

ABSTRACT

MARGINALITY, MASS COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN FIVE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

by Carlos L. Arias

A main approach of the present study was to investigate the role of mass media communication channels in informing and influencing rural people concerning innovations. Special consideration was given to the flow of information from change-oriented social systems to traditional social systems, and the role played by marginal men in the introduction of change.

Marginal men are considered those individuals who belong to a given social system, but at the same time are actively related to other social systems. Their behavior sets them at the margin of their social systems and in the periphery of other social systems. The marginal situation of these individuals makes them significant sources of innovation and social change.

The operationalization of marginality in the present study is different than in most previous studies. Formerly, marginal men were migrants forming groups in a new location; the concept of marginality usually referred to instances of cultural or racial problems. The marginal men in the present study had not physically migrated from their homes.

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The data were collected in five Colombian communities. Three of the villages were considered relatively modern and the other two, traditional.

In order to isolate the marginal individuals, the sample was divided, separately for modern and traditional communities at the means on two variables: cosmopolitanism and opinion leadership.

Marginal men have been indicated as individuals high in cosmopolitanism and low in opinion leadership. The individuals were classified as high and low in the two variables into four categories: marginal men, cosmopolitan leaders, localite leaders and localite followers.

The purposes of the study were:

1. To determine the role of mass media communication channels in the modernization process.
2. To investigate the relationship of marginality to innovativeness, mass media exposure, social participation, extension contact, social status, achievement motivation and empathy.
3. To develop a paradigm of marginality and indicate how marginality relates to social change and modernization.

Eight General Hypotheses, each composed of three parts, were developed indicating expected directions of the means. It was expected that marginal men would be

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higher in innovativeness, mass media exposure, extension contact, achievement motivation, and empathy, and lower in social participation and social status, than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn were expected to be higher in all those characteristics than localite leaders, who in turn were expected to be higher than localite followers.

For the statistical analysis "t" test was used to determine levels of significance between the means drawn for the four categories of individuals of the community.

None of the hypotheses stated were significant in the predicted direction. In the five communities studied, the individuals classified as marginal men did not show the predicted characteristics.

The individuals who showed the most of the characteristics expected for the marginal men were the cosmopolite leaders who at the same time were high in leadership, one characteristic not expected of marginal men. But the differences between means for marginal men and cosmopolite leaders were not statistically significant. They were only significant in regard to home innovativeness and achievement motivation. It can be concluded that in the case of the villages studied, marginal men and cosmopolite leaders have several characteristics (except

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leadership) in common with each other. Marginal men, as cosmopolite leaders and localite leaders, were found to be more modern than followers. Therefore, they should be the focus of attention for change agents and those interested in the introduction of change.

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A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Paul M. Rogers", is written over a horizontal line.

Director of Thesis

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By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Latin America is usually considered as one of the less developed areas of the world. Some few countries fall in a per capita income range from \$400 to \$744, but most countries show less than \$300 per capita, per year (United Nations 1968). Additionally, the development index obtained by Farace (1966:305-313) shows that on the development continuum of 109 countries, all Latin American countries fall under the mean for all countries. The stress in these countries is to improve incomes by improving the means of production, raising educational levels and seeking better-renumerated occupational activities for the people through national development programs.

The development programs are organized at the national level. At the community level the programs are executed by change agents, using the assistance of local volunteers. For these programs to be successful, the change agents need to know how to accelerate the flow of information about innovations from the source (the change agency system) to the intended target social system, in order to produce rapid changes. There are two conflicting normative systems involved in the

situation: the modern, technology-oriented rational system of the change agent, and the traditional, non-change-oriented social system of the rural clients. The aim is the integration of the two systems. This necessitates the establishment of inter-system channels of communication.

Also the change agent needs to know about the role of mass media in the innovation-adoption process; about operation of the communication channels in the traditional social system, and about the interpersonal networks of communication. This knowledge would help the change agent in making a more effective use of local leaders and mass media in the introduction of social change.

Purposes

The present study deals generally with the role of mass media communication channels,* and alternative

*Communication has been defined as the transfer of ideas from a source to a receiver. Four elements have been pointed out in the process of communication: source, messages, channels and receiver. Channels are being indicated playing a central role and they are the means used to convey the messages to the destination. The communication channels can be interpersonal, when the source and the receiver are in contact. The source acts also as a channel. Mass media communication channels (printed and electronic) are called impersonal channels since the source is not in contact with the receiver. Channels may be localite or cosmopolite, depending on whether the messages originate inside or outside of the social system of the receiver (Rogers with Svenning, 1969:124).

interpersonal channels in informing and influencing Latin American villagers concerning innovations.* Special consideration will be given to the flow of information from change-oriented social systems (like urban centers) to traditional social systems (villages) in order to determine the role played by marginal men in the process of diffusion and adoption of innovation. Marginal men are those individuals low in integration with the social system, high in cosmopolitanism,** and high orientation outside of the local system.

The marginal men will be studied to determine their communication behavior and degree of innovativeness, mass media exposure, change agent contact, social participation, social status, achievement motivation, and empathy.

The purposes of the present study are:

1. To determine the role of mass media communication channels in the modernization*** process.

*An innovation is an idea perceived as new by the individual (Rogers, 1962:13).

**In some previous studies (like Rogers with Svenning 1969), this variable includes mass media exposure, trips to urban centers and extension contact. For the purposes of this study, cosmopolitanism is operationalized only as number of trips to urban centers.

***Modernization at the social system level is a synonym of development. It is the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process is activated by international or intersocietal communication (Lerner, 1969:386). In the present study, modernization will be considered mostly at the individual level. Rogers with Svenning (1969:14) define it as the process by which individuals change from traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically-advanced, and rapidly-changing style of life.

2. To investigate the relationship of marginality* to innovativeness, mass media exposure, social participation, extension contact, social status, achievement motivation, and empathy in modern and traditional communities.
3. To develop a paradigm of marginality and indicate how marginality relates to social change** and modernization.

The Problem

In the design of development programs there has been a tendency to overlook the importance of communication factors, among others, and to label the problem of development as only economic. "National development planners have tended to neglect the potential of mass media, even though these communication channels may well be one of the sharpest tools in the developer's kit" (Rogers with Svenning, 1969:99). "Whenever change occurs in human society," pointed out Schramm (1964:114), "there communication flows. When one member of a close-knit group shows signs of deviating, he becomes the

*Marginality is considered that situation in which some individuals remain in the social system where they were socialized, but at the same time are actively related to other outside social systems.

**Social change is the significant alteration of social structure (that is, of patterns of social action and interaction) including consequences and manifestations of such structure embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values, and cultural products and symbols (Moore, 1967:3).

focus of the group's communication until restored to the fold or given up as hopeless. When some great events threaten society, it arouses a storm of communication." Dube (1967:93) also emphasized the use of mass media in development. He said that a "series of costly and avoidable failures have shown the planners that even well-drawn projects of modernization fail to register with the people and produce the desired result unless they are supported by an imaginative, adequate and effective communication program." Communication is thus gradually coming to be recognized as the key factor in the process of directed change; this recognition has led to more systematic and organized effort in the formulation of communication policies. Social and economic development cannot be performed without the support of an adequate network of communication. Only in the Communist countries have development plans included a well-organized communication media system in combination with interpersonal channels of communication, such as in the form of study groups (Hiniker, 1968:IV-1).

Traditional systems in the less developed countries have been studied and described in countless papers and books. Most social scientists tend to see these systems as relatively static. The changes that took place were described, but the processes by which these changes occurred were not. It is important to know the reaction of the individuals in a social system when an innovation

is introduced, and to study its ultimate acceptance or rejection. Also, the deviant behavior* of some individuals in a social system needs study. The present study gives special consideration to marginality, to the individuals known as marginal men, their innovativeness, and their role in the process of diffusion of innovations and modernization in Latin American villages.

In the organization of development programs in Latin America (one of them being the agricultural extension service), one of the main concerns of change agents is to work with leaders. "Localize the leaders, motivate them, train them and start" is the password. If a change agent starts with the wrong person, he may not find support for his program.

The present work will attempt to study some variables regarding the dynamics of change, the use of local leaders and marginal men with the hope that the findings will help bring about more effective development programs.

It can be seen that there is a communication problem involved in the whole process of development. Are the leaders the main people with whom a change agent should communicate? Are there differences in the flow of information in a traditional or a modern community? Are there some individuals in a community, other than

*Deviant behavior violates institutionalized expectations, i.e., expectations which are shared and recognized as legitimate within a social system (Cohen, 1959:462).

the leaders, that the change agent should contact to speed the introduction of new ideas? Answers to these questions will be attempted through the present study.

In regard strictly to the role of mass media in the development process, some other questions need to be asked. What are the effects of the messages carried by mass media on the members of a traditional social system? How do messages affect the marginal man? What is the role of mass media in the innovation-adoption process? Have the mass media created favorable attitudes toward change, the change agent, and the innovations promoted? Have the mass media created attainable expectations that lead to dissatisfaction and unrest? This study will attempt to give answers to some of these questions, and to suggest topics for further research.

The present study should contribute to an understanding of diffusion from the point of view (1) of increasing the rate of modernization in less developed countries, and (2) of making better use of mass communication channels to facilitate more expedient and orderly social change.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

Mass Media and Social Change

Studies carried out in the United States and in other parts of the world show that mass media are primary elements in the process of social change. "Mass media are agents of social change in the service of national development," asserts Schramm (1964:114). He continues, "The specific kinds of social change the mass media are expected to help accomplish are the transition to new customs and practices and, in some cases, to different social relationships." Schramm adds that behind such changes in behavior must necessarily lie substantial changes in attitudes, beliefs, skills and social norms.

UNESCO (1961:37), in a report to the United Nations, recommended that governments of developing nations "might consider the possibility of formulating national programs for development of the information media as part of their planning for economic development."

However, McNelly (1968:I-3) warns against the belief that mass media communication is omnipotent. "The dissemination of messages by mass media does not

assure attention, learning, attitude change or action; social and cultural factors can mediate, muffle or even nullify media messages." Communication researchers in Latin America are conscious of that situation and they take a "cautious position" when they judge the role of mass media in relation to national development. This position can be described as saying that mass media have indeed a role in development, but it is a severely limited role and is played only in combination with interpersonal communication.

Hirabayashi (1958:363) says, referring to Egyptian villagers, that "strongly associated with development is the role of mass media superimposed upon traditional word-of-mouth communication." Pool (1963:237) added that "it is perfectly true that mass media alone, unlinked to word-of-mouth communication fail in generating action, but do not fail in creating information and desires."

These conclusions agree with Rogers with Svenning (1969:100-101) in regard to the role of mass media in the process of modernization. They concluded: (1) that interpersonal communication channels alone are inadequate for reaching the huge peasant audiences of the less developed countries, even when channels are primed at the village level by government change agents; (2) that in recent years advances in mass media techniques have made it economically practical for national

governments to provide radios, films, and other mass media to audiences with rapid standardized and accurate messages about development; and (3) that larger mass media audiences, accompanied by high levels of mass media exposure per capita can be expected to lead those exposed to media, to more favorable attitudes toward change and development, to greater awareness of political events, and to more knowledge of technical information. Mass media have the potential of multiplying efforts to modernize traditional people, especially when mass media are combined with interpersonal communication in small discussion groups.

Even when mass media do not assure attention, learning, attitude change or action (McNelly, 1963:13), they are important factors that interrelated with existent conditions and interconnected with interpersonal communications, are able to create a psychological "climate of modernization" essential to a general attitude favorable toward change.

The Flow of Information in a Social System

The studies mentioned previously suggest that mass media channels should be linked with interpersonal communication channels. This position fits well with the two-step flow hypothesis,* which links the mechanical

*The two-step hypothesis was explained by Lazarsfeld and others (1948:151). The mass media, they say, were more effective as channels for opinion leaders who reach the "less active sections of the population" via interpersonal channels. Katz (1957:61) later up-dated the hypothesis to say that "influence stemming from mass media first reach opinion leaders who in turn pass on what they read and hear to those of their every-day associates for whom they are influential."

and impersonal aspects of mass media channels with the human factor, making mass media a more personal process of communication through its combination with interpersonal channels.

Pool (1963:248) states that the adoption of an innovation advocated in the mass media depends on interpersonal discussion of the new idea. This statement reinforces the two-step hypothesis. "Mass media," he says, "do not lead directly to adoption, but create an awareness of the existence of new practices and provide guidance to innovating leaders. However, actual adoption requires either personal persuasion or personal example by a respected leader. Thus the spread of an innovation can be traced from an initiating center, by direct personal contact, out to the periphery." "It also," he continues, "can be traced from younger, well-educated, somewhat alienated, and relatively cosmopolitan individuals in a community, to older, highly entrenched, above-average educated individuals with whom the former are in touch, and then, finally, to other people in the community who follow the leaders."

It can be seen that Pool's statement fits well with the two-step hypothesis, but in some instances the flow of information may follow three steps. Pool's younger, well-educated, somewhat-alienated, and relatively cosmopolite individual looks much like the marginal man, as

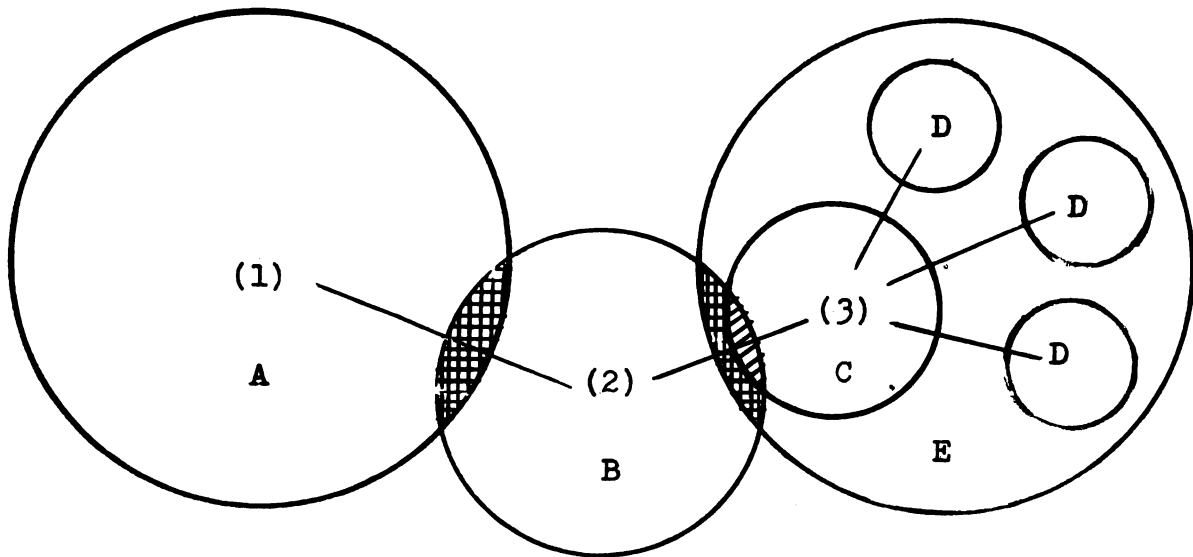
does Schramm's "middleman" (1964:30). This man is the individual to be reached by the first step in the three-step flow model (Figure 1) posed by Waisanen (1963:4).

Pool (1963:249-250), referring to the two-step hypothesis, says that this is only a partially-supported conclusion about the flow of information. This notion is based on: (1) Lerner's thesis that the mass media provide their audience with the capacity to conceive of situations and ways of life quite different from those directly experienced (the concept of empathy*); (2) McClelland's thesis that certain types of media content may help to raise achievement motivation,** and to develop a consensus supporting it; and (3) that such achievement motivation is, in turn, a major necessary condition for development. Pool stated that neither Lerner's nor McClelland's theses depend on the two-step flow of communication. The effect of mass media in these cases is directly upon the individual exposed, and it is not via opinion leaders or political (or social) organizations paralleling the media.

In a recent study in regard to interaction patterns in the diffusion of innovations, Chow (1966) confirmed

*Empathy was defined by Lerner (1958:50) as the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation.

**Achievement motivation is a desire for excellence, not so much for the sake of social recognition or prestige, but to attain an inner feeling of personal accomplishment (McClelland, 1961:11).



A = The Social System of the
Change Agent

B = The Marginal Man

C = The Traditional Farmer

D = The Target Social System

(1) The General Trans-
mission Problem

(2) The Translation
Problem

(3) The Particular Trans-
mission Problem

Figure 1. The Three-Step Flow in
Communication and Change

Source: Waisanen (1963:4).

the hypothesis that there are multiple-steps flow of communication.

So it may be hypothesized that the flow of information from a source to a social system may follow one, two, three, or multiple steps depending on the content of communication, the media used, and the change-orientation of the social system.

The Concept of Marginality

The concept of marginality was first formulated by Park (1928:881) in his study of migration. He stated that one of the consequences of migrations is to create a marginal situation in which the same individual, who may or may not be of mixed blood, finds himself striving to live in two diverse cultural groups. The effect is to produce an unstable character, a personality type with characteristic forms of behavior: the marginal man. It is in his mind, Park expresses, that the conflicting cultures meet and fuse.

When Park prologued Stonequist's book, The Marginal Man (1937:xviii), he described the marginal man as "an incidental product of a process of acculturation, such as inevitably ensues when people of different cultures and different races come together to carry on a common life."

Stonequist (1937:2, 3) viewed the marginal man as a personality and cultural problem resulting from

migration. "The modern world," he says, "of economic competition and shifting social relations, places the individual in a situation where change and uncertainty are the key-notes. Personal adjustments become impossible," he points out, "and maladjustment becomes a characteristic of modern man. This social dislocation is seen . . . clearly and sharply, in the cases of those individuals who fall between the two major racial and cultural groups The individual who through migration, education, marriage or some other influence, leaves one social group or culture without a satisfactory adjustment to another, finds himself on the margin of each but a member of neither."

When Stonequist (1937:10) talks about the person of mixed racial ancestry, the racial hybrid, he calls him "the most obvious type of marginal man;" when he refers to the person with a mixed culture, the cultural hybrid, he says, "it is not the mere mixing of cultures which creates the marginal man, but rather the experience of the conflict of group attitudes flowing from the cultural differences" (Stonequist, 1937:88). So, whenever there are cultural transitions and cultural conflicts, the marginal man emerges. "His dual connections" says Stonequist (1937:216), "will be reflected in the type of life he leads, the nature of his achievements or failures, his conceptions of himself, and many of his social attitudes and aspirations. He will be, in fact,

a dual personality."

In regard to his role and importance in the process of social change, Stonequist (1937:221-222) says, "The marginal man is the key personality in the contact of cultures. It is in his mind that the cultures come together, conflict, and eventually work out some kind of mutual adjustment and interpretation. He is the crucible of cultural fusion . . . at first he is unaware of the cultural conflict going on; then through some crises, experience, or series of experiences, he becomes aware of it, and the external conflict finds an echo in his mind; and finally, he tries and sometimes succeeds in making an adjustment to his situation."

"Thus the practical effort of the marginal person to solve his own problem," continues Stonequist, "leads him consciously or unconsciously to change the situation in itself. His interest may shift from himself to the objective social conditions and launch him upon the career of nationalist, conciliator, interpreter, reformer or teacher. In these roles, he inevitably promotes acculturation, either upon a basis of larger political and cultural unity, or in terms of modified political and cultural differentiation--a new state. Consequently, the life stories of marginal man offer the most significant material for the analysis of the cultural process as it springs from the contacts of social groups."

From Park's and Stonequist's conception of the marginal man, it may be concluded that they talk about the same man this study deals with: the marginal man, that man that circumstances have put between two ways of life. In Latin American communities, this marginal situation is between the traditional systems where he was socialized and the modern ways of life with its new techniques suitable for providing him, his family and his countrymen with the means for improving their levels of living. It is in the mind of the marginal man where the fusion of the two systems occurs, and it is in his mind where the changes will take place. He is the man who may bridge the flow of information from the change agent's social system, to the opinion leaders and from them to the rest of the individuals in the target social system, to complete the three step flow of communication proposed by Waisanen (1963:11).

The Marginal Man and His Characteristics

Waisanen (1963:1) suggested a conceptualization of the communication process in traditional social systems giving relevance to the role of marginal man in the process of social change. The marginality of these individuals seems to be an important factor in the acceptance of new ideas and the translation of them to the influentials of the social system: the opinion leaders. This

reasoning is the three-step flow of information, shown in Figure 1.

Rogers (1962:169, 193) defined the innovator as venturesome, eager to try new ideas. This interest leads him out of his circle of peers and into more cosmopolite social relationships; when the innovators adopt a new idea, no doubt their peers become aware of the innovation. If the innovation's results are advantageous, the initial skepticism of the innovator's peers may be transformed to grudging acceptance of its utility.

So, the marginal man's role seems to be as important in the process of social change as that of the change agent and the opinion leaders. The marginal man is perceived as deviant from group norms, as he is the first to adopt new ideas. He is also perceived as deviant in regard to the time of adoption (Rogers, 1961:39). The behavior of the marginal man and the innovator, as well as their personality characteristics, have been a source of controversy among social scientists.

For Linton (1936:344-345), the prestige of the innovator is meaningful for the introduction of new traits. "If innovators are persons whom the society admires and is accustomed to imitate, the way for the general acceptance of new traits is smooth from the start. If innovators happen to be personally unpopular or of low social status, the new elements acquire undesirable associations which may out-weigh any intrinsic advantages."

Barnett (1941:171) found quite different characteristics: "The disgruntled, the maladjusted, the frustrated, and the incompetent are preeminently the acceptors of cultural innovations and change." For Barnett, prestige did not enter as a criterion to evaluate the innovators. Later Barnett (1953:380) characterized innovators as "truly marginal individuals." Adams (1951:189) tested Barnett's hypothesis in regard to conflicting personality traits of persons responsible for introducing innovations, and concluded that its application "is restricted to those cases in which change is rapid and violent." When the change is more gradual, prestige or status is meaningful as stated by Linton. When conservatives are responsible for introducing changes it is usually because they are involved in "personal conflicts."

Putney and Putney (1962:551) in their study of a Mexican village found that the innovators had high prestige in an atmosphere of radical change. When Pelto, cited by Rogers (1962:194), compared the status of the innovators among the Skolt Lapps and the Pueblo Indians, he found prestige also meaningful. The degree of the innovator's deviation depended on the social norms of the group in regard to innovativeness.

In studies cited by Rogers (1961:200) to determine the characteristics of agricultural innovators, it was found that the innovators were perceived as deviants by

the other members of their social system. Rogers also cited studies by Adams (1951), Putney and Putney (1961), Pelto (1960), and Rogers and Burdge (1962) where the innovator's behavior was found to be more deviant when system norms are more traditional than when they are modern. There is another instance when the innovators are perceived as deviants in traditional social systems; it is when they have high achievement motivation (Rogers and Neill, 1966:24).

From the same study carried out by Rogers (1961) and an earlier investigation by Beal and Rogers (1960), there is evidence that the innovators perceived themselves as deviating from community norms on innovativeness (Rogers, 1962:201).

However, the innovators identified themselves with a reference group outside their social system as a consequence of their deviation. These external reference groups reinforce their cosmopolite behavior (Rogers, 1962:203-205).

In regard to social characteristics of the innovators, Rogers and Burdge (1962) found that the degree of innovativeness was related to higher education, larger operations, and greater cosmopolitaness.

Rahudkar (1962), Bylund (1963), and Coughenour (1964) corroborate these results in regard to education. Coughenour found the use of mass media related to the acceptance of innovations as well as to the integration

of the individual into the community structure. This particular characteristic of integration into the community structure is applicable only to the innovator who has opinion leadership characteristics (Coughenour, 1964). According to the studies reviewed, some of the individuals with high innovativeness are seen as deviants from group norms, some are not, and they are found to be of high status and well integrated into the community structure.

The dualism of the innovator, his lack of integration into his group, his use of external reference groups and his cosmopolitanism have made of him a marginal man. When an individual is seen with a high level of innovativeness, but well integrated to his group, with high status, it can be concluded that he is an opinion leader, but in a very change-oriented social system.

According to the studies reviewed, it can be concluded also that the characteristics of the marginal man are not easy to determine. So it is difficult to determine the flow of information into a social system. In traditional social systems (non-change oriented), it is found that innovators are seen as deviants, they are not well integrated into the social system, their status is low, and the differentiation from opinion leaders is well defined. The opinion leaders are not necessarily innovative (Rogers, 1962:243), or they are only a little more innovative and cosmopolite than their followers

Rogers and van Es, 1966:34).

In change-oriented systems, the marginal men are seen as deviant but not as deviant as most of their peers (Rogers, 1962:198). Their conformity to social norms is low, so it is the conformity of many of their peers. Their cosmopolitaness is not seen as deviating too much. Most of the members of the group would like to visit the urban centers, have external contacts and be exposed to mass media (illiteracy is a limiting factor). Also the opinion leaders travel more than their followers (Rogers and van Es, 1966:34). So the more innovative individual, the marginal man, is only a little different from the opinion leader in change-oriented social systems. This difference can be expected from the data collected in the two types of communities studied: three change-oriented communities or modern, and two non-change-oriented or traditional.

It also can be expected that in the change-oriented communities the flow of information follows one, two, three or multiple-step, since change (or adoption of new ideas) is highly appreciated. But in traditional communities the pattern of flow of information follows only two or three steps as hypothesized by Lazarsfeld (1948).

A Model of Mass Media Exposure and Modernization

According to hypotheses tested by Rogers with Svenning (1969:101-102), there are several antecedent variables associated with mass media exposure that may act to determine whether or not an individual will be exposed to mass media. There are also modernization consequences associated with mass media exposure. Mass media exposure is seen as an intervening variable between antecedents and consequences of exposure (Figure 2). The role given to mass media exposure in the model is a central one. It is viewed as the indicator of contact with mass media messages, ideas, that should lead to greater empathy with roles portrayed in the media concerning adoption of new ideas, to wider political knowledge, and to stronger aspirations toward better ways of life.

It can be noted in Figure 2 that all antecedent variables but age, are the kinds of socio-economic factors that facilitate the individual's exposure to mass media. Cosmopolitaness depends upon economic resources and occupational activities. Age falls among personal factors that are not as such mentioned in the study. Are there some other personal factors that make an individual part of the mass media audience? What makes an individual cosmopolite? As it was explained above, some researchers consider the variable cosmopoliteness

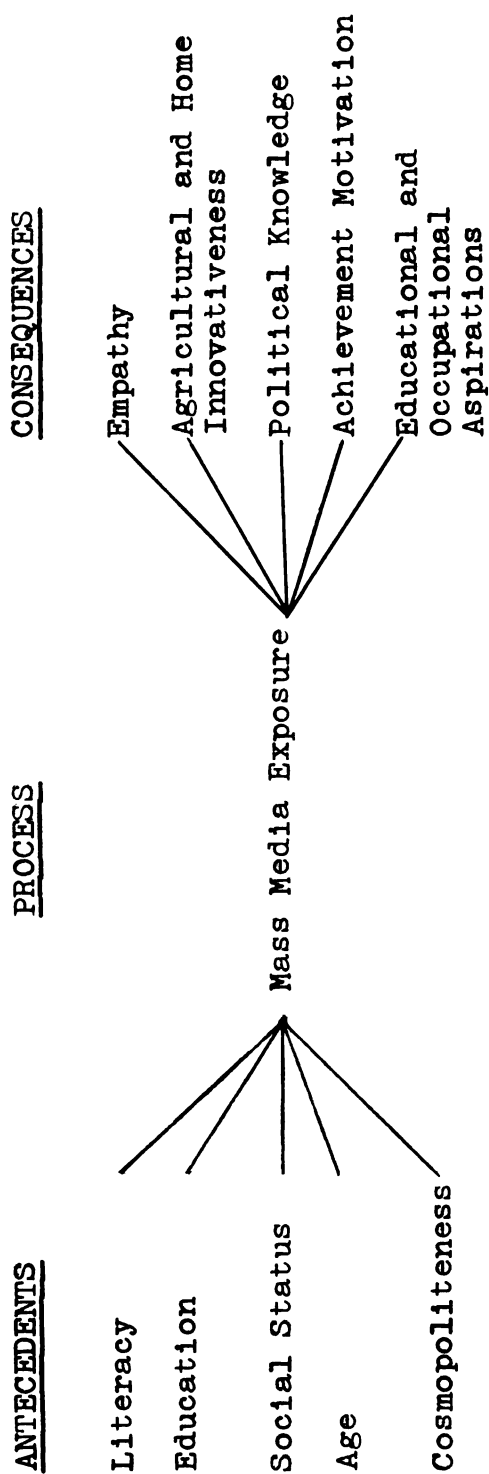


Figure 2. Paradigm of the Role of Mass Media Exposure in Modernization.

Source: Rogers with Svenning (1969:101).

as defined by trips to urban centers, mass media exposure and external contacts. It means that a cosmopolite individual has high physical mobility, and is eager to get information about new ideas from mass media and external contacts. As a consequence of mass media exposure he will become more innovative, he will increase his knowledge, educational and occupational aspirations, empathy and achievement motivation.

According to the analysis of the data, all antecedent variables but age are correlated positively with mass media exposure (Rogers with Svenning, 1969:105). These results support Lerner's (1958) theory of modernization. He stated that interaction of such variables as urbanization, literacy, mass media exposure, industrialization and political participation with empathy as a central variable, will create a climate of modernization. Individuals high in empathy may conceive of themselves adopting new ways of life, improving their educations, taking new occupations and increasing their knowledge in political, social and technological affairs. Also the increase in achievement motivation supports McClelland's (1961) theory of modernization, as he stated that essential ingredients of entrepreneurship is a desire for excellence, of doing well, that he called achievement motivation. Mass media have worked between the antecedent and consequent variables as an intervening

variable. Some of the antecedent variables may produce direct effects on some of the indices of modernization but there is evidence, if mass media effect is removed, that the direct effect of antecedents over consequences are lowered (Keith and others, 1966: IV-16).

These results also agree with Schramm's (1963:36) statement in regard to communication development. He says that the typical history of communication development in countries where it is farthest advanced, is a chain of interactions in which education, industry, urbanization, national income, political participation and mass media have all gone forward together, stimulating each other. In regard to social change, it is called economical development, but development in one line can never get far in advance of development in others.

The marginal man has been pointed out as an important element in the process of social change. How does his performance relate the whole process of modernization? What antecedent variable will influence on him and which will be the consequences of this influence, according to the theory about marginality discussed above? Will the model of Figure 2 fit with his situation? An attempt will be made to present a paradigm of marginality and the process of modernization in the following pages.

Paradigm of the Sequence of Marginality in the
Process of Modernization

In the descriptions of the characteristics of marginal men their particular personality has been indicated. In most of the studies reviewed, the marginal man is considered deviant; he is also described as venturesome, eager to try new ideas (Rogers, 1962:169). Barnett (1941:71) found him to be disgruntled, maladjusted, frustrated. Adams (1951:189) tested the hypothesis concerning his conflicting personality; Linton (1936:345) found that when the conservatives were responsible for introducing changes it was because they were involved in "personal conflicts." (The maladjustment or conflicting personality may have had its origin in his childhood due to deprivations, hunger or frustrations, but this is not relevant to the purposes of this study.) So, personal maladjustment can be pointed out as one of the personal factors of the marginal man's deviant behavior. There are some other personal factors that can be added as antecedent necessary conditions for the presence in the individual of some indicators of marginality conducive to modernization. These indicators will make the individual aware of many possibilities that will lead him and his family to the road of modernization. These possibilities may be new opportunities of work and education, better levels of living, new farming techniques

and other personal or social values.

As a consequence of all these new possibilities, he will increase his early desires for modernization and will develop some others pointed out in several studies (Figure 3). Some of these indicators of modernization will be taken into account in the present study.

Hypotheses

Marginality:

Marginality is considered that situation in which some individuals remain in the social system where they were socialized, but at the same time are actively related to other outside social systems. Because of their situation, these individuals are called marginal men. They have been pointed out as important elements in the introduction of change in traditional social systems. The most salient characteristic of these individuals are their high cosmopoliteness and low leadership. They are also distinguished by high innovativeness, high mass media exposure, high external contacts, high empathy, high achievement motivation, low status and low social participation.

Other individuals besides the marginal men may be recognized with most of the characteristics attributed to marginal man, but high in opinion leadership, high in status, and high in social participation. These individuals are termed cosmopolite leaders. There are

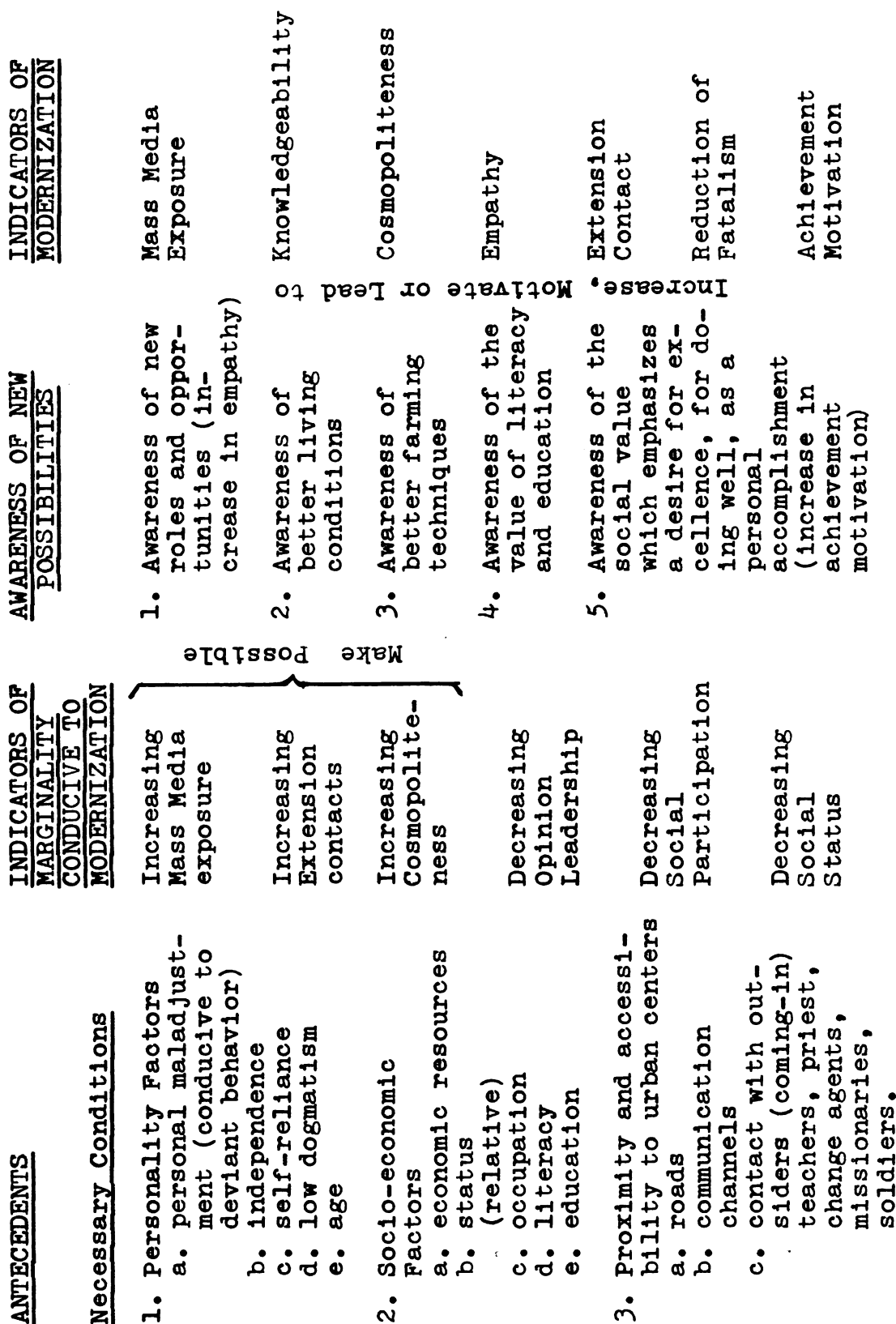


Figure 3. Paradigm of Sequence of Marginality in the Process of Modernization

also individuals high in opinion leadership, high in status and social participation, but low in cosmopoliteness, and probably not much more innovative than their followers. These individuals can be termed localite leaders. There are other individuals in the community that are low in cosmopoliteness, low in opinion leadership, and low in most of the variables taken into account for the purposes of the present study; these individuals are termed localite followers. This classification of the individuals is made on the basis of two independent variables: opinion leadership and cosmopoliteness; each variable is dichotomized as highs and lows (Figure 4).

		<u>Opinion Leadership</u>	
		Low	High
Cosmopoliteness	Low	Localite Followers	Localite Leaders
	high	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders

Figure 4. Classification of Individuals in
Regard to Degrees of Opinion
Leadership and of Cosmopoliteness.

Innovativeness:

Innovativeness is the degree to which an individual is relatively earlier in adopting new ideas, than other members of his social system (Rogers 1962:19). In the present study two kinds of innovativeness are considered: agriculture and home innovativeness. The measurements of innovativeness and the classification of individuals in adopter categories are based upon the time at which innovations are adopted (Rogers, 1962).

General Hypothesis I: Marginal men are higher in agricultural innovativeness than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers.

General Hypothesis II: Marginal men are higher in home innovativeness than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers.

Mass Media Exposure

Mass media exposure refers to the exposure or contact of individuals with such impersonal means of communication as newspapers and magazines (directly or through mediators), radio, television and movies.

General Hypothesis III: Marginal men are higher in mass media exposure than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers.

Social Participation

Social participation refers to the formal organization in which the individuals are members such as local clubs, farmers' organizations, cooperatives, church men's organizations existent in the community.

General Hypothesis IV: Marginal men are lower in social participation than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers.

Extension Contact

Extension contact is the degree in which the individual has contact with extension agents. It gives a measure of the use of external reference groups.

General Hypothesis V: Marginal men are higher in extension contact than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers.

Social Status

Social status refers to the individual's position relative to other members of the social system. Five categories of social status are used in the present study, according to individuals' levels of living, income, and prestige, in comparison to other members of the community.

General Hypothesis VI: Marginal men are lower in

social status than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers.

Achievement Motivation

Achievement motivation is the desire to do well, not so much for the sake of social recognition or prestige, but to attain an inner feeling of personal accomplishment (McClelland, 1961:11).

According to Rogers and Neill (1966:24), because of the high achievement motivation, the innovators in the traditional social system are perceived as deviants. So, in the communities under study, the measurement of achievement motivation may be another index of modernization.

General Hypothesis VII: Marginal men are higher in achievement motivation than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers.

Empathy

Empathy is defined by Lerner (1958:50) as the capacity to see oneself in another fellow's situation. This is an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings. Outside his environment, each person must meet new individuals, recognize new roles and learn new relationships involving himself.

General Hypothesis VIII: Marginal men are higher in empathy than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Description of the Setting

In the strict definition of community, the five sites where this study was undertaken are not really communities. They are better referred to as rural districts or neighborhoods, called in Colombia veredas and found to be parts of a municipio. "Municipio" is the term used in Colombia and some other countries in Latin America to specify the political division of the states, provinces or departments in which the countries are divided. Municipio is somewhat similar to a county in the United States.

The five communities (or veredas) in this study are: Pueblo Viejo, Cuatro Esquinas, San Rafael, Nazate and La Cañada.

The first three veredas: Pueblo Viejo, Cuatro Esquinas, and San Rafael are considered relatively modern in community norms of social change. They belong to the Department of Cundinamarca and are located on the Western edge of the "sabana" (plain) of Bogotá, near the town of Factativa, which is the commercial center for the farmers of the area. While the communities

border the sabana, most of the farm land is located in the foothills of the Andes Mountains.

These three communities are covered by the National Agricultural Extension Service. The Extension Service have sponsored the organization of a farmers' council, home makers club and 4-H Clubs for boys and girls. The three veredas have elementary schools offering the earlier grades. In two of the communities a supply and marketing cooperative has been initiated with the assistance of the Extension Service personnel. The communities are basically agricultural.

The last two veredas, Nazate and La Cañada are considered traditional in regard to community norms of social change. They are located in the department of Nariño in the Southwestern part of Colombia, bordering Ecuador. This is a very mountainous region and reputed to be one of the most traditional areas of Colombia. The National Agricultural Extension Service worked in one of the veredas but the Service was discontinued. As in the other communities, there are elementary schools offering the early grades. At the time of the investigation a promoter of the National Community Program was working in Nazate, and a volunteer of the U.S. Peace Corps was doing some work in both veredas. They, and the local extension agent considered that La Cañada was a very difficult place in which to promote community development.

For the selection of the communities in regard to the traditional-modern continuum, a modified version of an index originally developed by Dr. Frederick Waisanen for UNESCO communication project in Costa Rica was used. The index awards points for the presence of various characteristics of modernization, such as means of communication, educational facilities, and formal educational organization (van Es, 1964).

A more detailed description of these five communities may be found in previous studies by Rogers and van Es (1964) and Rogers and Neill (1966).

Data Gathering

The data used in the present study were gathered in Colombia by Dr. Everett M. Rogers and Mr. Johannes van Es while they were staff members of the Facultad de Sociología, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, during 1963-64, where they were Fulbright Lecturer and Organization of American States Fellow, respectively. They were assisted by Colombian sociology students. The interviews were conducted with chief farm decision-makers, of whom a majority were men. The interviews were completed with 160 respondents in the modern villages and 95 in the traditional villages.

The study was sponsored by the Facultad de Sociología; the Agriculture Development Council of New York,

and the Programa Interamericano de Informacion Popular (PIIP) of the American International Association of the Rockefeller Brothers. Since these data are suitable for the purposes of the present study, we take advantage of a fortunate situation, avoiding unnecessary time and money spent in collecting new data. The task of the author has been the analysis of the data available, interpreting the results and putting the study in its final form.

Operationalization of Variables

Dependent Variables

Innovativeness:

Innovativeness is defined as the degree to which an individual is "relatively earlier" in adopting new ideas than other members of his social system (Rogers, 1962:19*). Both the measurement of innovativeness and the classification of individuals into adopters categories are based upon the time at which innovations are adopted.

In this study the following measurements were used:
(1) a scale of innovativeness scores in regard to the adoption of sixteen agricultural and seven home practices.

*When Rogers refers to "relatively earlier" he means earlier in terms of actual time of adoption rather than whether the individual perceived he adopted the idea relatively earlier than the others.

The respondents were asked how long they possessed or had applied those practices, such as use of insecticides, weed killers, animal vaccination, new kitchen stove, latrine, wrist-watch, etc.; (2) self-perception on innovativeness. The respondents scored themselves as they perceived their own performance in accepting and being willing to introduce new practices. The higher the scores the more innovative the respondent.

Mass Media Exposure

Mass media exposure refers to the exposure or contacts of the respondents to mass media. The communication behavior of the respondents was determined through questions aimed at finding out the level of radio-listening, television watching, movie-exposure, and reading of newspapers and magazines directly or through mediators. The exposure to each of these five media was combined into a composite mass media exposure score for each respondent. The indicator of degree of exposure to each medium was in terms of number of radio shows listened to per week, newspapers read per week, films seen per year and so on. The raw scores were converted into "sten scores" (Canfield, 1951) and then combined into a mass media exposure index.

Social Participation:

Social participation refers to the formal organizations in which the respondents were members, such as

church men's groups, community improvement councils, and cooperatives existent in the community. Formal organization in which all respondents were members, like the church, were not included. The measurement of this variable indicates the degree of integration of the individuals into community activities. The higher the score, the greater the individual's social participation. Low integration might be an index of marginality.

Extension Contact:

Extension contact means the degree to which the respondent has contact with the agricultural extension agent. It gives a measure of the use of external reference groups by respondent. A degree of external contact will indicate marginality, innovativeness, cosmopolitaness, etc.

Social Status:

Five categories of social status are used in the present study. Scores range from 0 to 4. The higher the score, the higher the respondent's social status, according to the interviewer's judgment.

Achievement Motivation:

Achievement motivation is a desire for excellence, not so much for the sake of social recognition or prestige, but to attain an inner feeling of personal accomplishment (McClelland, 1961:11).

To measure the need of achievement an 8-item scale of open statements was used. This scale is an adaptation of the sentence-completion scale used in three studies with U.S. farmers.

According to Rogers and Neill (1966:24), because of their high achievement motivation, the innovators in traditional social systems were perceived as deviants. So in the Colombian communities, the measurement of achievement motivation may be another index of marginality.

Empathy:

Empathy was defined by Lerner (1958:50) as the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation. This is an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings. Outside his old environment, each person must meet new individuals, recognize new roles and learn new relationships involving himself.

To measure empathy, a five-item scale was developed which distinguishes five public roles moving from the most local to the most national in responsibility. The respondents should see themselves in the roles included on the scale and answer the question in regard to local and national problems. The scale values awarded were from 0 for low empathy to 2 for the highs.

Independent Variables

Cosmopolitaness:

Cosmopolitaness is the degree to which an individual's orientation is external to a particular social system (Rogers, 1962). Not only do individuals range along a cosmopolite-localite dimension but information sources may be classified as to their degree of cosmopolitaness. The cosmopolite in a traditional system is seen as more deviant from prevailing patterns than the cosmopolite in a modern system where norms favor a wider perspective (Rogers with Svenning, 1969:149).

Cosmopolitaness was measured by: (1) asking how many times a year a respondent visited the nearest urban center; (2) according to Deutschmann and Fals Borda (1962:43-59) definition of cosmopolitaness in regard to media, the respondents will be asked to select the possible sources of information among the following items:

- a. egocentric communication
- b. intra-community communication
- c. extra-community communication
- d. impersonal communication*

The measurement of cosmopolitaness is made up of three important indices: (1) the orientation of the

*When Deutschmann and Fals Borda say impersonal communication, they refer to mass media but also included posters, pamphlets, films, film strips and possible audio-visual aids used with personal presentations.

individual to external contacts; (2) trips to urban centers; (3) sources of information.

Opinion Leadership:

Opinion leadership is the quality that some individuals have to be influential in the community, in approving or disapproving new ideas (Rogers, 1962:16,208). They are sought for information and advice by people of the community. In the present study, opinion leadership was determined by four different measures: (1) socio-metric choices; (2) a self-designation opinion leadership scale; (3) a self-anchoring opinion leadership measure; and (4) judges' rating.

The measurement of leadership by the procedures mentioned above will give the degree of influence of the individuals in the community. Comparing the degree of opinion leadership with the degree of cosmopolitaness will give information on the existence of some individuals high in cosmopolitaness and low in leadership who are expected to be the marginal men or innovators.

Decision Rules

Two sets of villages, modern and traditional, will be considered as replications in the present study. The analysis of the data will be presented in separate tables for each replication. Each hypothesis is composed of three parts consisting of comparisons of marginal

men to cosmopolite leaders; cosmopolite leaders to localite leaders; and localite leaders to localite followers.

When the direction of the means of the three (or two) parts of a hypothesis are as they were hypothesized, and the differences are statistically significant, the entire hypothesis will be accepted. When the direction of the means is as hypothesized for none, or for one part, even when the difference be statistically significant, it will not be accepted.

When comparing the results for the two sets of villages, an hypothesis will be accepted only when in both sets of villages the hypothesis was accepted.

Statistical Analysis

For testing the hypotheses, the population was divided separately into the three modern and the two traditional communities at the mean for both independent variables: cosmopoliteness and opinion leadership, and placed in two-by-two tables (Figures 5 and 6). The purpose of this division was to obtain individuals of the five communities classified in lows and highs in the two characteristics mentioned.

For each cell in the tables the mean for each of the eight dependent variables was obtained: agricultural innovativeness, home innovativeness, mass media exposure, extension contact, social participation, empathy, and

achievement motivation. The "t" test was used to test for significant differences between means.

		Opinion Leadership	
		Low	High
Cosmopoliteness	Low	97 Low-Low Localite Followers	27 Low-High Localite Leaders
	High	23 High-Low Marginal Men	13 High-High Cosmopolite Leaders

Figure 5. Classification of Individuals in the Modern Communities in Highs and Lows in Cosmopoliteness and Opinion Leadership.

		Opinion Leadership	
		Low	High
Cosmopoliteness	Low	62 Low-Low Localite Followers	10 Low-High Localite Leaders
	High	9 High-Low Marginal Men	14 High-High Cosmopolite Leaders

Figure 6. Classification of Individuals in the Traditional Communities in Highs and Lows in Cosmopoliteness and Opinion Leadership.

CHAPTER IV

TEST OF HYPOTHESES

General Hypothesis I: Marginal men are higher in agricultural innovativeness than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers (Table 1).

General Conclusion about Hypothesized Directions

According to the decision rules stated in Chapter III, for acceptance or not of a hypothesis, General Hypothesis I is not accepted.

The means are in the predicted direction in two parts of the hypothesis for modern and for traditional villages, but only one part of the hypothesis for the modern villages is significant.

General Hypothesis II: Marginal men are higher in home innovativeness than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers (Table 2).

General Conclusion about Hypothesized Directions

For the three modern villages, the hypothesis is accepted since for two parts the directions of the means are as predicted. For the two traditional villages, the hypothesis is not accepted since only in one part is the direction of the means as predicted.

The General Hypothesis II is not accepted.

Table 1. Agriculture Innovativeness on the Basis of Division at the Mean.

Agriculture Innovativeness	Classification of the Individuals			
	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders	Localite Leaders	Localite Followers
I. Three Modern Villages	N=23	N=13	N=27	N=97
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	43.39	53.38	50.85	40.21
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	**>
II. Two Traditional Villages	N=14	N=9	N=10	N=62
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	50.14	50.22	46.30	44.35
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	ns

ns Not significant

** Significant at the .01 level

Table 2. Home Innovativeness on the Basis of Division at the Mean.

Home Innovativeness	Classification of Individuals			
	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders	Localite Leaders	Localite Followers
I. Three Modern Villages	N=23	N=13	N=27	N=97
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	49.00	67.76	42.03	37.15
3. Actual direction of the means	<*	**>	*>	
II. Traditional Villages	N=14	N=9	N=10	N=62
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	48.85	49.66	46.70	41.11
3. Actual direction of the means	ns	ns	*>	

ns Not significant

* Significant at the .05 level

** Significant at the .01 level

General Hypothesis III: Marginal men are higher in mass media exposure than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers (Table 3).

General Conclusion about Hypothesized Directions

For the modern villages the hypothesis is accepted since for two parts, the direction of the means is as predicted and the differences between means are significant in one part at .01 level and in the other part at .05 level.

For the traditional villages the differences between means are significant at the .05 level in only one part.

General Hypothesis III is not accepted.

General Hypothesis IV: Marginal men are lower in social participation than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers (Table 4).

General Conclusion about Hypothesized Directions

General Hypothesis IV is not accepted since the difference between means are not significant in any part.

Table 3. Mass Media Exposure on the Basis of Division at the Mean.

Mass Media Exposure	Classification of the Individuals			
	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders	Localite Leaders	Localite Followers
I. Three Modern Villages	N=23	N=13	N=27	N=97
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	52.34	59.46	44.07	39.32
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	**>	*>
II. Two Traditional Villages	N=14	N=9	N=10	N=62
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	52.92	64.77	48.20	44.03
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	*>	ns

ns Not Significant

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

Table 4. Social Participation on the Basis of Division
at the Mean.

Social Participation	Classification of the Individuals			
	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders	Localite Leaders	Localite Followers
I. Three Modern Villages	N=23	N=13	N=27	N=97
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		<	>	>
2. Means	3.13	3.07	4.63	3.53
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	ns
II. Two Traditional Villages	N=14	N=9	N=10	N=62
1. Hypothesized Direction of the means		<	>	>
2. Means	0.28	0.22	0.00	0.17
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	ns

ns Not significant

General Hypothesis V: Marginal men are higher in extension contact than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers (Table 5).

General Conclusion about Hypothesized Directions

General Hypothesis V is not accepted since the differences between means are not significant in any part.

General Hypothesis VI: Marginal men are lower in social status than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers (Table 6).

General Conclusion about Hypothesized Directions

For the modern villages, the hypothesis is accepted since in two parts of the hypothesis the direction between means is as predicted with significance at the .05 level in one part and at the .01 level in the other part.

For the traditional villages, the hypothesis is not accepted since the difference between means are not significant.

General Hypothesis VI is not accepted.

Table 5. Extension Contact on the Basis of Division at the Mean.

Extension Contacts	Classification of the Individuals			
	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders	Localite Leaders	Localite Followers
I. Three Modern Villages	N=23	N=13	N=27	N=97
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	0.91	1.84	1.14	0.73
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	ns
II. Two Traditional Villages	N=14	N=9	N=10	N=62
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	0.64	1.00	0.80	0.09
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	**

ns Not significant

** Significant at the .01 level

Table 6. Social Status on the Basis of Division at the Mean.

Social Status	Classification of the Individuals			
	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders	Localite Leaders	Localite Followers
I. Three Modern Villages	N=23	N=13	N=27	N=97
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		<	>	>
2. Means	2.30	2.84	2.14	1.33
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	* >	** >
II. Two Traditional Villages	N=14	N=9	N=10	N=62
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		<	>	>
2. Means	1.85	2.11	1.30	1.12
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	ns

ns Not significant

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

General Hypothesis VII: Marginal men are higher in achievement motivation than are cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers (Table 7).

General Conclusion about Hypothesized Directions

The hypothesis is not accepted for the modern villages because only one part was in the direction predicted and significant at the .01 level. Between marginal men and cosmopolite leaders, there is a significant difference at the .01 level, but in the opposite direction. For traditional villages, only one part is significant at the .01 level.

General Hypothesis VII is not accepted.

General Hypothesis VIII: Marginal men are higher in empathy than are cosmopolite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite leaders, who in turn are higher than localite followers (Table 8).

General Conclusion about Hypothesized Directions

For modern villages, the differences between means is significant at the .01 level in only one part. For the traditional villages, the differences were not significant in any part.

General Hypothesis VIII is not accepted.

Table 7. Achievement Motivation on the Basis of Division at the Mean.

Achievement Motivation	Classification of the Individuals			
	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders	Localite Leaders	Localite Followers
I. Three Modern Villages	N=23	N=13	N=27	N=97
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	11.26	15.53	11.11	11.26
3. Actual direction of the means		< **	** >	ns
II. Two Traditional Villages	N=14	N=9	N=10	N=62
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	19.64	22.00	19.40	14.72
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	** >

ns Not significant

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

Table 8. Empathy on the Basis of Division at the Mean

Empathy	Classification of the Individuals			
	Marginal Men	Cosmopolite Leaders	Localite Leaders	Localite Followers
I. Three Modern Villages	N=23	N=13	N=27	N=97
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	5.34	6.53	6.22	3.60
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	**>
II. Two Traditional Villages	N=14	N=9	N=10	N=62
1. Hypothesized direction of the means		>	>	>
2. Means	3.92	4.33	2.5	2.16
3. Actual direction of the means		ns	ns	ns

ns Not significant

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

Summary of Results

The Eight General Hypotheses were not accepted across both sets of villages.

Our data show that of 48 mean differences:

31 were in the direction predicted

(13 are significant)

17 were in the opposite direction

(2 are significant)

For the modern villages, three hypotheses were accepted: those dealing with home innovativeness, mass media exposure, and status.

For the traditional villages, none of the hypotheses were accepted.

For the two sets of villages, the results were:

1. Modern Villages:

15 mean differences were in the predicted direction

(9 are significant)

9 mean differences were in the opposite direction

(2 are significant)

2. Traditional Villages:

16 mean differences were in the predicted direction

(4 are significant)

8 mean differences were in the opposite direction

(none are significant)

For the eight independent variables the results were:

1. Agriculture Innovativeness

4 mean differences were in the predicted direction
(1 is significant)

2 were in the opposite direction
(none are significant)

2. Home Innovativeness

4 mean differences were in the predicted direction
(3 are significant)

2 were in the opposite direction
(1 is significant)

3. Mass Media Exposure

4 mean differences were in the predicted direction
(3 are significant)

2 were in the opposite direction
(none are significant)

4. Social Participation

2 mean differences were in the predicted direction
(none are significant)

4 were in the opposite direction
(none are significant)

5. Extension Contact

4 mean differences were in the predicted direction
(none are significant)

2 were in the opposite direction
(none are significant)

6. Social status

6 mean differences were in the predicted direction
(2 are significant)

7. Achievement Motivation

3 mean differences were in the predicted direction
(2 are significant)

3 were in the opposite direction
(1 is significant)

8. Empathy

4 mean differences were in the predicted direction
(1 is significant)

2 were in the opposite direction
(none are significant)

For the three parts of each hypotheses the mean differences were:

Part #1: Differences in the means between Marginal Men and Cosmopolite Leaders:

2 were as predicted
(none are significant)

14 were in the opposite direction
(2 are significant)

Part #2: Differences in the means between Cosmopolite Leaders and Localite Leaders:

15 were as predicted
(5 are significant)

1 was in the opposite direction
(not significant)

Part #3: Differences in the means between Localite Leaders and Localite Followers:

14 were as predicted
(8 are significant)

2 were in the opposite direction
(none are significant)

Table 9 presents a complete summary of the results.

Table 9. Summary of Significant and Not Significant Differences Between Means for the Three Parts of Hypotheses Stated for Modern and Traditional Villages.

Hypothesized Variables	Modern Villages						Traditional Villages						No. of Significant Expected Diff.
	Parts numbers and directions of means												
	#1 p a	#2 p a	#3 p a	#1 p a	#2 p a	#3 p a	#1 p a	#2 p a	#3 p a	#1 p a	#2 p a	#3 p a	
I Agr. Inn.	ns > <	ns >	** >	ns > <	ns >	** >	ns > <	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	1
II Home Inn.	* > <	** >	* >	ns > <	ns >	* >	ns > <	ns >	ns >	*	ns >	ns >	3
III Mass M. Exp.	ns > <	** <	* >	ns > <	ns >	* >	ns > <	* >	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	3
IV Social Part.	ns <	ns >	ns >	ns <	ns >	ns >	ns <	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	0
V Ext. Contact	ns > <	ns >	ns >	ns > <	ns >	ns >	ns > <	ns >	ns >	** >	ns >	ns >	1
VI Soc. Status	ns <	* >	** >	ns <	ns >	** >	ns <	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	2
VII Achiev. Motiv.	** > <	** >	ns >	ns > <	ns >	ns >	ns > <	ns >	ns >	** >	ns >	ns >	2
VIII Empathy	ns > <	ns >	** >	ns > <	ns >	** >	ns > <	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	ns >	1
No. of Expected Signl. Diff.	0	4	5	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	0	0	
Not Expected 2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

ns Not significant

* Significant at the .05 level

** Significant at the .01 level

p Predicted direction of the mean

a Actual direction of the mean

Part #1 Difference in the means between Mar-
ginal Men and Cosmopolite Leaders.

Part #2 Difference in the means between Cosmo-
polite Leaders and Localite Leaders.

Part #3 Difference in the means between Local-
ite Leaders and Localite Followers.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A main approach of the present study was to investigate the role of mass media communication channels in informing and influencing rural people in Latin American communities concerning innovations. Special consideration was given to the flow of information from change-oriented social systems to traditional social systems, and the role played by marginal men in the introduction of change. Marginal men are considered those individuals who belong to a given social system, but at the same time are actively related to other social systems. Their behavior sets them at the margin of their social system and in the periphery of other social systems. The marginal situation of these individuals makes them significant sources of innovation and social change.

The operationalization of marginality in the present study is different than in most previous studies. Formerly, marginal men were migrants forming minority groups in a new location; the concept of marginality referred usually to instances of cultural or racial problems. The marginal man in the present study had not physically migrated from their homes.

The data for the present study were collected in five Colombian communities. The sample consisted of 225 respondents. Three of the five villages were considered relatively modern and the other two, traditional. The two sets of villages were used as replications of the same study in that the same eight hypotheses were tested in each.

In order to separate marginal individuals, the sample was divided, separately for modern and traditional villages, at the means on two variables: cosmopolitanism and opinion leadership. Then, in a two by two table, the individuals were classified in regard to their level of cosmopolitanism and opinion leadership. Marginal men are indicated as individuals high in cosmopolitanism and low in opinion leadership. The individuals were classified as high and low in the two variables, into four categories: marginal men, cosmopolite leaders, localite leaders, and localite followers (Figure 7).

		OPINION LEADERSHIP	
		Low	High
COSMOPOLITENESS	Low	Low-Low Localite Followers	Low-High Localite Leaders
	High	High-Low Marginal Men	High-High Cosmopolite Leaders

Figure 7. Classification of the Individuals of the Communities in Regard to Degree of Opinion Leadership and Cosmopolitanism.

The purposes of the study were:

1. To determine the role of mass media communication channels in the modernization process.
2. To investigate the relationship of marginality to innovativeness, mass media exposure, social participation, extension contact, social status, achievement motivation, and empathy in modern and traditional communities.
3. To develop a paradigm of marginality and indicate how marginality relates to social change and modernization.

Eight General Hypotheses, each composed of three parts, were developed indicating expected direction of the means. It was expected that marginal men would be higher in innovativeness, mass media exposure, extension contact (an external source of information), achievement motivation, and empathy, and lower in social participation and social status than cosmopolite leaders, who in turn were expected to be higher in all those characteristics than localite leaders, who in turn were expected to be higher than localite followers.

For the statistical analysis, the "t" test was used to determine levels of significance between the means drawn for the four categories of individuals of the community.

None of the hypotheses stated were accepted. The

predicted direction of the mean did not result as hypothesized. In the five communities studied, the individuals classified as marginal men did not show the expected characteristics for this type of person.

The individuals who showed most of the characteristics expected for marginal men were the cosmopolite leaders, who at the same time were high in leadership, one characteristic not expected of marginal men. But the differences between means for marginal men and cosmopolite leaders were not statistically significant. They were only significant in regard to home innovativeness and achievement motivation. It can be concluded that in the case of the villages studied, marginal men and cosmopolite leaders share several common characteristics, except leadership. Marginal men, as cosmopolite leaders and localite leaders, were found to be more modern than the followers in both sets of communities--modern and traditional. Therefore, they should be the focus of attention for change agents and those interested in the introduction of change.

The results obtained for the two sets of villages are very similar; the small differences will be indicated in the next section.

Interpretation of Results

The results obtained in the testing of the eight hypotheses stated in Chapter II indicate:

1. The non-acceptance of the eight hypotheses shows that in the five communities studied, marginal men apparently do not have, at level hypothesized, the characteristics attributed to them in regard to the other members of the community.

2. The direction of the means between the marginal men and the cosmopolite leaders, for seven variables in both sets of communities was opposite than hypothesized, but the differences were not significant for six variables in the modern communities and for all seven dependent variables in the traditional communities. This result may mark a difference between the two sets of communities. In regard to marginal men and cosmopolite leaders, it can be suggested that both groups share the same characteristics, except leadership.

3. In comparing the results obtained for the modern and the traditional villages, three hypotheses were accepted for the modern communities in regard to home innovativeness, mass media exposure and status. For the traditional communities, none of the hypotheses were accepted. These results may mark another difference between modern and traditional villages. The three hypotheses accepted for the modern villages are meaningful

for the purposes of the present study. It was hypothesized that marginal men were higher in innovativeness and mass media exposure than anyone in the community and lower in status than the leaders.

4. Tables 1 and 2 show there are no significant differences between the three means on agriculture innovativeness. In home innovativeness the results indicate clearly that the localite followers are less innovative than the other three categories.

5. The marginal men and cosmopolite leaders are most exposed to mass media, as was expected. The differences between the cosmopolite leaders and the localite leaders in the modern communities are significant at the .01 level; in the traditional villages, the differences are at the .05 level. This also was expected, since the cosmopolite leaders, being more cosmopolite, should be more exposed to mass media. In the modern villages, localite leaders show a significant difference at the .05 level from the localite followers. In the traditional villages, there are no differences between them. Here, as in the case of innovativeness, small differences are found between leaders (traditional) and followers, as was found earlier by Rogers and van Es (1966:34).

6. Social participation and extension contact do not show differences among the four categories of individuals. The extension service seems to be a new organization in these communities and in one of them was discontinued.

7. Social status resulted in the direction predicted, but not at significant levels for all parts of the hypothesis. The cosmopolite leaders possess the higher status.

8. Rogers and Neill (1966:76) found a positive correlation between achievement motivation and cosmopoliteness. It was expected in the present study that marginal men would be higher in achievement motivation than the other individuals. Probably, when the individuals were separated in highs and lows in cosmopoliteness and opinion leadership, most of the individuals higher in achievement motivation fell in the category of cosmopolite leaders. There should be a link between these two variables: achievement motivation and leadership in the case of these five communities.

In the traditional villages, the marginal men were not significantly different from cosmopolite leaders in achievement motivation. In the modern villages, the differences between them were significant at the .01 level.

9. The empathy variable shows no difference among three of the categories compared. Only on the modern villages is there a significant difference between localite followers and localite leaders. In the traditional villages, these two categories do not show any difference. This is another case where these two categories do not show much difference in the traditional villages indicative of differences between the two sets of villages.

Additional Testing of Hypotheses

In order to find out if there are some other significant differences between the means, for the marginal men and the other categories, we computed "t" tests between the means of each pair of categories not compared formerly: marginal men to localite leaders; marginal men to localite followers; and cosmopolite leaders to localite followers.

The results of this further testing are presented in Tables 10, 11, and 12.

It can be observed in Table 10 that only in regard to mass media exposure is the difference between means of marginal men and localite leaders significant; for the rest of the dependent variables, the differences are not significant.

In the case of differences between the means of marginal men and localite followers (Table 11), the tests were not significant for social participation, extension contact, and achievement motivation in the modern villages; and social participation and extension contacts in the traditional villages.

With regard to agriculture and home innovativeness, mass media exposure, status and empathy, the differences are significant at the .01 level for modern villages. For the traditional villages, the differences are significant at the .05 level in regard to agriculture and home innovativeness, mass media exposure and achievement motivation;

and at the .01 level for social status and empathy.

Table 12 shows the differences between cosmopolite leaders and localite followers. Social participation does not differ among the categories in the five communities (Tables 4, 10 and 11). Extension contact is only significant at the .05 level between cosmopolite leaders and followers, and at the .01 level between the localite leaders and followers (Table 5).

Interpretation of the Additional Results

Innovativeness:

When comparing the followers to the other categories, the differences resulted significant at the .01 level and in the expected direction. The marginal men and the leaders (both cosmopolite and localite) are more innovative than the followers--as was expected.

Mass Media Exposure:

In the first testing of the hypotheses, marginal men and cosmopolite leaders demonstrated high exposure to mass media. When comparing these two categories to the followers, the differences were significant at the .01 level for both sets of villages.

Social Participation:

The additional testing did not provide any new information on social participation. This variable does not differentiate among the four types of villagers.

Extension Contact:

This variable seems to be another that does not show large differences among the villagers. Only in the traditional villages are there significant differences between cosmopolite leaders and the followers, similar to the one found between the followers and the localite leaders (Table 5). The marginal men failed to show a large difference compared to the other categories. It seems the marginals are not using or considering extension contact as an external source of reference.

Social Status:

In the additional testing of the hypothesis in regard to status, marginal men were higher in status than the localite followers (at the .01 level in the modern, and at the .05 in the traditional villages).

Compared to the leaders, marginals do not show significant differences. According to earlier findings of Putney and Putney (1962:551) and Pelto, cited by Rogers (1962:194), prestige of marginal men is meaningful in change-oriented communities. Small differences exist between the two sets of villages included in the present study. In the modern communities, the status of marginal men is higher than in the traditional communities when compared to the followers. The leaders are also significantly different at the .01 level from the followers in the modern communities; in the traditional communities, the cosmopolite leaders are

significantly different at the .01 level. Localite leaders are not significantly different than the followers in the traditional villages.

Achievement Motivation:

The additional testing shows that in the modern communities only, the cosmopolite leaders are significantly different at the .01 level, from the other three categories of individuals. These three categories do not show significant differences among them.

For the traditional communities, the differences between followers and the other categories are significant at the .01 level.

The marginal men, localite leaders and localite followers in the modern communities show no significant differences in achievement motivation. These results are unexpected; perhaps the scale used to measure this variable was not the most adequate for these villages.

Empathy:

The additional testing shows that in the modern villages there is a significant difference, at the .01 level, between the followers and the two categories of marginal men and cosmopolite leaders. In the traditional villages, the difference is significant at the .05 level.

For the traditional villages, empathy is not different between the localite leaders and the followers (Table 8), but in the modern, the difference is at the .01 level.

Table 10. Determination of Differences between Means of Marginal Men and Localite Leaders in Modern and Traditional Villages.

Variables	Modern Villages			Traditional Villages		
	Marginal Men		Localite Leaders	Marginal Men		Localite Leaders
Agriculture Innovativeness	46.39	ns	50.85	50.14	ns	46.30
Home Innovativeness	49.00	ns	42.03	48.85	ns	46.70
Mass Media Exposure	52.34	*	59.46	52.92	ns	48.20
Social Participation	3.13	ns	3.07	0.28	ns	0.00
Extension Contact	0.91	ns	1.14	0.64	ns	0.80
Status	2.30	ns	2.14	1.85	ns	1.30
Achievement Motivation	11.26	ns	11.11	19.64	ns	19.40
Empathy	5.34	ns	6.22	3.92	ns	2.50

ns Not significant

* Significant at the .05 level

** Significant at the .01 level

Table 11. Determination of Differences between Means of Marginal Men and Localite Followers in Modern and Traditional Communities.

Variables	Modern Villages			Traditional Villages		
	Marginal Men		Localite Followers	Marginal Men		Localite Followers
Agriculture Innovativeness	46.39	**	40.21	50.14	**	44.35
Home Innovativeness	49.00	**	37.15	48.85	**	41.11
Mass media Exposure	52.34	**	39.32	52.92	**	44.03
Social Participation	3.13	ns	3.53	0.28	ns	0.17
Extension Contact	0.91	ns	1.84	0.64	ns	0.09
Status	2.30	**	1.33	1.85	*	1.12
Achievement Motivation	11.26	ns	11.26	19.64	**	14.72
Empathy	5.34	**	3.60	3.92	*	2.16

ns Not significant

* Significant at the .05 level

** Significant at the .01 level

Table 12. Determination of the Difference between Means of Cosmopolite Leaders and Localite Followers in Modern and Traditional Communities.

Variables	Modern Villages			Traditional Villages		
	Cosmopolite Leaders		Localite Followers	Cosmopolite Leaders		Localite Followers
Agriculture Innovativeness	53.38	**	40.21	50.22	**	44.35
Home Innovativeness	67.76	**	37.15	49.66	**	41.11
Mass Media Exposure	59.46	**	39.32	64.77	**	44.03
Social Participation	3.07	ns	3.53	0.22	ns	0.17
Extension Contact	1.84	ns	0.73	1.00	*	0.09
Status	2.84	**	1.33	2.11	**	1.12
Achievement Motivation	15.53	**	11.26	22.00	**	14.17
Empathy	6.53	**	3.60	4.33	*	2.16

ns Not significant

* Significant at the .05 level

** Significant at the .01 level

Conclusions

1. The results obtained show that in the communities studied the individuals classified as marginals do not have the characteristics assigned to this typology of individuals in the direction predicted. Possible reasons for obtaining results different from our predictions in regard to the marginal men are:

- (a) The theoretical frame of reference may not have been correct. There may be inadequate theoretic reasons to have expected marginal men to be more modern than others. Perhaps the marginal men should be studied more deeply to revise our conceptions of his characteristics and behavior. We lack much past research on marginal men and perhaps this inadequate data led to weak original hypotheses. So perhaps the hypotheses ought to have been stated differently. We shall explore alternative conceptions later in this section.
- (b) In order to make a classification of individuals into marginal men and others, the population was divided at the mean in regard to two salient characteristics: cosmopolitanism and opinion leadership. The individuals were separated in highs and lows on these two dimensions to form four categories: marginal men, cosmopolite leaders, localite leaders, and localite followers. Perhaps this technique of classification

is subject to question, and alternative procedures should be considered.

- (c) The data used for the present study, such as the size of the sample, may not have been the most adequate to study the problem of marginal men and their role in the diffusion process. The measurement of the variables may not be the most adequate for the purposes of the present study. Certainly, our operationalizations of innovativeness, cosmopolitaness, etc., could be improved in future research. Further, the present results might be different if the communities studied were completely traditional and not communities that show clearly they are in a stage of transition from traditionalism to modernization.

2. According to the results, individuals classified as cosmopolite leaders seem to be just as modern as the marginal men, contrary to the General Hypotheses established in Chapter II. In the following discussion, we only deal with the six independent variables indicating modernization, and exclude social participation and social status. On the contrary, the mean for cosmopolite leaders indicates greater modernity than for the marginal men: 12 cases (Table 9) and 2 of these differences were significant. This gives evidence that there is another category of individual, besides the marginal man, who plays a key role in the modernization of peasant villages.

These individuals, the cosmopolite leaders, should be taken into account when planning development programs.

3. The cosmopolite leaders are more modern than localite leaders. Table 9 presents the evidence:

16 mean differences are in the predicted direction
4 are significant.

4. Cosmopolite leaders are more modern than localite followers. Table 12 presents the evidence:

12 means differences are in the predicted direction
11 are significant

5. However marginal men are more modern than localite leaders and localite followers. Evidence is given in Tables 10 and 11.

(a) Localite Leaders (Table 10):

7 mean differences are in the predicted direction
0 are significant

(b) Localite Followers (Table 11):

10 mean differences are in the predicted direction
9 are significant

6. Localite leaders are more modern than localite followers. Evidence given in Table 9 shows:

11 mean differences are in the predicted direction
7 are significant

7. In general the four categories rank in modernization as follows: (1) Cosmopolite leaders

(2) Marginal men

(3) Localite leaders

(4) Localite followers

Implications for the Change Agent

As a general conclusion, it can be said that the present study, even though the eight hypotheses stated were not accepted, has provided some useful information for the change agent, especially concerning the use of mass media in the process of modernization.

Differences between leaders and followers have been emphasized in the literature of sociology and other social sciences. But in the present study, our results show evidence of the existence of another group of individuals in the five communities that deserve the attention of change agents and planners. These individuals are those who do not possess leadership, but because of their high degree of cosmopolitaness, may be important sources and channels of information and important carriers of new ideas to the villages. They have characteristics that indicate modernization, which a majority of the population do not possess.

The present study suggests that in strategies for change, efforts should be directed also to the marginal

individuals (as well as the opinion leaders), those eager to try new ideas. They perform an important first step in the flow of information because of their high cosmopolitaness, especially when the mass media channels of communication are poor and the physical conditions contribute to isolation.

Even if the marginal men are not classified among the influentials in the community, they have some indirect influence over the people as carriers of information about innovations. As hypothesized by Waisanen (1963), these individuals may perform the first step in the flow of information in traditional social systems or transitional social systems. Change is taking place in some villages faster than in others. The five communities studied are all change-oriented, the indicators of modernization are present in all of them, only some of them are more developed than the others. Most of the individuals have a touch of marginality. The manifestations of several indicators of modernization are present in the individuals themselves. Innovativeness, mass media exposure, extension contact, achievement motivation and empathy, are variables that mark where individuals are in the modern-traditional continuum.

Implications for Mass Media

The results of the present study have provided some recommendations for the change agent and the use of

different channels of communication in the introduction of change, but what about the role of mass media content in supporting and helping the change agent in the performance of his work? What about the treatment of the messages? Should the messages be directed only to individuals already found to be highly exposed to mass media channels of communication: the more cosmopolite individuals (marginals and cosmopolite leaders)?

Mass media channels of communication should structure their messages to reach the rural audiences, but especially to those individuals who have shown lower exposure to mass media such as the traditional leaders and the followers. Most of the mass media content in Latin America is intended for the urban audiences; very few messages are structured especially for the rural population.

If the big cities' newspapers, magazines, radio and television broadcasts will devote part of their space and time to rural audiences, they will increase their contribution to the modernization of rural areas.

It is mentioned very often that the high levels of illiteracy, the difficulties in transportation and the lack and high cost of electric power, radio and television sets limit severely the size of the audience for mass media; but several studies have indicated that the use of small transistorized sets and local newspapers overcome

these problems. Besides, several studies cited by Rogers with Svenning (1969) have pointed out the multiple effects of using mass media with local intermediators in the transmission of news and innovations.

So the design of messages with modernization content (1) should be re-oriented to reach directly or indirectly the big masses needing new ideas, (2) try to interconnect their channels with other local channels of communication to create awareness of new ideas, and (3) speed the process of adoption of innovation. Mass media may provide a contribution to the process of modernization, giving a more effective and timely support to development programs.

Implications for Development Planners

In the non-Communist countries the use of mass media channels of communication have been neglected in the planning and supporting development programs. The role of mass media is important and necessary in the previous stages of development and during the conduct of these programs.

Schramm (1963:38-42) based on Rostow (1960) considerations of necessary conditions to what this author calls "economic take-off" and Lerner's (1958) hypothesis of "national empathy" points out six essential functions of communications in the development process: (1) they must be used to contribute to the feeling of "nation-ness"

(A modernizing society requires mass media to carry news and viewpoints of the nation into the villages. A citizen cannot extend his environment unless communication system extends also its environment); (2) they must be used as the voice of national planning (the people of the developing nation require to make an enormous effort and learn new skills and new ways of life); (3) they must be used to help teach the necessary skills (they must help to teach literacy, technical specialities and skills needed for agriculture production); (4) they must be used to help extend the effective market (if most of the people are to live and work in the cities, if there is to be a national industry, if the country is to build its foreign trade, obviously there must be communication directed to these ends); (5) as the plan develops, communication must be used to help prepare people to play their new parts (in the traditional societies the attention is in the past, in the modernizing society the attention is overwhelmingly on what is to come. People should be oriented toward the greater effort and strengthens them to endure hardship and to prepare them for the new roles, new responsibilities and problems); (6) they must be used to prepare the people to play their role as nation among nations (the process of economic development inevitably requires that horizons be widened from local to national and hence to international events. The eyes of the common man must be lifted from

his village to the world. This change must be anchored in the school system, the newspaper and the daily conversation).

So a theme of the present study, although not based directly on the results, is the potential role of mass communication in aiding development programs.

Need For Future Research

The results suggest the need for further research before stating definite conclusions concerning the characteristics and communication behavior of the marginal man and his role in the process of modernization. We need research on the design of communication programs using the mass media linked to personal contacts.

The following main points are suggested for future studies:

1. To design special research to study the marginal man category; their characteristics, communication behavior and their role in the changes introduced in the community.

2. To study the degree of influence of these marginal individuals in the population, including leaders. Could the marginal men become cosmopolite leaders?

3. To include in future research, additional independent variables that might help to define the marginal men, such as entrepreneurship, size of the farm, literacy,

education, fatalism, familism, etc.

4. To study patterns of interaction in the interpersonal diffusion of innovations to discover the relationships of other individuals with marginal men. For instance, do the marginal men have a heavy pattern of interaction with the cosmopolite leaders?

5. To study marginal men in communities with extremely traditional and modern norms to determine their communication behavior in such cases, and how mass media channels reach the marginal men in those contrasting situations.

6. To determine whether marginality comes to characterize a great number of a social system.

7. In the present study it has been assumed that an increase in cosmopoliteness is conducive to an increase in modernization. We need to study the time-order of development of cosmopoliteness and modernization to find out if the two variables are interdependent, or perhaps the direction is reversed: modernization leads to cosmopoliteness.

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