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COMMUNICATION STRATEGY AND MIGRATION POLICY: An exploratory literature survey pertaining to the Latin American situation

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RESUMEN

El objetivo de este documento es despertar el interés por el pensamiento científico aplicado en relación a la comunicación en las políticas de migración y argumentar en favor de la utilidad de llevar a cabo un proyecto piloto en un contorno adecuado de cambio estructural.

La primera parte trata acerca del concepto de políticas de población; la segunda y la tercera, acerca de la influencia de la educación y la comunicación de masas sobre la motivación migracional. La cuarta parte constituye un intento de resumir el modelo de comunicación de Everett Rogers y aplicarlo a la política de migración.

SUMMARY

The aim of this paper is to awaken interest in the applied scientific line of thinking with regard to communication for migration policies and to argue for the usefulness of executing a pilot project in an appropriate setting of structural change.

The first part is devoted to the concept of population policies; the second and the third, to the influence of education and mass communication on migration motivation. Fourth part is an attempt to summarize Everett Rogers' communication model and apply it to migration policy.

I N D E X

I. FOREWORD

The intention of this paper is to awaken interest in the application of communication science findings to migration policy and to argue that it is useful and possible under certain circumstances to incorporate a communication strategy within a migration policy. Since the process of urbanization, or rather "metropolization", is of central concern, in this regard we shall emphasize rural-urban migration and migration from provincial towns to primate cities in our discussion.

The general idea is thus to explore the possibilities of complying with point 47 of the report Action taken at Bucharest :"Internal migration policies should include the provision of information to the rural population concerning economic and social conditions in the urban areas, including information on the availability of employment opportunities".

We must point out, with Omar Argüello and Waldomiro Pecht, who commented upon these themes in personal conversation, that a communication strategy does not have a high priority in the development of a migration policy -in which socio-economic and political structural change is of central importance- and furthermore, that there is an element of riskiness involved in propagating the execution of a communication strategy, which might be adopted independent of such structural change. We shall go to some length to demonstrate that this also applies for policies of education and mass communication. Where an integral migration policy is however being formulated, the effectiveness thereof will benefit from the inclusion of a communication strategy, and there is no evident reason why it should be left out.

We conclude by stating that the paper is written for demographers and others interested in migration policies and that it contains little news for communication scientists.

II. INTRODUCTION

The original indigenous pattern of settlement encountered by the 'conquistadores', as determined by ecological, geographical and military factors, was largely followedby initial colonial inhabitants of Latin America.[1/] Since then political and structural changes have given rise to population redistribution by migration.[2/] The contemporary structurally heterogeneous outcome of such processes and the concomitant uneven pattern of population distribution interact to keep an ever-continuing urbanization in motion.[3/] Only where an alteration of the economical or political structure has taken place may we expect, according to historical-structural reasoning, that a change in migration streams will occur -but this consequence will not follow in an automatic, mechanical manner-. As Argüello has noted, due to the fact that levels of information about the structural possibilities of different areas will usually be deficient, there will undoubtedly be some areas which receive an unproportionate number of migrants with regard to their structural absorption potential.[4/]

The policy implications of such a line of thought are that an economic development policy inevitably affects migration streams and should incorporate them systematically as elements within the integral development plan; otherwise such a policy would leave factors which are essential for the attainment of the proposed objectives outside of its reach and let them develop by chance. The formulation of an explicit migration policy, however, implies not only efforts in the field of regional development, agrarian reform, urbanization projects, etc., -as are being undertaken by various Latin American countries- but also in the -neglected- field of communications in order to provide the information required to channel migration-motivation in the desired direction.

Besides arguments in favor of including a communication strategy based on the effectivity of the migration policy there are ethical reasons for preferring an informational, persuasive tactic of changing the destination of migrants above more coercive alternatives.

1/ Herrera, Ligia, a) p. 1-22.
2/ di Filippo, Armando, a) p. 3-19; b) p. 46-48.
3/ We shall define urbanization with Ramiro Cardona as "the process by which the population of a country concentrates in urban areas".
4/ Argüello, Omar. op. cit. p. 52.

The representatives of Latin American countries demonstrated their concern over the observance of the rights of the individual with regard to population policies, in agreement with the statement of Bucharest, in the report of the Conference of Mexico, March 1975.[5/]

A communication strategy appears to be a requisite for the design and execution of a non-coercive migration policy within development planning, to ensure that perceptions by potential migrants of the structural possibilities of various areas are in accordance with reality; only where such perceptions are deficient will a short-term communication strategy be useful and will research into motivational factors be justified from this viewpoint. Where popular perceptions of the structural situation are correct, motivation is given by the very realization of this situation and it is obvious that other measures than information -diffusion would be required to affect migration streams, notably, measures which change the structural situation, after which, of course, communication comes in as an essential ingredient of migration policy. A thorough investigation into abovementioned circumstances demonstrating the applicability of a communication approach is an essential pre-condition before embarging upon such a project.

III. POPULATION POLICY

There has recently been a considerable amount of desagreement on what should be understood by a population policy. A convenient compilation of prominent definitions in the spanish and english literature has recently been published by Atria and González. From this collection as well as other articles we may extract a number of dimensions on which the interpretations vary.[6/]

a) Object: The positions vary -as stated by Urzúa- from one extreme in which only the deliberate intention to decrease fertility is considered as a population policy to the other extreme for which any (public) action which voluntarily or involuntarily has any demographic effect is considered as such.[7/]

5/ González, Gerardo and Errázuriz, Margarita M. op.cit., p. 31.
6/ Atria, Raúl and González, Juan Carlos, op. cit.
7/ Urzúa, Raúl, a) op cit., p.8, brackets placed by myself.

We shall occupy an intermediate position and conceive as object of population policy: the size, growth, age, composition and territorial distribution of the population as determined by entrance (birth, inmigration), exit (death, emigration) or movements (internal migration). We adopt Ryder's concept of population: "The population is characterized as an aggregate of individuals which conform to a given definition. This definition is ordinarily at least spatial and temporal in specificity".[8/]

b) Nature of changes. With regard to the nature of changes in demographic variables to be considered under the jurisdiction of population policy the distribution between a quantitative (numerical) and qualitative (health, ethnic composition, educational composition, religious composition, etc.) change is sometimes made. Although it is usually not accurately specified what is meant by the term "qualitative" in this context we must admit that there is a lot to say in favor of including at least the element of ethnic composition and maybe religious composition within the definition in order not to exclude elements which have proven to be of central concern in certain historical and contemporary situations. We shall prefer, however, to restrict ourselves to quantitative changes in the abovementioned demographic variables in order to obtain an unambiguous borderline for our definition. Policies aiming at changing "qualitative" aspects of the population may be specified as health, education, eugenic or ethnic policies, thereby making the intent explicit and avoiding "euphemistic" or "ambiguous" use of the term population policy.

c) Intention. A number of definitions of population policy includes only those policies which explicitly express the intention to affect one of the demographic variables, while other definitions also include policies which are not directed towards these variables but unintentionally affect them. We shall agree with Frijling that such "implicit population policies" as they are sometimes called should not be taken up within the definition, because a policy should, by definition be explicit and because it is somewhat inconvenient to categorize policies after the fact in the sense of: "the family allowance act has apparently not been a population policy since effects on population size could not be demonstrated".[9/]

8/ Ryder B. Norman, op. cit. p. 448.
9/ Frijling J.B., op. cit. p. 275-276.

We shall follow González (whose position in this debate is similar to ours in general) according to whom a population policy consists of decisions deliberately directed towards affecting the demographic variables as principal target or as foreseen side-effect.[10/]

d) Public-private. Definitions also differ as to whether public measures only are included or whether programs undertaken by such private organizations as family planning associations, labour unions, church organizations, etc. should also be considered as population policies. There is quite some consensus on the preferrability of restricting the definition to government measures.[11/]

Definition:

We shall then define population policy as the deliberate and explicit government decision to attempt to bring about quantitative changes in size, growth rate, age composition or territorial distribution, fertility, mortality or migration of population as the principal effect or as a foreseen side-effect.

Our definition has the following implications:

- a government may have adopted a population policy which has not been implemented or has been unsuccessful thereby having no effect upon demographic variables, while another government may have not formulated a population policy but may be executing a development plan with far reaching effects on population.
- fertility, mortality or migration policies may be regarded as (the only possible) intermediate measures in order to affect intentionally, the size, growth, distribution or composition of population.
- fertility, mortality or migration policies, as well as policies to affect the other demographic variables, may however also serve as intermediate measures toward attainment of other objectives such as health, egalitarian distribution, economic growth, etc.

10/ González, Gerardo, a) p. 4.
11/ This consensus is shared by the field of policy analysis in general, see for example Godwin, op. cit. p. 15. The practice to include "nondecisions" besides "decisions" and to assign intent to the realm of measurement, rather than formal statement, has however not been adopted, notwithstanding the strong argumentation by Godwin to do so.

- a population policy necessarily includes migration, mortality or fertility regulation as one of its objectives.

Before taking a closer look at migration policies we would like to express our opinion that a population policy should contain systematic considerations pertaining to all 3 of abovementioned central demographic variables in order to be complete and effective since they are inextricably intertwined. Emphasis is commonly placed upon fertility or migration with neglect of the other and with exclusion of mortality. Furthermore, alterations in any one of these variables imply changes in decision-making of individuals within societal institutions, and a population policy should take these inter-personal processes into acount if they are not to be technocratically biased[12/] or based on an inadequate mechanical conception of demographic change.

It has become common within the field of fertility regulation to agree that besides migration[13/] and mortality especially infant and child mortality-conjugal decision-making and motivational factors should be incorporated within a comprehensive policy and it is our intention to demonstrate analogous requirements with regard to migration policy in the present paper.

We shall therefor only substantiate abovementioned opinions by a short remark about mortality policy, the most neglected constituent of population policy. Conceiving the individual as a "subject with an influence of his own" rather than as an "object to be manipulated", as an active agent rather than a pawn, may not seem logical in the case of mortality since it has become practically traditional to subscribe to the contention that "the decline in mortality can be analyzed without recourse to changes in individual planning", as phased by Goldscheider[14/] in contrast to fertility variation in which reproductive norms, family decision-making etc. intervene. Although it is indeed absurd to search for to high mortality in developing societies in

12/ The term is used in the meaning of "no spirit of collaboration" attributed to it by Bennis (op. cit.) p. 62, 79.

13/ Besides numerous empirical studies on the relationship between migration and fertility a theoretical framework within which they are linked is given in Friedlander's classical article, op. cit.

14/ Goldscheider, C., op. cit. p. 135 and following.

social values and personal attitudes that encourage high deathrates, since norms for long life and individual motivation to stay alive must be taken as human universals, it is by no means absurd to analyze social factors that determine who is to be cured and who is left to die. The decision-making centers not on the person who dies but on the person who cures.

Decisions in a social context are taken in communion with others, and the influence of the various participants in the decision-making may vary.

Analogous to the case of reproductive decision-making in which the muslim stepmother decides whether her daughter-in-law will have another child or the physician decides whether abortion or sterilization will be carried out, we have the situation in which a physician decides to cure a particular private patient instead of a number of others. The fact that such a state of affairs is so self evident to those concerned that they are not aware that a scale of priorities and a choice are involved, should not deceive the social scientist.

Such inattentiveness would lead to the unthinking acceptance of the diffusion of a western health system, with a built-in scale of priorities and ethical code to guide decision-making, as if there were no alternative, notwithstanding the evident shortcomings of such a system in a situation in which resources are scarce and the structural situation heterogeneous, as testified by sharp mortality differentials within developing countries between regions and within major cities between neighborhoods.[15/]

As far as the interrelationships between mortality and other demographical variables are concerned we may suffice by referring to the pivotal position attributed to mortality reduction in all theories of population. We must, however, admit that this aspect of migration policy in not manipulable, because doing the utmost to reduce mortality levels must be taken as an axiom from the viewpoint of the ethical value of "respect for life".

It is precisely in order to promote such value that mortality policy should consist of the strategic allocation of scarce resources in the most effective manner with regard to specific goals of mortality reduction.

15/ This theme is discussed in detail in Bryant, op. cit.

Decisions on high governmental level as to the relative emphasis on quantity and quality of medical personnel to be recruited through the educational system, on preventive and curative health care, as well as decisions at the micro-level referring to the relationship and responsibility of medical personnel towards their patients are involved.

Summarizing our brief digression we may agree with Miró that the tenability of a demographic laissez-faire cannot be sustained[16/] and would like to add that goes for all three of the central demographic variables, and that inclusion of attempts to affect decision-making processes within the institutional contexts of society is unavoidable, mainly because it is impossible to affect demographic variables without changing social behavior at the base of society.

IV. MIGRATION AND LONG TERM COMMUNICATION

Discussions of population redistribution usually include policies affecting elements of development such as:

- rural development, rural reform, depressed area policies, border development policies
- decentralization of industry, administrative apparatus and power
- construction of new towns, growth poles, redevelopment of Metropolis
- colonization and "resource frontier" policies
- investment policies, tax policies[17/]

Such structural policies affecting migration shall not be discussed in this paper, but are to be considered as the tapistry into which our communication strategy, to be discussed below, will be interwoven.

Two aspects of social policy which will however be discussed shortly, because of the competing or supporting influence on any attitudes we might wish to change and because of their overlap in substance with our object, are those pertaining to education and mass communications.

16/ Miró, Carmen, -cited in Atria and González- op. cit. p. 18.
17/ See for example United Nations 1973, op. cit., and Walter Stöhr, op. cit.

In our concern with the possible contribution of a communication strategy to a migration policy, we must distinguish between long-term educational policies and short-term communication strategies. Since education clearly consists of communication of knowledge during a period of some duration, we shall briefly discuss the subject under the heading of long-term communication.

Education will be understood in the sense of formal education schooling.

There are various reasons why educational factors are attributed an influence of stimulating rural-urban migration and policies have been suggested to effect these migration streams by changing the educational system.[18/]

The imitation of western educational systems, has biased the content of instruction in a "modern", that is "urban" direction[19/] and adaptation to further schooling or professional employment in agriculture is limited. Thus, as laid down by Guy Jose Bretones in the report of the Seminar of Turrialba, Costa Rica -while in Latin America 45 per cent of the active population is agricultural and rearly 55 per cent typically rural- with marked variations between nations-agricultural aspects of general education are neglected in primary schools; secondary professional education in agriculture is generally followed as a stepping stone to employment in non-agricultural fields, notwithstanding a drastic shortage of technically trained personnel in the agricultural sector; and finally, higher agricultural education, which is followed by a meager 4,4 per cent of university students [20/] has often lost contact with an understanding of the rural inhabitants who fail to cooperate in the solution of their problems, as conceived by the specialists.[21/]

A recent publication by the World Bank about education in developing countries notes that the importance of educational credentials to obtain employment generates social pressures to expand formal education beyond the absorption

18/ Echavarría and Hauser op. cit.; for example see also note 17, p. 47-50 and Paul Bairoch, op. cit. p. 102.

19/ See for example "Conferencia Mundial sobre Enseñanza y Capacitación Agrícolas" point 79. op. cit., 1970,

20/ Situación, Problemas y Tendencias de la Enseñanza y Capacitación Agrícolas en la Región Latinoamericana, 1970. op. cit., p. 41. point 5.

21/ Dr. G.J., Bretones "Estudio y Presentación de las Temas Propuestos" p. 15-21 en Contribución a la Educación Agrícola en América Latina, op. cit.

potential of the modern sector of the economy. This intensifies the demand for continuously increasing levels of instruction and deforms the content of education so that each cyclus merely constitutes a step towards the next cyclus. The emphasis is upon theoretical rather than practical knowledge and those who discontinue schooling at a young age have relatively little benefit of their schooling in earning a living, just as society profits little from the investment done in their schooling.

Lira has noted similar developments for Latin America adding that under such circumstances education serves as an impediment rather than an aid towards mobility.[22/]

It is also stated that educational systems tend to favor the urban populations and middle or high-income groups who possess a definitive advantage in terms of access to systems of education. Disproportionately high percentages of public expenditure on education are directed towards secondary and higher education.

Since the school matricula in developing countries auments at a more rapid pace than opportunities in the modern sector, a desemployment of the educated results at increasingly higher levels of education.[23/] This is symtomatic of the continuous rise of "educational thresholds", that is, of the number of years of formal education necessary to maintain the status of one's father.[24/]

a Frejka's analysis of the educational situation in Latin America testifies to the pertinence of such considerations for the region. Although the percentage of the population in the age groups in question, that are receiving primary education is increasing, the absolute number of children not attending school has

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22/ Lira, Luis Felipe, op. cit.
23/ Banco Mundial, 1975. op. cit.
24/ Lira, Luis Felipe, op. cit.

scarcely declined at all, due to the high growth rate. The expansion of number of pupils in secondary education greatly exceeds the growth rate of the population in the age group concerned producing a rise in the proportion receiving secondary education from 14 per cent in 1955 to 26 per cent in 1965. Although such high rates of schooling are positive in themselves, Frejka poses the question whether they are not to be considered excessive in comparison with other countries (for example in Southern Europe) with lower rates and in view of the fact that high proportions of enlistment in secondary education coincide with low proportions in elementary schools, as he demonstrates to be the case in a number of Latin American countries.

As far as higher education is concerned, the inscription has recently been increasing nearly 3 times as fast as the age group: while the age group of 20-24 years increased by 2.8 per cent the tertiary matricula increased by 8.8 per cent from 1960 to 1965.

Differentials by sex interestingly demonstrate considerable equality of boys and girls in school attendance, although at higher levels of education males start to outnumber females by 2 to 1 (in the age group 20-24 that is). There are however accentuated differences in school attendance between rural and urban areas. In the age group from 7-14 rural rates are usually less than 50 per cent of urban rates, in the group from 14-19 from 10 to 40 per cent of urban rates and in the ages 20-24 rural rates are generally less than 25 per cent of urban rates for Latin American countries. The average age of pupils in the different grades of elementary schools is higher in rural areas, because it is common to start school rather late, at ages 9, 10, 11 instead of 6 or 7 or 8, as illustrated by the "pear-shaped" age distribution of children of schoolgoing ages 7 to 19, with highest school attendance at around the age of 11. There are no indications that such rural-urban differentials are decreasing.[25/]

Notwithstanding such a state of affaires, Lira points out that educational aspirations of migrants are high and rising-especially for their children, for whom a broad general education is preferred to a technically specific training-a tendency which is accentuated for non-manual rather than manual workers. The diffusion of urban life styles has raised the rural educational aspirations to levels similar to those of city dwellers.

25/ Frejka, Thomas., op. cit.

With respect to migration motives reported by migrants in a number of educational reasons (which, incidentally, should only be expected to gain prominence in certain phases of the family life cycle) occupy a second place, a rather wide margin behind economic motives, with increasing prominence however of educational motives as size of town of origin increases and as SES of Migrant increases.

Latin American experience appears therefor to be no exception to the conclusion reached by Kosinski in a study of the effect of education on internal migration for the world as a whole that education in its modern from stimulates rural urban migration and that any attempt to reduce this flow inevitably entails changes in educational priorities and in the educational system.[26/]

We shall not elaborate on the recent recommendations and implementations of educational reform, extension and so forth since this would lead us too far astray, but suffice by concluding that the educational system is generating a strong tide of rural-urban migration which no short term communication strategy can turn.

The effects of the educational structure on different groups in areas of origin and destination are to be taken into consideration as factors impeding or favouring the attainment of our goals and suggesting adapted strategies for different target groups. We may for example expect an attempt to keep non-manual labour on the land or to change their destination to fail unless support in terms of a broad educational infrastructure is congruent with our desired re-distribution, because of the high salience of such motives for the groups concerned. An attempt, on the other hand, to manouver manual labour in the direction of new economic opportunities might prove successful even without elaborate and diversified educational facilities in theoretical directions which ultimately might lead to employment in the tertiary sector. A technical school, training for jobs available in the vicinity might exert enough pull and be more functional for economic development. Our strategy would then be directed towards the manual worker and adapted to his frame of mind, terminology etc. This may serve as a brief illustration of an analysis taking education into account as will have to be carried out separately in every case.

26/ Kosinski, Leszek A. op. cit.

Conclusion

If, as asserted by historical-structural reasoning, the prevailing relations of production and dominance lead to a "centre-periphery" pattern of development, characterized by a marked structural heterogeneity -and if it is this structural heterogeneity which is at the source of the rural-urban migration- it stands out that the educational institution is effectively maintaining the status quo by restricting the mobility of the peripheral segments of the population, and consolidating the structural heterogeneity. The content of curricula furthermore prepares people for urban roles, rather than rural roles, thereby contributing to migration. Under such circumstances the effect of a communication strategy must necessarily be marginal and only if abovementioned complex of factors is rearranged will it have any sense to embarge upon such a project. If such a restructuring is however taking place a communication strategy should be able to constitute a contribution of value.

V. MIGRATION AND MASS COMMUNICATION

We shall define communication with Everett Rogers as: "communication is the process by which messages are transferred from a source to a receiver".[27/]

Paralell to Armando di Filippo's structural-historical exposition of human development from the dawn of civilization to contemporary times, we may visualize the development of human communication.[28/] Our starting point in following the cultural change tied up with the social change described by him is not that it is characteristic of human action to use material means, which have to be produced and distributed, but that humans use symbols and communicate by them.

27/ Rogers and Shoemaker, op. cit. other illustrative definitions are: a) Communication is the sum total of information about feelings attitudes and wishes transmitted indirectly and directly, consciously and unconsciously (Lippit, Watson and Westly). b) Communication is social interaction through messages (Gerbner). c) Communication is the complex of processes intentional or not, by which a person influences the behavior of other persons (Snehendu B. Kar) An interesting collection of definitions is to be found in Mónica Herrera Cerda, op. cit. and a very thorough discussion of the concept is given by Gerhard Maletzke, op. cit.

28/ Di Filippo, op. cit., a.

It was George Herbert Mead who first described the gradual metamorphosis of animal gestures into man's complex ability to employ language in a conscious and intentional manner, which involves the use of symbols. To communicate by symbols one must be able to anticipate the response one's own act will elicit from another, which occurs by taking the role of the other and viewing oneself from his position. The ability to use language thereby makes it possible for man to develop a self because the capacity to be an object to oneself is inherent in the mechanism of language. The generalized attitudes of the community of which man is a part become incorporated into the self by socialization-experiences in which communication plays a central role. Human group life takes on the character of an ongoing process, a continuing matter of fitting developing lines of conduct to one another and human beings are seen as living in a world of meaningful objects. This world is socially produced: the meanings are fabricated through the process of social interaction. Symbolic interactionism thus ascribes "the social construction of reality" and "the individual construction of an identity" to communication processes.

Communication was initially nearly synonimous to conversation and the introduction of the written word only affected the elites in early city-borne civilizations and did not alter the fact that "the fabric of popular culture was woven of the homespun yarn of every day experience". The process was mostly interpersonal and followed the functional requirements of the economic and political situation creating different cultural superstructures on different structural bases.

The invention of the manual printing press and the spread of alfabetism however, contributed towards widening the horizons of regional cultures in late Middle Age Europe and finally concur in the establishment of integrated political administrative territories (nations) with their own language.[29/]

The industrial revolution brought mechanical printing and therewith mass communications,[30/] radically changing the nature of the process by the increase

29/ See Berger, Brigitte, op. cit.
30/ Defined by Gerbner as "mass communication is the technologically and institutionally based mass production and distribution of the most broadly shared continuous flow of public messages in industrial societies" op. cit. Lloyd Sommerland circumscribes it as: "the flow of public information through impersonal media to undifferentiated mass audiences" op. cit.

of the volume of printed matter, with ever decreasing possibilities of direct feedback,[31/] leaving only market mechanism as a partly compensatory indirect control to the receivers of information.[32/]

The printed word became the carrier of modern culture giving form to education, science and entertainment and creating an involvement in ocurrences on a world scale. The massive spread of paperbacks, newspapers, magazines favour the functioning of democracies because the printed word is a democratic medium open to everyone who can read and write and a free press creating an informed and involved public is a necessary condition for the existence of democracy, while non-democratic forms of government cannot tolerate its existence.

Finally the dominance of the printed letter has recently been challenged by the advent of the electronic media, film, radio, TV, and the gamma of new inventions in the audiovisual sector. By this time the amount of feedback which can be given to the sender of communication is practically reduced to zero because the admission to the media is limited by the high costs and technical complexity involved. Direct feedback is reduced to the volume of fanmail and letters to the papers.[33/]

According to Gerbner, and others, looking at the history of communications as a sequence of various media dominating the field of culture, implies also a sequence of transformations "in the way members of our species are humanized", resulting in the contemporary situation in which "the fabric of popular culture that relates elements of existence to each other and structures the common consciousness of what is, what is important, and what is right, is largely a manufactured product".

For this to happen there must however be a "multistepflow" of communication; messages have to be talked about after being received by the audience, for whatever may be the source of experience it must be processed by symbolic interaction for them to lead to the social construction of reality and the creation of a self

31/ We may define feedback with Rogers as 'a response by the receiver to the source of messages which the source may subsequently use to modify his further messages".

32/ See Smythe, op. cit.

33/ This short historical overview is a synthesis of the articles by Smythe, Gerbner and Lerner, op. cit.

-a process in which feedback is essential of course. The functions the media fulfil must therefor be of a wider scope than only that of "escape" which would only cause a temporary flight from everyday social reality and a retreat from interaction. In order for this to occur the content must be ideally useful and at least relevant to the audience, offering informational content rather than distraction alone.

In industrialized societies we may expect a number of basic elements of everyday life to have become common enough for the messages to be decoded in a more or less uniform fashion,[34/] notwithstanding the survival of class subcultures with distinct socialization patterns and values. The "middle class taste" which is fed and molded by the commercial media because it represents the largest segment of spending consumers is not foreign to high or low class citizens. There is a more or less homogeneous structure which carries the "mass culture" the media reflect.

Simply transferring these media plus the messages they convey to the structurally heterogeneous Latin American situation creates (however carefully the content is "translated") a totally different situation not for the "top dogs", to use Galtung's term, since their lifestyle is comparable to that of industrialized societies, but for the "underdogs". It is obvious that the marginal groups of society will not construct reality with the material offered by the media since it has no bearing whatsoever to their daily surroundings and the only sensible conclusion with regard to his self he may draw is that he is unfortunately different. The personalities displayed by radio, newspapers, magazines and TV serve rather as a "reference group" symbolizing to the marginal individual not who he is and what life is like but who he would like to be and how he would like to live.[35/]

The modern urban culture which is diffused by the media is one in which the lower-class inhabitant of rural areas or provincial towns has no part -his existence is completely ignored. Advertisers have no interest in trying to reach him and reporters have no interest in portraying his conditions. The effect of this continuous confrontation with a world of affluence to those in needy circumstances

34/ See for example Zigmunt Bawmann, op. cit.

35/ Rogers and Svenning discuss Lerner's conception of empathy as a crucial intervening variable between mass media exposure and modernization and say: "A traditional individual without the ability to empathize with the roles of others (as might be represented by the mass media for example) would perhaps be entertained, but his attitudes would not be changed by radio, film or newspapers" op. cit. p. 45.

has been characterized by Lerner as the revolution of rising expectations, which are bound to be disappointed, thereby eventually creating a "revolution of rising frustrations". The two alternatives opened to the young provincial inhabitant in such a situation appear to be to use the media to escape into the dream world created by them and stay where he is, or to flee from this "no where" he lives in and have a look for himself in the world "out there" he has heard so much about.

The partial and misleading caricature drawn by the media[36/] will in general be adjusted somewhat by information from interpersonal channels but the overall result is that mass media exposure creates an undeniable realization of the status of underdog to those whose existence is not "recognized" Migration to the urban world which is held up as a shining example of progress and modernity is the only alternative to resignation.

As was the case with education which plays only a minor role in self-professed migration motivation, but nevertheless stimulates migration to the urban centers through indirect mechanisms, the influence of mass media upon the migration decision should not be expected to work primarily through direct information of existing opportunities, [37/] but through indirect mechanisms as described above.

So far our reasoning has been deductive, let us now survey the available empirical literature on the subject to verify the validity of our speculations.

It is illustrative of the state of information about Latin American affaires that the results of my search for empirical material about the use of the media in Latin America was rather disappointing and that for example the most recent empirical study published by the "International Centre for Superior Studies of Journalism in Latin America"(CIESPAL) in Quito that I could get hold of in the metropolis of Santiago de Chile, with two university faculties of journalism and a regional UN head-office, in a two week library cruzade, was published in 1967, nine years ago.[38/] It was finally through interpersonal channels that some more recent material became available. Most of the information provided in the following pages is however derived from articles published by UNESCO (in Paris) and

36/ This point is elaborated by di Filippo.
37/ Although Atal, et. al. found that 22 per cent of recent migrants to poor neighborhoods of Santiago were so informed by mass media -Atal, Correa, Lawrence- op. cit.
38/ The research discussed had taken place in 1962.

North American works on communication (sometimes in a translated version). We shall briefly discuss the influence of news flow, radio, television, newspapers and thereafter devote some attention to the differential use of the media by different groups in society. We shall conclude the chapter with some remarks on the consequences of the prevailing communication infrastructure.

According to Lloyd Sommerland, national news agencies perform all or some of the following functions (I) organization of news coverage throughout the country and its dissemination to information media, government departments, commercial outlets etc. (II) reception of overseas news services and their distribution to subscribers (III) provision of national news to world news networks. He furthermore states that the experience of all developing regions of the world is that news tends to flow from the advanced to the less advanced countries and that channels for news flow directly between developing nations are generally rudimentary.39/

Speaking about the international news flow in the world in general, John Lee poses that most national news agencies depend on the five major world agencies located in the USA, the UK, France and the USSR to carry news about their countries to other countries. Since these central agencies make a selection of the material it is not surprising that developing countries agree that the agency services are overloaded with items from and about Europe and North America and that inadequate coverage is given to news from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

CIESPAL studied the press in Latin America during two weeks in 1962 and published a table stating the sources of foreign news in the papers with the outcome that the United Press, and the Associated Press of the US and Agence France Press of France account for more than 92.7 percent of international information (including information about other Latin American countries).40/

Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis studied the "television-traffic" in the world and state that the distribution of TV news material is concentrated in three world-wide agencies: the British Visnews, the half British and half UPI-TN and the CBS newsfilm. The fourth important newsfilm distributor is the german DPA-ETES.

39/ E. Lloyd Sommerland. op. cit.
40/ CIESPAL. "Dos semanas en la Prensa de América Latina". Quito, Ecuador, 1967.
41/ Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, op. cit.

There are practically no other world-wide newsfilm distributors, and nearly all broadcasters of the world use film services by these countries.[41/]

The undesirable consequences of such a state of affaires has been amply commented upon and has led to some remedial actions such as the foundation of a regional news agency "Latin" by a number of major newspapers of the continent. Furthermore the governments of Latin America have recently come together in San Jose, Costa Rica to discuss the possibility of formulating communication policies within development plans.[42/] No major changes in the situation have occurred as yet.

As far as the radio is concerned there is nearly a total coverage of the region. For rural areas radio is sometimes the only medium of communication with the exterior world. The number of receivers increased by 100 per cent during the decade of the 60's. According to data compiled by Lavin for the late 60's the number of sets per 100 inhabitants vary from about 7 in Brazil to about 38 in Argentina, while Central American Countries usually have less than 10 per 100 population.[43/] (When there were about 95 sets per 100 population in the US).

Notwithstanding that the radio (which occupies a primary position in developed societies as well) is the most widespread medium, and notwithstanding the sufficient number of radio stations and diffusion of the transistor, Marco Ordóñez Andrade, Director General of CIESPAL, states that the possibilities of reception are usually meager because of the low quality of the receivers and the low power and limited range of the broadcasting stations, so that in rural areas usually only transmission from the nearest city and one high potency transmitter from elsewhere can be heard. Most radio programs consist of music and commercials, supplemented by sports; cultural and informative messages are very scarce.[44/]

41/ Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, op. cit.

42/ A 1961 UNESCO publication, op. cit. which may contain outdated information, notes that most Latin America news agencies are privately owned and that none of them, with the possible exception of one in Brazil, is of the cooperative, non-profit making type like the Associated-Press in the USA or various agencies in Europe. It is probable that the situation has not changed drastically since then, though, because most media are also private enterprises in Latin America, as we shall see.

43/ Lavin, Pradenas, Guillermo., op. cit. data for Central America derived from Anibal Urrutia and Edmundo Tapia, op. cit. The other remarks are derived from UNESCO 1971 and the Report of the Conference of San Jose 1976, op. cit.

44/ Ordóñez Andrade, Marco., op. cit.(f). The 1961 UNESCO report, op. cit. states that although nearly all the stations are privately owned, there is at least one state operated station in every country.

Television sets were distributed over the Latin American population at about 17 per hundred inhabitants around 1970; for comparison there were about 96 per hundred heads in the US. Nordenstreng and Varis analyze the amount of imported versus domestically produced programs in early 1973 and demonstrate that about half of the broadcastings are imported and that about 70 per cent comes from the US. "The amount of imported program material in various Latin American countries varies from 10 to 84 per cent. Two thirds of the programs in Uruguay and one half or more in Chile and the Dominican Republic come from abroad. In Argentina, Colombia and Mexico one third or more of the programs are of foreign origin. According to other reports, two thirds of the filmed programs in Peru come from North America, Argentina or Mexico. In Costa Rica the proportion of foreign programs is 80 to 90 per cent, and in Ecuador 73 per cent. In Brazil one fourth of the programs are foreign. The countries of Central America, Guatemala, Panama, Nicaragua, etc. are most dependent on foreign programs". Speaking of the contents of the programs the authors state that "Entertainment programs occupy the bulk of broadcasting time, in which imported series form the greatest part. In Argentina a major part of programming is not composed of series films or even feature films, as in most other Latin American countries, but various kinds of entertainment and comedy shows. These programs are locally produced, a phenomenon which is not typical of TV conditions in Latin American countries in general. Programs are also exported to some other neighbouring countries".

They furthermore state that, with the exclusion of Cuba, 93 per cent of the television stations of the continent are commercial and that it is characteristic of Latin American television that it concentrates its efforts on the cities, principally on the big metropolitan areas, which is to be explained by physical factors as well as cultural and economic reasons such as illiteracy and the scant or non-existent buying power of most people in rural areas.[45/]

More recently, the report of the Intergovernment Conference on Communication policies in San Jose provides slightly deviating information, but agreeing in major tendency. They also note as a particularity of the Latin American situation that the audio visual media and newspapers are predominately of private ownership and add that 91 countries of the world have regular television programs and 61

45/ Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, op. cit. See also for a thorough account of the situation in Caracas, Pasquali, op. cit.

are completely controlled by the private sector; of the other 30 countries 16 belong to Latin America and the Carib, eight of them being completely privately owned and 8 a combination of government and private television.

If we agree with Smythe that the immediate effect of TV program content in the western commercial system is to produce audiences for the particular programs broadcast, which can be influenced in the direction of consumption of the advertiser's consumer goods and services (in the case of advertisement supported programs) or in the direction of a more educated and responsible kind of political behavior in the operation of a particular social system (in license-fee supported TV programs) we may hypothesize that in Latin America the television fulfils either the first function or a combination of these functions.

We may conclude our discussion of the audio visual media by a short comment upon the recent developments in communication satellites which offers no exception to the pattern which emerges elsewhere since the national United States Organization COMSAT has the majority of shares of INTELSAT, the world-wide organization to which a number of South American countries are affiliated, so that they can also enjoy the educational benefits of Mohammed Ali, moon-landings, royal weddings and burials of important people.[46/]

There are more than 800 daily newspapers in spanish speaking countries of the region, two-hundred-and-fifty in portuguese and twenty-five in english or french in the Caribbean countries and although the circulation varies markedly most countries have exceeded the minimun of 10 papers per 100 population (which was more or less overage in 1961).[47/]

Data for the late 1960's (excluding Central America) compiled by Lavin Pradenas op. cit., vary from 34 (Bolivia) to 400 (Uruguay) daily newspapers per 1000 population. During the 1960's the total circulation of newspapers in the world increased by 25 per cent but remained stationary in Latin America.[48/] The dweller in a large Latin American city ussually disposes of 6 or more different daylies to choose from, a larger spectrum than a resident of almost any US city according to Deutschmann and associates,[49/] Sommerland, op. cit. points out that since

46/ See Urrutia and Tapia, op. cit. and Sánchez, Correa, Marta, op. cit.
47/ UNESCO, 1976, op. cit. remarks in the following pasaages are frequently derived from this source, 59).
48/ UNESCO, 1971., op. cit.
49/ Deutschumann, Paul, Ellingsworth, Hubert and Mc. Nelly John T. op. cit., 1968.

newspapers are sold below their production cost, the gap must be bridged by the sale of advertising space, which occupies more than half of the total space of Latin American newspapers, according to research done by CIESPAL. Daily papers are confined to urban centers with sufficient population and advertising potential to provide the economic base.

CIESPAL executed a thorough analysis of 29 Latin American newspapers in 1962 with extensive background information and statistical data. The main findings pertaining to the content of the papers are the following. The printed informational content is devoted to national news for 75 to 80 per cent, and for 15 to 20 per cent to international news. About half of the international news is about Latin American countries in which sports occupied a central position. Their analysis of the attention given to occurrences of major importance for the Latin American region and for the world in general (outside of Latin America) demonstrated adequate coverage of "world-events" but lack of interest for "Latin-American-events". The space devoted to international news is divided in the proportions of approximately three quarters to international occurrences (mainly developed countries) and one quarter to Latin American news. Summarizing the content analysis of the articles, the authors state that more than 52 per cent of the information published by the representative sample of Latin American newspapers is about sports, antisocial behavior, disasters and about practical personal and "society" topics. Material concerning the social, economical or educational development of the region reach about 9,1 per cent. Comparison with newspapers in developed countries reveals that Latin American countries devote about 15 per cent more attention to the first category (of "entertainment") and about 15 per cent less to the second category (political and economical "news").[50/]

Although Berelson has pointed out that people in the United States read the papers for many less rational reasons than as a source of information on world affairs, this appears to be even more so in Latin America, where readers don't have much choice.[51/]

50/ CIESPAL, 1967, op. cit.
51/ Berelson, Bernhard, op. cit.

We may resume our brief analysis of the media in Latin America by noting that they are mostly privately owned commercial enterprises operated for and by urban upper classes. The coverage of the media is considerably lower in numbers per hundred population than in developed countries, but these media are distributed within the heterogeneous social structure as all other scarce goods, notably according to buying power. The privileged group of society are relatively well served, but more peripheral sectors are not integrated in the information flow. The content of the media is heavily oriented towards entertainment, predominantly of foreign origin while the substantial economic and political news provided, is biased towards occurrences in developed, central countries.

We shall proceed by describing a number of studies of media use available to ourselves to attempt to support this global impression by data concerning the receivers of the mass media messages.

Roy Carter and Orlando Sepúlveda studied media use in Santiago, Chile, in 1963 and found that 9 out of 10 of the representative sample of residents of age 15 and older "had a radio set at home, and nearly half of those who did not have radios reported listening with some regularity to sets belonging to others". The amount of listening time was typically about three hours daily; news was included in the "diet" of three quarters of the listeners "yesterday". Eighty-six per cent of the literate respondents customarily read newspapers, about 40 per cent usually read the sports page (men and women alike). Television was only recently introduced and the results are of little significance for our present purpose. The confidence in the fairness and truthfulness of news coverage was higher for radio than for the newspaper. About 60 per cent regularly went to the movies (about 2 to 3 times a month on the average). "North American films were most popular, with Mexican movies in second position and Italian and French films also receiving several mentions. Fifty-six percent of the moviegoers said they thought the films they saw reflected faithfully the every day life in the countries from which they were imported". More than fifty percent reported themselves as book-readers. Exposure to one medium tended to be correlated with exposure to other media and media-use was highly correlated with socio-economic status. The willingness to express an opinion on current affairs was not correlated with media exposure or education.[52/]

52/ Carter, Roy E., and Sepúlveda Orlando, op. cit.

CIESPAL carried out a similar investigation in Quito in 1966 which produced the following results, relevant for our argumentation. More than 76 per cent read the papers for more than 15 minutes and more than 40 per cent reads a news paper for more than 45 minutes daily. Among those who do not read the press the majority is formed by persons with less than 6 years of education. The lower the educational level, the more radio listening takes place while reversely cinema visiting is positively related with education as is the possession of information media (magazines, newspapers, radio receiver, TV set). Similar relationships hold for socio-economic status, being positively related with television watching, magazine reading, media ownership and negatively related with radio listening, while the correlation with movie visiting and newspaper-reading is not so clear. Credibility of the different media varies according to education, SES and age but in general the sequence is as follows: television is considered most trustworthy, followed by radio and press; least confidence is invested in magazines. The analysis of socio-economic-status and knowledge of national and international events proved that higher status respondents were considerably more informed about international events and personalities and in a lesser degree of national occurrences and personalities. Knowledge of world events (national and international) is positively correlated with media use. (A study realized in Santiago quoted by Lavin Pradenas op. cit. under students of secondary education, universities and post-graduate courses demonstrated more knowledge about and interest for european and North American geography, history and news than for Latin American data).

The authors conclude by stating that the educational level of an individual, his socio-economic position, the use of information media and his knowledge of political and economical activities in his country and the world are functionally related.[53/]

A study by Deutschmann and associates of media use by professionals and technicians in 11 Latin American countries living in metropolisses, published by CIESPAL in 1961 demonstrates that this regional "subelite" read as many or more newspapers than North American "counterparts" of the same occupational level, watch less television, listen more often to the radio, read about as many magazines and considerably more books. (Television had been recently introduced). The authors

53/ CIESPAL, 1966, op. cit.

conclude by stating that persons belonging to the upper middle classes of Latin American capitals are not in an inferior or disadvantageous position with respect to media use notwithstanding the fact that the general situation in their countries is one of underdevelopment of media diffusion. A more elaborate study by the same authors published in 1968 concerning a similar group of respondents in 14 countries, reports the same trends with more details, also pointing towards the domination by US media -where Life (translated or not), Selecciones (Reader's Digest) and Time were the most read magazines, US short-wave radio stations were most listened to, US films were most frequently viewed (motion picture use being about four times a month which contrasts with about once monthly for US counterparts). When asked about the national sources of motion pictures most often seen, subjects placed the US, France and Italy in dominant position over all, with European films being more prevalent in the South of the continent and American films dominating in a stronger degree in Central America.[54/]

Data for the other extreme of the socio-economic hierarchy, the marginal groups, such as those collected by Cecilia Kaluf Fuentes cum suis for the poorest districts of Santiago draw a somewhat different picture. The authors of this study conclude on basis of research in two "poblaciones" of Santiago that: 1) There is a lack of critical attitude towards messages received through mass media (above mentioned studies also describe a negative relationship between SES and confidence in the trustworthness of the media); 2) The mass media creates "false" aspirations and necessities by confronting the inhabitants with a fictional world which is outside their reach; 3) People often feel frustrated and disappointed upon realization of this state of affaires; 4) Television is used as a medium to escape from everyday reality and there is sentimental identification with television personalities.[55/]

A study undertaken in similar strata of Concepción, also in Chile, demonstrated that media exposure was higher than to be expected on a priori grounds: 84.5 per cent regularly reads newspapers, 72 per cent listens to the radio, 58 per cent reads magazines and 7.4 per cent goes to the movies. The news was the most popular radio program, followed by music. The newspapers were primarily read for the reports on accidents, crime and sports.[56/]

54/ Deutschmann, McNelly and Ellingsworth, op. cit. (b) and (a). The dominance pattern described for films thus follows the lines described by Pedersen for technical innovations, more or less (Paul ove Pedersen: "Innovation Diffusion within and between National Urban Systems").
55/ Kaluf Fuentes, Cecilia., et. al., op. cit.
56/ Herrera, Cerda, Mónica, et. al., op. cit.

A study which took place in slums of Guayaquil, Ecuador, 1967, found that 88 per cent of the sample could read and that 86 per cent read the newspapers, 88 per cent listens to the radio, 47 per cent reads magazines, 21 per cent have viewed television. Level of education was correlated with newspaper reading, not with radio listening. (Simmons et. al., op. cit).

Marco Ordóñez Andrade reports on media use in rural villages which contrasts sharply with those pertaining to the urban-poor and sketches the isolation of these groups in the following terms: "Studies carried out by the IICA in 1963, demonstrated that 90 per cent of the peasants living at a short distance from Recife did not know that the principal export product of Brazil is coffee. For 80 per cent the word "democracy" had no meaning. Fifty-one per cent of the inhabitants of a rural sector near to Medellín with 85 per cent alphafetics had never seen a newspaper according to another research effectuated by IICA.[57/] A recent study by CIESPAL in representative villages generally near to a paved road, not more than 40 kilometres away from a large commercial centre and never further than 100 kilometres from Quito proved that less than 60 per cent of the heads of Households had a radio receiver, more than 70 per cent did not identify the source of the messages nor did they selected them. The transistor was used for purposes of entertainment only, to listen to music. More than 70 per cent of the respondents did not know the name of the president of the Republic nor what the colors of the national flag were. More than fifty per cent did not know the name of the country they lived in and more than eighty per cent had never seen a newspaper.

In rural areas of the North East of Brasil a study found positive correlations between the degree of isolation from the national communication network and the tendency to favor politically radical ideas. The author comments that: "A possible explanation for the fact that rural opinion tends to be more radical than urban opinion is that rural people are more isolated from the generally conservative content of the national communication system".[58/]

57/ Ordoñez, Andrade, op. cit. (a).
58/ Lane, P., Jonathan, op. cit., 1969.

The persistent dominance of interpersonal channels in rural areas is also documented by Lucien Blair who compares patterns of media exposure of landless agricultural laborers, factory workers and factory employees to find increasing integration in the national culture (in that order) as measured by mass media exposure and cosmopolite contacts.[59/]

Another study undertaken in rural Brazil interestingly finds that farmers owning land demonstrate a higher propensity to seek out instrumental media-(that is media providing professional information which might be used to improve their situation)- rather than entertainment media, the less open the opportunity structure is in the area they live. The oppeness of the opportunity climate is inferred from the degree to which land is equally distributed among farmers in the community. The poorest farmers in constricted communities with no possibilities of mobility or betterment of standard of living have more contact with the city -in terms of visits paid etc.[60/]

A study of media exposure in an andean village of around 420 inhabitants at about 80 kilometres from Bogota described by Paul Deutschmann, finds that 14 per cent owes a radio set, 42 per cent listened to the radio in the past 6 months, 24 per cent went to the movies in the past 6 months and 59 per cent purchased newspapers occasionally or regularly, while 68 per cent have any books in the household. A positive correlation for media exposure and literacy was found and furthermore a rather strong relation is found between media use and political knowledge, for literates and illiterates both. However, forty-two per cent of the respondents did not know the same of the president of the country. Another interesting result is that high media exposure was positively correlated with the desire to let sons follow other an occupation than farming. This item was included in the survey because the authors expected that the media would have suggested new ocupational opportunities in the cities.[61/]

On the basis of these findings and others such as the study carried out by Conning in Chile[62/] we might venture the hypothesis that: the more integrated the rural community is in the national culture -as inferred from levels of education and mass

59/ Blair, op. cit., 1960.
60/ Whiting and Stanfield, op. cit. 1972.
61/ Deutschmann, op. cit. 1963.
62/ Conning, op. cit.

media exposure-the stronger will be the "urban" orientation -causing migration for those with least ties to their place of origin-and the smaller will be the inclination toward radical ideas of revolutionary change of the status quo in their are a of residence.

In any case, the empirical data available to ourself-scanty though they are - point in the direction hypothesized and suggest a sharp differential in media exposure and integration into the knowledge-flow of national culture between marginal rural and urban groups. A great deal of attention has been given to the informational aspect of regional development in the recent intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and there appears to be quite some consensus and determination among politicians that this situation must be changed for any policy of regional development or territorial redistribution to be successful.

Conclusion

Contemporary mass media are producing a flow of messages which originates in central industrialized countries, passes through the centres of dependent countries to finally reach the periphery (or not). The content of such messages is totally foreign to the social reality of peripheral groups, whose existence is ignored since the producers of messages in Latin America have no interest in trying to reach them. By keeping the underprivileged outside of the culture they display, and by distributing messages along lines of socio-economic-status differentials the media mirror and thereby promote the marginalization of the peripheral population. Besides being an evident manifestation of cultural dominance this system has the disadvantages of 1) limiting the function media to "escape" in fantasy and distraction with neglect of potential as informational or educational agent, and 2) creating a strong sense of relative deprivation of the rural inhabitants with regard to urban culture, which feeds migration on unrealistic, "fata morgana" grounds.

There appears to be a growing consensus among Latin American governments that differential diffusion of information by geographical and socio-economic characteristics is to be remedied by the explicit formulation of national communication policies, if policies of territorial redistribution of the population or regional development are to succeed. This implies changing the communication infrastructure.

VI. COMMUNICATION STRATEGY AND MIGRATION POLICY

After having placed the potential utility of a communication strategy in proper place arguing that its contribution is of a complementary nature, although of importance within an integrated migration policy, we may now proceed by outlinig what is meant by a communication strategy.

We may define a communication strategy with Everett Rogers as "a plan or a design for changing human behavior on a large scale basis through the transfer of new ideas. The source always wishes to alter the knowledge, attitudes or overt behavior of the receiver".[63/]

"Diffusion is a special type of communication. Diffusion is the process by which innovations spread to the members of a social system. Diffusion studies are concerned with messages that are new ideas, whereas communication studies encompass all types of messages".

A further distinction made is that communication research "often focuses on attempts to bring about changes in knowledge or attitudes, while diffusion research usually focuses on bringing about overt behavior change.[64/]

To complete our set of definitions: "an innovation is an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual, whether it is objectively new or not".

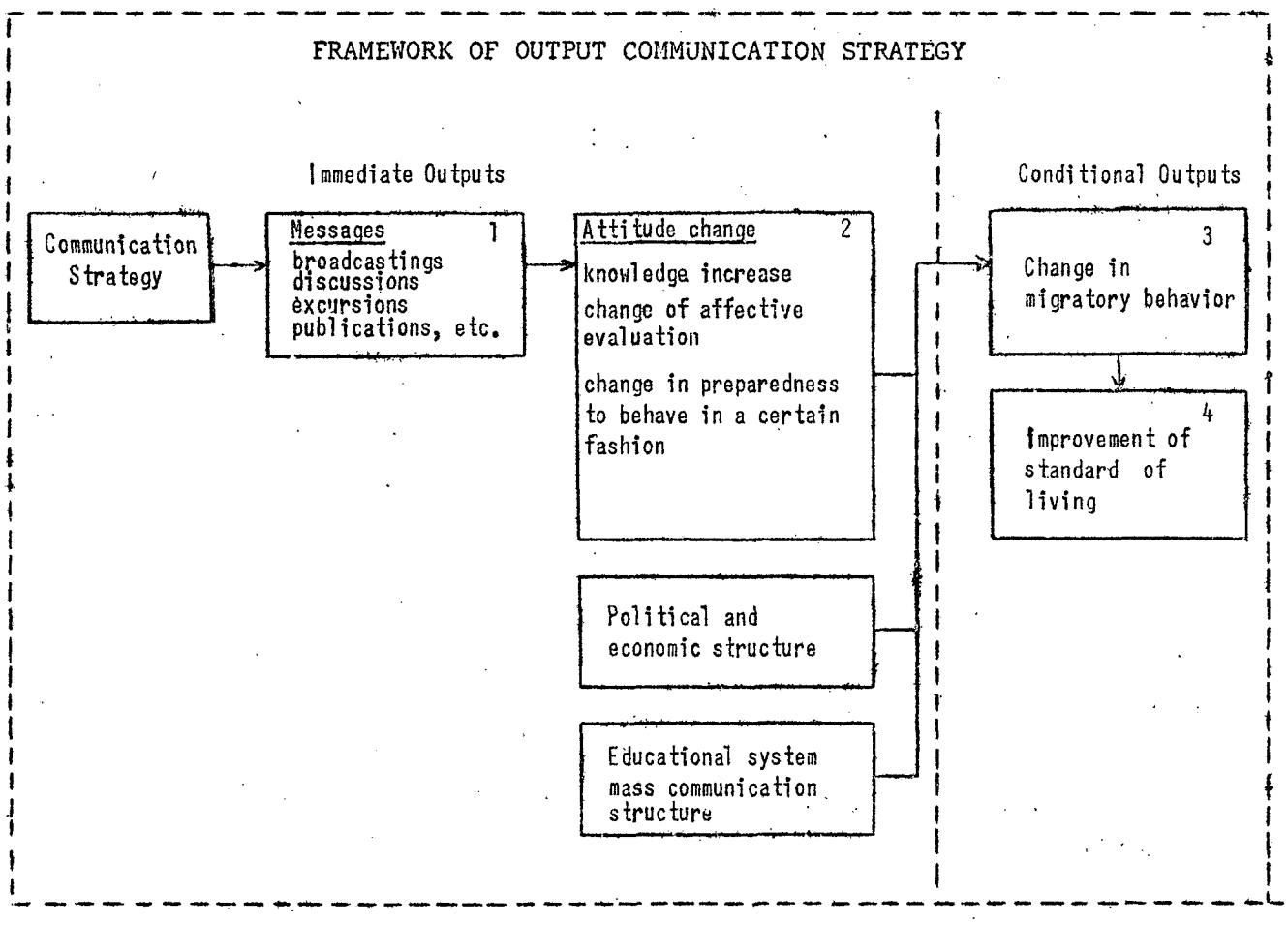
Since the objective of migration policy with regard to a specific territorially located population may be to cause more people to stay, to move, or to move somewhere else, we may conceive of a communication strategy within such a policy as a plan to persuade a certain proportion of a target group of inhabitants of a particular area to migrate, not to migrate or to change their destination, by the introduction of new ideas.

For the sake of exemplification we will assume that our target group is the lower class population of ages, 12 to 34 and only consider "free" or "impelled" migrants, with at least some choice of their own.

63/ Rogers, Everett, op. cit. preface.
64/ Rogers and Shoemaker, op. cit., p. 11.

The intention is to effect the acceptance of the new ideas and create behavioral change with a specified frequency. If we regard attitudes as having an affective, cognitive and behavioral component the objective is attitude change.[65/]

In view of the fact that final migratory behavior is determined by a large number of factors extraneous to our communication effort we may conveniently schematize our responsibilities in the following framework adopted from Röling.[66/]



65/ Zimbardo, Ebbesen, p. 7.
The affective component consists of a person's evaluation, of emotional response to some object or person. The cognitive component has been conceptualized as a person's beliefs about, or factual knowledge of the object or person. The behavioral component involves the person's over behavior directed toward the object or person. An elaborate discussion of definitions of attitudes is to be found in Yahodse and Warren. op. cit. p. 13-41.

66/ Dr. Niels Röling., op. cit.

Immediate outputs 1 and 2 are changes in the environment which can be taken as the direct result of our communication activity. Realizing these changes is our sole responsibility, 3 and 4 are conditional outputs because achieving these changes in the environment is not dependent on the performance of our strategy alone but also on other structural and cultural factors.

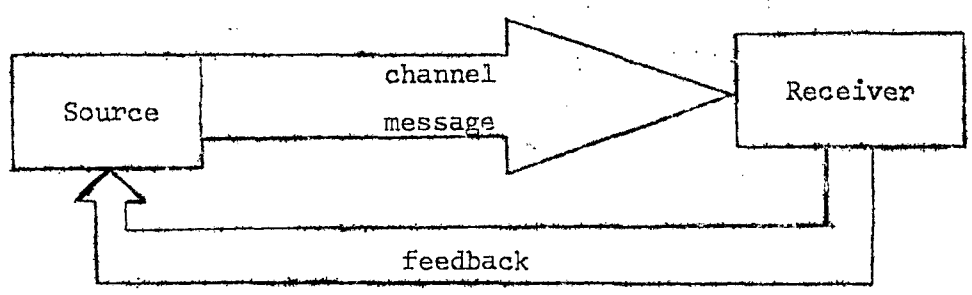
Communication Science, the literature on rural extension and planned change provide us with a considerable body of theory and methods to guide such an attempt.

We shall start by locating our strategy as a link in a chain of knowledge utilization ideally characterized by two-way feedback between each level, from basic scientific knowlegde through applied scientific knowledge, via the practice world to the population.[67/] It is of central interest to us to ensure that such a flow takes place in the most efficient manner in order to guarantee that the population benefits from the findings of scientific knowledge and acts in accordance with its own (self-defined) interest in the light of the most reliable knowledge available.

The model of change we shall apply will mainly be the diffusion-of-innovations perspective worked out by Everett Rogers, whereby the innovation in question is a new idea about migration. Our presentation is guided and supplemented by principles outlined in van den Ban 1974 and Havelock 1973, op. cit.

The communication process consists (as pointed out by Berlo, 1960) of a source 1) who conveys a message, 2) through a particular channel, 3) to receivers, and 4)can be represented by the following diagram.

Elements in the Communication Process



67/ Ronald G. Havelock has written in extenso on such "knowledge dissemination and utilization" (op. cit) and the extension system of rural development is also based on such postulates.

In our case the receivers are potential migrants, the channels are the means by which the innovative idea spreads, the message is the new idea, the source is the communication strategist and the objective, a change in attitudes toward migration.

The effectiveness of the project depends on variables pertaining to these 5 elements in the communication process.

The diffusion of the new idea through the target population will occupy a certain amount of time. On the basis of a large number of empirical studies on diffusion, Rogers postulates that in general, adoption of an innovation will follow a bell shaped (more or less normal) frequency curve and an S shaped cummulative curve over time.

Innovativeness, as measured by the time at which an individual adopts an innovation is continuous. However this variable may be divided into 5 adopter categories by laying off standard deviations from the average time of adoption. Rogers typifies these categories as: 1) innovators 2) early adopters, 3) early majority, 4) late majority, 5) laggards, which he conceives as ideal types, to which certain characteristics are assigned.

These elements enable us to consider systematically all factors determining the success of our activity and to design our program as effectively as possible. We shall briefly discuss each element separately and thereafter bring them together in a comprehensive schema.

The exposition of the elements of the theoretical model applied will be of a most concentrated and simplified form in order only to warrant the intelligibility of the application.

VI.1. Source Variables

Credibility. "Credibility is the degree to which a communication source or channel is perceived as trustworthy and competent by the receiver" (Rogers and Shoemaker, op. cit. p. 244). It has been demonstrated in a number of experiments

that a trustworthy source giving the same persuasive messages as an untrustworthy source, produces more attitude change.[68/]

According to Berlo and others, 1970, source credibility has two dimensions, "competence" and "safety". The high status expert has competence credibility thereby enhancing the acceptability of the knowledge aspects of the message.

Whether the innovation is however particularly suitable or useful for the clients situation is something in which a person with safety credibility is more trustworthy. Such a person is more 'homophylous' where homophily is defined as "the degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education, social status and the like".

Different phases in the adoption process and thus different adopter categories are differentially sensitive to both kinds of credibility as are the different phases in the decision-making process of the individual as we shall see. Tactical considerations therefor suggest to use sources with competence credibility early in the adoption process and to switch over to sources with safety credibility when the diffusion effect starts to manifest itself, that is, in the stage when the early adopters have been reached. The ideal change agent in general appears to be one who is homophylous on all characteristics relevant to the situation, "except for the technical competence about the innovations being promoted", thereby combining both kinds of credibility.

Role Legitimacy

Ronald Havelock[69/] introduces the term "legitimacy of role" to designate the credibility attached to incumbents of certain highly legitimated roles such as that of doctor or teacher. "The legitimacy of a role-and therefor the amount of influence its incumbent can have on others-is directly related to the perceived bias (credibility) of the institution in which the role occurs. If the institution has

68/ See Phillip Zimbardo and Ebbe Ebbesen, op. cit. and also Albert Hastorf, David Schneider and Judith Polefka, op. cit. who discuss this theme in extenso. We shall not go into the literature on dissonance theory supporting the opposite position to that stated above, since the conditions under which it applies are not easy to construct on a large scale and the central idea is contrary to our intentions. We don't want to persuade a person into deciding to do something he rather wouldn't (after which the attitude towards the undesired action changes) but want to convince him that a specific action is in his own interest.

69/ Havelock, Ronald G. op. cit. 175-177.

no perceived vested interest in presenting a particular point of view, the individual who performs certain roles in that institution will have more influence over his clients".

An important reason why such roles promote effectiveness is that impartiality is assumed and resistance due to attributions of motives such as self-interest, manipulation or ingratiation is minimized.

The change agency (defined as the organization whose primary mission is to advance a social cause or to bring about social change) must therefor be carefully selected in view of previous experience of the target group and role legitimacy should be maximized. In certain circumstances existing organizations suggest themselves such as for example Employment Agencies, Extension Service, Primary and Secondary schools, Adult Education, Institutions or Government Agencies while sometimes it may be preferrable to use "neutral" sources such as "issue advertising"[70/] or create new institutions for the occasion, such as mobile information units, radio programs, magazines, or a network of change agents.

Change agent: characteristics and role

"A change agent is a professional who influences innovation decisions in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency. He functions as a communication link between the change agency and the client system".[71/] The more the change agent is oriented towards his "clients" and the less toward his "superiors" the more effective his efforts are. Such an orientation towards the client system is reflected in generalizations pertaining to empathy, participation, frequency of interaction, etc. promoting the effectiveness of the communication.

The role-sequence of the change agent in various stages of the project has been formulated in a number of ways, which may be synthesized in the following form.[72/]

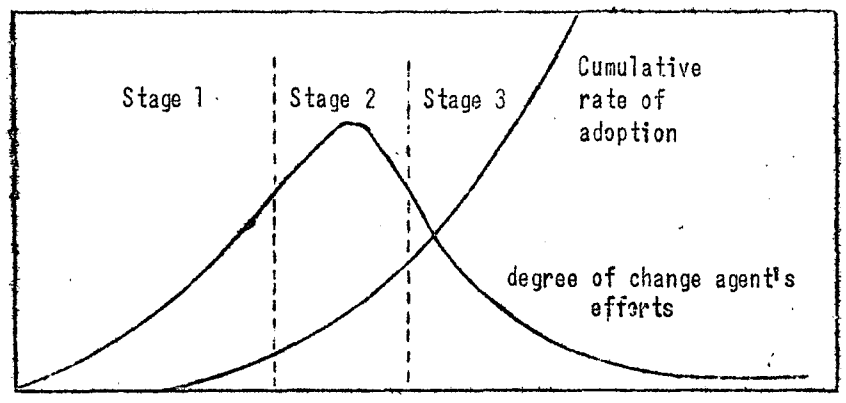
70/ See for example Zeigler, John A. op. cit.
71/ Rogers and Shoemaker, op. cit. p. 228.
72/ Basically an application of Havelock, op. cit. p. 503-506, combined with elements of van den Ban, op. cit. p. 166-179.

1. Define the Elements
   1. What is prevailing situation and what the desired situation determine goals of strategy
   2. Define change agency, target group, message, channels
   3. Decide on evaluation procedure
   4. Construct strategy
2. Make organizational preparations
   1. Form organization of change Agency
   2. Define role of all members
   3. Determine time schedule
   4. Make budget
3. Contact client system
   1. Develop Need for change
   2. Establish a change Relationship
   3. Diagnose the problem with client System
   4. Create intent to change and translate intent into action
   5. Stabilize change and prevent discontinuance
   6. Achieve a terminal relationship
4. Evaluation
   1. Monitor progress during 3
   2. Evaluate effect

Finally Rogers and Shoemaker have pointed out that the amount of change agent effort when contracting clients is related to adoption in more or less the fashion illustrated by the diagram"at stage 1,change agent activity has little effect on rate of adoption, then when the adoption curve starts to climb (from perhaps 5 to 20 per cent adoption) increased inputs of change agent activity results indirect gains in the rate of adoption, at stage 2. But after about 15 to 20 per cent adoption further change agent inputs seems to have no direct effects on the rate of adoption".[73/]

73/ Rogers and Shoemaker, op. cit. p. 235.

Change agent effort in contacting client system and rate of adoption



Summary

Summarizing we may say that credibility may be separated into competence credibility and safety credibility and that the source should exhibit them in that order -first the source should be "competent" to diffuse knowledge, thereafter a "safe" source should be used to persuade the client to adopt. The choice of the change agency should be made in such a manner as to maximize role legitimacy of the change agent. The characteristics, effort and role of the change agent should be adapted to the phase in the communication program.

VI.2 Message Variables

There is a broad range of social-psychological literature available on topics relevant to message content concerning for example pleasant distraction, fear appeal, "optimum order of presenting weak and major arguments, the sequence of supporting and opposing arguments, the degree of explicitness with which certain conclusions are stated, the amount of repetition, the degree of discrepancy between the subjects views and the ones advocated, the affective properties of the contents, and whether the influence program relies upon a one-sided presentation or also includes some consideration and refutation of counterarguments".[74/]

Since the effects of such elements are not simple but depend on other factors and since expositions on social psychological theory and research would be required to survey the pertinent propositions, we shall not be able to go into this aspect

74/ As summed up by Bandura, op. cit.

in detail, due to shortage of time. We shall suffice by commenting that relevant publications in this field should be consulted when constructing the content and structure of the message in due recognition of the fact that such laboratory research results may not always be applicable to the complexity of "real-life attitude change".

Rogers has furthermore formulated a number of "rules of thumb concerning innovation characteristics affecting the rate of adoption. It is the attractiveness of a new idea, not as seen by experts but by potential migrants that really matters".

1. Relative advantage is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as better than the idea it supersedes. The relative advantage of a new idea, as perceived by members of a social system, is positively related to its rate of adoption.

Our message should thus emphasize the advantages of the idea we propose above alternatives in terms of dimensions found to be relevant in migration motivation such as the availability of employment, educational and housing facilities etc.

2. Compatibility is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as consistent with the existing values, past experiences, and needs of the receivers. The compatibility of a new idea, as perceived by members of a social system is positively related to its rate of adoption.

Our message should thus be phrased in accordance with existing socio-cultural values or beliefs, with previously introduced ideas and with the needs for change of our target population. If for example we were trying to channel a flow of migrants towards a provincial growth center instead of the capital, we would point out that the situation in the provincial center is similar to that in the capital on relevant dimensions, thereby minimizing the risky innovativeness of the change in destination. What these relevant dimensions are will have to be investigated with care by consultation of someone familiar with the situation (a local opinion leader or a cultural anthropologist for example) or through research since cultural forces are not always evident to the outsider. Neglect of such factors has frequently led to the failure of a project.

3. Complexity is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as relatively difficult to understand and use. The complexity of an innovation, as perceived by members of a social system, is negatively related to its rate of adoption.

We do not expect strong resistance due to this factor since our idea may be phrased in simple wordings and adoption requires no new techniques etc.

Any change in routine involved in our idea such as forms of transport, unfamiliar activities at the place of destination, administrative formalities, etc. should however be brought in the most easily understandable form.

4. "Trialability" is the degree to which an innovation may be experimented with on a limited basis. The 'trialability' of an innovation, as perceived by members of a social system, is positively related to its rate of adoption. In our case the adoption of the idea would benefit from demonstrations of the conditions at the destination we are advocating, for example by occasions for inhabitants in key positions within the social system to visit the new destination, or by trial periods of employment, guest-rooms in the new settings etc., with the objective of providing potential settlers with a limited experience of what to expect, without requiring commitment to stay.

5. Observability is the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others. The observability of an innovation, as perceived by members of a social system, is positively related to its rate of adoption.

Whatever the advantages of the place we want people to go to or to stay in they must be as clearly visible (and as easily discussable) as possible. This is an intrinsic characteristic of the idea which is not readily manipulable in our case, but it may be taken into account on any occasion in which it applies.

Summary

Designing the content and structure of a message in the light of the most reliable pertinent knowledge requires scanning relevant social psychological literature.

Furthermore perceived attributes of the innovation such as relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability and observability have to be taken into account.

VI.3 Channel Variables

According to van den Ban the influence of different communication channels (simply defined as "the means by which the message gets from source to receiver") may vary in 3 important instances:

1. The amount of freedom the receiver has to decode the message according to his own preference: an un-illustrated newspaper article about an unknown foreign country leaves more room in this respect than a TV report on the subject.

2. The amount of feedback taking place in a discussion: in a small group, feedback is stronger than in a lecture held for the radio.

3. The measure in which the receiver is influenced by the group to which he belongs: this influence is stronger at a lecture held at a meeting than when the text of a lecture is read in a magazine.

Other important aspects which should be taken into account when choosing the communication channel to be used, are: 1) the means in which the activity of the receiver is stimulated. It has been demonstrated that the activity of the receiver increases his learning achievements, 2) the size of the public one reaches, 3) the characteristics of the public one reaches.[75/]

The range of available channels may be typified by the following list: dyadic discussions, group discussions, excursions, demonstrations, mobile information units, lectures, audio-visual aids, leaflets, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, motion pictures, combination of channels.

This variety has been ordered into two broad categories: interpersonal channels and mass media. "Mass media channels are all those means of transmitting messages that involve a mass medium, such as radio, television, film, newspapers and the like, which enable a source of one or a few individuals to reach an audience of many". "Interpersonal channels are those that involve a face-to-face exchange between two or more individuals".[76/]

75/ van den Ban, op. cit. p. 63-64.
76/ Definitions by Rogers and Shoemaker, op. cit. p. 252. Note that the definition of mass communications differs from that given earlier (which is conceptually preferrable, but not repeated because of the simplicity of this formulation which serves present purposes).

Rather than giving a separate discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the different channels we will synthesize the description of channel used in the following schema (adopted from van den Ban and adapted for our situation) by incorporation of recommendations done elsewhere, as for example in an interesting publication by UNESCO, 1975).[77/]

COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES OF COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

	Interpersonal channels				Mass communication channels				
	dyadic discus-sion	group discus-sion	excur-sions	lec-ture	radio	tele-vision	film	maga-zines	news-papers
Create awareness of new migration idea	0	0	XX	XX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
Create awareness of problem	XXX	XXX	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
Change migration behavior	XX	XXX	X	0	X	X	X	X	X
Activate learning process	XX	XXX	X	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utilize knowledge existing within target group	XX	XXX	X	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tune in on specific problems of migrants	XXX	XX	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
Knowledge transference	XX	X	X	XX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
Abstraction level of knowledge transmitted	X	X	0	XX	XXX	XX	XX	XXXX	XXX
Costs	XXX	XX	X	X	X	XXX	XXX	XX	XX
Size of audience reached	0	X	X	X	XXX	XX	X	X	XXX
Own activity receiver	XXXX	XXX	0	X	X	0	0	XX	X
Effect of group on receiver	0	XXX	XX	X	X	XX	X	X	X
Amount of feedback	XXXX	XXX	XX	X	0	0	0	0	0

Explanation: XXX: high amount (respectively large); XX: reasonably high (or large) X: rather low amount (or small); 0: low (small).

77/ op. cit. p. 157.

By combination of various channels a total may be constructed in which channels are used in a complementary fashion with weak spots of specific channels being filled in by other channels. Besides taking such considerations into account in the sequence of channel used, combinations are sometimes applied more or less at the same time in "packages" such as media forums (where a film or broadcasting is discussed in groups afterwards); discussion-groups of a previously read printed article, or a lecture, discussion on television or radio of written information as often occurs with educative use of these "electrical media"; mobile information units where films are shown, discussions organized, publications distributed, advice given, etc. Audio-visual aids also aim at combining different channels of information transmission.

Besides mass vs. interpersonal communication a further distinction of importance is whether they originate from either localite or cosmopolite sources.

Rogers specifies the following generalizations relevant to our present topic: "Mass media channels are relatively more important than interpersonal channels for earlier adopters than for later adopters and cosmopolite channels are relatively more important than localite channels for earlier adopters than for later adopters".

Studies on the subject of channel use in Latin America by segments of the population outside the urban upper classes demonstrate the overriding importance of interpersonal channels.[78/]

Summarizing the abovementioned statements in a recommendation we might say that the selection of the channels to be used should be made in view of the objectives of the strategy, the size of the target group, of the phase in the adoption process and available financial resources. The channels may furthermore be adapted to the characteristics of the target group since research has proven that different socio-economic groups use different channels.

Receiver Variables

As with message variables there are a large number of socio-psychological factors pertaining to receiver characteristics which inhibit or facilitate diffusion. Topics of interest are for example selective processes, distortion of new information, self-esteem competence, efficacy, fatalism, conformity, group pressure, commitment, status, the centrality of the attitude one attempts to change,

78/ Rogers and Svenning, op. cit. p. 97-99. Atal, et. al., op. cit.

needs satisfaction, amount of previous knowledge on the subject, anxiety, etc. It would once again-require too much time to survey the scattered literature on these and similar subjects, but such an attempt should be undertaken before formulating the communication strategy.[79/]

Rogers has conveniently brought research findings on internal processes and group processes together in a number of subject headings with direct implications for strategy formulation: the innovation-decision process and opinion leadership to which we shall add a brief discussion of resistance forces.

The innovation decision process

The innovation-decision process is the mental process through which an individual passes from first knowledge of an innovation to a decision to adopt or reject and to confirmation of this decision. The innovation-decision is a special type of decision-making in which a choice between a new alternative over those previously in existence is involved. Synthesizing previous conceptualizations of such processes, Rogers distinguishes the following stages (or functions as he also calls them, thereby denoting that they do not necessarily occur strictly in the given order):

Knowledge: The individual is exposed to the innovation's existence and gains some understanding of how it functions. A pre-existing need disposes an individual to actively search relevant information, but a need may also be developed by learning of the existence of an alternative to the present unsatisfactory situation. A new migration idea may therefor not only reach those considering migration but may also cause others to consider it. This is supported by Tourraine and Regazzi who study the decision which leads to migration and distinguish "déplacement" as a type of migration by the crucial feature that a particular opportunity gives rise to an intention (which may or may not have been latent) rather than the initiative coming from the individual himself.[80/]

The mental activity at the knowledge stage is mainly cognitive, preferred source credibility is of the "confidence" variety and preferred channel used is "mass" and "cosmopolite".

79/ Havelock summarizes a number of relevant findings succinctly, op. cit. p. 115-157.

80/ Tourraine, A. and Regazzi, P., as discussed in Taylor op. cit.

Persuasion: The individual forms a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward the innovation. The main type of mental activity is affective. The individual becomes more psychologically involved with the innovation, searching relevant information primarily through interpersonal channels and from sources with safety credibility. The perceived attributes of the innovation are especially important since it is at this stage that a general favorable or unfavorable attitude is formed. Selective perception exerts an important influence and should be taken into account.

Decision: The individual engages in activities which lead to a choice to adopt or reject the innovation. At this stage the individual will try out the innovation on a small-scale to determine its utility in his own situation.

"Cues to action" should be provided thereby helping the potential adopter over the threshold of hesitance into trial experience. Excursions, incentives, travel subsidies, etc. are tactical in this stage. The aid provided by friends and relatives in terms of helping with job or house searching, and visiting trips to the place of destination before the decision to migrate takes place, in "natural" situations should be artificially created in our deliberate attempt to affect the migration decision.

Confirmation: The individual seeks reinforcement for the innovation-decision he has made, but he may reverse his previous decision if exposed to conflicting messages about the innovation. In Lewin's terms after the "unfreezing" and the "moving" phases of change the "refreezing" now takes place by information confirming a decision already made, thereby reducing "post decision dissonance". When such refreezing does not occur the use of an innovation previously adopted may easily be discontinued. After the migration decision has taken place, information testifying to the correctness of the course adopted should therefor be provided.

The migration-decision process is not necessarily an innovation decision, as for example in the case of "mass" migration in Petersen's terminology, but it is so in our case since we are trying to effect a change in the customary migration behavior by introduction of a new migration idea. Nevertheless the migration decision has been conceived in comparable phases by Alberts and Taylor.[81/]

81/ Alberts, Joop., op. cit. Taylor, op. cit. Two empirical studies on migration to Santiago discuss the migration decision as a weighing of advantages and disadvantages but do not divide the process into phases (Bosio, op. cit. and Atal, et. al., op. cit.)

Opinion Leadership

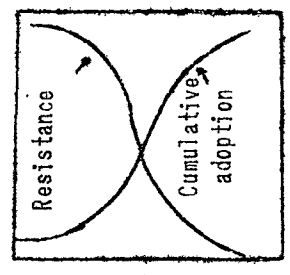
Ever since the classical studies by Lazarsfeld and others in the 1940's it has become realized that the influence of mass media upon public behavior or attitudes does not occur in a direct fashion but is intermediated by discussion of the transmitted messages, in other words through what we have called symbolic interaction, whereby these messages obtain social meaning.

Certain individuals in key positions play an important role in this process. The ideas transmitted by the media seem to flow from radio and print to opinion leaders and from these to the less active sections of the population as stated by Lazarsfeld.[82/] Rogers specifies that the first step in this two-step flow of ideas, from sources to opinion leaders, is mainly a transfer of information, whereas the second step, from opinion leaders to followers, involves also the spread of influence. He furthermore slightly modifies the terminology by speaking of a "multi-step flow" since a larger number of steps are often involved and he provides a large number of generalizations about opinion leaders as well as a sketch of the manner in which opinion leadership may be measured.[83/] It is not difficult to imagine in the light of the preceding discussion that the opinion leaders will have greater mass media exposure, be more cosmopolite, have higher status, education, etc. It is in the persuasion phase of the adoption process that such socio-metric stars, which opinion leaders usually are, consulted for advice or information. Any communication strategy should specifically try to reach the opinion leaders because of the important influence they exert on the adoption of others. In our specific case we may expect opinion leaders to be relatives and friends who have already migrated and live elsewhere, besides local influentials. This may have important consequences for our strategy since communication efforts would then have to be directed to destinations of previous migrations from our target area as well as to the area itself.

Resistance: There are in general a number of reasons why individuals resist change, some of which are rooted in personality and others of which in the social systems to which they belong. The cumulative adoption curve may be viewed as a curve representing a decreasing amount of personal and social resistance to an innovation

82/ Quoted in Rogers and Shoemaker, op. cit., p. 205 .
83/ See also Rogers and Svenning, "Measuring Opinion Leadership in Colombia", op. cit., p. 224 and following.

according to Havelock, and we may describe a "resistance curve" which is a mirror image of the adoption curve in the following fashion:



Goodwin Watson has concisely described the various sources of resistance and listed a number of recommendations to overcome them.[84/] We shall refer the reader to this source, note that possible resistance forces should be taken into account when designing a communication strategy, and conclude by making a few short remarks on the subject. What the resistance forces are depends on the goal of the strategy, and of characteristics of the target group. Pull-factors operating in the cities would be resistance forces if we were to attempt to keep people where they are or propagate rural-rural migration. And factors tying people to their place of residence would be considered as such if we happen to be trying to stimulate out-migration .

What kind of attachments keep people on their land, may be inferred partially from the data on selectivity of migrants and partly from empirical research into such matters as undertaken by Luis Soberon in Peru and Pedro Sapunar Bosio in Chile, op. cit. We are referring to factors such as:

1. Possessions at place of residence: house and land;
2. economic security at place of residence: steady job and income;
3. social participation at place of residence: ties of friendships and kinship, community activities;
4. phase in the life cycle: age, marriage-status, N° of children, children of schoolgoing age, grown up children who are married, etc.[85/]

We furthermore might expect the local structural situation which is inadequately integrated with the national system to give rise to a dualistic culture where forces of traditionalism and modernism (stimulated by education and mass media) suggest two alternatives to the young adult: to stay or to go to the primate city, both working as resistance forces to any attempt to channel migration else where.

84/ Goodwin, Watson, op. cit.
85/ Sapunar, op. cit., Soberon, Luis., op. cit.

Finally, a central element of resistance to planned change is an understandable dislike of manipulation. Resistance will therefor be less if the "participants have joined in diagnostic efforts leading them to agree on what the basic problem is and to feel its importance" that is, if the new migration idea has been approved by consensual group decision in which all those involved maintain their autonomy and are treated as active agents making their own decisions rather than as pawns who have to be redistributed territorially. Resistance will be reduced and continuance of the change will be less dependent on the change agency if such factors are taken into account.

Summary

The strategy should be adapted to the receivers of the message by taking social psychological factors into account, such as the decision-making process, opinion leadership and resistance forces.

VI.5 Synthesis

The discussion of the elements of a communication strategy may be brought together in a diagram depicting the phasing of such a strategy -which may serve as a suggestion of a possible pilot project for the duration of two years requiring the full-time employment of one expert with support of a change agency with high prestige (to incorporate the project effectively in a national migration policy) and a backing of funds (to carry out broadcasting, printing, etc. and to hire extra staff during certain periods). If each phase is assigned three months, such a project would take two years. Whether and to which degree reality may be expected to conform to such an elegant model resulting in hundred per cent adoption depends on factors of strategy (like the target group chosen, message designed, etc.) and practice (like the attainability of the target group, resistance, etc.) but nevertheless such a model may serve as a framework guiding the project.

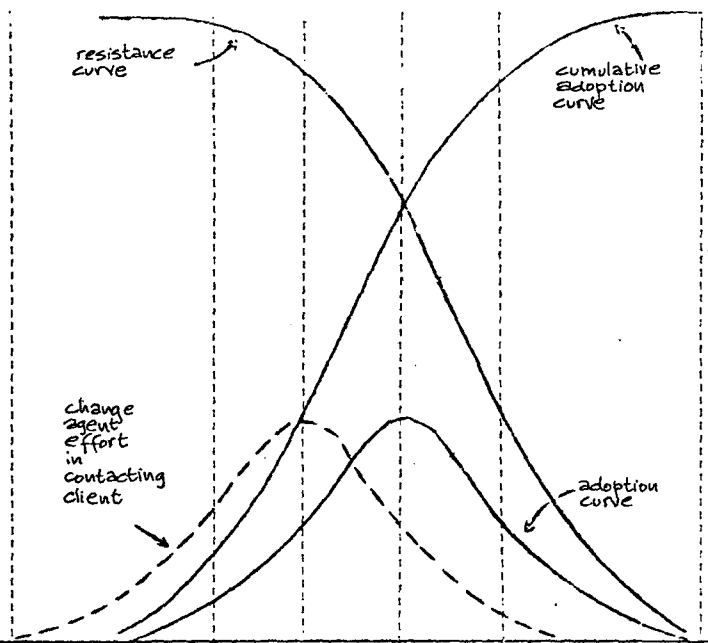
It is our opinion that designing such a project in the form of a quasi-experiment or field -experiment along lines laid down by Campbell would produce the most valid and useful results. Doing so would not greatly raise the costs since a "pre-test" is inevitable in any case to gather facts to be employed during strategy formulation-concerning for example opinion-leaders, media-use, distribution of potential migrants, preferred destinations, etc. A slight expansion of the,

questionnaire and a repeated measurement with another random sample plus the analysis of the results, turns our pilot social change project into a quasi-experiment. We thus propose, an "experimental approach to social reform, an approach in which we learn whether or not these programs are effective, and in which we retain, imitate, modify, or discard them on the basis of apparent effectiveness on the multiple imperfect criteria available".[86/]

We shall not go into this matter in detail, due to shortage of time and since there are no immediate probabilities that such a project will be realized. The aim of the present article was to awaken interest in the applied scientific line of thinking with regard to communication for migration policies and argue for the usefulness of executing a pilot project in an appropriate setting of structural change.

86/ Campbell, D.T., op. cit. (a).

DIAGRAM: Phasing of Communication Strategy



Elements of Communication Process and General Considerations	PHASE 1	PHASE 2	PHASE 3		PHASE 4	PHASE 5	PHASE 6	PHASE 7	PHASE 8
ADOPTER CATEGORIES				2.5% innovators	13.5% early adopters	34% early majority	34% late majority	16% laggards	
SOURCE (change agent roles summarized at bottom of diagram)	take role-legitimacy into account			maximize competence credibility		maximize safety credibility			
MESSAGE perceived attributes: • relative advantage • Compatibility • Complexity • trialability • observability			maximize cognitive content of message taking complexity and compatibility into account as well as relative advantage. A specific attempt may be made to reach opinion leaders with high abstraction level knowledge.			maximize affective content of message (provide reassurance) as well as relative advantage, observability and trialability		provide supporting information of the utility of adopting to prevent discontinuance	
CHANNEL choose appropriate strategy in view of the objectives, the size and characteristics of the target group etc.			mass communication media and cosmopolite information channels		combine mass media with interpersonal channels - start communicating through them		End use of interpersonal channels and Employ Mass Media		
RECEIVER take phases in the individual decision-making process into account as well as resistance forces					maximize personal contact with opinion leaders				
CHANGE AGENT ACTIVITY	• define elements • prepare pre-test and field-experiment • literature study	• make organizational preparations • conduct pre-test and analyze results	• transfer message by mass channels • contact client system	• establish change relationship	• create intent to change and translate intent into action	• continue as in phase 4 but also monitor progress of strategy - its organizational effectiveness	• achieve a terminal relationship.	• Prepare post-test field experiment	• conduct post test and evaluate effect of strategy draw up report
FIELD EXPERIMENT		Pretest	Experimental				Factor		post-test

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COMMUNICATION STRATEGY AND MIGRATION POLICY

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Errata

Page 8	Line 7	like to add that	= like to add that that
Page 10	Line 21	A Frejka's	= Frejka's
Page 12	Line 1	in a number of educational	= in a number of studies, educational
Page 12	Line 8	modern from	= modern form
Page 15	Line 7	opened	= open
Page 17	Line 3	opened	= open
Page 21	Line 1	private	= public
Page 27	Line 25	other an	= another

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