personal relations that development brings into the scene. This occurs partially through interpersonal contacts but it also requires the facilitating contribution of mass media.

5. To provide an organ of expression for development-promoting individuals and groups. Natural opinion leaders and emerging modernizing groups and institutions require to be understood and supported by the masses if their pioneering innovative endeavors are to be successful. When those individuals and groups are given opportunities to communicate with the people through the mass media channels, and when those channels give coverage and exposure to the developmental activities of those innovators, the influence of the latter on the public is noticeably increased.

6. To disseminate facts and impart some skills demanded for modernization. These are probably the most evident functions of mass media in any society but acquire even more importance in developing countries.

7. To aid in inducing to action. The power of mass media to generate actual and specific behaviors has been shown to be limited. Interpersonal communications are more decisive in this respect. Im-

personal communication, however, can be used to effectively supplement the face-to-face contacts that lead to the desired overt behaviors.

There may be some questions about the degree to which Pool was able to attain the professed intention of his analysis. Perhaps the linkages between the broader conceptual framework he chose and the specific communication roles he came to postulate are not always as clear and as strong as desirable. But there can be--in spite of it--no question about the value of his kind of approach for the enhancement and refinement of the roles' stipulation and explanation.

Schram: The Watchman, the Policy-Maker, and the Teacher. A different but equally useful analytical approach was preferred by Schramm (1964). He undertook the specification of the roles of communication in development by using as a framework the functions postulated by Lasswell as performed, in general, by communication in any society. Those were: the watchman-reporter role; the policy-formulation role; and the teacher role.

Schramm perceives those broad roles as naturally fitting with specific and essential requirements of modernization that can be expressed in terms of people's needs. People need, he proposes, (1) to be informed about the development plans, problems, tasks, and achievements; (2) to be made participants in decision-making on matters of collective concern in relation to development; and (3) to be taught the skills that the development challenge demands them to command.

By expressing the general roles of media in terms of specific needs of people, Schramm makes possible to classify the particular functions of communication depending upon which of those needs will it serve.

Furthermore, it helps anticipate which roles will be best served by mass communication and which by interpersonal communication. In fact, he thus regards mass media as: self-sufficient to perform the "watchman" function; only ancillary to perform the "policy-maker" function; and only partially able to perform the "teacher" function by itself.

Paying close attention to earlier propositions on the subject, Schramm expands, articulates, and refines the scheme. By means of detailed illustrations, of analogies, and of pertinent accounts of experiences in different countries, he formulates a considerably integrated set of functions.

He does all that by way of responding to the question: "What can mass media do in development?". His answers can approximately be condensed as follows:

In the Watchman Role media can:

1. Widen the horizons for people, in the sense of alerting and stimulating them towards taking advantage of the new opportunities for improvement.
2. Direct people's attention to those matters, topics, and issues which deserve emphasis among the many activities included in the process of reform and innovation.
3. Raise the people's levels of aspirations in the sense of pointing out new plausible needs, of removing fatalism and passivity, and of encouraging higher accomplishments.

These three functions can be subsumed, Schramm feels into a broader one: the creation of a general "climate" favorable to development.

In the Policy-Making Role media can:

1. Contribute to spreading the knowledge and acceptance of emerging values and new norms.
2. Broaden the policy dialogue in the sense of enlarging the quantity of people participating actively in the public discussion of political matters.
3. Confer status to developmental leaders, in the sense of granting public visibility not only to top political officers but also to local innovators and to field official change agents as well, so that they can have the people's comprehension and support.
4. Serve as an activator and feeder of key interpersonal channels, in the sense of providing orientation, drive, and information to those elements in society who are message-multiplying agents and who have a strong personal influence on the behavior of appreciable sectors of their communities.
5. Affect lightly held attitudes.
6. Slightly canalize those attitudes that people held strongly, so as to help remove barriers that the traditional culture opposes to development.
7. Indirectly, modify very strongly held attitudes.
8. Directly, create new attitudes and establish given information levels that are indispensable to make modernization viable, particularly those related with a feeling of nationness and unity.*

*Frey (1966b) has noted that some writers have formed a low opinion of

In the Teacher Role media can:

1. Provide substantial help to all kinds of education and training (in school and out of it; in agriculture and for industry; for children as well as for adults; in the service of government or as an aid to private enterprises; etc.), so as to promptly equip thousands or millions of individuals with the many principles and techniques that development makes mandatory and urgent for the changing society to master.
2. Carry by themselves a very large part of the complex instructional task just described whenever limiting factors—such as the scarcity of teachers, schools, and books—could not be easily overcome otherwise.

Two other functions of media are also stressed by Schramm. One is to help expand the market as the economy of the country is transformed. The other is to induce the people to realize not only their own existence as a nation but also their membership in the broader social system: the universal community of interdependent nations that the world has grown to be today.

After Schramm, several other United States's scientists have also contributed to the inquiry from different viewpoints, in diverse degrees, and with varying emphasis.

the impact of mass media in modernization mostly on the basis of their apparently modest influence in short-run political campaigns, a few sales or participation drives, and a number of small-group experiments. The long-range and the indirect effects of the media, he feels, have hardly been studied. For an illustration of that diversity of effects see Figure 1.

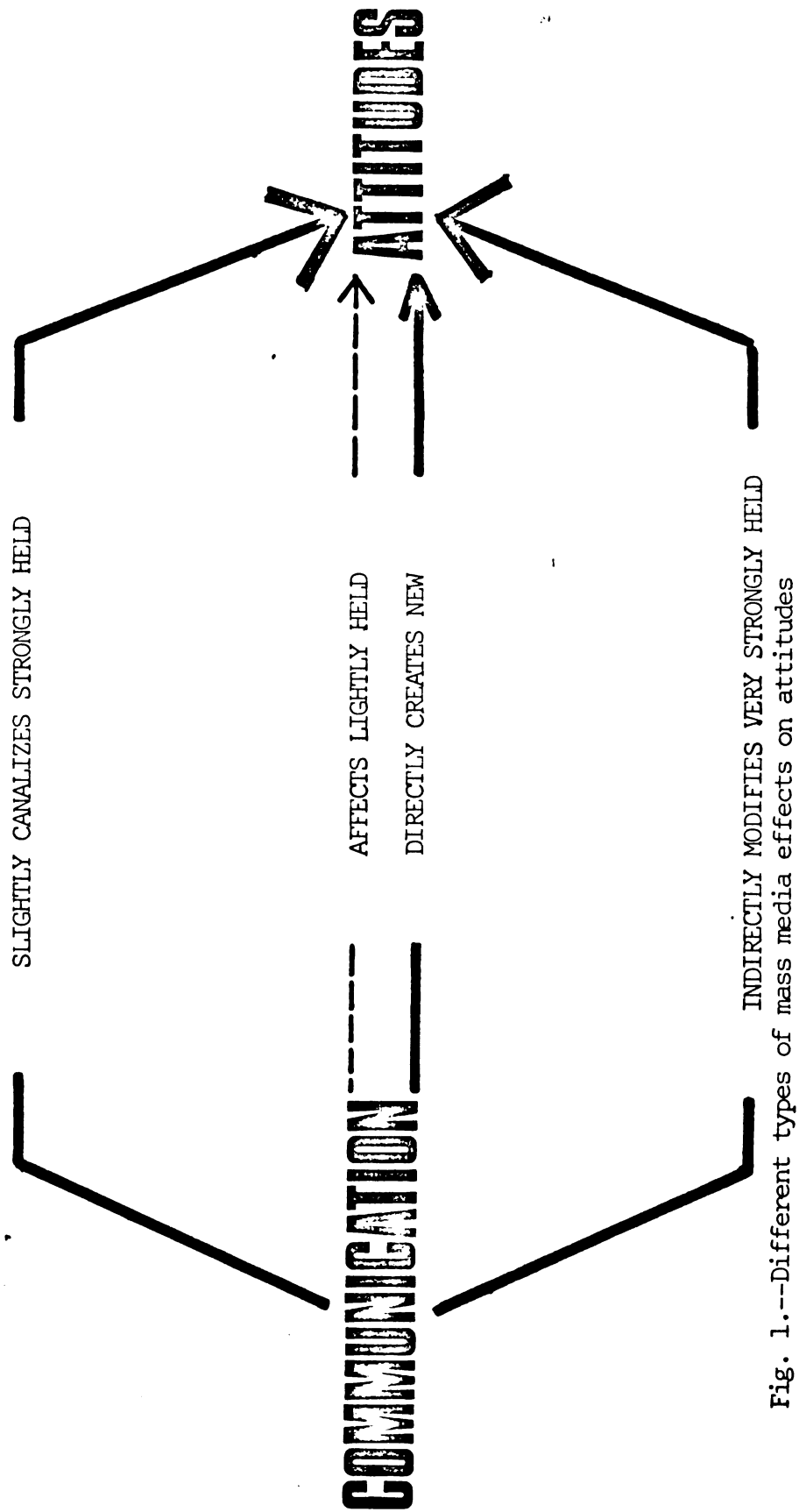


Fig. 1.--Different types of mass media effects on attitudes

The quest, moreover, is international in nature. Scholars from several Latin American countries and from some African countries have started to produce contributions. The work of some researchers in France, Spain, and Germany testify the interest of Europe on the subject. And from India has come a very significant contribution as it is reported below.

Rao: Across the Spheres of Economy, Society and Politics. Two villages were chosen: one which was stagnate and isolated and the other already in the transition towards modernity. Lacking a road to connect it to the rest of the country, the former village had remained primitive, quiet, traditional. A road had, on the contrary, entered the other village and with it had come not only goods and people but also news, ideas, aspirations, and different modes of behavior.

It was in that counterpoint setting that Rao (1966), an Indian scholar settled himself to observe empirically and to analyze rigorously what does communication do for development.

Rao chose for an analytical framework the standard conceptual division of society into spheres of specialized activities: economic, social, and political. He then took several comparative measures between "Khoturu" and "Pathuru," as the villages were labeled for the purposes of the study. The comparisons yielded sufficient systematic data to support conclusions that, in essence, are the following:

In the Economic Sphere, communication:

1. Helps persons to find alternative ways of making a living.
2. Reduces the pressure on land by generating awareness of alternative modes of profitable activity.

3. Raises a family's economic status by increasing its total income due to the existence of additional individual money-producing activities.
4. Creates a demand for goods by stimulating acquisition, consumption, and investment behaviors.
5. Motivates local initiative to meet rising demands, extending--as more information becomes available to many on production methods and on marketing--the entrepreneur class. This breaks the business monopoly of the rich.

In the Social Sphere, communication:

1. Aids to change the process of status-holding from one of heredity to one of achievement by making knowledge accessible to many.
2. Motivates the illiterate to become literate.
3. Helps shift influence from age and traditional status to knowledge and ability.
4. Forces the traditional leaders to compete for status retention and motivates them to acquire new knowledge and adapt to changes, so that they can become influential now in the service of modernization.
5. Helps inducing parents to send their children to school.
6. Helps people find new norms and adapt to changes in order to achieve balance during a period of rapid change.
7. Helps bring about greater equality and greater respect for human dignity.

In the Political Sphere, communication:

1. Helps make achievement the source of power instead of

heredity.

2. Motivates traditional leaders to defend their power by raising their information level.
3. Helps the mass realize their own importance in the power structure, and stimulates a broader participation in politics.
4. Enables the government and the political parties to learn of the needs and reactions of the public and thus, through feedback, helps them tailor their actions to people's demands.
5. Helps, conversely, the people to know about the government's plans, possibilities, programs, and difficulties, as well as about the platforms and organizations of the parties.
6. Helps a community or nation achieve power through unity.
7. Helps bring about greater equality and respect for human dignity in the political arena.

As an observation applied to all his sectors of analysis, Rao points out that the constant interaction of communication and development makes economic, social, and political growth and modernization a self-perpetuating process.

Finally, attention was placed by Rao on certain aspects of the development process which he perceived as being stimulants of communication as well as stimulated by communication. Among them: psychical mobility; ability to think in abstract terms; empathy; and confidence in the future.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS A THEORY OF DEVELOPMENTAL COMMUNICATION

Speculation and conjecture, intuition and insight, classification and correlation--all these have their place in any scientific system; they are the raw materials from which theory is built.

(Percy H. Tannenbaum, in Nafziger and White, eds., 1958, p. 51.)

. . . The sooner our friend begins to try to construct a system of concepts, tentatively relating all his constructs to each other, the sooner he will begin to enjoy certain advantages.

(Bruce Westley, in Nafziger and White, eds., 1958, p. 255.)

Most knowledge that people have about the behavior of others comes from observation. . . . Observation qualifies as a scientific procedure, however, only when it is carried out systematically and yields results which hold up under scrutiny as to their reliability and validity.

(Roy E. Carter Jr., in Nafziger and White, eds., 1958, p. 81.)

The major propositions in the literature about the roles of communication in development have been summarily reviewed in the preceding chapter. The purpose of the present chapter is to consider the possibility of using those propositions as a basis for both further conceptual exploration of the matter and systematic research on it. The chapter will also suggest alternative ways to achieve such objectives and will stress the need for communicologists to assume the responsibility of constructing a much needed theory of developmental communication.

Two limitations restrict the possibility of building such a theory: (1) the absence of a universally acceptable theory of social

change or national development; and (2) the lack of a general theory of communication.

The unavailability of such broader theories--a deficiency which is unlikely to be remedied in the immediate future--should not, however, discourage attempts at constructing a theory of developmental communication. The developing countries can hardly afford to wait until such higher-order and comprehensive theories become available.

No matter how roughly or tentatively, a theory of communication for modernization needs to be formulated as soon as possible.

The sooner social scientists are able to do so, the faster will policy-makers and development-implementers benefit. In addition, the sooner such a theory is proposed, the more viable should be empirical investigation on the roles of communication in modernization.

A natural first step toward that theory consists of summarizing, clarifying, and elaborating the different propositions existing on the matter. Next, comparison, classification, and integration of the propositions appears mandatory. Out of such polishing and harmonizing operations, a set of connected hypotheses should emerge to be tested. But the search has only begun.

There may be more than one road to the construction of the theory. One suggests itself readily: to capitalize on the basic propositions on communication's roles advanced by Pool, Schramm, and Rao.

Another way to attack the problem is to expand and elaborate the few preliminary models of developmental communication that have been already suggested.

A third possibility consists of attempting to adjust the role-

propositions or the preliminary models, or both, to those models of overall national development which appear to be heuristically promising.

Combinations of all those procedures are, of course, not impossible.

There may be other convenient approaches too but, whichever may the initial road be, the job should be started at once.

Convergence in Role-Propositions

The possibility of using the role-specifications produced by Pool, Schramm, and Rao has just been suggested. It is now necessary to appraise the opportunities and the limitations apparent in this alternative.

Each of those authors conducted his analysis within a particular framework as can be observed, without difficulty, in their writings which were condensed in the preceding chapter.

1. Pool's point of departure was the nature of modernity.
2. Schramm's point of departure was the nature of communication.
3. Rao's point of departure was the nature of modernization.

These characterizations are suggested by the present writer, not by the authors of the propositions. Thus, some specification of the characterizations is in order. The necessity will be met by subscribing to the following concepts of Black (1967, pp. 6-7):

Within the past generation "modernity"* has come to be rather widely employed to describe the characteristics common to countries that are most advanced in technological, political, economic and social development, and "modernization"** to describe the process by which they acquired these characteristics. . . . If a definition is necessary, "modernization"*** may be defined as the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge,

*Italics, mine.

**Italics, mine.

***Italics, mine.

permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution.

Pool's propositions were constructed in relation to what he considers to be the distinguishing attributes of modern man or the characteristic features of those societies which have reached a stage of modernity. Schramm's propositions were built within the general pattern of the services communication provides society with. Rao's propositions were organized around the impact that communication has in bringing about economic, social, and political modernization.

In sum, Rao and Schramm worked within the framework of the concurrent processes of modernization and communication as they relate to each other, while Pool chose to do his analysis in reference to the final stage--a given state of modernity--to which those joint processes of modernization and communication, as is illustrated in Figure 2, lead.

Thus, (1) if modernity is both the attribute of a developed society and the goal of an underdeveloped one, (2) if modernization is the process through which such goal is to be attained, and (3) if communication is the crucial bridge through which a society goes from underdevelopment to development, then the sets of propositions provided by Pool, by Schramm, and by Rao should be amenable to fruitful combination.

That they are, in fact, combinable is clearly shown in the fact that there is a high level of coincidence, and sometime total overlap, in most of their formulations. In spite of their diverse launching pads and despite having traveled through different pathways toward the answers, the three authors arrived--as it is easy to see when comparing many of their statements--to pretty much the same points of destination. In fact, their steps--as it is summarized in Table 1--often crisscrossed

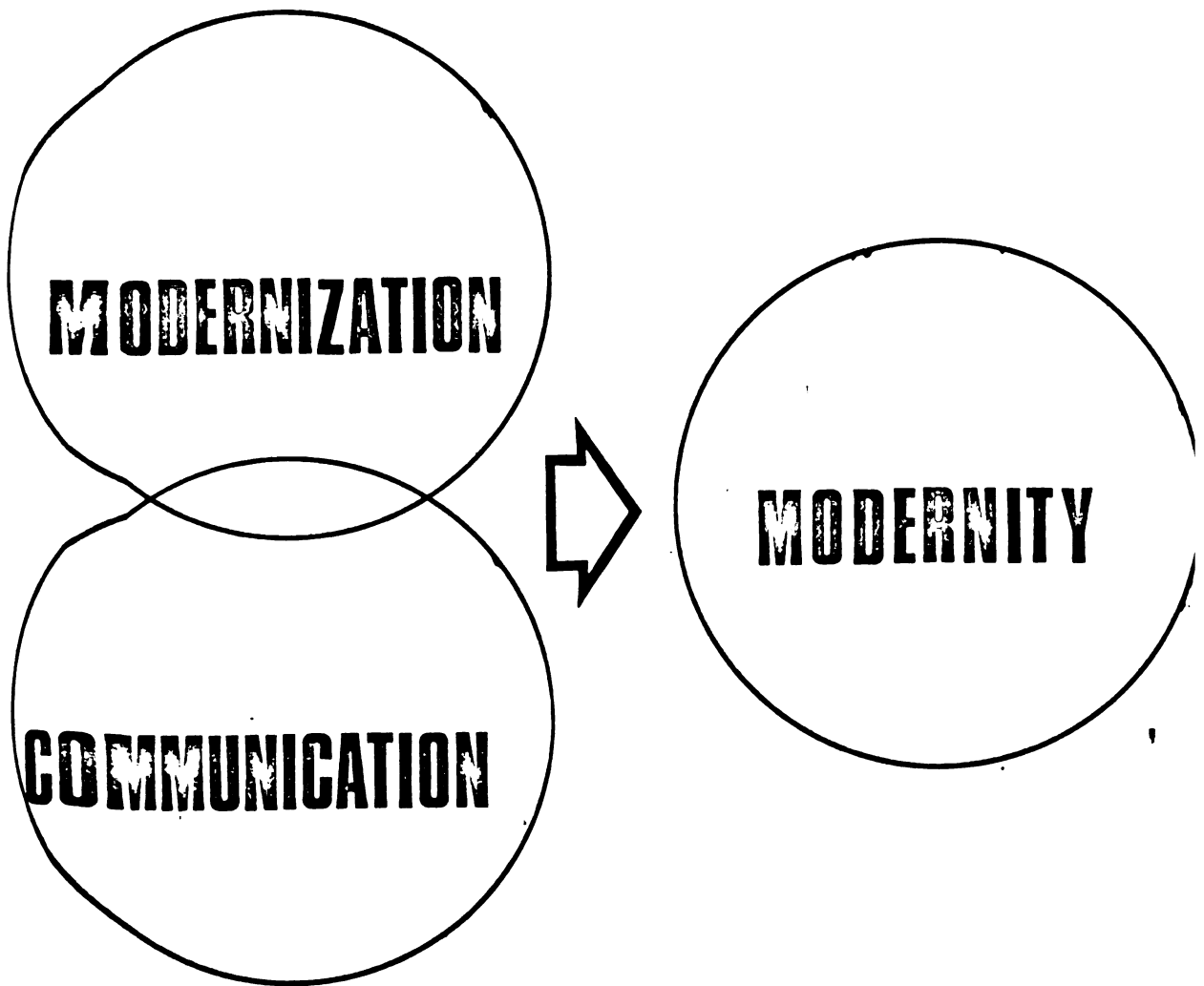


Fig. 2.--Relatedness of three sets of propositions (Pool's, Schramm's, and Rao's) on the roles of communication in national development.

Table 1. Comparative summary of communication's roles in development as proposed by Pool, Schramm, and Rao.

Roles	Pool	Schramm	Rao
1. To create, in people's minds, pro-development images of:			
(a) the entire world as one community	*	*	-

(b) the already modernized portion of the world;	*	-	-

(c) life as subject to deliberate change	*	*	-

(d) what it is to be cultured and educated so that people will want to be literate, scientific-minded, etc.;	*	*	*

(e) the possibility of economic growth.	*	*	*

2. To promote a willingness for planning and operating on a large stage.	*	*	*

3. To foster the formation or consolidation of a national consciousness.	*	*	*

4. To produce identification with new symbols, objects, and situations.	*	*	*

5. To provide an organ of expression for development promoting individuals and groups.	*	*	-

6. To disseminate facts and impart some skills demanded by modernization.	*	*	-

7. To aid in inducing to action.	*	*	-

8. To stimulate people to take advantage of new opportunities for improvement.	*	*	*

9. To direct people's attention toward matters, topics, and issues that deserve emphasis.	-	*	-

* An asterisk indicates consideration of the communication role specified.

Table 1 (contd.) Comparative summary of communication's roles in development as proposed by Pool, Schramm, and Rao.

Roles	Pool	Schramm	Rao
10. To raise the people's levels of aspirations and to help eliminate fatalism and passivity.	*	*	-
11. To promote acceptance of emerging values and of new norms.	*	*	*
12. To broaden the policy dialogue by promoting popular participation in politics.	*	*	*
13. To confer status to development leaders.	*	*	*
14. To serve as an activator and feeder of key interpersonal channels.	-	*	-
15. To affect lightly held attitudes.	-	*	-
16. To slightly canalize strongly held attitudes.	-	*	-
17. To modify, indirectly, very strongly held attitudes.	-	*	-
18. To form, directly, new attitudes, particularly those related with national unity.	*	*	-
19. To provide help to all kinds of education and training	-	*	-
20. To carry by themselves a very large part of the instructional task.	*	*	-
21. To help expand the market.	-	*	-
22. To induce people to realize their existence as a nation and their membership in the world community.	*	*	-
23. To help persons find alternative ways of making a living.	-	-	*

* An asterisk indicates consideration of the communication role specified.

Table 1 (contd.) Comparative summary of communication's roles in development as proposed by Pool, Schramm, and Rao.

Roles	Pool	Schramm	Rao
24. To reduce the pressure on land.	-	-	*
25. To raise a family's economic status.	-	-	*
26. To create a demand for goods.	-	*	*
27. To motivate local initiative and entrepreneurship so as to break the business monopolies.	-	-	*
28. To motivate the illiterates to become literate.	*	-	*
29. To help induce parents to send their children to school.	-	-	*
30. To help people find new norms and adapt to changes.	*	*	*
31. To help the masses realize their own power and induce them to gain increased participation in politics.	*	*	*
32. To help the government know about the people's needs and reactions, as well as to help the people know about the governments' plans, possibilities and limitations.	-	-	*
33. To help a community or nation to achieve power through unity.	*	*	*
34. To help shift influence from age and traditional status to knowledge and ability.	-	-	*
35. To help change the source of social status and of political power from heredity to achievement.	-	-	*
36. To help bring about greater equality and respect for human dignity in the social and in the political spheres.	-	-	*

* An asterisk indicates consideration of the communication role specified.

Table 1 (contd.) Comparative summary of communication's roles in development as proposed by Pool, Schramm, and Rao.

Roles	Pool	Schramm	Rao
37. To persuade the traditional and conservative leadership to join the cause of change for modernization.	-	-	*

*An asterisk indicates consideration of the communication role specified.

one another's.

The table makes evident the numerous cases where the three authors coincided, totally or partially, as well as the instances where at least two of them were convergent. In general, there is a high level of concordance among the three authors. This indicates that combining their propositions offers an attractive opportunity towards constructing a theory of developmental communication. The alternative, however, is not free from problems.

One limitation is that Pool, Schramm, and Rao had concerned themselves exclusively with the functional roles and the positive consequences of communication in development. This omission of dysfunctional roles and negative consequences debilitates their arguments. It makes the authors appear convinced that communication can only do good to development.* It also gives the impression that the authors share a

*The process of modernization has both beneficial consequences and distressing effects on people. So does the process of communication. Mass media can perform "bad" roles just as it can perform "good" roles. That is, they can be--as Lazarsfeld and Merton put it in Chapter III--functional or dysfunctional for society. For instance, as Wright (1964) added following these authors' communication (a) heighten anxieties; (b) result in privatization--a tendency to cut oneself away from

rather unlimited faith in the merits and powers of communication media. Neither bias nor exaggeration, however, appear likely to help much the cause of communication's conceptual and practical improvement.

Indeed, Lerner (1967) has pointed out, for instance, to the danger that may be involved in raising--through communication--the people's expectations up to such an unrealistic level that may only lead then to raise, rather, their frustrations. (He feels communication media should not be used to induce people to want what they cannot get nor to expect what it will not come. It is clear, then, that developmental communication can perform negative roles.

— To define what communication does in development (role-specification) is a job that needs to be linked with that of designing alternative ways of using communication in the service of development (strategy-formulation). However, another limitation of the afore mentioned propositions is that they, unfortunately, remain exclusively as role-specifications.

A third difficulty with the propositions of Pool, Schraumb, and Rao lies in the very broad level of which they were formulated. The possibility of formulating generalizations of universal applicability about the roles of communication in development is not unlimited, even when the generalizations become validated by some empirical evidence.

Such law-like generalizations--hardly available either in other

an overwhelming informational environment; and (c) cause social apathy. it follows that communication can either facilitate or impede the modernization of a society. Thus, an analysis of both its positive and its negative consequences or--at least--a non-irrestricted formulation of its virtues, ought to be more useful for development than proposing those virtues alone.

concerns of the social sciences--can be expected as the major end-product of the long-run scientific inquiry and as the heart of the general theory.

The theory should also be concerned with more restricted and perhaps more practical propositions that stipulate which specific communication functions go together with what particular cultural conditions under which given circumstances of development.

The reasons are almost self-evident.

Does "national development" mean the same thing for Mexicans, Pakistanis and Cambodians? Is the modernization procedure of Red China comparable with those of Senegal or Philippines? Are the development goals of Indonesia the same as those of Kuwait? Are Cubans as interested in promoting private enterprise as South Africans?

The answers are, obviously, negative.

Can, therefore, communication be expected to perform invariably the same functions in the face of different ideologies, strategies, methodologies, structural patterns, and levels of development of the diverse cultures of the underdeveloped world?

It certainly can not.

There are, to be sure, various cross-cultural similarities in the concept and in the conduct of development.

But it is equally evident that each culture defines and effects development in a way particular to a given set of determinant circumstances. And the variations in those circumstances from culture to culture influence the roles that communication plays in development just as communication influences them.

Therefore, the specification of communication's roles in modernization should not remain frozen at the initial stage of intuitive general abstractions that may imply--by being unconditional--an unrealistic expectation of universal validity. The exploration must move further ahead in search for ways of interlocking those roles--conceptually and empirically--with concrete variations in the determinant circumstances present in specific situations of development.

Expansion of Developmental Communication Models

At the beginning of this chapter, two other possibilities were mentioned in approaching the construction of a theory of communication in modernization. They will be described here quite less extensively than the first alternative--that of role-specification--has been described. This has to be so since these additional alternatives involve several possible theories and far more complexities. Thus they demand, in depth and in length, a kind of treatment that exceeds the purposes of this thesis.

One of those alternatives refers to the possibility of expanding and elaborating the very few and preliminary models that exist about developmental communication as such.

For instance, Rogers (1967) has applied the model of general communication proposed by Berlo (1960) to the process of general national development. The resulting paradigm perceives a source transmitting a message content via channels to receiver audiences with development effects. For each of these headings, the model proposes a number of variables which appear listed in Figure 3.

By combining in several ways the source, message, channel,

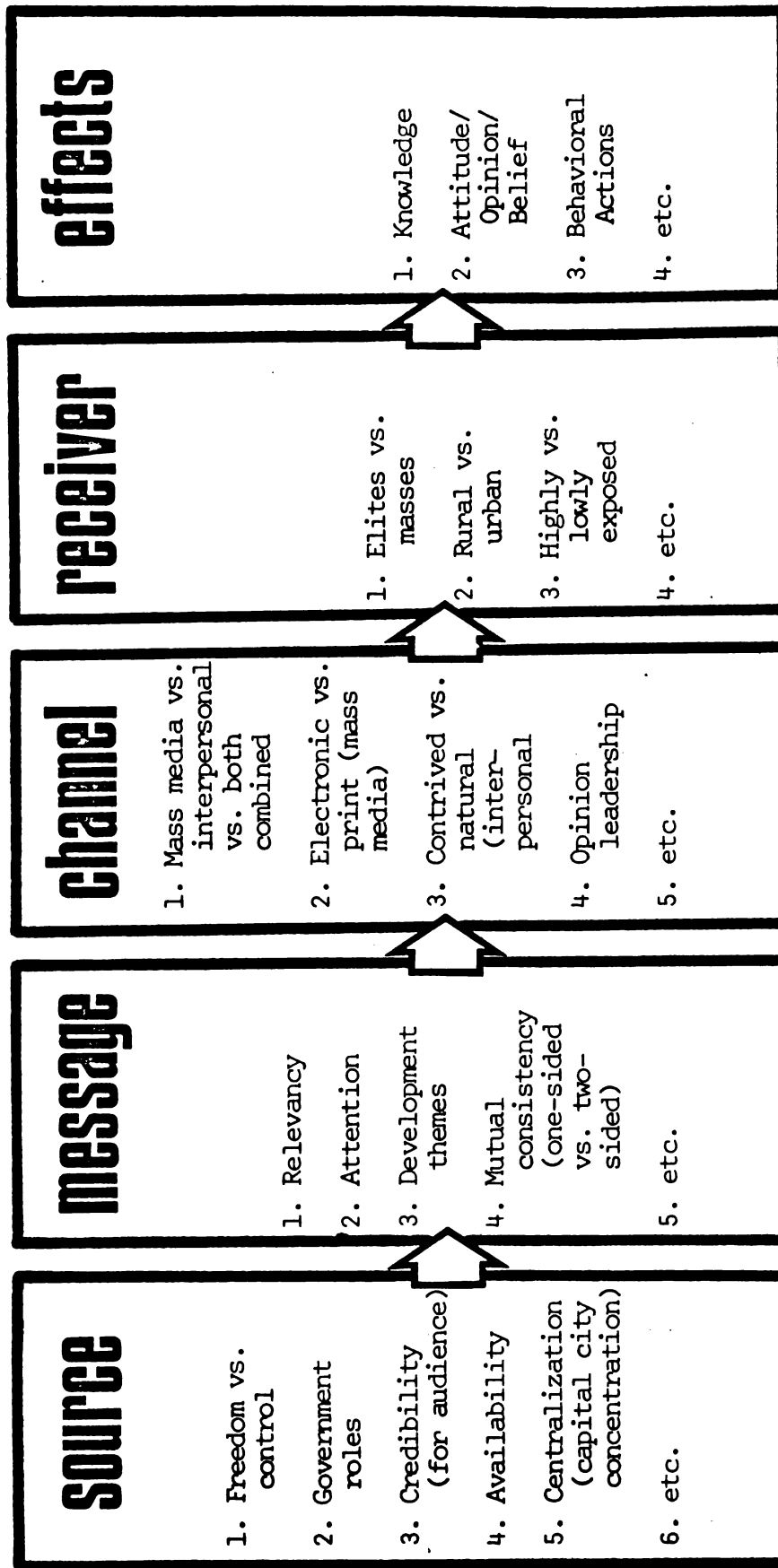


Fig. 3.--Basic variables in Rogers' preliminary model of developmental communication.
Source: Rogers (1967)

receiver and effects variables (S-M-C-R-E), Rogers has produced a set of generalizations* that help characterize comparatively the nature of communication in developed and in underdeveloped societies. Though the model is still at a tentative stage of conceptualization, it seems theoretically valuable and potentially amenable to empirical verification.

Pye (1963) has analyzed the basic characteristics of communication systems typical of traditional, transitional, and modern societies. Though his analysis was done with emphasis of the relationship of those systems to political development, the analysis could well apply also to general national development.

Pye considers that the outstanding characteristic of traditional processes of communication is that they are not markedly differentiated from other social processes. That is, communication is not independent either of the structure of social relationships or of the content of the communications. Also, there are no professionals specialized in communication.

The essential characteristic of a modern communication system is, for Pye, that it involves two stages or levels. One is that of the highly formalized mass media and the other is that of face-to-face communication. The critical feature of this system is that orderly relationships exist between the two levels proposed. The better these levels are interconnected, the more can the whole system grow and produce. Professional communicators do exist in this system.

*The generalizations are not reproduced here because their number (about 40) and their detailed nature do not permit it.

Transitional communication systems, Pye proposes, are characterized by a bifurcated and fragmented structure. A part of the system is based upon modern technology; is predominantly urban; and is directed to those sectors of the population which are more "Westernized." The other part of the system, instead, is based upon interpersonal relationships through face-to-face communication; is akin to traditionalism; tends to follow the patterns of communal life; and is predominantly rural.

In sum, the transitional system includes, but does not combine, features of the modern and of the traditional systems. There is usually no direct and strong tie between the two sectors of the transitional system; each operates pretty much independently from the other; thus the system is, in fact, fragmented.

Pye notes, finally, that there are important differences among the three systems in terms of the volume, the speed, and the accuracy with which they can transmit information.

It is evident that this model offers considerable opportunities for further work leading towards a theory of developmental communication.

Another opportunity is represented in some propositions of Fagen (1966). These propositions, again, are focused on political development but are useful also as a starting point to study the place of communication in social change in general.

Fagen identifies two basic models of developmental communication: an exogenous one and an endogenous one.

Drawing from the model proposed by Deutsch*, Fagen proposes

*Deutsch's social mobilization model was described in Chapter I.

that social mobilization leads to changes in people's knowledge and perception of the world. These changes, in turn, lead to such phenomena as expansion of the politically relevant strata of the population and changes in the nature of the services demanded from the government. This is what he calls the model of exogenous change, since the impulse for political development comes from outside the realm of politics.

Endogenous change occurs, he suggests, when given political strategies and organizational forms—which, directly or indirectly, imply changes in communication patterns—are selected. Once those patterns are in operation, he adds, they lead to new ways of perceiving the self, the world, and politics. These modified perceptions, in turn, induce changes in the functioning of the political system.

The key difference between the models lies in the locus of the primary stimulus to change in communication patterns. The models are, however, apt to be combined, as Fagen sees it, since communication has been found to have a clear correlation with modernization and has, therefore, shown to be as much an antecedent as a consequence of factors prevailing in the other social processes.

Linkage to Models of Overall National Development

Finally, a third approach toward the theory is to relate the analysis of communication's functions in modernization to existing overall models of national development or theories of social change.

The tie could be attempted with economic schemes, such as Rostow's well known three-stage model. It may also be tried with multi-factor correlational schemes such as Lerner's, or perhaps with

psychosocial paradigms such as those of McLelland, Hagen, and Hoselitz.

Lerner (1957) sees development as occurring in four phases: urbanization (into which industrialization is subsumed); media participation; literacy; and political participation. It is, he suggests, through some such a sequence--in which each phase interacts with the others--that societies pass from traditional to transitional stages and from them to modern ones. The fundamental notion of "empathy" underlies the model.*

The main springboard of modernization is for McLelland (1961) the individuals' levels of achievement motivation. By that he means, essentially, an internal impulse to do well, mostly for attaining an inner feeling of accomplishment. Some people have more of that motivation than others. This is not due to hereditary reasons but to socialization influences. Thus the achievement motivation level of the people of a country (infants or adults), their drive for excellence, can be raised by education so as to contribute to development, particularly in the entrepreneurial dimension of it.

Hagen (1963) also perceives the origin of modernization to be in socialization practices but he specifically locates it in the early

* Pool (1963) regards Lerner's "empathy" notion (a capacity for identifying with someone else's ideas, feelings, behaviors, or situations)--along with McLelland's "achievement motivation"--equivalent to a "daring thesis" that media can have profound characterological effects on human beings. Mass media are seen, that is, as able of helping bring about no less than an entirely "new man" by radically mutating his personality. That kind of contention had only been advanced before by the Russian and the Red Chinese on behalf of some of their persuasion-cum coercion methods of behavioral manipulation.

socialization period within the familial institution. He suggests some children of marginated social sectors are raised in ways that permits them to develop autonomous and creative personalities that lead them to have initiative and innovativeness. This value emerges in his view, when some elite group in a society suffers "withdrawal from status respect" and falls in a period of retreatism but, after a generation, becomes highly motivated to exercise developmental leadership, particularly in the entrepreneurial dimension of economic growth.

Behavioral deviance, cultural and social marginality, and the redefinition of societal objectives by a modernizing elite in power (a change-oriented oligarchy, for instance), are postulated by Hoselitz (1957) as some of the main launching platforms of social change. At the roots of modernization, then, inconformity and its motivational derivations are perceived to be highly instrumental for development.

Difficulties can, of course, be anticipated in any effort to integrate communication's roles with those development models or with similar ones. One source of difficulty is represented by problems relative to the developmental model themselves. In regard to some of them for instance, the following limitations have been suggested:

1. The models assume development is a smooth upward-progressive process while, in practice, many countries advance by a rough jump-and-fall kind of movement which is often painful and violent.

2. The models assume modernization is a synonym of "Westernization" while, in practice, many underdeveloped countries aim at developing within their own cultural configuration as submitted to eclectic external influences.

3. The models assume developing countries are geared toward

democratic and capitalist forms of social structure while, in practice, some measure of authoritarianism may be unavoidable and some influence from socialism may be desirable in the modernization of many of those countries.

4. The models appear to assume that "dynamic equilibrium" is the ultimate "natural" state of a developed social system while, in practice, imbalance and conflict--rather--may constitute the "normal" state of them.

5. The models are evolutionary in nature and thus make no provision for revolutionary circumstances conducive to national growth whereas, in practice, the radical redistribution of power through revolution may be a main precondition for the development of certain countries.

The Convenience of a Two-Way Approach

To the specification of communication's roles in development two alternatives have just been added in search for opportunities for theory construction: expansion of developmental communication models, and linkage of those roles to overall models of national development.

Such analytical condensation of key propositions on the subject constitutes, of course, only a first step towards establishing some basis to facilitate the construction of a theory of developmental communication.

The evaluation of those propositions is, however, sufficient to support the conviction that theories on communication's roles in development cannot be fruitfully done in a vacuum. They must be done with direct reference to determinant factors in the overall process of

general national development. The very correlations found between the two processes suggest the convenience of doing so.

Unfortunately, with the probable and partial exceptions of Lerner's models* and of Fagen's model, no attempts appear to have been conducted to also study the effects of non-communication variables on the process of communication for development.

Therefore, the attention of the next chapter will be devoted to analyzing some such variables that conceivably exert a determining influence on developmental communication.

*These models are described in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

FACTORS AFFECTING THE ROLES OF COMMUNICATION IN DEVELOPMENT

Basically, a nation must answer the great questions of human development in general--Who am I? What do I want to grow into?--in order to have a firm foundation for a communication policy.

(Wilbur Schramm, in Lerner and Schramm, eds., 1967, p. 28.)

The construction of a theory of developmental communication cannot best be attempted exclusively on the basis of what communication does for development.

The other side of the coin is just as important: how do factors prevailing in the development process affect communication as a process, influence the behavior of communication institutions (mass media or otherwise), and determine the roles of communication in modernization. Thus, this chapter will deal with those phenomena.

Unfortunately, no formal and comprehensive set of interrelated propositions is yet known to exist about non-communication factors which determine the roles of communication in national development in general.

A set of propositions have already been advanced by Fagen (1966) but they refer exclusively to factors which determine political development in particular. Essentially, he proposes four types of factors as determinants of communication patterns and use: (1) economic; (2) sociocultural; (3) political; and (4) historical.

Among the economic factors, Fagen stresses (1) the correlations computed, in multiple instances, between economic growth and communication's advancement, (2) the financial restrictions that impede many

developing nations to reorganize and improve their systems of communication; and (3) socioeconomic characteristics such as social structure, social mobility, norms, and predominant types of social organization.

The sociocultural factors emphasized by Fagen are: (1) skills, such as literacy; (2) norms, such as those determined by values as egalitarianism in democratic societies; and (3) institutions, such as religion.

The determining influence of politics on communication is expressed by Fagen (1966, p. 64) in these terms:

No one who is familiar with the modern world has to be told that patterns of political communication differ greatly in ways directly attributable to differences in political organization and ideology.

Finally, two historic determinants are underlined by that author:

(1) the nature of the colonial experience, and (2) the impact of certain leadership styles, say those of Castro, Roosevelt, or Hitler. He also lists other factors as innovative personalities; technological breakthroughs; social upheavals and dislocations; and foreign influence and domination.

Considerations as the preceding ones should help make clear that communication does not serve exactly the same functions under each and all circumstances of national development.

Changes in the roles of it occur due to multiple determining factors. In all probabilities, these factors vary from culture to culture. They may also vary, over time and in space, within each given culture.

The complexity of those varying influences is of a magnitude that precludes from this thesis an exhaustive and fully integrative analysis of them. Two steps can, however, be taken here:

1. To recognize the possibility that some of the universal roles of communication in development--the cross-cultural virtues--pass through a modifying process governed by several patterns prevailing in each culture and emerge out of the process as specific functions operating in particular circumstances. Some of those universal roles may, however, remain constant across cultures and throughout diverse conditions within cultures. (Figure 4)
2. To propose and analyze rather succinctly some of the main factors that, conceivably, determine the nature of those modifications in communication's roles in development. Eight such factors will subsequently be described. (Figure 5)

Political Philosophy

In the art of governing countries, an age-old antagonism of ideas prevails: democracy versus autocracy, the government through reason and by the many, as opposed to the rule of the few and by force. Absolute types of either are perhaps hardly in existence. The existing types, however, seem more than sufficient to give raise to important differences in the roles of communication.

A country governed under a democratic political philosophy should give communication the main role of helping bring about consensus. Communication media, then, will perform functions of carrying information back and forth between those who govern and those who are governed, so as to secure that the majorities participate in decision-making on matters of public interest and exercise civic surveillance over the

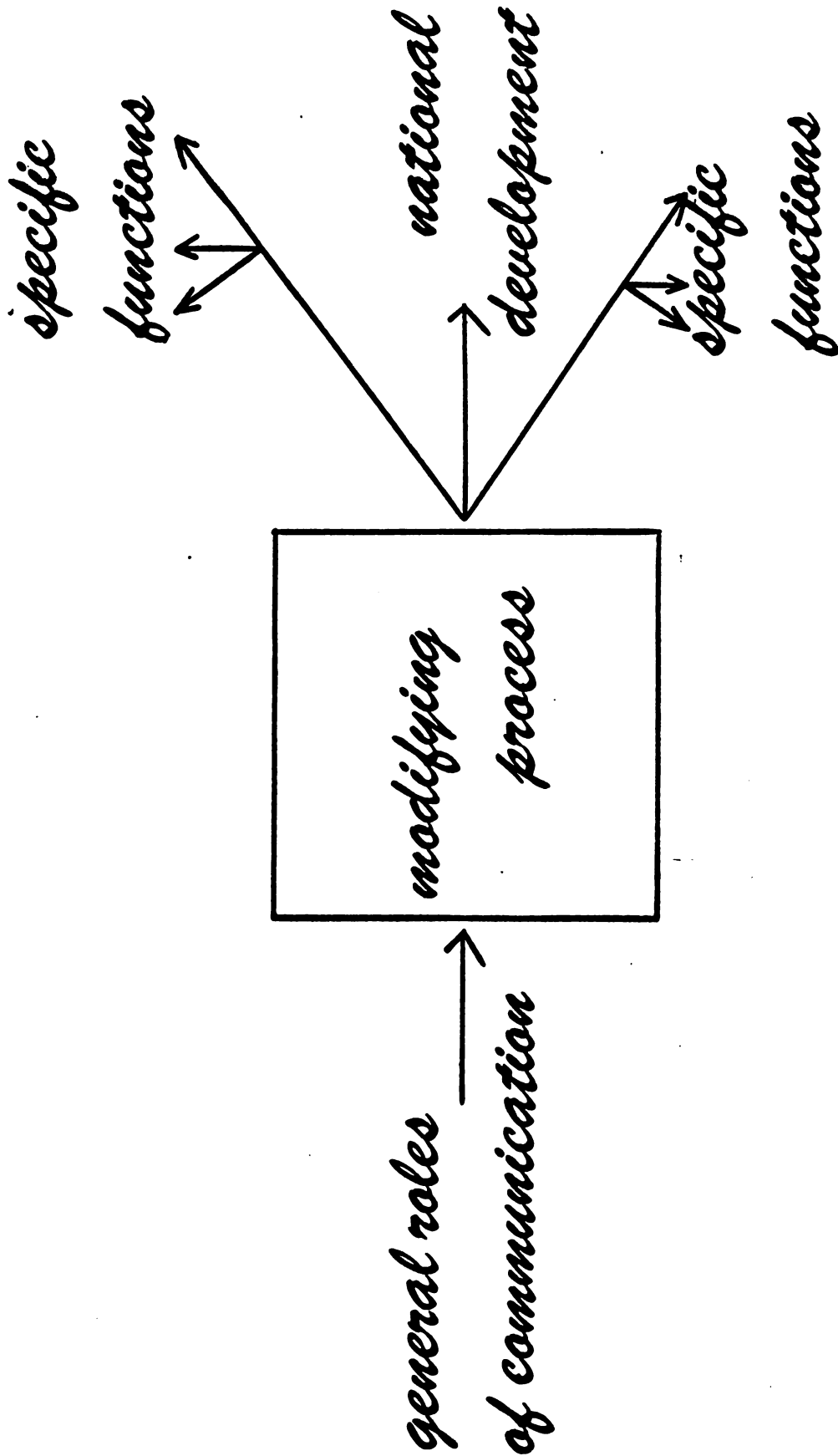


Fig. 4.--Graphic representation of the modifying process through which some of the universal roles of communication pass.

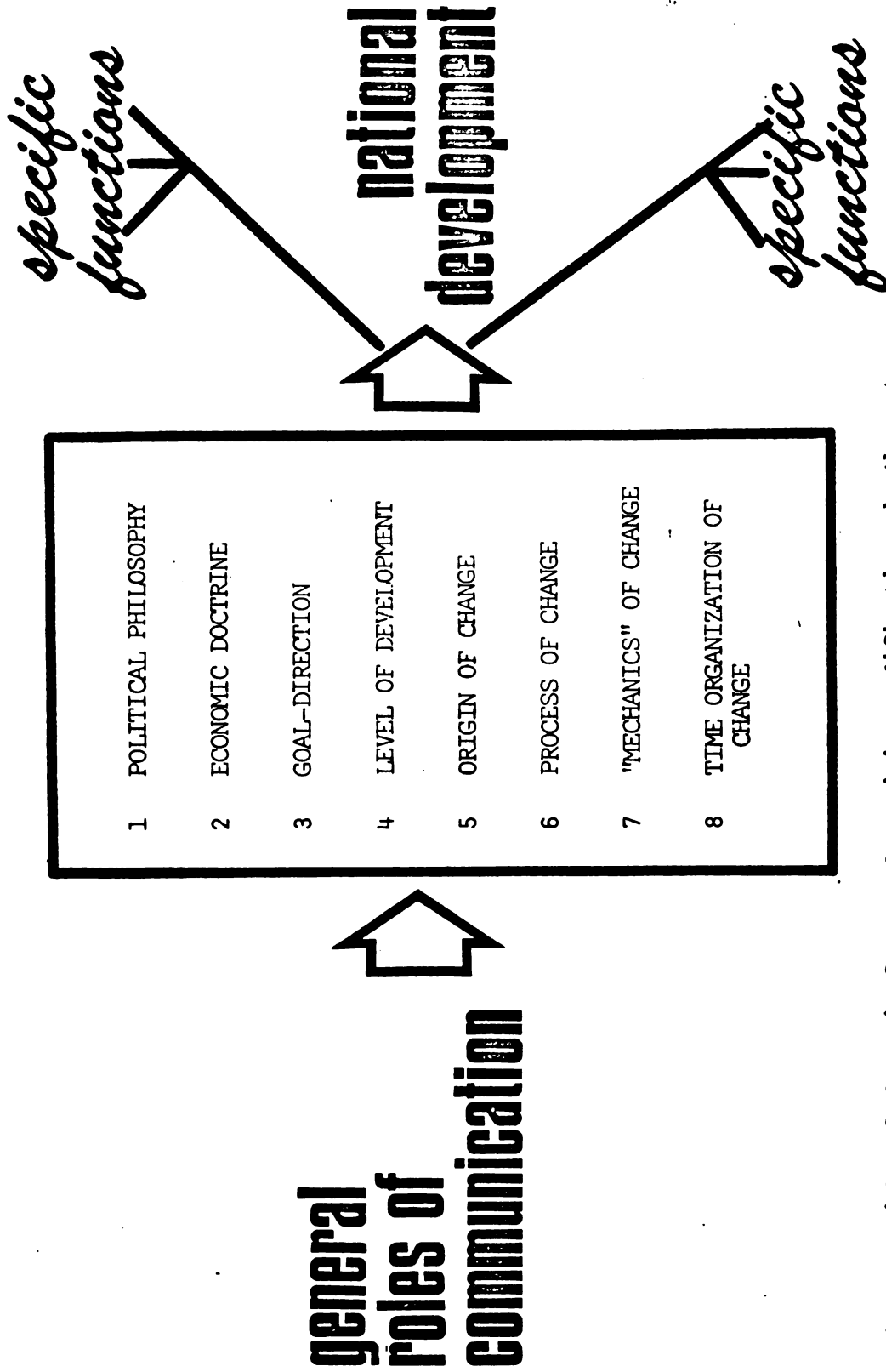
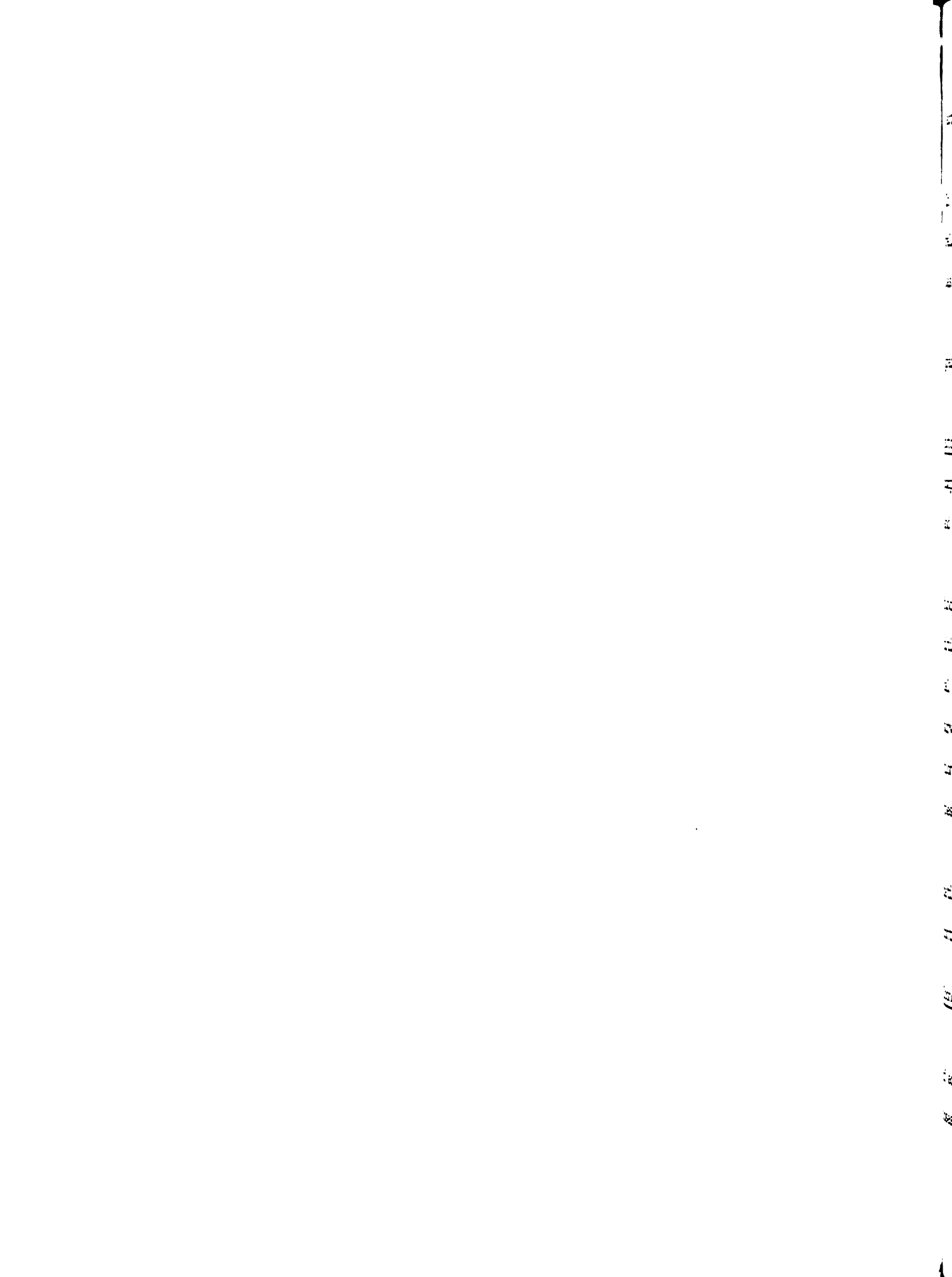


Fig. 5.--Eight of the main factors determining modifications in the nature of communication's roles in national development.



acts of the government.

Also, media are called to aid the people in opinion formation. In addition, communication institutions are expected to facilitate relationships among the different sectors of society and to stress basic common values and goals.

Parallel with that, the government of a democratic system will grant information freedom and will not monopolize media ownership.

The main role of communication in a country presided by an autocratic political philosophy will usually be to help secure strict compliance with the norms of the system, obedience to the government, and attainment of the State's goals.

Communication media, then, will perform predominantly the function of carrying the government's behavioral prescriptions to the citizenry. Feedback will be far less organized in autocratic political systems since the people they have under them enjoy only negligible surveillance power on the government. Overt and intentional distortion, retention, and interruption of information are not uncommon in these regimes.

Furthermore, they impose usually strong restrictions on information freedom and either own all main media institutions or heavily control those which they allow to exist in private hands.

Economic Doctrine

Capitalism and Communism constitute the prevailing alternatives of economic orientation in development in today's world. For the purposes of this thesis, it suffices to briefly distinguish them in terms

of their concept of property and of the mission they assign to the public and the private sectors of the economy.

The capitalist doctrine advocates private initiative and free enterprise as the basis of economic operation and thus attributes the government only a minor regulatory function.

The socialist doctrine favors government ownership—complete or at least clearly predominant--of the means of production. When it allows private enterprises to operate, it usually imposes on them tight regulations. It rejects the notion of business freedom and it retains virtually all industrial activities in the hands of the State, particularly those relative to energy and transportation.

The differences in economic doctrine account for differences in the roles of communication.

Among the main roles capitalism assigns to media institutions are to promote savings and investments, to help expand the market and increase consumption of goods and services, and to stand in defense of private property and in favor of entrepreneurship.

Among the tasks that socialism gives to media are to promote increases and improvements in production behavior, and to discourage profit-oriented individual competition as well as to encourage, rather, cooperative work and collective effort for the common good.

Goal-Direction

The developmental efforts can be addressed toward effecting changes in the structure of society or in the functions of it. In the first case, what is sought for is the alteration of the very make-up of the social skeleton, the organic arrangement of its institutions.

In the other case, the goal is to modify only the functions, the specialized operations performed by the organs composing the structure.

The control of resources and the distribution of power are among the central features of the structural aspect of society.

The utilization of natural resources and the production of goods and services are key phases of a fundamental function of society: securing the survival of its members.

The roles of communication clearly vary depending on whether structural change is attempted or functional change is.

In most underdeveloped countries what needs to be changed is the social structure before functional changes can be made optimally productive.

Land reform--the modification of the land tenure system--is a common example of a kind of structural change. The reorganization of land use--through the introduction of modern agricultural technology--in order to increase production and productivity is a typical case of functional change.

The economy of most underdeveloped countries is based on agriculture and the majority of their population lives in the rural areas. Thus, land ownership constitutes the foundation of the social edifice. Characteristically, the tenure of cultivable land is monopolized by a minority of individuals. Having concentrated economic power in their hands, that minority becomes easily dominant in politics, and strongly influences the behavior of education and communication institutions. Under such circumstances, social stratification is maximal and social mobility is minimal. The masses are kept submerged into ignorance,

hunger, misery, and non-participation. Society would seem to have been designed to impede change.

In that kind of a set-up, communication is put to play the role of condoner of inequality and perpetrators of status quo. It must foster conformity and it must aid in securing the continuity of the situation. Thus, it does not help structural change to occur. It promotes only functional changes preferring the light ones over the deep.

When the case is that structural change is to occur in a society, communication is called to perform a very different set of roles. For instance: to intensify social agitation for reform; to sensitize the ruling elite and help in persuading it to yield; to help the formation and emergence of a new leadership; to aid in giving the masses organization for civic participation; to encourage modernizing legislation; etc.

Once the social system has undergone some basic modifications of its structure, communication shifts its thrust to support, in many ways, the establishment of new institutions and relationships and the re-designing of many of the functions of society.

That role of communication is very important for development since to change the structure but to leave the functions untouched prevents growth from occurring promptly and deeply enough.

Level of Development

The comparative study of development places countries on a continuum that goes from a traditional stage, to a modern stage, with multiple intermediate positions, depending on their levels of development.

Whenever a country shows signs of advancing along that progression, its goal-direction is likely to experiment changes over time. That is, a dynamic social system tends to continuously evaluate its accomplishments and short-comings in reference to increasingly demanding criterions that constitute stages or steps in the process of growth. Once a country has reached a given one of those stages, it sets a new course to reach a next level. These changes in developmental goals determine changes in communication's roles.

When a country starts modernizing, one of the essential roles of communication is to bring about country-wide social cohesion and a feeling of collective purpose. They are necessary to make each individual aware of the common task and willing to do his share of it.

Later in the development process, the emphasis of the communication effect may turn to helping train people in the diverse principles and techniques they need to learn in order to contribute to development and to best benefit from it.

Further ahead, the main function of communication can be that of helping consolidate the new values, institutions, and behaviors, along with aiding to construct a national attitude of self-winding innovativeness, cooperation and productivity.

At which level of development a country is considered to be at a given moment is something that depends upon arbitrary measures. How many stages are identified is something also arbitrary. Internationally proposed standards as well as models of development constructed on a stage-basis can be either applied or ignored by countries in self-evaluating their situation and standing.

What is important, however, is that, as soon as some temporary goals of a system are met, the system can be conceptualized as moving toward a next goal which, again, represents a different (higher) level of accomplishment in growth. Along with that redirection of objectives, the contents, the incentives, and the formats of communication for development may be revised and rearranged to secure its fit with the objectives.

Origin of Change

The procedure through which countries attempt to develop has several aspects and thus may be analyzed by placing attention on different dimensions. One of them is the origin or point of departure of developmental events.

Change can occur "spontaneously" or by induction. A social system may rather passively let happen things that might lead to growth. Or it may organize itself to actively seek for growth to happen.

Frequently, though not necessarily, spontaneous change implies a process of "progress" which is slow, rather superficial, and uneven. It involves so little planning and guidance that, in many cases, it may be often regarded as almost vegetative.

By contrast, change by induction usually involves rigorous overall planning of development actions, profound structural and functional alterations, new institutions and leaders, and an accelerated tempo in the implementation of goals.

In the one case, the government is attributed a mild tutorial and regulatory responsibility of promotion. In the other case, a high level of government intervention is characteristic.

Given such differences, communication cannot be expected to operate in the same way in both cases. Spontaneous change requires only very moderate behavioral engineering. Induced and directed change demands multiple cognitive, affective and behavioral modifications. The latter, therefore, places far higher exigencies on communication.

In the first case, the predominant roles of communication are those of helping maintain stability, running a closed system of information designed to serve the elite only, and keep the masses in a state of complacency.

In the second case, communication is challenged to perform numerous vital roles. For instance: fostering unity; promoting the will to develop; expanding the information network throughout the entire social system; etc.

Process of Change

Another very important procedural aspect of national development is the kind of process through which it is to occur when it will occur under induction circumstances.

A process of change that is rather superficial and excludes violence can be typified as evolutionary. A process of change that is radical and usually includes violence can be typified as revolutionary.

By revolution is understood here the process by which power, the ability to influence other's behavior, is redistributed through insurrection, almost invariably associated with some degree of physical violence, in order to alter the system from its roots. This meaning excludes the mere substitution of one power group for another without it having deep pro-development consequences in the structure and

functions of the social system. Also excluded from the meaning is the case of considerable deep social transformation not stemming from insurrectional operations but from a radicalization of reformism.

Where the social structure is permeable to change propositions and flexible for readjustments, evolution--in varying degrees and at different tempos--is one of the usual processes through which development may occur.

Where, on the contrary, the power holders stubbornly resist any suggestions for a transition, revolution may be the unavoidable process to be used for attaining development.

Closed and rigid social structures give the masses no alternative but subversion. Depending on circumstances, the social pressure may reach a point of explosion where the only tool for initiating substantive change is outright revolution through armed popular insurgence.

Once again, communication is likely to perform very different roles in evolution than those it is called to perform in revolution.

Where change occurs by evolution, the tasks of communication are multiple, demanding, and complex since it has to lead people to change, not force them into it.

Where change occurs by revolution, the roles of communication are less extended and perhaps less critical. This is so because revolution substitutes values abruptly, alters norms violently, and destroys as well as creates institutions suddenly. Revolution, moreover, does not strive for agreement but it imposes new modes of conduct. Behavioral transformation is carried by actions. Words become purely ancillary.

"Mechanics" of Change

Behavioral changes for development may be generated by means of incitement or by means of force. The dichotomy is formed in this case by persuasion and coercion.

Persuasion is the ability to induce behaviors in people--exclusively through communication operations--by gaining their voluntary adherence to those behaviors.

Coercion is the capability to impose behaviors in people--almost entirely by intimidation or compulsion operations--regardless of their will in relation to those behaviors.

Both persuasion and coercion can be regarded as cases of social influence but whereas one leads to conviction-motivated behaviors the other leads to obligation-motivated behaviors. In line with Kelman's (1961) model of the process of opinion change, persuasion can be regarded as more capable than coercion in producing longer-lasting and finally autonomous ("internalized") behavioral responses.

However, persuasion is far more difficult to be effected than coercion is. A person reached by a persuasive message may, given that he does not reject it, take quite a long time before it fully incorporates it to his stable behavioral repertoire. A person reached by a threat, physical or otherwise, may promptly produce the demanded behavior so as to escape the threat or avoid punishment.

Communication's roles are maximal in persuasion and minimal in coercion. One of its roles in persuasion, for instance, is that of making behavioral surveillance almost unnecessary. This is a very important role--directly related to needs of socialization and social control--since it saves considerable energy and strain in achieving

behavioral unity in the system.

It's unnecessary to specify other probable roles since most of those enumerated so far in this chapter can be judged to be performed through a mechanics of persuasion.

Time Organization of Change

Finally, another dimension of the developmental procedure is of importance for the discussion. It refers to the time-organization of the development efforts. The dichotomy lies here in trying to do development "all at once" or "step by step." That is, growth can be balanced or unbalanced.

Following Oshima (1967), balanced growth can be defined as a method of development advocated on the basis of simultaneous growth of all sectors of the economy in accordance with the demands of consumers and businesses. No single sector is given an overall top priority over the other; agriculture, for instance, must grow hand in hand with industry and both should grow together with transportation, communication, trade, and services.

By contrast, then, unbalanced growth is that development method predicated on the basis of assigning preferential energies to some sectors of the economy over the others. A common example is to assign first priority to the industrial sector, particularly the heavy-type one, while giving low priority to the agricultural sector. This approach overplays the need for generating capital goods while the other approach seeks increase both in capital goods and in consumer goods.

In a situation of balanced growth, one of the main roles of communication may be to help harmonize the interests of the different

sectors. Since no developing State has the financial power to boost up considerably each and all sectors at the same time, discontent is not unusual in many of them. Communication enters to keep it at levels that will prevent social disruption from occurring.

Tendency towards breaking the balance develops rather easily, particularly when one of the sectors shows to account for much more productivity than others. The role of communication there is to help handle the pressure from the interest groups thus determined to alter the equilibrium.

In a situation of unbalanced growth--say, one where industry is clearly preferred over agriculture, which is a common case--communication may also perform characteristic roles.

A natural one is to provide public justifications for the priorities selected.

Another is to help facilitate the process of deruralization of the population and to help alleviate the problems of growing urbanization.

A third is to help the people cope with the many behavioral adaptations that industrialization imposes on them by altering the division of labor and, at times, by making social stratification even more acute. Peasants, who are forced to bear the burden of the costs of industrialization, are naturally unlikely to be cooperative with the government. Here again communication can help diminish their unrest and may help them operate behavioral changes leading to attain some sort of compensation for their unprivileged position.

Necessary Cautions in the Analysis

The preceding section of this chapter has served the purpose of describing some of the many possible determinants of communication's roles in development. Variations in the following influencing factors were mentioned: political philosophy; economic doctrines; goal-direction; level of development; and origin, process, "mechanics," and time organization of change. It was then suggested that those variations should have a clear impact in determining which are the roles that communication is to perform in modernization. The probable roles were then analyzed to the extent that the limits of this thesis allowed it.

That analysis, however, is subject to considerations that it is necessary to keep in mind:

1. Role-specification was certainly not exhaustive.
2. Some roles remain universally applicable across cultures.
3. There are within-category variations, in space and time, in the nature of communication's roles in development.
4. Interaction among conditioners or influencing factors appears highly probable. But the interaction between them and the roles themselves needs not occur automatically. In some cases, it may be totally absent.
5. The eight postulated determinants do not belong in a single category; they may be grouped in at least two different conceptual domains.
6. The influencing factors were treated as clear-cut dichotomies, in order to simplify its description. In practice, however, multiple intermediate positions

are possible between the extreme polarities. Some elaboration of these points appears to be in order.

A comprehensive enumeration and description of the possible roles of communication in development can easily include dozens of units. This has to be that way since communication is so pervasive in society and so variously useful for development. The attention in this chapter was restricted to a few roles: those which apparently are more common in many cultural settings.

Moreover, limitations were also imposed on the number of factors assumed to influence communication roles. They, in turn, may be numerous. To mention just one of them, it must be said that the presence or the absence of a "social action party" makes a significant difference in the roles of communication. Where the government counts on a wide-spread and powerful national political organization, communication can be far more effective than where such organization does not exist. In some developing countries, in fact, that kind of political organization serves not only as multiplier of media-impact but even as a sort of "media" institution itself, vis-a-vis the lack of mass channels.

It has been proposed here too that certain roles of communication in development are universal; they are performed, that is, in all cultures. It has also been suggested that some of those universal roles are either modified, or substituted by particular roles emerging from local cultural characteristics and needs. But other universal roles remain operative across cultures, regardless of local variations.

In all societies, for instance, communication performs these functions: spreading factual information; fostering cohesion and unity;

serving as an agency of socialization and, in a way, of social control; and teaching some skills to the masses.

Indeed, authors like Almond (1960) and Lerner (1963) have analyzed, more specifically, the roles of communication in political socialization and recruitment as well as in the articulation and aggregation of private interests, so as to integrate them with the public institutions that a country needs to become developed.

Many of the wider roles stressed by Pool, Schramm and Rao are of the same cross national nature.

Another consideration pertinent to the present analysis is that there are role-variations within each of the eight influencing factors proposed.

In its process of development, for instance, a country may change from being presided by a democratic political philosophy to an autocratic one. Major change may start in a country by revolution but, on time, will ordinarily return to evolution. A country which was only implementing functional changes may become able to operate also structural changes.

Even within the same ideology, two countries can differ substantially in their approach toward development. That, according to Hiniker and Farace (1967) is, for instance, the case of Russia's "Technical Bureaucratization" and Red China's "Mass Mobilization" approaches.

The categories, then, are neither indefinitely stable nor are they impossible of being combined. Even more, within a single country, there may be regional variations in level of development, in goal-direction, in origin of change, etc.

It is logical to assume that there is considerable interaction among the eight postulated influencing factors. For instance, an autocratic political philosophy may be associated with inductive change and with the evolutionary process. Or a democratic philosophy may be associated with a capitalist economic doctrine, with balanced growth, and with functional change.

In other words, a lack of relationship among such factors is more likely to be the exception than the rule, though the combinations need not follow any fixed pattern.

An interaction between those influencing factors and the roles of communication in modernization has also been postulated here. This interaction, however, may not always occur. For instance, a country that is undergoing structural changes may have its communication system performing only roles appropriate to purely functional change.

A typical instance of that situation is constituted by land reform. Many Latin American countries, for instance, that are attempting to conduct a redistribution of the land have not reorganized their communication system to serve this structural change. Their media institutions, then, are not performing the roles pertinent to the need. In fact, some of them are behaving so incongruously in relation to a country's need of that structural modification that they are performing roles against land reform.

The opposite case is also true. Some of the countries that have already been able to do the agrarian reform have failed to set new roles for their communication system to support the subsequently needed functional changes. For instance, the mass media are not sufficiently

promoting yet the innovations required to modify the function of production of food and fiber in the very regions affected by land redistribution.

There are even more outstanding inconsistencies between the influencing factors and the communication's roles. One of them occurs between the "mechanics" of change selected by some countries and the lack of a compatible selection in what respects to the communication system of it.

Some of the new nations have come into being by means of revolution and a few of them have chosen to follow revolutionary models for their development.

For the most part, however, the underdeveloped countries of the world are following models based on a "mechanics" of dynamic evolution or of intensified reform. This selection implied necessarily—as a concomitant condition if not as a clear pre-requisite—the building of an efficient communication system and the redesigning of media roles. Unfortunately, most of those countries have failed to realize that implication of their decision.

Any country which decides to develop by means other than revolution assumes, automatically, the responsibility to do by persuasion what others do by compulsion.

Persuasion is far more difficult of being accomplished than forced compliance. Thus, it demands the reorganization, increment, and expansion of the communication system. Countries that do not realize this may be, then, putting their entire development enterprise at stake.

Dube (1967) makes the point in these terms:

A series of costly and avoidable failures has shown the planner that even well-drawn projects of modernization fail to register with the people and to produce the desired results unless they are supported by an imaginative, adequate and effective communication program.

In sum, disparities may often exist between developmental ideas and actions and pro-developmental communications. This indicates that the interaction suggested in this thesis as existing between the assumedly influencing factors and the probable communication's roles is neither perfect nor constant. At times, it would appear, a pre-requisite for such relationship to exist consists of the will and effort of an intervening agent of connection. Namely, the State itself.

It is also important to notice that the eight determinants postulated here pertain to diverse domains. Differences among them are observable in that some of those factors refer to structural variables in modernization while other refer to procedural ones. Thus, refined conceptual definitions and precise operational specifications would, of course, be necessary before any research could be conducted on factors like these.

A final note of caution about the analysis refers to the fact that it treated the determinant factors as polarized types. It did so because it was convenient for simplifying the discussion of the essential questions. But the device should not lead one to think that positions intermediate to the dichotomies are not recognizable. They, in fact, may be many.

Extreme positions, on either direction, are likely to be uncommon in the case of most developing countries. Many of them, for instance, appear rather attempting to blend some features of capitalism with some

features of socialism. Some are doing their best to achieve a compromise between desirable democratic institutions and unavoidable authoritarian procedures. They are not only absorbing and combining divergent influences from outside. They are also trying to make them fit with their own indigenous foundations of thought and procedure.

Therefore, the positions of those countries in reference to the postulated determinant factors may best be represented, for each factor, as points along a continuum. This is depicted in Table 2, except that only the extremes and the center are marked on it.

Determinants, Roles, and Strategies

The eight factors postulated as determinants of communication's roles in development have been arranged in Table 2 into three category groups: ideology, teleology, and methodology. This clustering was done following a criterion of affinity.

In their attempts at developing, countries usually depart--manifestly or not, and at varying degrees of coherence--from dominant ideas that include particular conceptions of (a) nature, culture, and history, and of (b) man's nature, needs, values, goals, rights, and duties. Some conceptualization of what is society and of how it should be perfected is ordinarily a part of that scheme. This is often expressed in terms of some theory of political transformation and of some model of economic growth. Religious elements often are also important components of that scheme.

Ideology, then, can be defined as a set of beliefs--mostly political and economic--conveying a valuative interpretation of human

Table 2. Factors determining the roles of communication in modernization.

Influencing Factor		Positions on a Continuum		
<u>Ideology</u>				
Political Philosophy:	Democratic	_____	Eclectic	_____ Autocratic
Economic Doctrine:	Capitalist	_____	Eclectic	_____ Socialist
<u>Teleology</u>				
Goal-Direction:	Structural	_____	Structural and Functional Change	_____ Functional Change
Level of Development:	Traditional	_____	Transitional	_____ Modern
<u>Methodology</u>				
Origin of Change:	Spontaneity	_____	Combination	_____ Induction,
Process of Change:	Evolution	_____	Reform	_____ Revolution
"mechanics" of Change:	Persuasion	_____	Persuasion and Coercion	_____ Coercion
Time Organization of Change:	Balanced	_____	Selective	_____ Unbalanced

* This intermediate position has been proposed in the work of Oshima (1967). He sees selective growth as a procedure that maximizes the advantages of both balanced and unbalanced growth and minimizes their handicaps. It implies the selection of development projects and the focusing of public expenditures on chosen individuals, families, institutions, enterprises, regions, and periods.

existence and social reality, in terms of both historical experience and on-going societal activity, as well as in terms of the projections of them on the further conduct of society's life.* (Figure 6)

In the pursuit of development, a country is almost invariably faced with alternative courses of action. The selection of those to be followed appears considerably dependent upon at least two major factors: (a) the influence of the prevailing ideology, and (b) the definition of the level of development at which the country presently is. Therefore, teleological activity--purpose-formulating behaviors--may be thought as presiding organized development efforts.

Teleology, then, can be defined here as a set of decisions establishing the general aims, the specific objectives, and the final goals of the change-inducing behaviors that are to be operated in society to have it develop.

Once the goals have been set, and again under the influence of the ideology, means are to be chosen or built to attain such goals. This is done in direct relation to the human, material, and financial resources of the social system, and in accordance with priority criteria and tempo stipulations.

Methodology, then, can be defined here as a set of procedures and techniques through which the chosen objectives of social change should be attained.

*Sigmund (1963) asserts that the word ideology has "additional connotations--of commitment (both emotional and intellectual), of action-orientation (the maintenance of the status quo, which may be the goal of the conservative ideologies, is itself an action), and even of conscious distortion of the facts to fit a pre-established doctrine."

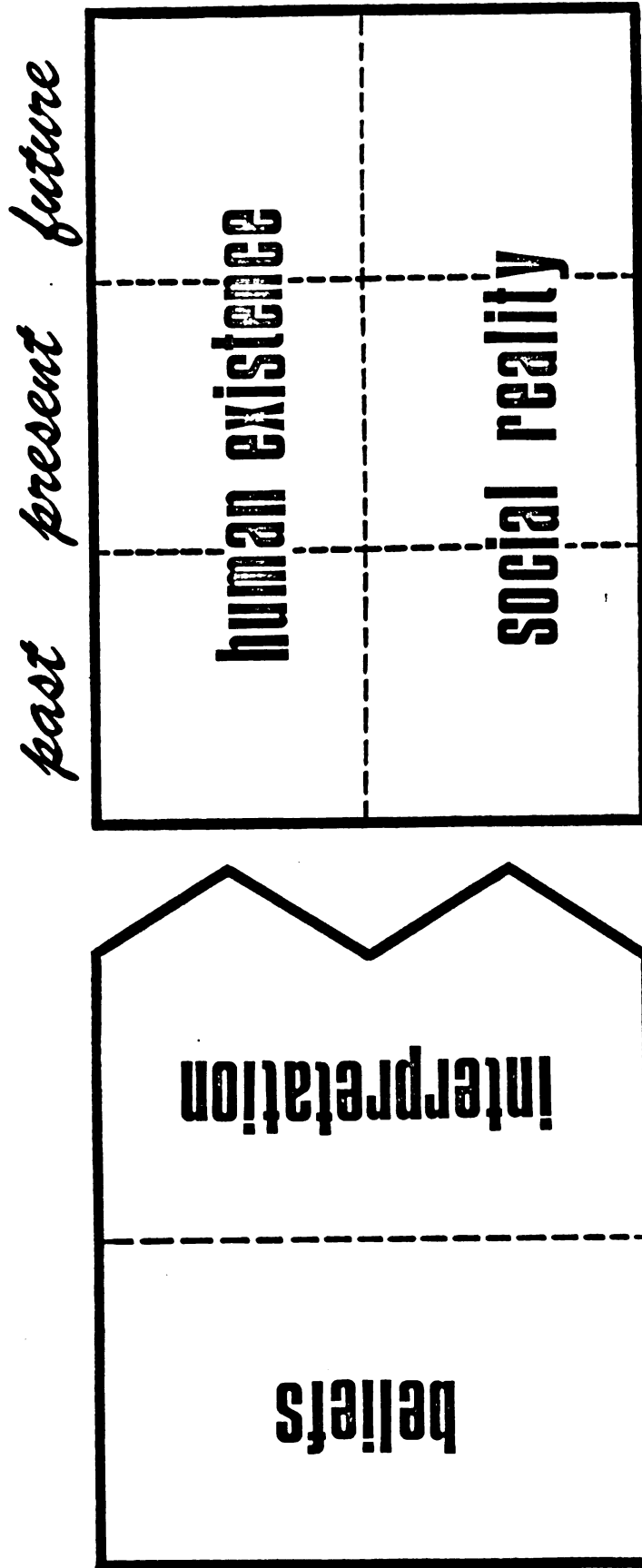


Fig. 6.--Graphic scheme of definition of "ideology" as a set of interpretive beliefs about human existence and social reality perceived along a time continuum.

Conceivably, ideology, teleology, and methodology could be independent from each other.

That, however, seems rarely to be the case. Most often, the case appears to be one of ideological, teleological, and methodological concatenation. Many interactions, for instance, are logically detectable among the components of the three categories. A few examples should help illustrate the point.

As it is expressed by Figure 7, for instance, structural change--a variation of the component labeled goal-direction, which is a part of the category labeled teleology--is usually strongly associated with revolution--a variation of the component labeled process of change, which is a part of the category labeled methodology. Inversely, functional change is usually associated with the evolutionary process of change. Similarly, the democratic ideology is normally associated with the persuasion methodology, while autocracy is clearly related to coercion.

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that there is a probably significant and constant interrelation among ideology, teleology, and methodology.

The magnitude, however, of the influence of each over the others may not be equal. Nor, for that matter, should the sequence of influence be an arbitrary one.

Most probably, rather (1) ideology precedes teleology, or is parallel with it, and both precede methodology; (2) ideology influences more teleology and methodology than it's influenced by them; and (3) the influences of ideology and teleology are empirically less separable

	evolution	revolution
structural change		*
functional change	*	

	persuasion	coercion
democracy	*	
autocracy		*

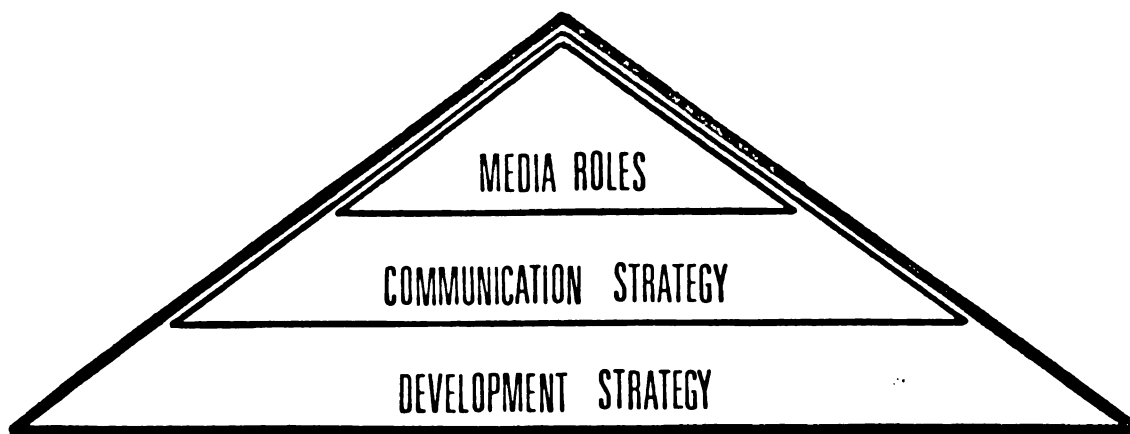
Fig. 7.--Examples of interactions among factors determining communication's roles in national development.

from each other than they are from the influence of methodology.

If all that is so, then the end-result of such a concatenation of ideology, teleology, and methodology can be taken to amount to the strategy of national development, the overall orientation of a social system towards growth. (Figure 8)

If such a strategy in fact exists, then the roles of media in development must constitute one aspect of a specialized strategy of communication which, in turn, constitutes a part of that broader strategy of development. (Figure 8)

What is the nature of those strategies (the general and the particular), how are they related to each other, and what are the implications of that relationship for modernization, constitute the areas of concern to which the final chapter of this thesis will be mostly devoted.



METHODOLOGY

ORIGIN OF CHANGE:	Spontaneity	Combination	Induction
PROCESS OF CHANGE:	Evolution	Reform	Revolution
"MECHANICS" OF CHANGE:	Persuasion	Persuasion and	Coercion
TIME ORGANIZATION OF CHANGE:	Balance	Selectivity	Imbalance

TELEOLOGY

LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT:	Traditional	Transitional	Modern
GOAL-DIRECTION:	Structural change	Structural and Functional.. change	Functional change

IDEOLOGY

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:	Democratic	Eclectic	Autocratic
ECONOMIC DOCTRINE:	Capitalist	Eclectic	Socialist

Fig. 8.--Elements and relationships in the process of formulation of a strategy for national development (including communication).

CHAPTER VI

THE STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE STRATEGY OF COMMUNICATION

A scanning of any list of the most elementary problems common to the new states readily suggests the conclusion that the basic process of political modernization and national development can be advantageously conceived of as problems in communication.

(Lucian W. Pye, 1963, p. 8.)

It is not surprising . . . to find that the really basic strategies of developmental communication are not merely communication strategies at all but are economic and political, and grounded deep in the nature of society.

(Wilbur Schramm, in Lerner and Schramm, eds., 1967, p. 27.)

After reviewing the roles of communication in modernization, the preceding chapter called attention to ideological, teleological, and methodological factors which were described as exerting a decisive influence on those roles. That led to noticing that the conjunction of those three types of factors results in the existence of a development strategy. In turn, this led to identifying communication strategy as a part of the broader developmental one.*

The object of analysis in the present chapter is the nature of those strategies themselves and the specific ways in which they appear related to one another. Before doing so, the chapter briefly reviews the concept of strategy and pays some attention to the process through

*This connection was not unexpected since previous chapters had already prospected both the pervasive importance of communication for all central processes of society and the close correlation recorded, across the world, between communication and development.

which communication strategies might come into being. Afterwards, it shows the lack of awareness prevailing in most developing countries about communication's problems and potentialities, but it stresses a relevant exception to that rule. It, then, proposes that an accelerated development of communication institutions and facilities can lead to major increases in the general development of nations. Subsequently, the chapter proposes some things that governments can do to bring about communication development. And, in closing, the chapter briefly suggest some areas where research in developmental communication seem to be most needed.

The Concept of Strategy

Traditionally, the term strategy* has been used in relation to actions of war. As such, it refers essentially to the planning of military operations, to the design of methodology for combat.

More recently, the application of strategy has been extended to many other kinds of human action. This is appropriate since belligerent activities are certainly not the only type of human performances that require plans.

In fact, all rational behavior can be thought of as characterized by the presence of some measure of anticipation of the future. Rational man makes a decision before he takes an action. Once he knows what he wants to do and where he wants to go, he evaluates the alternative courses of action available to him, sizing them up by their "pro" and "con" characteristics in terms of probable effectiveness, cost, etc.

*It comes from stratos, the Greek word for army.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100

He then chooses to follow one course. He selects, that is, some means to reach some ends.

Therefore, a strategy is a behavioral plan which involves decisions to attain given goals through specific instrumental actions.

The decisions refer to what is to be done by whom, when, where, how, and what for.

The actions involve the utilization of power, energy, and resources in ways and proportions corresponding to the magnitude of the specified objectives.

The phenomenon of human strategic behavior can, thus, be perceived as opposite to the phenomenon of improvised or instinctive behavior. Depending upon circumstances, these kinds of behaviors can co-exist, of course, in rational persons. In principle, however, strategic conduct is what predominates in them. Thought--no matter how minimal or rapid--is what presides their motions. Decision-making, that is, constitutes for them the pre-requisite for action-taking.

Strategic Communication Behavior

The process of making decisions about communication strategies can be perceived as antecedent to the process of communication. Communication plans precede communication acts. But this decision-making process can also be perceived as consequent to that communication process. The fate of the transmitted message--and thus of the effects the source intends to achieve on the target audience--is ultimately dependent upon decisions on the part of the receiver. The relationships between these processes are pictured in Figure 9 and will be subsequently described in brief.

DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

COMMUNICATION PROCESS

DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

active strategy

passive strategy

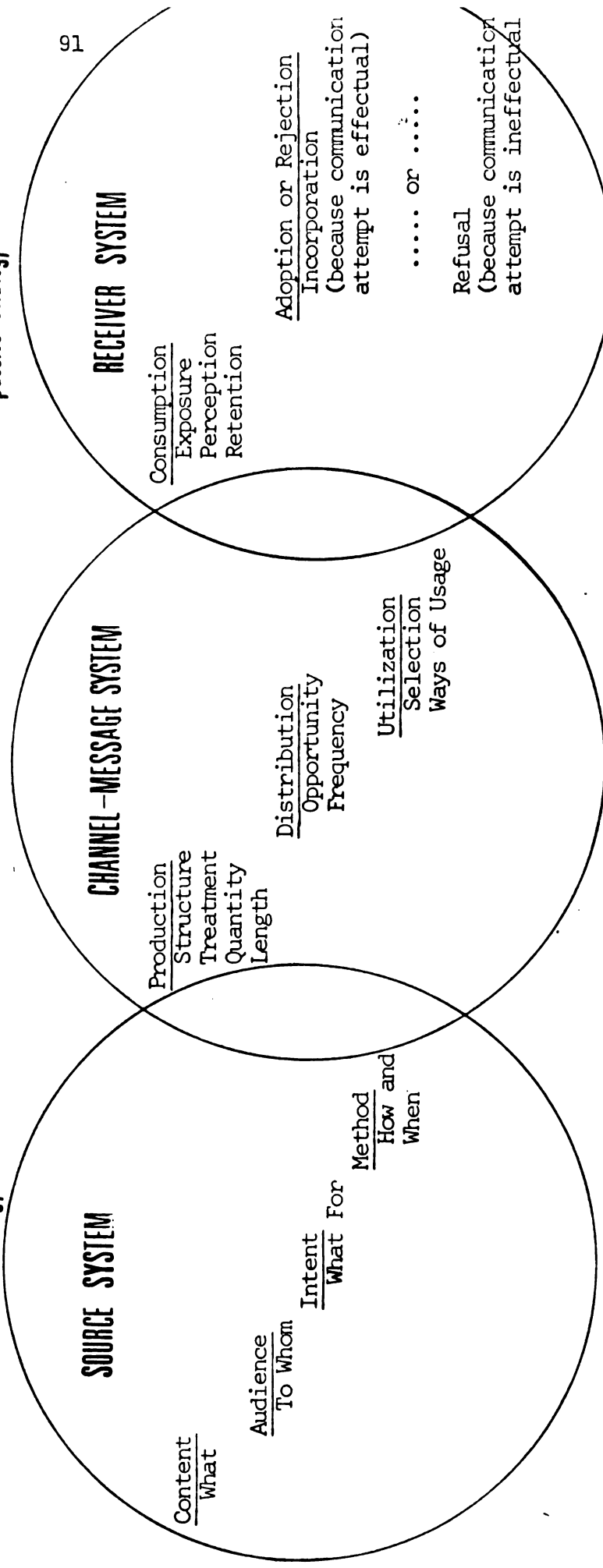


Fig. 9.--Relationships of the communication process with the decision-making processes (about communication behavior) occurring in the source and in the receiver, before and after, respectively, that communication process.

In fact, the process of strategy-generation in communication can be said to involve two systems: the source-system and the receiver-system.*

In addition to the source and receiver systems, the process of communication involves the message-channel system.

The process of communication can be perceived as occurring, in time, between the occurrence of the decision-making process in the source-system and the occurrence of the decision-making process in the receiver-system.

The decision-making process in the source-system leads to source functions of message production, distribution, and evaluation in the communication process. The source makes decisions on what to communicate to whom and what for. These are decisions on content, audience and intent. Subsequently, the source decides how and when to communicate. These are decisions on method and are those which characteristically constitute the heart of the communication strategy. The methodological decisions involve message-production aspects--such as structure, treatment, quantity, length, etc. They also involve message-distribution and utilization aspects--such as opportunity and frequency and, of course, aspects of selection and of ways of usage of the available channels. Finally, they include--though not always--aspects of message evaluation, such as provisions for measuring the impact of the communication.

*Just as it is logical to conceive of the source as capable of involving himself in a decision-making process for the active strategy of communicating (attempting to persuade), it is possible to conceive of the receiver as able to use a decision-making process for the passive strategy of being communicated (persuaded or not persuaded).

The communication process starts when the source attempts to implement the strategies he has decided upon.

The decision-making process in the receiver-system is typified by a function of selective message-consumption and by functions of either adoption or rejection of the message's behavioral proposition. The decisions pertaining to consumption involve aspects of exposure (including attention), perception (interpretation), and retention of the message. Subsequently to them, the receiver decides either to incorporate* the propositions to his behavioral repertoire or to refuse them access to it. It is this terminal element of the receiver's will what shall--in final analysis--make effectual or render ineffectual the source's communication attempt.

The source and receiver decision-making processes are perceived here as affecting the communication process. What the communicator decides prior to attempting to communicate should determine, in part, how does he actually come to communicate. The success or failure of that communication act should also be determined, in part, by what the communiquee decides in relation to the message he received.

On the other hand, the communication process should affect the decision-making processes. The adjustments that sources do in their messages, as a consequence of feedback from the receivers, can be taken as one indicator of that influence.

*This incorporation may or may not be permanent. According to Kelman (1961), lasting incorporation would imply a process of internalization. Major antecedent conditions for it will be the congruence of the induced behavior with the receiver's value system, and the credibility of the source.

Communication research has dealt rather exclusively with variables in the communication process itself.* It has not dealt with the nature of the strategy decision-making processes that are perceived here as leading and following that communication process.** Nor has it dealt with the interactive relationship suggested above as likely to exist between these two kinds of processes.

Systematic study of that process and empirical verification of such relationship would be beneficial for the communication activity in general. In particular, however, they would be very useful for improving the strategies of communication for national development.

Development Strategy, Communication Strategy, and Their Relationship

Development strategy is the set of general teleological and methodological decisions that form the basis for the total programming and the overall organization of changes in society towards the attainment of a given state of modernity.

Communication strategy is a set of decisions on what is to be communicated to whom, when, what for, and how.

Developmental communication strategy is, therefore, a set of decisions for communication behavior which are formulated as a direct derivation of a development strategy and in particular service to it.

* To our knowledge, researchers have mostly worked with message and channel factors and with receiver or audience variables, particularly in terms of the effects of the former on the latter. Research specifically addressed to studying channel combinations is far from being well developed yet. Research on source and on receiver variables pertinent to strategic decision-making behavior seems yet unexisting.

** One reason for this may be the fact that these processes are obviously not amenable to direct observation, although the results are.

Theoretically, the relationship between development strategy and the communication strategy designed to serve it, appears to be very strong.

Thus, separating them is only a conceptual artifact to facilitate analysis.

On the one hand, there can be no society if there is no communication. Thus, the process of societal development can occur only through the process of communication.* Consequently, designing a strategy to develop a country should imply, automatically, designing a concurrent strategy to communicate towards that end. Indeed, no sensible development strategy can exclude concomitant communication provisions. As Schramm (1967, p. 31) puts it:

. . . After the basic economic and political questions are decided--after a country decided how fast it wants to move, and what kind of national pattern it wants to develop toward--then it faces a series of ongoing strategic decisions directly on communication use.

On the other hand, a communication strategy designed to serve a strategy of development is meaningful only if it fits the prescriptions and attends the needs of that development strategy. Indeed, no sensible communication strategy for development can be formulated in isolation from the general strategy that governs that development. As Davison and George (1961, pp. 437-438) point out:

In the absence of a clear national policy on any given issue, the communicator is in the position of a swimmer treading water just to keep from going under; he is unable to strike out in any direction.

* Development by force is not impossible but, even in that case, communication is present in the process at the very least in the transmission of the behavioral commands that precede force-application or accompany it.

In sum, any strategy of development should involve a concurrent and subordinate strategy of communication.

That is, in a sense, equally valid for any society regardless of the level of development at which it might be, of the goals it may have, and of the pace it may have set for its modernization. The notion, however, has a stronger applicability to the least advanced countries since they have the urge of achieving maximum development with minimum delay. Lerner (1967, p. 316) says of them:

They want to "catch-up" fast. Hence they need, first of all, a theory of economic development that clarifies what they want to catch up with. Then, immediately after, they need a communication policy that shows how to catch up with what they want.

Communication strategy, as it has been defined in this thesis, is a set of decisions on what is to be communicated to whom, when, what for, and how. Except for the "how," in the case of communication for national development, none of those decisions are made by communication specialists. They are taken by policy-makers under the inspiration of subject-matter authorities and with the guidance of development strategists.

Those political, technical, and planning officers appraise the situation, set the courses of action, and fix the priorities. Only then, as Figure 10 shows, are communication professionals called in--if they are--to aid in converting resolutions into operations, messages into behaviors, intents into effects, and plans into results.

In a strict sense, therefore, communication for development has no strategy of its own.

An example is convenient to illustrate the situation. Say a government decides to increase the country's production of wheat up to a given percentage in a certain period of time.

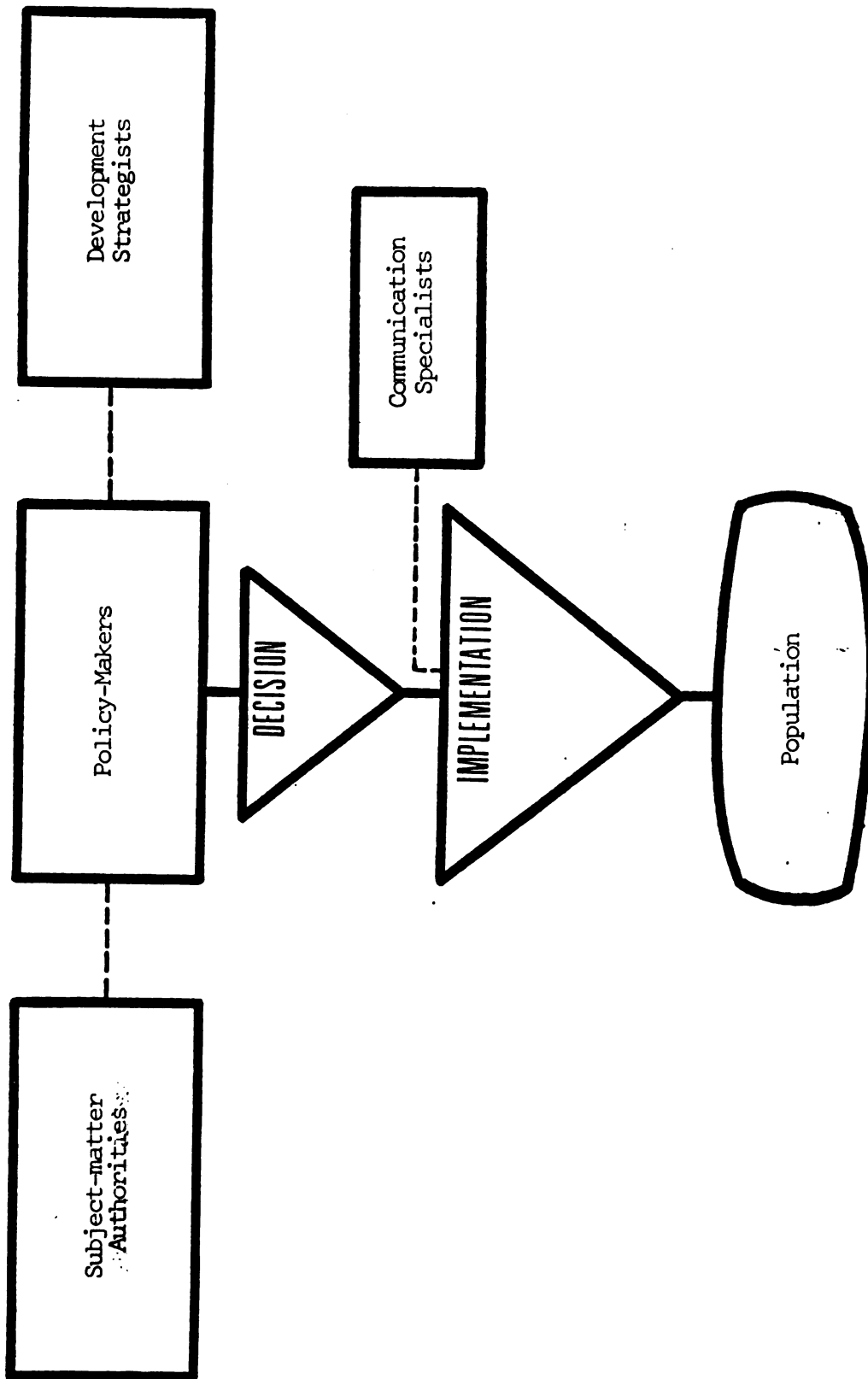


Fig. 10.--Representation of the precedence of the general development strategy over the development mental communication strategy which is subsidiary to it.

That is a technical and economic decision that forms part of the overall national strategy of development. It is made by the leading political officers (policy-makers) following recommendations from the agricultural experts and the economics specialists (subject-matter authorities) and with the concurrence of the general planning experts (development strategists).

The decision is passed down for action, among other sectors of the bureaucracy, to the county agricultural extension agents (field operators). It is their job to implement the strategy by communicating directly with the farmers (the rural segment of the population) in order to (a) persuade them to produce more wheat, (b) teach them how to do so, and (c) help them obtain the material aid and the financial assistance they might require to meet the goal.

Ideally, those technicians should--in addition to mastering the content of the messages they are to transmit for implementing the strategy--be also competent in the engineering of human behavior. In practice, however, this is rarely ever the case since their college training provides them with knowledge on plants, soils, water, and animals but not with knowledge on how to influence human conduct.

It is at that breaking point of the endeavor that the knowledge and skills of communication specialists are critical to help accomplish the mission.

Those specialists can assist the field agents in becoming effective persuaders and competent teachers. They can teach them procedures and provide them tools. And they can further support the agents' efforts of interpersonal communication by using impersonal channels also and by combining the two of them.

At that level of operation, it is legitimate to talk of communication strategies as such.

In fact, those communication specialists will have to make, and help the agents make, numerous specific--even minute--decisions on how to communicate.

Those decisions will depend considerably upon the source's intentions and upon the different characteristics of the audience, as it is stressed by Figure 11.

Some of the decisions will refer to the messages: their structure, form, style, motivation, length, frequency, etc.

Other decisions--closely tied to the former ones--will be pertinent to the channels: which means of transmission are more productive for what; which sensorial mechanisms are to be predominantly affected; what type of contacts (individual, group, mass) are most desirable for which specific purposes and which particular sub-audiences; etc.

All those decisions, which are obviously neither agricultural nor economic in nature, will determine--partially but largely--the success or failure of the technical and economic strategy of growing more wheat.

That influencing power has been stressed by several analysts of development. Pye (1963, p. 9), for instance, said:

At both the domestic and the international levels, the process of modernization depends upon people receiving new messages, new pictures and images of what life can be, and learning new responses to new stimuli.

Thus, the choosing of given methodological alternatives to accomplish a developmental objective does amount, in fact, to strategy-making. But these communication decisions are merely instrumental to

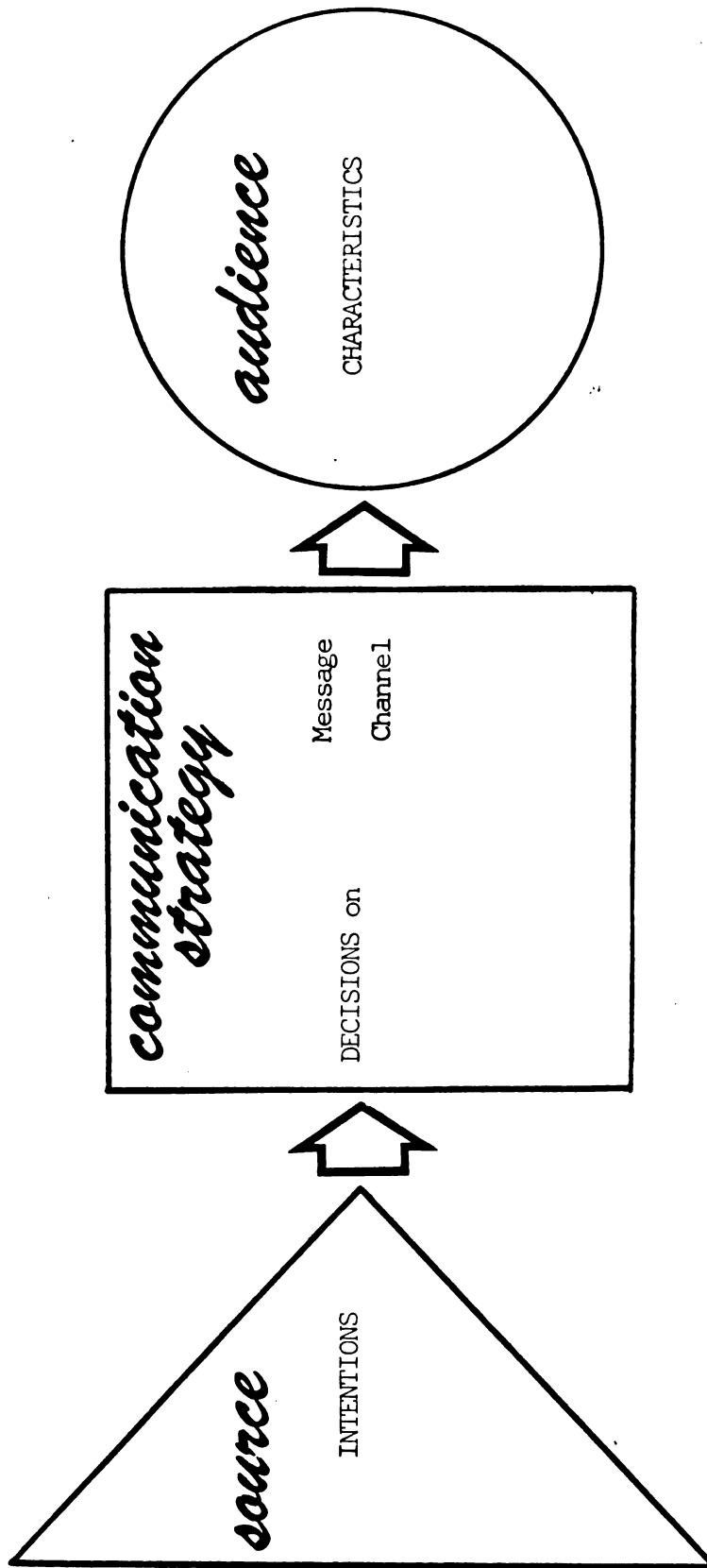


Fig. 11.--Simplified representation of elements in the process of formulating developmental communication strategies.

the prior and specific development strategy in point. Furthermore, they are subsidiary to the general developmental policy that the main organs of government--not the communicators--have set for the country as a whole.

However, the fact that developmental communication strategies are subservient of national development strategies does not make the former insignificant in comparison to the latter. "Or is the importance of a man's feet ruled out by the importance of his head?

Even more, while communication is possible without a tie to development, development is impossible without communication.

Therefore, the fact that communication serves development in an instrumental capacity cannot be looked upon with disdain.

Before development action is able to start, communication has got to be already in the scene providing situational data to plan that action.

Throughout the unfolding of the developmental action, communication is ever-present.

After the action has been performed, communication is still on the job; it gauges the accomplishments and deficiencies and puts the information on the planners' desks so that they can re-appraise the situation, readjust the strategy, and start again the action.

As Figure 12 emphasizes, that is a continuous and spiraling process.

Far from being secondary, then, the formulation of communication strategies for national development constitutes a crucial task for that development.

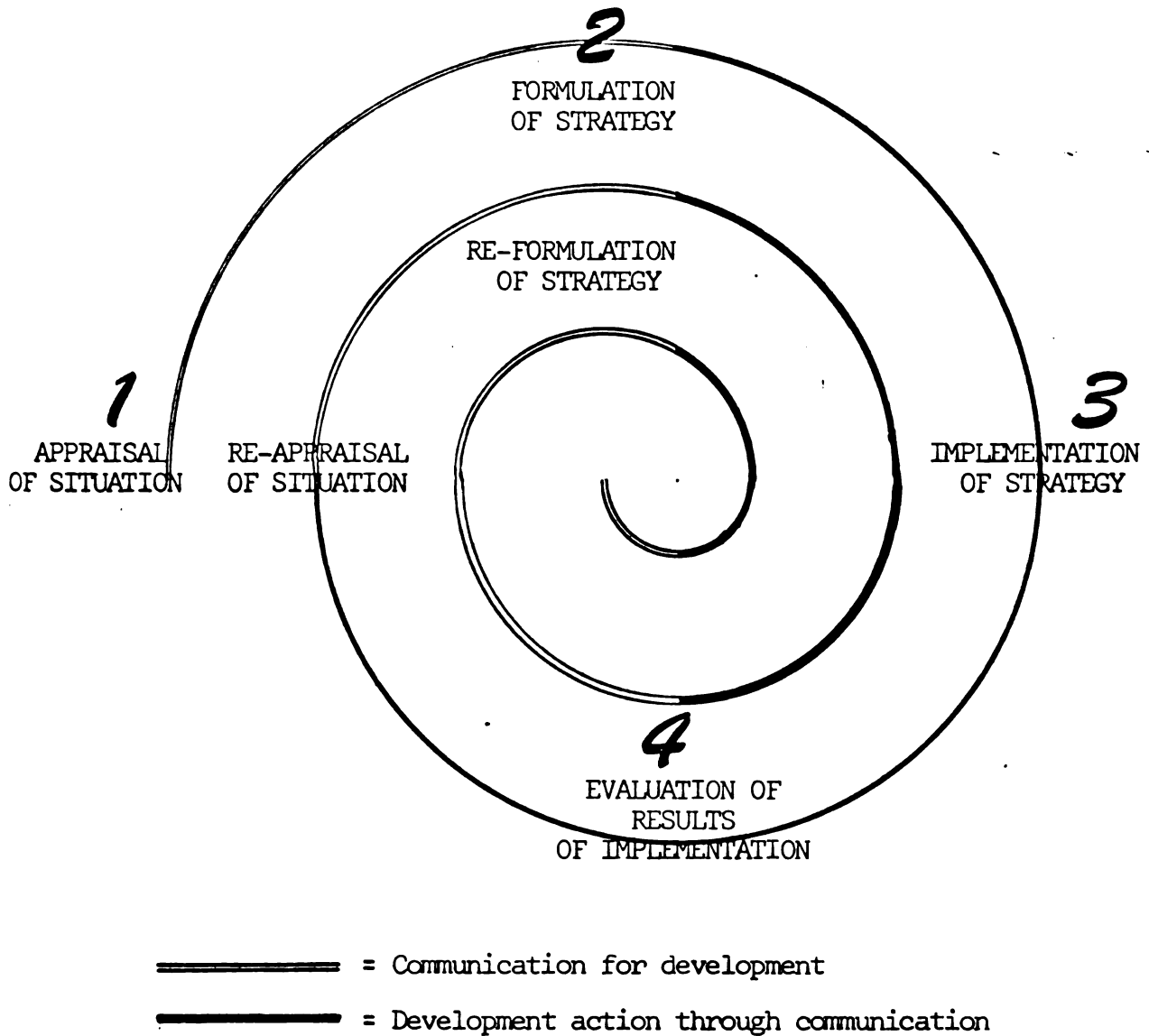


Fig. 12.--Constant presence of communication throughout the continuous process of planning, implementing, and evaluating national development efforts.

The formulation of such strategies is nothing of an exclusive attribute of communication professionals. Public officials, government technicians, and community leaders formulate—even if only in an informal way and at simple level—a number of developmental communication strategies. That they may not necessarily do it well constitutes a different matter. Usually, in fact, only a few of them are likely to do it well.

That is natural because talking cannot be equated with being understood, and to be understandable is not the same as being able to persuade. The fact that one person can speak or write to another person who can hear, see, and read does not guarantee, by itself, that successful communication will occur between them.

To be effective and efficient, communication—in policy and in procedure—demands complex skills with which people are neither born nor somehow magically endowed. Even when people master those skills, the multiplicity of factors that may impinge negatively on communication attempts is such that to achieve full and genuine communication is, in a way, almost a feat.

In consequence, some people specialize themselves in communication. And it is the task, then, of those professional communicators to help all other people to communicate successfully in order to achieve development.

Those facts, unfortunately, are hardly ever realized by the governments of the developing countries.

The Lack of Awareness of Communication's Problems and Potentialities

To decide what to do in order to develop is of little consequence

unless it is also decided how it is to be done. And, as it has been shown here, a fundamental part of that "how" is communication.

Every time a government makes a decision on development strategy, it must be stressed, a parallel decision on communication strategy should be made too.

The general strategy cannot afford to ignore the particular strategy that forms its very main operational support and instrument. It would be like having a gun but no bullets.

The particular strategy cannot afford to exist independently of the general strategy that gives it its reason for existing. It would be like having the bullets but not the gun.

Sadly enough, only very few of the developing States seem to be properly aware of this reality.

The majority of those countries have communication systems that are totally inadequate to serve their ambitious development plans.

Many of the countries that have relatively satisfactory communication systems operate them with considerable disregard of their development needs and aims.

Pye (1963, p. 231) noted:

Governments in transitional societies generally do not have complete strategies for the roles of communication in political development. Nor do they generally have a sensitive understanding of the full potentialities of communications in building coherent politics.

What Pye observed in the case of political development is equally applicable to all other aspects of national development. It would seem those governments think communication is there, somehow automatically, ready to serve and unwilling to charge. Presumably, all that is needed to generate new, diverse, and complex behaviors in millions of persons

is the weight of economic outlays and technological inputs.

The leaders of a few of the developing countries are conscious of the importance of communication in the modernization of their societies. Yet they perceive that importance almost exclusively in terms of the mobilization of massive political support and of the establishment of national unity. These are plausible objectives but they certainly are not the only ones of development. There is far more, indeed, for communication to do before overall modernization can occur.

A yet smaller number of leaders is already aware of that fact. They would want to see across-the-board communication improvement in the service of all major needs of development programs. Their countries, however, lack so much in staff, resources, equipment, and facilities of communication that the good intention is quickly forgotten.

As Dube (1967) pointed out, the communication policy of the developing countries, if and when it formally exists as such, is "time-bound" and "target-oriented." Their approach, that is, appears short in projection and narrow in scope; it serves only immediate and limited purposes and does not have an overall, integrated, vision of the task ahead. Thus it contributes only minimally to building the "social and psychological infrastructures of modernization."

At times, the problem is somehow inverse. Some governments attribute so much power to the modern mass media that they feel such channels can do, almost by themselves, all that needs to be done to achieve development.

Frustration soon follows such unrealistic expectations. Other times, some governments use mass media for the sole purpose of attempting to indoctrinate the entire population of their countries with a

single doctrine; and others yet, virtually seek to rule by propaganda. (Pye, 1963) This may result in political domination but it will not, by itself, lead to general development.

There are, then, many misconceptions about the significance of communication and about its roles in development. But they may be attributed more to insufficient and defective knowledge than to a conscious will to ignore that significance and to distort those roles.

Often, in fact, political speeches grant importance to the need for educating and organizing the masses towards modernity. Similarly, technological plans advocate in favor of the diffusion of innovations. Actually, no one opposes communication improvement.

Yet, when it comes to taking concrete action, nobody either appears committed to allocating resources to build a communication mechanism commensurate with the necessities of the national development program.

An Exception: The Communist Countries

From the start of the revolutionary Russian state to the emergence of China's "people's democracy," Communists have attributed a high level of importance to communication in the process of nation-building.

That recognition was built in, from the very inception of the U.S.S.R., into the overall national policy. Lenin, in deciding "what is to be done," already included communication as a fundamental tool in Communism's development kit. He exhorted his followers to "go to all classes of the population" and specified their roles as that of "theoreticians, propagandists, agitators, and organizers." As the world has learned thereafter, the exhortation was not in vain.

Political philosophy and communication theory are so intimately related in the Communist doctrine that it is not easy to distinguish one from the other. Consequently, development policy and communication strategy are also inseparable in practice. Communication is not something just left to somehow happen in the modernization of Communist states. It is something that is purposefully organized and operated to make that modernization possible and rapid.

Communication media are not used by the Communists only as propaganda and information channels. They use them also as institutions capable of facilitating social organization, intensifying collective interaction, and bringing about—with amazing relative speed—social cohesiveness and national unity.

A central feature of that approach is the systematic linking of mass channels with group channels, of impersonal communication with interpersonal communication.

By doing that to a high degree, Communists are able to (1) overcome or, at least, alleviate considerably the State's limitations to build and run a modern overall communication system comparable to that of the most advanced non-Communist societies; (2) compensate for the intrinsic limitations in the capability of mass media to modify entrenched attitudes; (3) involve virtually everybody in the tasks of national development; and (4) greatly expand the government's ability to impart behavioral prescriptions to the citizens, to check the fulfillment of those prescriptions, and to get feedback from the people.

But Communists expect from communication institutions not only to help them change some attitudes in people or to generate in individuals, from time to time, specific behaviors.

They also demand from communication the competence to no less than transforming the entire personality of men.

It is true that the transformation may be directed, in Communist countries, towards "creating" a new type of man fully--and often dogmatically--convinced of the superiority of the socialist doctrine and cause, as well as totally obedient to the State.

But that does not mean that such characterological change cannot be directed, rather, to non-ideological goals. For instance, instead of persuading a farmer to change one day an agricultural practice and to give up, another day, an inconvenient habit or belief, communication institutions could perhaps influence that farmer to become generally and permanently innovative or they could, at least, instill that trait in the children of the new generations.

That is to say that the persuading energy would not be addressed to producing single and mostly minor behavioral modifications.

It would be aimed at the ambitious objective of reforming man's psyche as a whole, in the direction of a self-winding willingness to change and of a constant urge for modernization.

In their eagerness to achieve characterological change, Communists have not hesitated to recourse at times to psychological torture; dislocation of the individual's social context; public and organized social pressure for "confession, repentance, and regeneration"; and even physical violence.

Perhaps, however, characterological changes in people--at least partial ones--can be attained by ethical and non-violent methods.*

*McClelland's experiments in raising, through special training techniques, the levels of achievement motivation of entrepreneurs constitute a significant indication of this possibility.

If so, all countries--regardless of their ideologies--may some day count on a new and most powerful tool for their modernization and growth.

Mao-Tse-Tung has carried the Russian's prescriptions on the use of communication for development far beyond the point the Soviets themselves had envisioned. As Liu (1966) notes:

Perhaps no emergent nation except Communist China has integrated so thoroughly the development of a mass media system with national industrialization and modernization. In Communist China the governmental investment in audio-visual media--radio and film--is even higher than in other media

It is to the effects of such integration that, in no small measure, the impressive speed with which Red China is moving from "traditional" to "transitional" can be attributed.

From the gross characters of the rudimentary "Tatzepao" (hand-made verbal poster) to the refined and frightening psychosocial manipulations of "Tou Cheng" (thought reform through public criticism and self-criticism), Red China has established itself--in no more than twenty years--as a dramatic demonstration of what communication can do to help generate modernization on a massive scale.

The fact that it is not unusual for Communists to use coercion along with persuasion is condemnable. When force is removed from the picture, however, the virtues of their communication system still stand high on their own. They are, of course, greatly aided by the fact that there exists, along with the bureaucratic organization, an organization of "mass associations"--workers' unions, youth leagues, farmers' federations, etc.--presided by a nation-scale party that commands thousands of trained cadres and voluntary activists. These group-communication institutions are tightly coordinated with the mass media institutions.

In sum, the Red Chinese have been able to put communication to work as a major direct antecedent of modernization.

In doing so, though their communication system is certainly not perfect,* they have far excelled all non-Communist developing countries of the world. Some of the reasons for it are:

1. Red China does not wait for communication improvement to occur as a consequence of national development. It stands to make communication work to bring about that development. It organizes it and assigns to it top priority and commensurate resources.
2. Organs specialized in communication exist at the highest level of policy-making both in the administration and in the party. Communication strategists share top-command positions with politicians and technocrats.
3. Combinations of mass media with interpersonal communications are given a high priority, so as to enhance the total information power and overcome illiteracy and other barriers impeding truly national interaction for growth.
4. Traditional modes of communication are imaginatively adapted to serve the aims of modernization.
5. Development is not only the government's concern. It is the people's business. Thus communication for development is everybody's duty.

*For instance, the recent crisis of the "great cultural proletarian revolution" which revealed a deep power conflict, is taken by some analysts as an indication that the Red Chinese mass persuasion and mobilization system has not been totally able to secure national unity and absolute compliance with the present rulers of the country.

Some of the main features that characterize Red Chinese communication strategies are the following:

1. Along with channel multiplicity to enhance chances of exposure, message pervasiveness is almost obsessively pursued so as to secure re-exposure up to a point close to saturation.
2. Exposure alone--no matter through how many channels or how frequently repeated--is not enough. A high message intensity has to accompany it, so as to put depth on top of volume. The ever-present "campaigns" are the outstanding illustration of the premise.
3. Multiple, frequent, and intense communication is hardly meaningful unless it is able to lead to the specific terminal behaviors intended. Therefore, public commitment and consequent implementing action are pursued frontally.

These and other strategy elements are, of course, a part of the arsenal of several professional communicators in non-Communist societies. But they have not used them either in the scale or at the level of effectiveness that the Red Chinese persuaders have. Thus, non-Communists have something to learn from Communists on matters of developmental communication.

Communication Development as a Launcher of National Development

The vital instrumentality of communication for development is demonstrable as the Red Chinese case so clearly indicates.

Yet the analysis of the situation in most of the other developing

countries points, discouragingly enough, to a dead-end alley. Because the countries are underdeveloped they have underdeveloped communication systems. And, since their communication systems are not developed, they cannot contribute as much as they should to the general development of those countries.

The problem, then, revolves around a seemingly endless vicious circle.

India, for instance, is a country clearly resolved to overcome underdevelopment. Its government, furthermore, is conscious of the need for improving the communication system as requisite for achieving development. In fact, India is one of the countries where successful attempts have been conducted at organizing combinations of mass media with interpersonal communication in order to widen the national network of communication i.e., the rural radio forums. The country's master development plan did include communication's development at an appreciable level of priority. But just how much money has India, actually, put into that kind of development?

In practice, as Pool (1963) has demonstrated, the priority assigned by India to the development of broadcasting facilities has been a very low one. Expenditures for that concept represented as little as one tenth of one percent of the total national budget. Why so? Because money had to be used in many other developmental projects. It could not be "spared," that is, in communication operations.

That amounts to the paradox of saying: "We are short of money. Thus we cannot afford to spend much of it in persuading, mobilizing, and educating people. We have to use the money for . . . development!"

The Indian case is not an isolated exception. To start with, almost no developing country formally includes communication's development in its overall development strategy. Their budgets allot funds only for postal services, non-public radiophonic systems, and telegraphic installations. They also include, scattered throughout the organs of the national administration, meager funds for producing information materials, mostly printed ones and mostly of a propaganda type.

But there is, usually neither the mention in the plans nor the money in the budgets for specifically organizing human social communication for development. And where some money, if any at all, is appropriated for that purpose, the resulting expenditures are placed exclusively on the "consumption" side of the ledger. Expenditure in massive education and promotion is thus, implicitly at least, not regarded as a profitable investment for modernization.

Some economists themselves disagree with that criterion. For instance, Galbraith (1964, p. 31) asserts:

In fact, education is of high importance as an object of immediate consumption and also as a form of investment for future production. It is neither consumption nor investment alone, but both.^{*} To look at education as a form of consumption, given the importance that the development country attaches to investment, is to risk assigning it an unduly low priority.

Galbraith notes that some of the emerging states have virtually done so. Yet, as he points out, some studies--such as those of Theodore Schultz, another economist--have shown that a dollar invested in the intellectual advancement of human beings will produce, frequently, a

^{*}Italics are those of Galbraith.

greater increase in national income than a dollar devoted to dams, railways, or other tangible capital goods.

Indeed, it is people who have to develop first if their country is to become developed. It is the millions of human beings who have to be induced--through organized and efficient communication--to change their feelings, thoughts, and behaviors, so that--in turn--they alter productively their environment. And changing man--modifying his psychological universe and transforming his social circumstance--is a far more difficult and delicate endeavor than changing the course of rivers, the composition of soils, and the performances of plants and animals.

Therefore, the reorganization of the institutions that facilitate human interaction, of the processes that induce transformation, and of the mechanisms that generate societal mobilization cannot be left to passively wait until somehow some measure of general development is attained.

In other words, communication must do much in favor of development before development can do something for communication.

It is evident that, for the most part, developed nations have developed communications and underdeveloped countries have underdeveloped communications.

But the correlation should not serve to preach a gospel of resignation. Only the developed nations can afford to rest contented.

The underdeveloped countries must seek to alter somehow the nature of that interaction. They must start by developing--through an especially intense effort--their communication system up to a point that makes possible the occurrence of heightened general national development.

Once such a launching point has been reached—and this will of course vary with the country—communication development will not require to be pushed ahead at the same original intensity; it may, for awhile, remain relatively stationary but still productive. Its level of growth would, conceivably, soon be paralleled by that of general national development. Furthermore, if communication development has been properly conducted, the level of general development should thereafter exceed it. In turn, however, increased general development should later provide the basis for communication development to catch up with it. From that point on, they should be able to grow hand in hand. In the end—once a satisfactory stage of self-propelled growth towards modernity has been achieved by the country—communication development and general development should become stably parallel and increase simultaneously by stimulating one another.* Figure 13 pictures this combined alternative strategy.

The proposition is not being made here that governments stop all their general development projects and put their entire energy and resources, even if only for a short while, in developing the communication systems of their countries. Obviously, even if such a thing was feasible, it would be undesirable as it would not, by itself, bring about modernization.

*For instance, in line with a study by Cutright (1963), Spain could be considered an example of a country that seems to be approximating such a point of parallelism. For a number of years, communication development kept increasing in that country while general development lagged behind and political development remained stationary. Recently, there has been there some appreciable increase in the rate of economic growth and, presently, political development appears to be accelerating, probably in response to a tendency toward equilibrium among sectors in the modernization process. The rather high level of communication development can be identified as one of the prime explanations for those increases in the political and economic sectors.

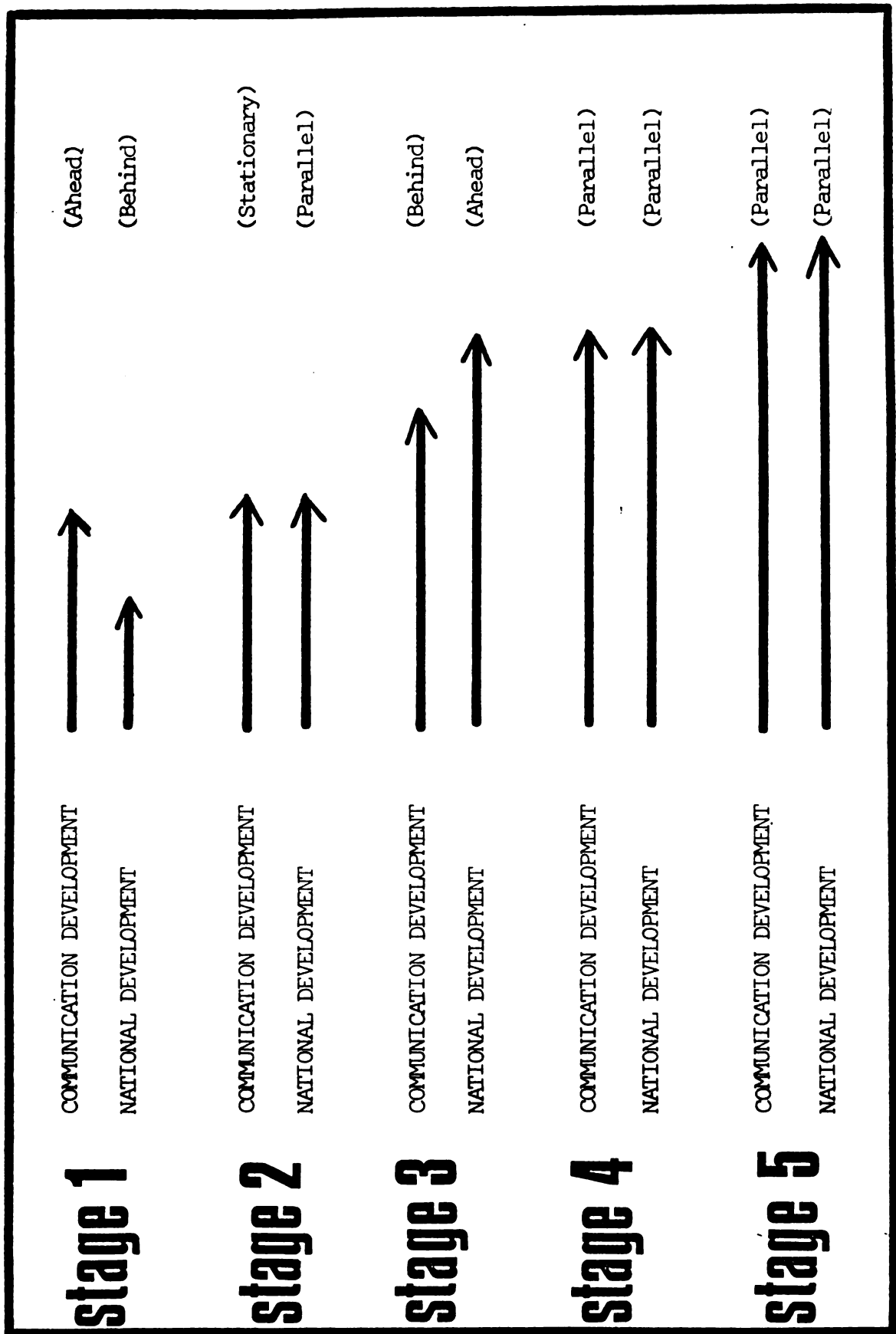


Fig. 13.--Description of national development as stimulated by a specially high increase in the development of communication, which in turn should be stimulated by the heightened level of national development.

What is being proposed here is that--as a starter, up to a reasonable extent, and for a limited period of time--a significant proportion of a country's resources be applied to communication development. This would make possible the highly intensive effort needed to advance communication up to a level of growth slightly ahead of that of overall national development; just enough, that is, to make more viable and rapid that general development. (See Figure 14.)

The effort, thus, would not be made for the sake of communication's improvement as such but for the sake of a facilitating the modernization of a country. It would be a device to break the vicious circle mentioned before, a recourse to give communication the opportunity to display its full potential as one of the most important antecedents of national development.

Modernization is no magic happening. Development is that what people do to grow as a true and vital nation. And there is mighty little that people can do without communicating effectively and efficiently.

Indeed, social communication is to development what chemical fuel is to an outer-space vehicle. It is most needed to thrust it toward its goal. But, once it has helped launch it, the need for the fuel diminishes as the vehicle becomes able to run on its own and to generate by itself, if needed, additional energy for its movement.

Recommendations for Action

Assuming that a country decides to conduct some such highly intensive effort to develop its communication system towards accelerating its general modernization, how should it go about it?

There are no single and simple answers to the question. Each

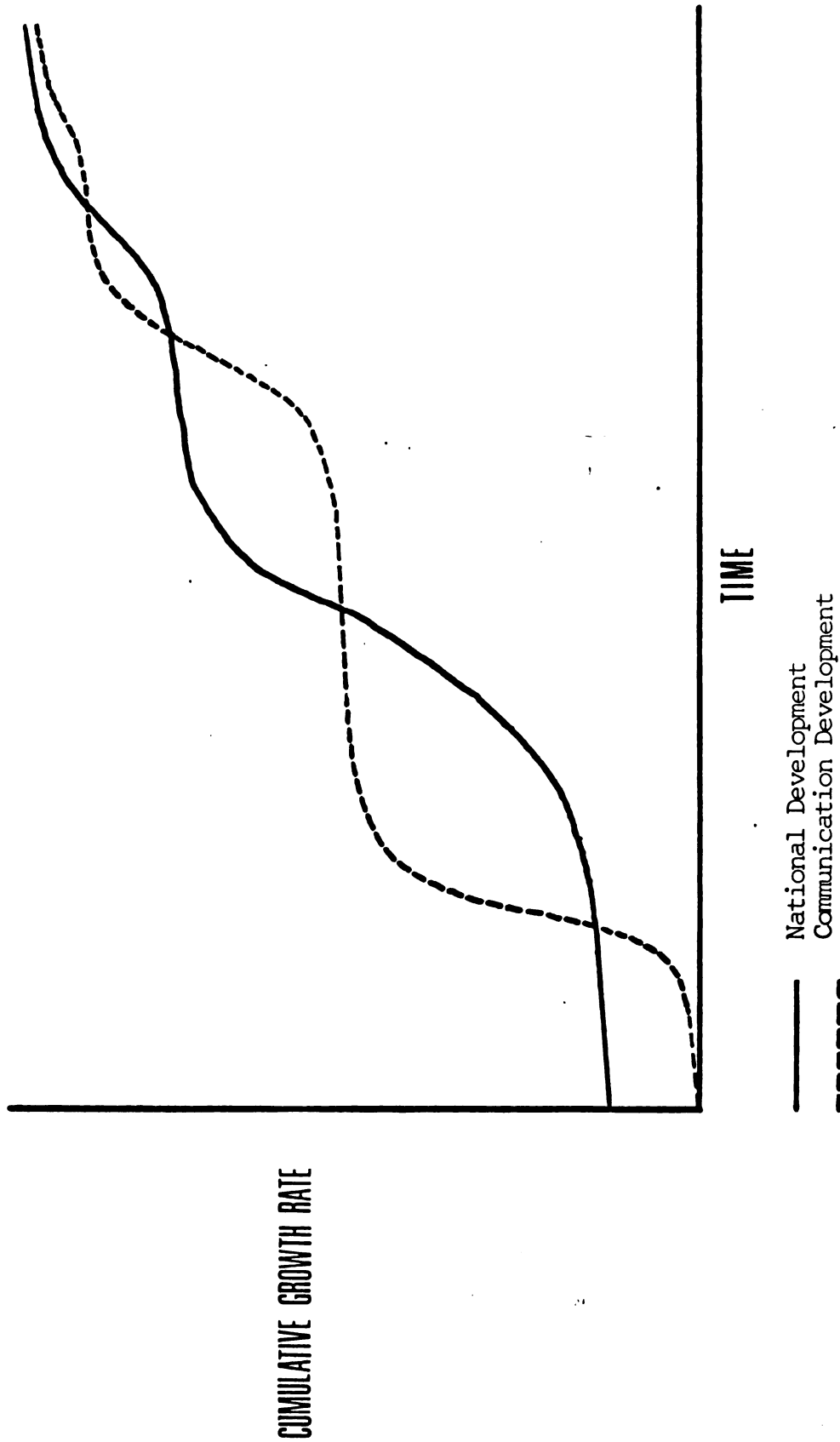


Fig. 14.---Hypothetical cumulative growth curves of national development and of communication development as determined by an initially very high increase in communication development.

country would have to provide its own according to its intentions, resources, and limitations. A special plan would certainly be needed, in each case.

What is possible to do in this thesis is to briefly sketch out a few concrete--though general and tentative--suggestions as an initial reference for whichever government might happen to become interested in the experiment.

Condensed as a derivation of the discussions carried in the preceding pages, those recommendations for action are the following:

1. The development of nations demands the development of communications. Thus, the general strategy of modernization must include the particular communication strategy that is subsidiary but crucially instrumental to it.

Essentially this implies:

- a. Promoting awareness of the significance and roles of communication in development among key decision-makers: political leaders, planning specialists, technical implementers, and administrative and financial officers.
- b. Incorporating communication provisions to the overall policies and plans for national development, along with giving communication strategists an opportunity to contribute to top-level decision-making on modernization.
- c. Allocating--as an investment more than as a consumption proposition--specific funds for communication development in a scale that realistically corresponds to the magnitude and urgency of the general development projects.

2. Temporarily intensified communication development can act as a powerful facilitator and accelerator of overall modernization and, as such, it deserves a high priority until it has substantially helped to mobilize a country towards its sustained growth.

Essentially, this implies:

- a. Ameliorating the communication mechanisms and raising the communication standards within the government, among the people, from the government to the people, and from the people to the government.
- b. Improving and expanding whatever communication institutions exist--mass media, interpersonal, and combined--and establishing, wherever needed, new and more efficient ones both through government action and by private initiative.
- c. Making a special effort to modernize and vitalize communication for rural development since, in most developing countries, the economy is chiefly agricultural and the majority of the population lives in the farm areas.

3. Adequate policy and financial support are necessary but not sufficient conditions to generate communication's development. Thus a prompt and sizable effort is required to indoctrinate and capacitate those people who are to be assigned the responsibility of transforming the communication regime of an emerging state.

Essentially, this implies:

- a. Training people--both in government and in private institutions, and at different levels--in the art and science of engineering innovative human behavior through persuasive communication.

- b. Investigating--before, during, and after modernization actions take place--what factors in the source, the message, the channel, and the receiver in the communication process are most critical to the development process.
- c. Producing and distributing visual, oral, and written materials adjusted to the different audiences and the diverse objectives involved in the developmental work, and chiefly designed to buttress the effort and impact of the field change agents.

Communication specialists may wholeheartedly subscribe to notions as those just sketched. But they are not the ones able to turn them into consequent actions.

It is up to the statesmen themselves--the men endowed with the power to set the course of nations--to decide whether or not they want to make communication the main springboard of modernization.

Voting for one or the other may mean the difference between achieving the dream of modernity or languishing in the despair of stagnation.

Suggestions for Research

Research on communication for development is at its infancy.

That is not surprising since research on general communication is itself probably no more than a quarter of a century old.

Nevertheless, significant advances have been done in both areas in the last ten years or so.

On the one hand, general communication research has accumulated

a considerable volume of findings on certain fields of inquiry.

On the other hand, research on developmental communication has been started and some of it is taking place in the developing countries themselves.

Two tasks are now urgent.

One is to define to which degree the findings of general communication research--mostly conducted in the United States of America--are (1) useful in relation to development situations, and (2) cross culturally applicable.

The other task is to increase, systematize, and coordinate research on developmental communication, looking--in the long run--for general principles of cross-cultural applicability and--in the short run--for differential generalizations resulting from variations in cultural circumstances.

The intensification of research on developmental communication requires to put together the theoretical proposition existing, for instance, about the roles of communication in modernization and about developmental communication strategies. They need to be structured and integrated so as to add up to a body of testable statements.

As a step in that direction, the propositions on communication's roles have been preliminarily compared and evaluated in this thesis.

The propositions on strategies--the few available through rather recent contributions of scholars such as Schramm, Lerner, Pool, and Pye--have not been reviewed in this thesis since they lie beyond the scope of it.

It must be kept in mind that the need exists not only to study the ways in which communication influences national development.

It is also necessary to understand which factors prevailing in societies undergoing modernization affect the functions and impact of developmental communication.

While all that articulatory and clarifying work takes place, developmental communication strategists must make as much use as possible of whatever empirically-based information already exists to light up their road.

Apparently, much of what can be useful for strategy formulation refers to message variables. Also, research has yielded certain types of information on channel variables, especially in reference to relative effectiveness of media and to mass media exposure.

A partial list of areas covered by those kinds of researches--the greater majority of which were not conducted in developing countries--includes the following:

1. The relationship between communication-induced cognitive dissonance (and cognitive balance) and attitude change.
2. The effects of order of presentation in persuasion.
3. The effects of one-sided versus two-sided messages.
4. The effects of implicit versus explicit conclusions in messages.
5. The influence of source credibility on the acceptance or rejection of messages.
6. The impact of psychological selectivity processes on exposure, interpretation, and retention of messages.
7. The effects of personality predispositions in the response to persuasive communication attempts.

8. The effects of group pressure and of social approval and disapproval on the response to persuasive communication attempts.
9. The effects of fear-appeal in communication.
10. The roles of "opinion leaders" and of "gatekeepers" in the diffusion of innovations and in the distribution of news.

Research on diffusion of innovations is one of the most active and productive areas of social investigation today. An important proportion of it is taking place in developing countries themselves. Much of its findings is of direct relevance for developmental communication strategy.*

It is apparent from the list that an appreciable volume of scientific information is already at the access of developmental communicators. Part of that information may have only a limited applicability to the situation of developing nations. But much of the data can be fruitfully used by many of them.

Yet, as pointed out before, it is indispensable to increase and expand research specifically directed to problems of communication in modernization. It is necessary to study concrete situations in specific developing countries in order to find, clearly and precisely, how can communication best serve development.

In fact, it is very little what those countries know about sources, messages, channels, receivers, and effects in the developmental

*For a comprehensive and interpretive summary of more than 500 studies in this area, see Rogers (1962).

communication process.

These are, briefly, some areas where research is clearly needed:

1. What are the attitudes of field change agents towards their communication responsibilities and how can their communication skills be improved.
2. What are the attitudes toward modernization on the part of the owners and staff of media institutions, and what is the nature of the communication decision-making processes of both.
3. What is the nature of the content of mass media messages in relation to the development activity. Are the press and the radio, for instance, contributing significantly to the occurrence of social change?
4. Which message and channel strategies are most effective to persuade which types of audiences in favor of the attainment of which specific developmental objectives.
5. In particular, which message strategies are likely to be most productive in persuading the most conservative sectors of the elites in power to yield in favor of change.
6. In particular, what combinations of mass media strategies with interpersonal communication strategies are likely to be of highest impact in modernization. For instance, research on rural radio forums has made a start but requires further systematization and rigor.
7. Which of the channel and message strategies successfully utilized in Communist regimes can be applied to democratic developing societies and which are the adaptations required to do so.

8. What can be done to improve the nature of indices of communication development beyond the level of census of physical facilities and of measures of simple audience's exposure to mass media.
9. How can traditional modes of communication, such as folkloric plays, popular songs, and puppet shows, can be adapted to serve the modernization efforts.
10. Which are the specific roles of mass media and of interpersonal channels in the attainment of characterological (personality) change in general behavior.
11. How do audience sectors actually differ in terms of "consumatory" versus "instrumental" consumption of messages.
12. What is the nature of the relationship between the developmental communication processes and the decision-making processes (in the source and in the receiver) that precede and follow, respectively, that communication process.

The more conceptual construction and empirical verification advance, the less remote should appear the possibility of arriving at a broad and fertile theory of developmental communication.

The closer that theory comes to existing, the less will communication for development be a game of guessing and risking, an enterprise of trial and error.

And the more developmental communication becomes a key activity supported by scientific knowledge, the greater will its impact be in helping millions of human beings, all over the world, to attain-- through modernity--the dignity, happiness, and prosperity they deserve.

#

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Almond, Gabriel A. and James S. Coleman, The Politics of the Developing Areas, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Ascroft, Joseph R., "A Factor Analytic Investigation of Modernization Among Kenya Villagers," M.A. thesis, East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Communication, 1966.
- _____, "The Web of Modernization: Interrelationships Among Conceptual Variables," in Everett M. Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, (In press), 1968.
- Bebermeyer, James P. and Everett M. Rogers, Mass Media and Interpersonal Communication in National Development, East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Communication, AID Diffusion Project Working Paper 16, 1966.
- Belshaw, H., "Some Social Aspects of Economic Development in Underdeveloped Areas," in L. W. Shannon, ed., Underdeveloped Areas, New York: Harper's, 1957.
- Berelson, Bernard and Gary Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964.
- Berlo David K., The Process of Communication, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.
- Black, C. E., The Dynamics of Modernization, New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
- Bowman, M. J., "Perspectives on Education and Development," International Development Review, 6, 3-7, 1964.
- Braibanti, Ralph and J. J. Spengler, eds., Tradition, Values, and Socio-Economic Development, Durham: Duke University Press, 1960.
- Brinton, Crane, The Anatomy of Revolution, New York: Vintage Books, 1957.
- Carter, Roy E., Jr., "Field Methods in Communication Research," in Ralph O. Nafziger, and David Manning White, eds., Introduction to Mass Communication Research, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958.
- Cochran, Thomas, "Cultural Factors in Economic Growth," Journal of Economic History, 20, 1960.

- Outright, Phillips, "National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis," American Sociological Review, 28, 253-264, April 1963.
- Davis, Kingsley, "Social and Demographic Aspects of Economic Development in India," in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler, eds., Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, Durham: Duke University Press, 1955.
- Davison, Phillips W., International Political Communication, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1965.
- Davison, Phillips W. and Alexander L. George, "An Outline for the Study of International Political Communication," in Wilbur Schramm, ed., The Process and Effects of Mass Communication, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1961.
- Deutsch, Karl W., "Social Mobilization and Political Development," American Political Science Review, 55, 493-514, September 1961.
- Deutschmann, Paul J., "The Mass Media in an Underdeveloped Village," Journalism Quarterly, 40, 27-35, Winter 1963.
- Deutschmann, Paul J. and John T. McNelly, "A Factor Analysis of Characteristics of Latin American Countries," a Paper prepared for submission to American Behavioral Scientist, San José, Costa Rica, 1962.
- Deutschmann, Paul J., John T. McNelly, and Huber Ellingsworth, "Mass Media Use by Sub-Elites in 11 Latin American Countries," Journalism Quarterly, 38, Autumn 1961.
- Deutschmann, Paul J., and Orlando Fals Borda, Communication and Adoption Patterns in an Andean Village, San José, Costa Rica: Programa Interamericano de Información Popular and Facultad de Sociología, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1962.
- Díaz Bordenave, Juan, A Survey of Educational and Informational Institutions in Pernambuco: Case Studies of Selected Service Agencies in Northeast, Brazil, Madison: University of Wisconsin, Land Tenure Center, 1964.
- Díaz Bordenave, Juan, Extensión, Comunicación y Desarrollo, San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Ciencias Agrícolas de la OEA, Servicio Interamericano de Comunicación, Publicación Miscelánea No. 32, 1965.
- Díaz Bordenave, Juan, Orientación Desarrollista en la Comunicación Colectiva, San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Ciencias Agrícolas de la OEA, Servicio Interamericano de Comunicación, Publicación Miscelánea No. 24, 1965.

De Fleur, Melvin L., Theories of Mass Communication, New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966.

De Vries, Egbert and José Medina Echavarría, eds., Social Aspects of Economic Development in Latin America, Paris: UNESCO, 1963.

Donahew, Lewis, "From Balgat to New Bethel: A Factor Analytic Study of Variables Measuring Communication Receptiveness to Change in an Appalachian County," Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism, 1966.

Doob, Leonard, Communication in Africa: A Search for Boundaries, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.

Dube, S. C., "A Note on Communication in Economic Development," in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, eds., Communication and Change in the Developing Countries, Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, University of Hawaii, 1967.

Eisenstadt, S. N., "Communication Systems and Social Structure: An Exploratory Comparative Study," Public Opinion Quarterly, 19, 153-157, Summer 1955.

_____, "Sociological Aspects of Political Development in Under-developed Countries," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 5, 298, 1956-1957.

_____, "Essays on the Sociological Aspects of Political and Economic Development," The Hague: Mouton, 1961.

_____, "Breakdowns of Modernization," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 12, 345-367, July 1964.

_____, "Transformation of Social, Political and Cultural Orders in Modernization," American Sociological Review, 30, 659-674, 1965.

_____, Modernization: Protest and Change, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

Fagen, Richard R., "Mass Media Growth: A Comparison of Communist and Other Countries," Journalism Quarterly, 41, 563-568, Autumn 1964.

_____, "Relation of Communication Growth to National Political Systems in Less Developed Countries," Journalism Quarterly, 41, 87-94, Winter 1964.

_____, Politics and Communication, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966.

Farace, Vincent R., "Mass Communication, Political Participation, and Other National Characteristics: A Factor Analytic Investigation," Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1965.

_____, "A Study of Mass Communication and National Development," Journalism Quarterly, 43, 305-313, Summer 1966.

Farace, Vincent R. and others, An Exploration of Factors Underlying the Economic, Modernization, and Communication Characteristics of Puerto Rican Farmers, East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Communication, Report Number 4, 1967.

Fillol, Roberto, Social Factors in Economic Development: The Argentine Case, Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1961.

Frey, Frederick W., "Communication with the Peasant Audience," Paper prepared for AID/MSU Seminar on Communication and Change, East Lansing, Michigan, 1966a.

_____, The Mass Media and Rural Development in Turkey, Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, 1966b.

Galbraith, John Kenneth, Economic Development, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964.

García Antonio, El Problema Agrario en América Latina y los Medios de Información Colectiva, Quito, Ecuador: Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Periodismo para America Latina, 1966.

Garver, R. A., "Communication Problems of Underdevelopment: Cheju-do, Korea, 1962," Public Opinion Quarterly, 26, 613-625, 1962.

Hagen, Everett, "The Process of Economic Development," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 5, 193-215, April 1957.

Hagen, Everett E., "How Economic Growth Begins: A Theory of Social Change," Journal of Social Issues, 19, 20-34, January 1963.

_____, "How Economic Growth Begins: A Theory of Social Change," in Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable, eds., Political Development and Social Change, New York: Wiley, 1966.

Havens, Eugene, Social Factors in Economic Development, Madison: University of Wisconsin, Land Tenure Center, Research Paper No. 5, 1965.

Hayes, Samuel P. Jr., Measuring the Results of Development Projects, Monographs in the Applied Social Sciences, Paris: UNESCO, 1959.

Heilbroner, Robert L., The Great Ascent: The Struggle for Economic Development in Our Time, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963.

Herskovitz, Melville J., Economic Anthropology, New York: Knopf, 1952.

Hiniker, Paul, "The Mass Media and Study Groups in Communist China," in Mass Communication and the Development of Nations, East Lansing: Michigan State University, International Communication Institute Monograph, 1966.

Hiniker, Paul J. and R. Vincent Farace, "Approaches to National Development in China: 1949-1958," mimeographed paper, East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Communication, 1967.

Hirschman, Albert O., The Strategy of Economic Development, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.

Hodgdon, Linwood L., "Psychological and Sociological Factors in Rural Change," Paper presented to the 16th general assembly of the World Medical Association, November 13, 1962, Bombay, India.

Horwitz, Irving Louis, Three Worlds of Development, New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Hoselitz, Bert F., ed., The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.

Hoselitz, Bert F., "Social Structure and Economic Growth," Economia Internazionale, 6, 52-72, August 1953.

_____, "Problems of Adapting and Communicating Modern Techniques to Less Developed Areas," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 2, 249-268, 1954.

_____, "Economic Growth and Development: Noneconomic Factors in Economic Development," American Economic Review, 47, 28-41, May 1957.

_____, Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth, New York: The Free Press, 1960.

Hoselitz, Bert F. and Wilbert E. Moore, eds., Industrialization and Society, The Hague: UNESCO-Mouton, 1963.

Hunt, Chester L., Social Aspects of Economic Development, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

Huth, A. G., "Communications and Economic Development," International Conciliation, No. 477, 3-42, 1952.

Jain, Navin, The Relation of Information Source Use to the Farm Practice Adoption and Farmers' Characteristics in Waterloo County, M.S. thesis, Guelph, Canada: University of Guelph, 1965.

Johnson, Chalmers, Revolutionary Change, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966.

Katona, George, Psychological Analysis of Economic Behavior, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951.

Kautsky, J. H., ed., Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries: Nationalism and Communism, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962.

Kearl, Bryant, "Las Comunicaciones en el Desarrollo Económico," en Informe de la Septima Reunion del Consejo Consultivo del Servicio Interamericano de Comunicación y de la Primera Reunion General de los Comunicadores del IICA, San José, Costa Rica, Septiembre 1-7, 1965.

Keith, Robert F., Dharam P. Yadav and Joseph R. Ascroft, "Mass Media Exposure and Modernization Among Villagers in Three Developing Countries: Towards Cross Cultural Generalizations," in Mass Communication and the Development of Nations, East Lansing: Michigan State University, International Communication Institute Monograph, 1966.

Kelman, Herbert C., "Processes of Opinion Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25, 58-78, Spring 1961.

Kindleberger, Process of Economic Development, New York: 1958.

Klapper, Joseph T., The Effects of Mass Communication, New York: The Free Press, 1965.

Lasswell, Harold E., "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in Lyman Bryson, ed., The Communication of Ideas, New York: Harper and Row, 1948.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F. and Robert Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action," in Lyman Bryson, ed., The Communication of Ideas, New York: Harper and Row, 1948.

Lerner, Daniel, "Communication Systems and Social Systems: A Statistical Exploration in History and Policy," Behavioral Science, 2, 266-275, October 1957.

_____, The Passing of the Traditional Society, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958.

_____, "Toward a Communication Theory of Modernization," in Lucian W. Pye, Communications and Political Development, Princeton, N.J.: University Press, 1963.

- Lerner, Daniel, "Communication and the Prospects of Innovative Development," in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, eds., Communication and Change in the Developing Countries, Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, University of Hawaii, 1967.
- Lewis, W. A., "Education and Economic Development," Social and Economic Studies, 10, 113-127, 1961.
- Linton, R., "Cultural and Personality Factors Affecting Economic Growth," in Bert Hoselitz, ed., The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," American Political Science Review, 53, 1959.
- Liu, Alan P. L., "Movies and Modernization in Communist China," Journalism Quarterly, 43, 319-324, 1966.
- Löwe, Adolpe, Economics and Sociology, London: Allen & Unwin, 1935.
- Markham, James W., Voices of the Red Giants: Communications in Russia and China, Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1967.
- Mathur, J. C., and Paul Neurath, An Indian Experiment in Farm Radio Forums, Paris: UNESCO, 1959.
- McClelland, David C., The Achieving Society, Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand Co., 1961.
- McCrone, Donald J. and Charles F. Cnudde, "Toward a Communication Theory of Democratic Political Development: A Causal Model," American Political Science Review, 61, 72-79, 1967.
- McGuire, William J., "The Effectiveness of Supportive and Refutational Defenses in Immunizing and Restoring Beliefs Against Persuasion," Sociometry, 24, 184-197, June 1961.
- McNelly, John T., "Mass Communication and the Climate for Modernization in Latin America," Journal of Interamerican Studies, 8, 345-357, July 1966.
- _____, "Mass Communication's Role in the Development of Nations: Some Research Questions," Paper prepared for a symposium on "Frontiers in Journalism," Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1966.
- _____, "Perspectives on the Role of Mass Communication in the Development Process," in Mass Communication and the Development of Nations, East Lansing: Michigan State University, International Communication Institute Monograph, 1966.

- McNelly, John T. and Paul J. Deutschmann, "Media Use and Socioeconomic Status in a Latin American Capital," East Lansing: Michigan State University, International Programs, Papers in International and World Affairs, 1964 Series, No. 3, July 1964.
- Mead, Margaret, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, New York: Mentor (for UNESCO), 1955.
- Millikan, Max F., "The Most Fundamental Technological Change," in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, eds., Communication and Change in the Developing Countries, Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, University of Hawaii, 1967.
- Mills, C. Wright, The Power Elite, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Moore, Wilbert E., Industrial Relations and the Social Order, revised edition, New York: Macmillan, 1951.
- _____, "Problems of Timing, Balance and Priorities in Development Measures," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 2, 239-248, January 1954.
- _____, Social Change, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- Moore, Wilbur E., Industrialization and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951.
- Myren, D. T., Ed., First Interamerican Research Symposium on the Role of Communications in Agricultural Development, Mexico City, October 5-13, 1964.
- Nash, Manning, "Some Social and Cultural Aspects of Economic Development," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 7, 137-150, January 1959.
- _____, "Social Prerequisites to Economic Growth in Latin America and Southeast Asia," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 12, 230, 1964.
- Niehoff, Arthur H., ed., A Casebook of Social Change, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966.
- Nixon, Raymond B., "Some Factors Related to Freedom in National Press Systems," Journalism Quarterly, 37, 13-28, 1960.
- Oshima, Harry T., "The Strategy of Selective Growth and the Role of Communications," in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, eds., Communication and Change in the Developing Countries, Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, University of Hawaii, 1967.

Parsons, Talcott, Structure and Process in Modern Societies, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1959.

Parsons, Talcott and Neil J. Smelser, Economy and Society, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956.

Pool, Ithiel de Sola, "The Role of Communication in the Process of Modernization and Technological Change," in Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore, eds., Industrialization and Society, New York: Mouton-UNESCO, 1960.

_____, "The Mass Media and Politics in the Modernization Process," in Lucian W. Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

_____, "Communications and Development," in Myron Weiner, ed., Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966.

Programa Interamericano de Información Popular, Instituto Interamericano de Ciencias Agrícolas de la OEA, Ministerio de Agricultura de Chile, Seminario El Papel de la Comunicación en el Desarrollo Económico, Santiago, Chile, Octubre 26-31, 1964.

Pye, Lucian W., "Communication Patterns and the Problems of Representative Government in Non-Western Societies," Public Opinion Quarterly, 20, 249-257, Spring 1956.

_____, "Communications Policies in Development Programs," in Lucian W. Pye, ed. Communications and Political Development, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

_____, "Introduction," in Lucian W. Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

_____, "Models of Traditional, Transitional, and Modern Communication Systems," in Lucian W. Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Rahim, S. A., Unpublished results of an opinion leadership study conducted in East Pakistan, East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Communication, 1966.

Rao, Y. V. Lakshmana, Communication and Development: A Study of Two Indian Villages, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966.

Ras, Norberto, Los Procesos Sociales del Desarrollo Económico, San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Ciencias Agrícolas de la OEA, 1965.

Rogers, Everett M., Diffusion of Innovations, New York: The Free Press, 1962.

- Rogers, Everett, "The Impact of Communication on Rural Development: An Investigation in Costa Rica and India," Fourth Progress Report of UNESCO Consultant, East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1966.
- Rogers, Everett M., "Mass Media Exposure and Modernization Among Colombian Peasants," The Public Opinion Quarterly, 29, 614-625, Winter 1965-1966.
- _____, "Some Generalizations About Communication and the Development of Nations," Unpublished paper (mimeo.), East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Communication, 1967.
- _____, Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, (In press) 1968.
- Rostow, Walt W., The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Schramm, Wilbur, ed., The Science of Human Communication, New York: Basic Books Inc., 1963.
- Schramm, Wilbur, Mass Media and National Development, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press; and Paris: Unesco, 1964.
- _____, "Communication and Change," in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, eds., Communication and Change in the Developing Countries, Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, University of Hawaii, 1967.
- Schultz, Theodore W., Transforming Traditional Agriculture, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.
- Shannon, Lyle B., ed., Underdeveloped Areas, New York: Harper's 1957.
- _____, "Socio-Economic Development and Political Status," Social Problems, 7, 157-169, Fall 1959.
- Shils, E. A., "The Intellectuals, Public Opinion, and Economic Development," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 6, 55-62, 1951.
- Siebert, F. S., Peterson, T., and Schramm, W., Four Theories of the Press, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956.
- Siegel, B. J., "Social Structure and Economic Change in Brazil," in S. Kuznets, W. E. Moore, and J. J. Spengler, eds., Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1955.
- Sigmund, Paul E. Jr., The Ideologies of the Developing Nations, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1963.

Silvert, K. H. and Frank Bonilla, Education and the Social Meaning of Development: A Preliminary Statement, New York: American Universities Field Staff, 1960.

Simpson, Dick, "The Congruence of the Political, Social, and Economic Aspects of Development," International Development Review, 6, 21-25, June 1964.

Singer, H. W., "Obstacles to Economic Development," Social Research, 20, 19-31, Spring 1953.

Smelser, Neil J., The Sociology of Economic Life, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

_____, "The Modernization of Social Relations," in Myron Weiner, ed., Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966.

Smelser, Neil J. and Seymour Lipset, eds., Social Structure and Social Mobility in Economic Development, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966.

Spector, Paul, "Some Needed Research on Mass Communication," Paper presented at the IX Congress of the Interamerican Society of Psychology, Miami Beach, Fla., 1964.

Spector, Paul, August Torres, and others, Communication and Motivation in Community Development: An Experiment, Washington, D. C.: Institute for International Services (American Institute for Research), 1963.

Spengler, J. J., "Economic Factors in the Development of Densely Populated Areas," Proceeding of the American Philosophical Society, 95, 21-24, 1951.

_____, "Social Structure, the State, and Economic Growth," in S. Kuznets, W. E. Moore, and J. J. Spengler, eds., Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1955.

_____, "Economic Development: Political Preconditions and Political Consequences," Journal of Politics, 22, 387-416, August 1960.

_____, "Breakdowns in Modernization," in Myron Weiner, ed., Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966.

_____, "Economic Development: Political Preconditions and Political Consequences," in Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable, eds., Political Development and Social Change, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966.

Spicer, Edward H., Human Problems in Technological Change, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1952.

- Staley, Eugene, The Future of Underdeveloped Countries: Political Implications of Economic Development, New York: Harper, 1954.
- Stigler, George J., "The Economics of Information," Journal of Political Economy, 69, 213-225, June 1961.
- Stycos, J. M., "Patterns of Communication in a Rural Greek Village," Public Opinion Quarterly, 16, 59-70, 1952.
- Tannenbaum, Percy H., "Experimental Method in Communication Research," in Ralph O. Nafziger and David Manning White, eds., Introduction to Mass Communications Research, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958.
- Unesco, Mass Media in the Developing Countries, Paris: Unesco, 1961.
- Waisanen, F. B. and Jerome T. Durlak, A Survey of Attitudes Related to Costa Rican Population Dynamics, San José, Costa Rica: Programa Interamericano de Información Popular, American International Association for Economic and Social Development, 1966.
- _____, Mass Media Use, Information Source Evaluation, and Perceptions of Self and Nation, a revised version of a Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Miami Beach, 1966.
- Weber, Max, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, London: Allen & Unwin, 1948.
- Westley, Bruce H., "Scientific Method and Communication Research," in Ralph O. Nafziger and David Manning White, eds., Introduction to Mass Communications Research, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958.
- Whiting, Gordon, Adoption of Agricultural Innovations in Rural Brazil, East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Communication, Mimeographed Report, 1967.
- Wright, Charles, Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective, New York: Random House, 1964.
- Yu, T. C. Frederick, Mass Persuasion in Communist China, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1964.



MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293103367367