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# Dynamics of Development Communication: Awareness, Motivation, Participation

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DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION:

AWARENESS, MOTIVATION, PARTICIPATION

A Dissertation Presented

By

UMA NARULA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of Communication Studies
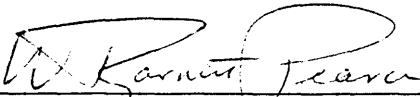
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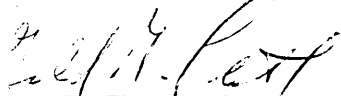
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Communication Studies

To my FATHER who inspired me to aspire high.

To my MOTHER who strongly supported women's education.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION:
AWARENESS, MOTIVATION, PARTICIPATION

(February 1984)

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A critique from a communication perspective focuses on reciprocal relations among "patterns of Interaction" and the "social realities" of various agents. In development programs in India, the agents include government bureaucracy and the masses. The critique is based on three sets of information: 1) a review of international communication providing an "international perspective" on Indian development programs; 2) a review of Indian development programs and development communication in India focusing on the development activities, reasons behind these activities and the conventional wisdom about the effects of these programs; and 3) a study of development "participation effectiveness" in a rural and rurban community.

The study describes the patterns of communication about various development projects, relationships among communication patterns; forms of participation in development programs, cognitive/attitudinal variables (awareness, discontent, motivation, etc.), and the adoption of various development objectives. Results suggest startling conclusions: existing patterns of communication and the people's perception of gov-

ernment pose a major impediment to continued development. Development programs are well received by the people and are effective but produce "dependence." The social environments of the poor exacerbate this effect, and the ineffective development delivery system heightens discontent. To intercept this spiral of discontent/dependency, the government has relied on mass media and government agents. The data indicates that these are the least effective means of communication, but perhaps the best available, given the social structure of the two communities. The one-way mass media model has only information-generation function whereas the two-way interpersonal model does not urge people for participation. A different communication handling is needed for conurbation communities and women as compared to rural and men. The dysfunctional effects of development communication suggest a poor communication dialogue.

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# SUMMARY

This dissertation presents a critique of development programs in
India from a Communication Perspective. As used here, a Communication
Perspective focuses on the reciprocal relations among "patterns of in-
teraction" and the "social realities" of the various agents for develop-
ment--the development bureaucracy and the masses. Such a perspective
may well complement other more traditional perspectives which focus on
the social structure, economic infrastructure, and socio-economic in-
dicators, etc.

The critique depends on three sets of information: first, a re-
view of literature about development communication. This review pro-
vides an anchor for judgements based on the thinking and research about
development in a wide variety of nations and constitutes something of
an "interactional perspective" on Indian development programs.

Second, a review of literature about Indian development programs
and development communication in India. This describes the development
activities of the Indian government, summarizes the reasons behind
these development activities, and presents the conventional wisdom
about the effects of these programs. The periodic appraisals by the
Indian development community indicated that the three essential param-
eters for development are: political leadership, development adminis-
tration, and the rural and urban masses.

Third, a study of development "participation effectiveness" in
two communities: rural and rurban. The study was designed to describe
the patterns of communication about various development projects, and

to determine if there were relations among these communication patterns (use of personal and impersonal interpersonal communication channels and mass media forms of participation in development programs, communication network about various topics), several cognitive/attitudinal variables (awareness, discontent, motivation, etc.), and the adoption of various development objectives. The research was conducted in Lampur village and in the resettlement colony of Jhangirpuri; both are situated around Delhi, India.

The interpretation of these results produced startling conclusions: the existing patterns of communication among the people and their attitudes about the perception of the government pose a major impediment to continued development. The analysis of the results suggests that the development programs are well received by the people and are effective. But the government development effort could produce "dependence" by playing a paternalistic role and the social environments of the poor exacerbate this effect. Moreover, the ineffective development delivery system (and the government does not have the resources to provide all of the residents' demands even if it chose to) heightens discontent.

To intercept this spiral of discontent/dependency, the government has relied on mass media and government agents. The data indicates that these are the least effective means of communication, but perhaps the best available, given the social structure of the two communities. The data further indicates that the one-way mass media model has only information generation function whereas the two-way interpersonal model

does not urge people for participation.  Moreover, it is further implied

that the conurbation communities need a different communication hand-

ling than the rural communication perspective.  The women who have been

ignored factors in development need different communication handling

than men.  Further implications of the study are that the dysfunctional

effects of the development communication are produced by: absence of

strong local leadership, inadequate and inefficient delivery of goods

and services by the development functionaries, and the attitude of de-

velopment functionaries towards public participation and creation of

counter-productive effects.  These dysfunctional effects suggest a poor

communication dialogue.

The conclusions drawn from the three sets of information suggest

that the concept of development communication needs redefining.  The

conventional terms of Devcom include the education, information, com-

munication and motivation functions but they exclude the "communication

perspective" in which these functions are performed.  As the present

study implied, the syndrome of "learned dependency" is the result of

the two different perspectives of the government and the masses in

which the development messages were interpreted.

C H A P T E R    I

INTRODUCTION

Since Independence in 1947, the government of India has invested
a tremendous amount of money and energy in a concerted effort to meet
the physical needs and improve the quality of life of the people. As a
whole, this effort is described as 'development', including programs in
the field of agriculture, nutrition, family planning, economic infra-
structure, etc.

The story of development may be seen as either in aggregate sta-
tistics or in specific anecdotes. The latter is preferable for some
purposes. Outside the village of Lampur, there is a pond into which
raw sewage drains and in which malaria-bearing mosquitos are spawned.
The story of that pond illuminates both the effectiveness and the limi-
tations of the accomplishments of the development programs.

The original concept of development focused primarily on rural
development as a means of creating the material requirements for a bet-
ter way of life for the people. The history of the nearly four decades
since Independence has been one of unswerving commitment to the goals
of development and recurring doubts about the effectiveness of the de-
velopment efforts. Some of these doubts have been straightforward,
asking whether, e.g., the educational programs about birth control have
been successful in conveying information. More profound second thoughts
have questioned the whole notion of how national development occurs.

Profound rethinking of the process of development is not limited

to India, although India is a special case. Chapter II describes the literature which expresses the thinking about development, taking a global perspective. Chapter III reviews the history of development in India, showing the conceptual movements in the six successive five-year plans.

Among other differences, the newer concepts of development--both globally and in India--incorporate a more sophisticated concept of how communication works and a description of it as having a more important place in development. Instead of seeing communication as simply the transmission of messages from the policy makers to the masses, informing them of new products and educating them to new attitudes, communication is seen as a system including many linkages, including communication among the masses which is vitally related to the adoption of innovations, and communication from the masses to the policy makers which is vitally related to the preparation of effective development plans. For example, the current five-year planning document formulates a national communication policy for development, calling it by the technical name "development communication" rather than simply referring to "plan publicity."

The problematic of this study is the relative lack of success of the development programs in India and the massive discontent with communication strategies both by the planners and by the masses. This discontent is not based on the claim that the program is a failure; in fact, there are impressive statistics which show that the various five-year plans have achieved noteworthy effects. However, there is a wide-

spread and valid perception that the results have not been as grand as they should have been, given the successes of various components of the program. The puzzle can be expressed like this: how is it that more development has not occurred since so many of the interim goals of the programs have been achieved?

Before the national development programs, the people of Lampur were unconcerned about the pond. Like most Indian villagers, their philosophy was fatalistic: they were relatively content with things as they were because they believed that whatever was, should be, and that it was neither possible nor appropriate to change them. In addition, they were unaware of the health hazards presented by pollution from sewage and from mosquitoes. The development programs have been strikingly successful in developing concern. The people of Lampur are now very aware of the health hazard presented by the pond; they are highly desirous of change, both in their feelings of discontent with the current state of affairs and their belief that alterations in the status quo are possible and desirable.

The planners think that the villagers should participate in the development effort. They reason that the government does not have the resources to do all that needs being done, and that if the government does something in the village, the villagers will not maintain it, so the effort will have only a temporary effect. The villagers think that solving the problems of the pond is the government's responsibility, asking "why should we do it?" They report that they have done their part by complaining to the government about the pond over the last decade.

Has the development program been successful? Yes, in terms of informing people of situations which are problematic, of creating a belief that change is possible, and of instilling a motivation for change. But it has not been successful in terms of getting people to participate in setting goals for development, in devising solutions to problems, and in taking the initiative and responsibility for dealing with impediments to development.

The pond outside Lampur has changed from a feature of the landscape to a problem in the minds of the people, but it is still there, complete with its mosquito larvae and sewage.

The thesis of this study is that the disappointing results of development in India may be explained in terms of a feature of communication which was unanticipated because it has never been incorporated into the planning and evaluation of national development. Specifically, communication as "plan publicity" has worked satisfactorily. The goals of information, education and motivation have been achieved. However, the actions of the government in development, including but not limited to "development communication" activities, have comprised a communication event which interfaces with the fatalism traditional among Indians to produce a social reality inimicable with the types of participation in development efforts which are necessary for success. To explicate this thesis requires a concept of communication still more sophisticated than that in the current five year plan—or elsewhere in the development literature.

Pearce and Cronen (1980) identify communication as the construc-

tion and management of social reality which occurs in part through the transmission of messages among the various components of a social system, but cannot be reduced simply to "channels" or "messages." This perspective demands the analysis of any message in terms of the social reality which it expresses and constructs. From this perspective, many things which do not necessarily appear to be messages are seen as acts of communication; and the importance of communication is often something quite other than it appears on the surface.

The "dynamics of development" in contemporary India are shown as the interaction between the development functionaries/policy planners and the masses.

The study is designed to describe the patterns of communication about various development projects, and to determine if there were relations among those communication patterns (use of mass media and interpersonal communication channels, forms of participation in development programs, communication network about various topics, etc.), several cognitive/attitudinal variables (motivation, awareness, discontent, etc.), and the adoption of various development objectives. It is designed to assess the effectiveness of development communication and to provide an empirical basis for describing the interaction between the development functionaries and the masses.

The research pertains to two Indian communities--Lampur village and Jhangirpuri, a rurban resettlement area in Delhi. The study is described in Chapter IV. In Chapter V these data are analyzed to demonstrate how the characteristics of these two communities and the con-

cepts of development among the policy planners and development functionaries have produced patterns of communication which limit the success of development. This analysis sets the stage for a critique of development programs in Chapter VI.

An analytical review of literature for five general paradigms of development communication is given in Chapter II. The analytical literature review for Indian development communication models is given in Chapter III.

The study addresses four research questions:

Research Question 1. What model(s) of development communication describe the existing communication patterns in the rural and urban segments of the Indian society?

Research Question 2. What is the extent of development effort for development participation?

Research Question 3. What is the relationship among selected aspects of communication systems: development awareness, discontent, motivation and feedback linkages with participation, approval and adoption of development programs?

Research Question 4. What is the public assessment of the efficacy of the development bureaucracy?

The balance of this chapter consists of an explication of three major terms used in the review of literature in Chapters II and III: development, communication, and development communication.

## Development

The term "development" has been used technically both by communication theorists and government officials for at least four decades. Dissanayke (1981, p. 217) noted that

> The concept resists precise definition. The term re-
> fers to a family of concepts describing in various ways
> a process of social change intended to improve the quali-
> ty of life for all or the majority of the people in a
> region without doing violence to the natural and cultural
> environment and which seeks to involve the generality of
> the people as closely as possible in this enterprise.

Thus development is a participatory process of social change in which the ways of life of a wide range of people are improved.

Development implies a directional change from an old form of existence to a new one which is stipulated as being better. As such, development is necessarily conceived as "dynamic" in the service of the "progress."

Development can be thought of from two perspectives. From a psychological point of view, progressive change is defined in terms of alterations in awareness, motivation and participation of individuals. From a social point of view, development refers to change in the organization of the society itself, whether in the social structure or in the functions performed by different groups and units within it.

Inaytuallaha (1976) has argued that the process of development has two ingredients: (i) voluntary activity on the part of a society, which clash, conflict and evolve into something new but does suppress the other value systems; and (ii) a process of innovation rather than

imitation. In such a process the developing society learns from the experience of the others and imports what it considers useful through a process of conscious selection.

The definitions of the concept of development have changed during the last three development decades. One of the reasons for the conceptual slipperiness of "development" is that there are and have been several paradigms of development, each of which had a slightly different notion of what development means. The United Nations defined the period of development decades starting from 1950. For example, the western model for development—the dominant paradigm in the 1950's and 1960's—stressed that the development could be achieved by industrialization and urbanization. The standard definition among development scholars in this first development decade was that development was measured by a society's GNP (gross national product) and per capita income, indices of "modernization" and "social change." But the two main exponents of what was later called the "Dominant Paradigm" viewed the process of modernization differently. Lerner (1958) stressed individual modernization for social change using such concepts as mobility, empathy, and participation of the individuals; whereas Rogers (1971) defined modernization at the social system level where innovations are introduced in the social system to produce higher per capita income.

Many development theorists criticized these indices as inadequate and misleading. Seers Dudley (1969) argued that the modal per capita income is poor criterion of development. A preferable index will examine changes in the levels of poverty and inequality.

The second and third development decades may be characterized arguing that development implies commitment to social goals as well as to a multifaceted, interrelated set of economic, social, political and cultural variables. Developmental change is a unitary process, not ending with, e.g. comparative measures in GNP but including the improvement of quality of life and the transformation of individuals. For example Freire (1970) stressed the importance of conscientisation or self-knowledge leading to people's heightened aspirations. The United Nations defined development as providing increased opportunity to all people for a better quality of life.

The present understanding of development is as a unified socio-economic process. A number of ingredients are known about this process but experts are not sure about their "mix" nor about their individual or mutual integration, interdependency or weightage. The process of development is a changing complex of factors which move in different rates in relation to one another and move in and out of importance at different levels of development and in different countries. Development cannot be explained as a cause and effect relationship because all the variables which may be gotten together to measure development are correlated with one another.

In Indian development context, the Gandhian meta-model of development in the 1950's suggested that development is social transformation --a fundamental transformation of values and motives and resurrection of man's ethical and spiritual potential. It emphasized that development is not industrilization but rural reconstruction defined as the re-

ordering of the society and the economic system and attainment of a just social and political order devoid of exploitation. The conceptual slipperiness of "development" is evident in subsequent Indian development models for two reasons. First, India was experimenting with various development models, and second, it was tempted to imitate the predominate successful global models of the time because the political leadership of the country had promised the people quick development. The result was a switching between various development models to achieve the best results. The definition of development and how to do development became paradigm related.

In the 1950's in India, the development was identified as planned social change by the government to bring about attitudinal and social institutional changes for modernization. Moreover, it was assumed that development could be achieved by industrialization. In the 1960's, development was identified with rural development and an extension approach was adopted to do development. The extension approach suggested that development consisted of a transfer of power to the people, and a continuous involvement of the people in finding solutions to their own problems by participation and democratic administrative decentralization. The development models in the 1970's stressed rural development, small-scale rural industrialization, and capital industrialization. The development of the marginal and weaker sections of the society through direct action or legislation was the main focus. This focus continued in the 1980's with the additional objective of providing basic minimum needs both for physical basic amenities and quality of life to a major-

ity of the people whether rural or rurban. The objective was to do development by self-reliance, self-participation, self-management of the development programs and by adopting a systems approach to development.

## Communication

Like development the term "communication" is difficult to define. There are some well-articulated concepts of communication which express this perspective, which might be useful as the basis for development planning which does not limit itself to linear views of communication. These include: Symbol Circulation concept, Mass-Line concept, and Circular concept of communication. The Linear Paradigm treats communication as an act whereas the other three concepts define communication as a process.

Linear paradigm of communication. One of the earliest models of communication was implied in the rhetoric of the classical Greeks, most notably by Aristotle. According to him, the speaker, the speech, and the audience are the constituent elements of the communication act. The "communicator" is the speaker, who is actively transmitting messages to a passive audience, who are not communicators, at least at present. Beltran (1976) describes this "one way" concept of communication as a "vertical" model and this concept is fully embedded in the currently influential models of Lasswell (1948) and Shannon and Weaver (1949).

During the next decade, three other influential communication

models were developed. Wilbur Schramm (1955) described communication as an act of establishing contact between a sendor and receiver, with the help of a message (S→M→R model). Westley and MacLean (1957) and Berlo (1960) introduced the additional element of "feedback" to the model. Berlo even described communication as a process, but these remained essentially linear models of one way communication and could describe the communication act and not the communication process.

The linear notion of communication was very influential in the early concepts of development. But soon the limitations of the linear models became apparent and were critiqued by development theorists as well as communication theorists. There are some "patch" and "repair" alternatives including the "two step flow" (Katz and Lazarfeld, 1957; Rogers, 1969), "multi-step flow" (Rogers, 1971, 1976) hypothesis but they do not refer to the thrust of the criticisms.

Kincaid (1979, p. 28) critiqued linear models as treating information like a physical substance and individual minds like separate entities. These assumptions have created seven biases in the study of human communication:

> (i) Communication is usually a vertical, one way act
> rather than cyclical, two way process over time; (ii)
> a source bias based on the dependency rather than on
> the relationship of those who communicate and their
> interdependency; (iii) the objects of communication
> are treated as existing in a vacuum, isolated from their
> context; (iv) the focus is on the message per se at the
> expense of silence, punctuation and timings of the mes-
> sages; (v) the primary purpose of communication is con-
> sidered as persuasion rather than mutual understanding,
> agreement and collective action; (vi) there is concen-
> tration on the psychological effects of communication

on separate individuals rather than the social effects
and the relationships among individuals; (vii) belief
in one way mechanistic causation rather than mutual
causation.

As Freire (1973) pointed out, the mechanical causation takes the point

of view of sources as subjects who use communication to produce changes

in receivers as objects.

In the context of development, during the 1950's and 1960's, the

linear paradigm of communication had been identified with mass media

communication. By its very nature the mass communication is one way

flow of messages with little or no possibilities for the receivers to

respond to the senders or media; it is impersonal but simultaneous.

The vertical top-down interpersonal communication is identifiable with·

the linear model.

Symbol circulation concept of communication. This concept emphasizes

the point that the "meaning" of development messages are interpreted by

the masses and the development planners according to their specific

"symbolic environment." This interpretation affects their actions for

development. Such a concept may suggest a different communication

handling for people exposed to different symbolic environments accord-

ing to their social structure, social status, education, occupation and

sex. This concept identifies communication as more of a process, a

multivariable dynamic interplay of numerous factors, some of them quite

intangible. In this view the "meaning" is treated more as a property

of the receiver than the message. Bordenave (1972) argued that the re-

ceiver was not a blank page on which we could write our messages but a living being whose beliefs, attitudes, and values grew out of his own experience. The receiver interprets the "messages" according to his own "meanings," i.e. his "symbolic environments." Thus it is the symbol of the message and not the message itself which is transmitted.

Singh and Gross (1979) conceptualize the symbols of development and mobilization as part of the symbolic environment. What is transmitted depends entirely on the recipients' perception of the symbols. As messages become more complex or less routinized, the possibility of symbols being understood in one way by the sender and in many different ways by the various receivers is vastly enlarged. There are practical conclusions to be derived from these fundamental facts: one is that to be successful in communicating certain information, a sender must understand the values and biases of many different recipients. Secondly, the sender might use entirely different symbols to convey similar messages to different audiences. Finally, the different recipients' perception of any particular set of symbols is usually affected by the extent to which and the manner in which those recipients may be involved in either the process of communication or in the activity referred to by the messages. This could be passive or active involvement.

In this context, it may be useful to think that the process of transmitting a message and the contents of the message itself are usually affected by the sender's perception of the possible receivers, as well as the information the sender may receive from them during the process of transmission itself about the receipt of the message, the

extent to which it may have been understood or misunderstood. This is often referred as "feedback." How we understand what someone says and how much we believe it to be true will subsequently influence how we will <u>act</u> alone or in concert with others.

Grunig (1968) had argued the importance of "function" of individual social status and social structure for access to messages and media. He argues that the studies of innovation, decision-making, and information seeking behavior in many developing countries suggested that the functions performed by various messages and media in the life of each person were different according to the position occupied by the individual in the social structure and the social structure itself is very powerful determinant of people's access to mass media.

<u>Mass line concept of communication</u>. Singh K. (1976) pointed out that Mao Tse Sung (China) identified mass line concept of communication with the non-elitest leadership. Gandhi (India) endorsed Mao's viewpoint and suggested a "bottom-up" communication between the people and the development functionaries. Singh argued that leadership of the people is identified with opinion leadership. Opinion leadership is a widely used concept in development and is relevant for interpersonal communication for development. The argument is that people communicate their development needs and need priorities to development functionaries. This suggests that to make development plans need oriented, these should be supported by people's knowledge, wisdom and experience and judgement, however poor and illiterate they may be. This concept of communication

presupposes (i) people's participation and leadership in development, and (ii) opinion leadership as a significant communication link between people and the development functionaries.

The mass line concept of communication is the basis for a critique of the elitist leadership role in development identified with top-down communication, where the development planners/functionaries by their "trained incapacity" do not learn from the masses' experience, wisdom and judgement. They thus create a gap between the social reality of the people and that of the development planners/functionaries.

Circular concept of communication. The circular concept of communication coordinates vertical and horizontal communication, feedback and the principle of "convergence."

This concept identifies two dimensions of vertical communication, "top-down" and "bottom-up," and a form of horizontal communication, i.e. "bottom-bottom" communication among the people. In the context of development it is envisaged that both vertical communication, i.e. from government to people, from people to government and horizontal communication, i.e. communication among the members of the development bureaucracy and among people is necessary to make the development programs need-oriented. There has to be circular flow of communication at all levels.

Kincaid's (1979) principle of convergence suggests that "feedback" is a process and not one-half of one cycle of information exchange as advocated by the linear paradigm. An analysis of a series of such

cycles of information exchange over time are necessary to understand

the human communication as a process. Convergence and divergence are

useful terms for describing what actually occurs during this process.

Convergence is a tendency to move towards one point or one another, to

come together and unite in a common interest and focus. Divergence is

simply moving away or apart. The second important feature of the prin-

ciple of convergence is that it presupposes the preexistence of a goal

and the feedback is positive or negative only with respect to a prede-

termined goal.

In the context of development, the fundamental purpose of human

communication is to understand reality in order to achieve goals and

select other subsequent goals. Thus understanding and mutual under-

standing is fundamental to the process of communication itself. A cir-

cular communication is necessary at all levels with several loops of

feedback and feedforward to arrive at mutual understanding. The main

stress of circular communication is on interpersonal communication for

development.

Communication and information. It may be useful to identify communica-

tion as different from information. Communication is something that

happens to information but it is not information itself; though it is

absolutely essential in the process of both collection and dissemina-

tion of information.

The progress of any society will be affected by the type and

volume of information that flows within its system. The speed and flow

of communication will further depend on the urgency and importance of the matter and receptivity of the audience. The information should be relevant, meaningful, to the knowledge and lifestyle of the people. Development information should be adequate and timely. Such information is of two kinds: one is the information meant for the people about development plans and their operations, the other is information meant for the development bureaucracy which operates the development programs.

## Development Communication

"Development communication" is a technical term used by development planners and is often referred to as "Devcom." The general notion refers to the dynamic process of bringing development plans (usually prepared by the government agents) to the people for whom they are intended. The general role of Devcom is to create the human environment necessary for development to succeed. The specific concept of development communication identifies it with information, education and communication (identified by the acronym IEC) about development plans. In recent years the dimension of "motivation" has been added to this concept.

Many developing countries have spent a lot of money and lots of time trying to initiate change, and they have largely been successful in making change occur but the directions or the dynamics of change have not always or even usually resulted in "development" as envisioned by the planners. Development theorists and practitioners realized that merely disseminating information about development plans would not re-

sult in development as planned; as UNESCO termed it, nations needed communication (IEC) for development within the cultural matrix. Later it was realized that the original formula--information, education and communication for development programs--was itself insufficient to achieve the desired results. In addition, people needed motivation to accept development. In my judgement, not only "development motivation" as defined by UNESCO but also "development awareness" are essential aspects of development communication.

It is only recently in India that they have seen Devcom as integrated with the rest of the development programs. This seems a belated recognition since communication is essential to development programs.

The realization that development and communication are linked together in symbiotic relationships where each feeds upon the other, stimulates and nourishes the other suggested interaction between the dynamics of development and communication.

The concept of "Devcom" has been both variously interpreted and fluid with regard to its definition and functions according to the "meaning" ascribed to development and the development paradigmatic changes over a period of three development decades. Each time with the best informed persons changing their minds about each of them and developing more sophisticated concepts each time.

According to various interpretations and definitions, Devcom is purposive, goal-directed, educative and always associated with some program for desirable planned change. It is action-oriented since it helps people in gaining better control over their environments by the

use of appropriate technology for communication. Devcom negotiates to change attitudes towards development rather than to convert and persuade. It either supports a component approach to communication as in the conventional wisdom or a systemic approach to development programs as advocated later by the development practitioners and theorists.

Prerequisites of development communication. There are two perspectives from which we need communication for development: communicator's needs and audience's needs. The communicator may communicate by information, education, and motivating the masses. The audience may communicate for development information, making demands for development and asking solutions for development problems. These two perspectives suggest certain prerequisites for development communication: (i) human and localized approach to communication rather than abstract and centralized; (ii) credibility and role of communication links for development—both media and interpersonal links, and (iii) access to communication.

Human and localized approach. This suggests communication efforts tailored to the needs and psychological dispositions of people and the development threshold of people.

Development threshold. More and more development theorists and practitioners are being convinced that "development threshold" is significant for development communication. This concept suggests being receptive to development to a certain point. For example, there is a marked difference between the development threshold of rural and rurban society;

between elites and masses, men and women within the urban and rural
society. These differences in the threshold are termed as "development
gap." Development gap is identified with socio-economic gap, knowledge
gap, and communication gap. Development gap suggests that people in
different development thresholds need different development communica-
tion handling for effective development.

Communication links in development. Various mass media channels are
viable communication links for the IEC functions of Devcom. The main
mass media channels identified are radio, film, T.V., and print. The
interpersonal communication network is of two types: personal and im-
personal. Personal network consists of family, friends, neighbors and
leaders (caste, traditional or opinion leaders). The impersonal chan-
nels are official extension agents and development functionaries.

Mullay and Narula[1] commenting on the role of rural leadership in
development argued that the success/failure of a program of planned
change depends on the ability and cooperation of the leaders at the
village level. Besides the leaders, it has been observed that there
are some enthusiastic persons (motivators in official jargon) in the
local community who are involved in motivating the people for accep-
tance of the development programs. The participation of responsible
and responsive local leadership is expected to result in intensive
mobilization of resources.

There is research evidence to suggest that in developing coun-
tries, among interpersonal communication links, the family is the nu-

clei link. The locus of decision-making is family and not individual. In addition, the communication links of official extension agents and development functionaries also play significant roles in development.

In developing countries which are traditional and predominately rural societies, there is low access and reach of mass media due to a variety of reasons.

The mass media links of a country or a region are decided by the available technology, resources of the country as well as the literacy level of the people. If people have low purchasing power, they are not able to buy a radio or T.V. in spite of the fact these medium may be within the physical reach of the people. With low level of literacy the print medium may not be effective.

Access to communication. "Access" is another prerequisite of development communication. Vittal (1981) argues that the access to communication channels governs people's participation in development programs. Mass media, interpersonal channels carry development messages for people which suggest the necessity of accessibility of mass media and interpersonal channels for development communication. Access to media is determined by three subfactors: technical, theoretical and potential reach of the media; distribution of media among people; and audience segmentation by interests. "Access" to impersonal interpersonal communication network is determined by the availability and attitude of the interpersonal infrastructure. Narula and Dhawan (1982) have argued that even if mass media channels or interpersonal channels are available to the people for development, both unintentional and in-

tentional blockages to development messages through these channels by the development functionaries can be an impediment to development.

Khan (1973) has argued that the availability of mass media institutions in a country in itself is no guarantee that media will be used by the people: (i) mass media are usually not available where they are needed the most for development purposes, (ii) whatever media are available and are received usually do not carry the kind of information that might aid development, (iii) the mass media content may not be situationally relevant enough to aid development, and (iv) even if functionally relevant information is available the infrastructure and input may not be.

Development communication through multi-media channels are mostly planned by the government. But the existing communication patterns in any segment of the society has an important bearing for the success in development communication. Moreover, the effectiveness of the Devcom depends on the credibility of the specific communication channels.

Concepts in development communication. This study discusses two major concepts of development communication: development awareness and development motivation rather than following the UNESCO definition of development communication as information, education and motivation.

Development awareness. In developing countries the development programs are planned by the government. Devcom informs the masses about

modern alternatives and instills discontent with things as they are.
It is being argued by the development community that the masses' aware-
ness and knowledge of the development issues and awareness of their own
needs is also necessary though not sufficient for development.

Lerner (1958) argued that dynamic power of modernization is the
ratio between rising expectations and frustrations.  There has to be a
balance between the ratio of wanting and getting.  The achievement is
equal to aspiration over frustration.  The thrust of the argument is
that the dynamic power of development lies in development awareness
(rising expectations) and discontent (rising frustrations) and achieve-
ment lies in balancing the two.

Bordenave and Beltran (1976) argued that diffusionist theorists
also stressed the development awareness of material or social innovations
as prerequisite for development.  The discontent is the result of non-
adoption because of social or opportunity constraints, though this is
implicit in the diffusion model.

It is argued that discontent with the existing development may
psychologically arouse people to search for alternative strategies to
achieve their needs.

Rogers (1976) and other development theorists critiqued the dom-
inant paradigm of development: that people demanded alternative paths
of development when the benefits of economic growth did not reach them.
People were aware of economic benefits of development but the discon-
tent due to deprivation activated them to participate in defining their
own problems of development and to demand alternative strategies to

make programs of development need-based and effective.

Rogers (1976) and others, in the context of a "new paradigm" for development, have argued for self-development. Self-development is identified with raising development awareness and achieving development needs.

Narula and Dhawan (1982) argue that people express their felt and perceived needs among themselves as well as to the development functionaries when they are "involved" in the development. They demand need-based programs. People will be self-reliant in development when they are able to define their own problems, demand cooperation from development functionaries as well as cooperating with them, and rely on local resources for development activities.

Muthaya (1982) argued that people's perception of whatever is happening around them has an important bearing on their attitude and involvement in the development programs. Quite often the physical facilities created for them are not perceived by them for the simple reason that those facilities are not meaningful to them or they are prevented from utilizing them by social constraints. Therefore when a development program is introduced it must become a part of people's perceptual world and they must get a feeling that this facility is going to help them in solving the problems and meeting demands for augmenting their level of living. Therefore, development programs should not only be meaningful in terms of utility but should also to some extent satisfy people's felt demands in order to be perceived as improvements in the village.

Pareek (1968), arguing the necessity of need-oriented development programs, suggested that planners should take care of development awareness and discontentment if the programs are to be need-based. The needs of the community as perceived by its members have to form the basis of action development programs. The programs based on felt needs as contrasted with needs perceived by experts have more chances of acceptance and stabilization.

The felt needs of the community are not considered by the planners because of "dependency motive" and "symbol infatuation." Dependency motive is where the planners take entire responsibility of planning, executing a development program and achieving the targets. Symbol infatuation is a love for symbols to escape the reality which is reflected in what is usually called target mindedness.

In some cases, needs that seem urgent to the planners are not perceived as urgent by the community; action may be planned to bring the felt needs to the felt level. This should precede the actual implementation of the program, since a program unrelated to the needs of the community is likely to lead to discontentment.

Development motivation. The low achievement can be reduced or eliminated by factors affecting the motivation of the people. In my judgement, the motivational force in development may by the psychological arousal of the people by the development awareness and discontentment with the ongoing development programs. Knowledge of development issues and reasons and patterns of discontentment are necessary and sufficient

for psychological arousal to search or demand for the alternative communication strategies and participation in development issues.

There are various assumptions as to how development motivation may operate for development. It is assumed that the development motivation in public considers need for variation, modernization and social change, and need for participation in development programs. The second assumption is that people perceive their development problems but need motivational force to make demands for the satisfaction of these needs or to search for the solutions to their problems. Moreover, the predominance of "dependency motive" among masses for solution of their problems is negative to development. The third assumption is that development motivation is necessary prerequisite for the people to commit their resources for development.

Lerner (1958) argued that the governments of the developing countries have social control on the participatory activities of the individuals. The governments pass on the symbols of modernity to the people by policy decisions. These two factors may suggest that the governments in developing countries reinforce dependency of their people. Therefore the people make demands on the development bureaucracy to solve their problems.

Narula and Dhawan (1982) argued that the efficacy and public image of development functionaries affect the development motivation of the people.

Bhardwaz (1968) argued that development in planned change perspective needs an official leadership system which is both plan and

client conscious and a democratic village infrastructure committed to
the goals of participation in the planned change. The mutual percep-
tion and interpersonal relationships between the official leadership
and community leadership affect the development motivation and develop-
ment participation of the people. For better results in development,
the change-motivation in the development functionaries needs under-
standing in juxtaposition to the change-motivation in the people.

Muthaya (1982), discussing the development motivation and parti-
cipation of people in development programs, argues that people will ax-
cept a program if it is perceived to be meaningful to meet their im-
mediate needs. Whenever the programs are connected remotely with their
immediate needs they will not get motivated. The motivations aroused
in regard to the programs are important in order to bring about the in-
volvement of the people in the programs concerned. Attempts have been
made to motivate people through incentives and rewards but experience
has shown that the moment those incentives are withdrawn the programs
have lesser chances of being sustained. Therefore, it is necessary to
make people understand the importance of the programs, perceive the re-
lationship to their day-to-day life situation, and to try to make them
accept the program on their own account without the feeling of its be-
ing imposed from outside. Therefore motivation is an important dimen-
sion in any development program.

There is research evidence to show that people are not motivated
in spite of expectations raised. This presents a problematic situa-
tion: there may not be timely coordination for implementation of the

programs, low efficacy of the development functionaries or the people's own actions, and the development programs not being need-oriented. Such a situation can create a gap between the raised expectations and the achievements. It is essential to generate the local impulse to improve and the programs that are implemented for development of the community by external assistance may give rise to the tendencies to depend on the external assistance. It is argued that in the context of development, it is necessary to understand the level of motivation of the people in terms of their dependencies, present deprivations and prepotent need areas. A dependent attitude of the people, an indifferent and inefficient delivery system, and any satisfied need ceases to be the motivator of behavior.

Pareek (1968) argues that the participation in any development program depends on the level of the motivation of people. The level of motivation depends on the perceived need-based programs and sustained community interest in the development programs. Motivation results from various supports which are built into the development programs and for the development programs such as support from traditional value systems, leadership of community, experts and change agents. The greatest support for sustained motivation comes from within the communi- ty. This can be achieved by "minimum critical concentration of efforts" which suggests training enough people in the community so that they can support each other and keep the motivation alive. If few persons are trained then the influence of the community may overwhelm them and they may revert to old ways. Moreover, group-centered techniques should be

used for raising the motivation of the people.  The major weakness of development programs in India is either to concentrate on a large mass of people or on a few scattered individuals,  whereas the functional unit in a community is a group which is bound by common goals, shared norms, and fairly stable relationships.

Pareek (1966), in a general paradigm of development, had earlier proposed that increasing achievement motivation and extension motivation are important for general socio-economic development.  Equally important is to reduce dependency motive in order to accelerate development.  Changes in the social structure and developing new expectancy frames are necessary to foster, sustain, and accelerate changes in motivation.

## Taking a Communication Perspective

Conventional wisdom nowadays is quick to laud the importance of communication, but this unanimity of affect is not paralleled by agreement about just what communication is or how it works.  At conferences, persons of equivalent prominence as communication experts are relatively easily shown to be talking about different, and sometimes incommensurate definitions of communication.  In these and other forums, formal definitions of "communication" seldom withstand careful scrutiny.

The recent history of the academic discipline of "communication" in the United States includes what may be called "The Great Model Hunt" (Pearce, 1983).  For various reasons, academicians attempted to develop an authoritative description of the way communication works.  In retro-

spect, it seems clear that the whole effort was misguided. The reason

no acceptable model could be found was because the question was put in

an unanswerable form. Those who invented and critiqued models tacitly

assumed that communication is a category of acts, and that a model must

characterize those acts and differentiate them from comparable acts.

Pearce argued to the contrary that "communication" is better understood

as a perspective from which any act may be examined and understood.

It is not that communication occurs by speaking rather than sleeping,

or by listening rather than by walking away, or by broadcasting a radio

program rather than by burning a bus. One may communicate eloquently

by sleeping--students do it stylishly in large lecture classes. One

may communicate clearly by walking away--my (Narula's) subjects some-

times do it when asked for an interview. One may communicate powerfully

by burning a bus--as commutors in Calcutta did recently to protest a

fare increase. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1967) have argued that

"one cannot NOT communicate." Their argument begins with the assump-

tion that any action has message value, and that there is no alterna-

tive to action. From this perspective, Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson

are right at least in this sense: whatever one does or does not do CAN

BE LOOKED AT from a "communication perspective." Specifically, the

personal and impersonal channels of messages which comprised "develop-

ment communication" were not the only means of communication between

the government and the masses. The government's direct action and

legislation were potentially just as potent in message value than what

was included in formal "development communication," and the actions of

the masses--"passive" as they might have been as forms of participation in development--were potent means of communicating with the government.

To say that all forms of action may have message value and may be looked at from a communication perspective does not suggest how this perspective may be applied. The method consists of a sequential analysis of 1) the "social realities" of the agents in the dialogue, 2) the interaction between the agents, and 3) the reflexivity between patterns of actions and social realities. These steps in the analysis are grounded on four assumptions.

First, to use a word is to locate oneself in a nexus of meanings; to speak a sentence is to create a world (Goodman, 1978). To call an event or object by a name is to enter into a semantic system, in which the words by which it is called have a history and a syntax which enmeshes their users into a particular world-view. Far from being a neutral medium of expression, language is a web, a system, a calculus, which is absolutely essential in freeing us from the intellectual poverty of mere facticity, but which then ensnares us into a particular pattern of meaning and action (Shands, 1971). Shotter (1983) said this more simply: "actions always point beyond themselves"; and that to which they point is an array of social practices, institutions, meanings which may be described as "social reality." The content and structure of this social reality are both the product and producers of society and individual experience (Giddens, 1979). From this view, "communication" denotes the process by which we collectively create and manage social reality (Pearce and Cronen, 1980).

Second, the human condition is that of being variably enmeshed in multiple systems, each with its own logic of meaning and action. This is one reason that formal logic is an imperfect guide to human action; humans are seldom if ever well-captured by a single set of premises. Usually things are much sloppier than that, we are creatures of mixed motives and impure loyalties. We act in context of multiple lines of influence which often are incompatible.

Third, the process of communication is an excellent means for coordinating social action, but a very poor means for expressing individual mentation or achieving common understandings. Wittgenstein argued that most philosophical problems are really on the traps embedded in the language games which philosophers use to talk about them. In the Tractatus (1981), he demonstrated that any language has "limits," and that as long as we use that language, those limits become "the limits of my world." When we try to use a language game to deal with a phenomenon for which it is not a perfect fit, we discover that our language comprises "cages" against which we run with futility (Janik and Toulmin, 1973). Our argument is that the "continuity" of any culture or social institution depends on the existence of such limits about what can be coherently said and thought. These limits simultaneously ensnare those who use the language and facilitate their ability to act in mutually supportive ways and to give the impression of understanding each other.

Fourth, the way communication works makes it likely to obscure

the way it works. Specifically, from "inside" a particular language game, whatever "limits" it imposes appear as the natural "boundaries" of the world, not a more or less arbitrary point of curtailment. Someone who knows of nothing outside the room in which he lives may feel free; he can walk unrestrained to the ends of the world that he knows. The walls of the room function as boundaries, not limits. On the other hand, someone confined to the same room with full knowledge of the great wide world outside, although in the same physical situation, will feel "caged"; the walls impose probably distressing limits on his movements.

The language games of ordinary communication seldom portray their "edges" or "walls" as limits. Usually they enable the participants to move with a sense of freedom. For players intent on chess, the moves "in" chess are boundaries in which they feel fully free. In fact, the most effective response to, say, Queen to King's 5 is a fist to the opponent's nose, but that is not a move "in chess." If striking the opponent is what one wants to do, then the rules of chess become limits instead of boundaries.

These four principles imply a shift from the "content" (e.g., the "information transmitted") to the "implications" of acts as the problematic for communication analysis. The question "what did he say?" is still of interest, but subsumed under the questions "what did he DO by saying that?" and "what are the characteristics of the system in which saying 'x' counts as having done 'y'?"

These questions may be posed under the rubrics "social realities,"

"interaction" and "reflexivity" (Alexander, Bowen, Pearce, and Duke, 1983). The analysis of "social realities" consists of showing how particular acts take on meaning by being enmeshed in the historical and analytical frames of the community which interprets them. "Interaction" consists of showing how the acts (and social realities) of persons who exchange messages intermesh to form patterns which may differ from those intended by either agent, and of which neither agent has complete control. "Reflexivity" consists of showing the relationships between interactive patterns and social realities. Each act is constituted by its interpretation derived from social reality, but also creates and reconstitutes the particular characteristics of that social reality, including its limits and the distinctive patterns of "action" and "interaction" which it permits (cf. Giddens, 1979; Cronen, Johnson, and Lannamann, 1982).

The first stage in analysis from a "communication perspective" is to determine the "implications" of actions in the various social realities of the participants. Actions which were intended and not intended as communicative must be considered, and the meanings of these acts in the social realities of all participants in the dialogue ascertained.

The first contribution of this perspective is to show all three categories of government development activities—legislation and direct action as well as development communication—as forms of communication. The messages conveyed by building roads are no less potent because the engineers, unlike the producers of radio programs, did not think of themselves as communicating.

C H A P T E R  II

FIVE PARADIGMS OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION:
AN ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE


The improvement of the economies of the underdeveloped nations

has been an international concern for the last three decades.  The de-

velopers became somewhat of an intellectual community, sharing informa-

tion, attending conferences and closely observing each others' successes

and failures.  Like any other intellectual community, they developed

"paradigmatic" ways of thinking, and these paradigms have changed over-

time.

Paradigms are clusters of assumptions, research protocols and

theories which provide a common orientation for people working in the

same area.  All knowledge is a model.  Some models are better than

others for specific cases.  The choice of a model is important because

it produces action, and interaction among persons with different models

is problematic.  Such paradigm change is welcome in any scientific dis-

cipline because it indicates that the procedure of testing and develop-

ing hypotheses is working.  In short, it is an evidence that we are

learning more than we knew.  However, the process of paradigm change

requires a rethinking of the old topics and the utilization of the new

perspectives.  It is not always easy to see the full implications of

the new paradigm.

In this chapter, five major paradigms which have been endorsed by

the international development community are described.  These are

"general" development models and are not specific to any one country.

Each has implications--but quite different implications--for each

country. The various development communication perspectives operating

in developing countries are reviewed analytically in respect to several

aspects: the concept of development, attributed causes of underdevelo-

ment advocated by the particular development perspective, developing

countries' effort for development, emergence of alternate paradigms,

communication models, the role of communication for development, and

the emerging development communication patterns.

While none of these perspectives reflect a full-fledged theory,

each represents a model leading towards a theory of development. De-

velopment literature reviewed later in this chapter reveals that these

perspectives have changed according to the changing dynamics of devel-

opment and the changing roles of both interpersonal communication chan-

nels and mass media and particulalry the technological breakthrough in

the mass media channels.

These perspectives on development address three questions:

How to do development?

Why do development efforts not work in some of the
developing countries?

How did the problem of underdevelopment start?

There have been two predominant approaches to development during

the last three decades: the dominant paradigm of development, a western

approach, and the new paradigm of development, a participatory and a

non-western approach. During the "passing" of the dominant paradigm

and emerging of the new paradigm, three more approaches were being sup-

ported by the international community: the "interdependent model"; the "dependency model," based on the theory of Dependency; and the "basic need model" based on the theory of Marginality.

## Dominant Paradigm of Development: A Framework

The western model for development predominated in the 1950's and 1960's. Rogers (1960) called this the "dominant paradigm" of development as it exercised a dominant influence in the field of development. The stress of this model was that modernization/development could be achieved by increased productivity, economic growth and industrialization, that is, heavy industries and capital intensive technologies, urbanization, centralized planning and endogenous factors of development. Development was measured by gross national product (GNP), total or per capita. Thus the attempt was to bring development by acceptance of technological advances and innovations. The shift was from a statis, agricultural, primitive, rigid and ascriptive society to a dynamic, industrialized, urbanized and socially mobile nation.

Lerner (1958) and Wilbur Schramm (1962) supported the dominant paradigm and advocated automation and technology for development. They made significant contributions in identifying the role of communication for technological development.

Attributed causes of underdevelopment. The development community argued that the cause of underdevelopment in the developing countries was not due to external causes but due to internal causes present within

the nation and the individual as well as within the social structure.

Lerner (1958) and Schramm (1964) stressed that the individual was to

be blamed to the extent that he was resistent to change and moderniza-

tion, whereas Rogers (1962), Bordenave (1974) and Beltran (1976) argued

that the social structural constraints like government bureaucracy,

top-heavy land tenure system, caste, exploitative linkages, etc. are

to be blamed.

Developing countries' efforts for development. Developing countries

made efforts to do development by promoting heavy, capital-intensive

industrialization. Lerner (1958) pointed out that since the individual

was identified as the cause of underdevelopment, he was the starting

point to bring about social change. Change in the individual's beliefs

and attitudes was attempted to inculcate urban values for modernization.

The modernization of the individual's traditional values became the

priority task. Rogers (1976) pointed out that no effort was made to

change the social structure though it had been identified as one of the

causes of underdevelopment. The mass media was used to bring about

change and to do development.

Constraints of developing countries' efforts for development. The in-

troduction of capital-intensive industrialization destroyed the rural

tradition of cottage industries and most of the developing countries

were predominantly rural and had skilled artisans in traditional arts

and crafts. The developing countries did not concentrate much on agri-

culture development though most of these countries are agrarian socie-

ties. Rogers (1976) contended that the rural masses were discontented and unemployed because they lost the rural industries which were their hereditary occupations. Low concentration on agriculture did not increase the agricultural returns. This resulted in rural migration to urban areas and in turn created urban congestion and urban slum conditions. There were food shortages and greater concentration of income and power. In a nutshell, there was stagnation in development.

There were two major lines of criticism by the development theorists: one, the efforts for social change were focused more on individuals than on the social system; second, even the approach to the individual was elite-biased.

Bordenave and Beltran (1974) and Rogers (1976) argued that the developing countries did not make any efforts to change these social constraints. The individual change without the social structural changes was slow as there was the push of modern values and pull of traditional values due to social constraints.

Lucien Pye (1963) made the point that the development approach for social change was elite-biased. The modernized elite in developing countries were small in number and the weight of communication policies were on the side of protecting the freedom of these leaders and strengthening their influence through society.

Constraints of the dominant paradigm. This model had blamed individual and social constraints for underdevelopment. But it did not recognize that there were external constraints which limited the development.

These external constraints were: international terms of trade, economic
imperialism of international corporations, and the vulnerability and
dependency of recipients of technical assistance programs. Moreover,
the dominant paradigm failed to differentiate between the developing
countries with rich resources or those with low resources. Since these
two types of developing countries might have needed entirely different
development handling to achieve the best results.

Why alternate paradigms emerged. The main realization that development
was not going well in the developing countries for those who have fol-
lowed the dominant paradigm closely has made people think that there
were alternative pathways to development. In the late 1960's and
1970's, several world events combined with the intellectual critiques
began to crack the credibility of the dominant paradigm.

Rogers (1976, p. 128) identified four world events which many
took as reason to accept an alternative to the dominant paradigm of de-
velopment.

1) Those with a sympathy for ecological issues were disgusted
with the environmental pollution in the developed nations. This led
to the question whether they were, afterall, such ideal models for de-
velopment.

2) Pollution problems and overpopulation problems on available
resources helped create doubts whether unending growth was possible or
desirable, whether high technology was the most appropriate engine for
development. There was a growing loss of faith in the "trickle-down"

theory of distributive development benefits. People were getting "development weary" from the slow rate of economic development.

3) The world oil crisis demonstrated that developing countries could make their own rules in the international game and produced some suddenly rich developing nations. This was a lesson to other developing countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa--that the causes of underdevelopment were not mainly internal.

4) The sudden opening of international relations with China allowed the rest of the world to learn details of her pathways to development. China had created a "miracle of modernization" in two decades without any foreign assistance.

From these events grew the realization that there were many alternative pathways to development while their exact combination would be somewhat different in every nation. Every nation may pursue somewhat different pathways to development depending on exactly what style of development was desired.

Communication model in the dominant paradigm. The three examplars of the dominant paradigm, Lerner, Schramm, and Rogers, emphasized the role of mass media for development. The development community emphasized the role of mass media as information dissemination for technological and social change.

Lerner (1958) identified development with modernization and social change. The four indices of development were: industrialization, literacy, media exposure, and political participation. People have to

be mobile, empathetic, and participatory for development. When people
are mobile they are ready to look for something new and the empathy
makes them search for something new. Mobility and empathy make them
more change prone. Participation both political and social leads to
development. Participation has to be at several layers of society and
eventually at all layers of society.

Lerner suggested that media exposure, political participation and
developing psychic empathy are necessary for development. High media
exposure was necessary to make people participative to change their
traditional beliefs and attitudes. Modern society is a participant
society and it works by consensus. The obstacles that Lerner observed
for development were (i) the developing countries had variant growth
with regard to various indices of modernization, (ii) the governments of
the developing countries have social control on the participatory acti-
vities of the individuals, (iii) the governments of the developing
countries pass on the symbols of modernity by policy decisions to their
people, and (iv) the dynamic power of modernization is the ratio be-
tween rising expectations and rising frustrations. Lerner's model in
its simplest form is illustrated in Figure 1.

Urbanization ⟶ Literacy ⟶ Economic and Political Participation

Mass Media
Exposure
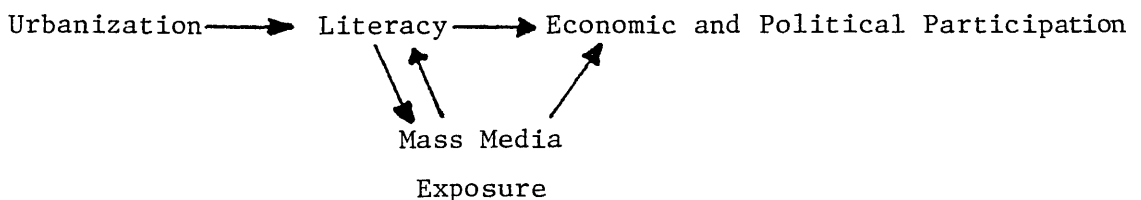
Figure 1.  Lerner's Communication Model for Development

Klapper (1960) concluded on the basis of his empirical findings that the media have little or no direct effect on people, rather the media tends to reinforce attitudes and behavior that people already possess. Lucien Pye (1963) endorsed top-down communication in development and was of the opinion that mass media should strengthen that influence in society. Other noted theorists such as Inkles and Smith (1974) and McClelland (1961) have also emphasized the role of the individual for development. McClelland emphasized the need for "achievement motivation" to do well, to seek and meet challenges of modernization. Inkles and Smith have argued that individual change would lead to the modernity of the nation.

Schramm, Lerner, Inkles and Smith and various other scholars observed that the task of media should be to alter people's psychological or mental state. People should think in other ways than before. According to these scholars, the important role of the media is to teach new skills that are necessary in a modern society. Media can do that by disseminating information about these skills. Schramm (1967) argued that by establishing a wide range of mass media systems, the knowledge and skills could be multiplied much more rapidly and inexpensively than before.

This particular view of how development is brought about has been a prominent feature of the dominant paradigm. These scholars and various other supporters of this paradigm among the development community thought that by merely disseminating information through mass media social change would be generated. They never emphasized the role of

media as educator or motivator for change. Schramm (1964) did make an important observation at one time, that the mere presence of a communication system does not guarantee social change. But this was only a minority viewpoint at that time. There was, generally, an optimistic tone about how communication might, via mass media, contribute to economic and social change.

The development community assigned another important role to the mass media--creating a sense of nationalism among the people. They argued that people should not only change their environments but they should be aware of the needs of the others in different regions of the country. It is argued that, in this respect, the mass media can expand people's horizons and enlarge their focus of interests.

These viewpoints can be critiqued from two perspectives. One, the development community talked about "awareness" of national needs but it never stressed that individual needs should be interpreted in the framework of national needs or more so in the framework of social needs. Second, these theorists have completely ignored the significance of social system for social change. They talked about the two extreme points on the continuum of change, but ignored the mid-point --the social system.

Schramm (1964) summarized the "state of art" and laid much of the ground for applied and theoretical future directions in development communication. But the research orientation of communication scholars like Schramm, Lerner, Pye and some others could exercise little influence on the use of mass media in the developing countries. It was the

journalists, politicians, and civil servants in these countries who had probably the greatest influence in the use of mass media. But the media practitioners did endorse the view of these scholars to the extent that mass media do have great potential for teaching people how to behave and think differently.

The two significant contributions in the field of communication during this period were the Trickle-down theory and the Diffusion theory. Schramm (1962) and other supporters of the dominant paradigm believed in the Trickle-down theory both for material and social gains. On the basis of this theory, they argued that there will be so much economic growth and gains of industrialization and high technology that eventually the gains would trickle down to the poorest. The social gains of the technological innovations would trickle down from the rich to the poor. Rogers (1962) contended that even the agricultural innovations would diffuse from the rich farmers to the poor farmers. But very soon, it became evident that both material and social gains did not trickle down to the poor in the society. Rather, it created a wide gap between the rich and the poor.

The second significant contribution was the Diffusion theory. Rogers was the exemplar of this theory. Rogers (1962) identified the concept of diffusion with the spread of technological ideas which were essential for development. The role of communication was to transfer the objects of technology to the masses as planned by the authorities, policy makers, etc. He argued that the linear S-M-C-R-E model of communication was appropriate for diffusion of technological innovations.

In later years, the Diffusion theory changed perspectives. Rogers felt that in its present perspective it was not able to explain "development" well. Rogers (1976) argued that for diffusion of technological innovations, it was necessary to diffuse social innovations also. Moreover, the role of media has to be multilogue rather than linear. Rogers and Adhikarya (1980) shifted the stance, suggesting that the role may be multilogue.

Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) contended that diffusion decisions are important for development. But more important is the type of decisions taken. There are three types of decisions: optimal, where individual interest is the main concern; consensus decisions, which are made collectively to accept or reject the innovations in the collective interest; and authority decisions, which are made by the authority for the people.

The dominant paradigm stresses individual decisions. But the heavy top-down vertical communication in developing countries implied authority diffusion decisions in the face of traditional values of these societies and a slow pace of change.

Role of communication--emerging communication patterns. Rogers (1976) commented that there was much optimism for the role of mass communication in fostering development in Latin America, Africa and Asia. The mass media, specifically radio, was penetrating mass audiences of the developing countries and seemed to have considerable potential for helping developing countries to reach development goals. Literacy was becoming widespread leading to greater print media exposure.

Dissanayke (1981) pointed out that communication in this approach had a one-way role: to disseminate new knowledge, values, attitudes and to create the right ambience for development. This approach followed the Aristotelian model of communication. In the dominant paradigm the emphasis was on the communicator (mass media) and on the notion of manipulation, with little regard for the receiver and the social structure in which he finds himself.

Rogers (1976) argued that a one-way flow of communication from government development agencies was implied by the dominant paradigm. Mass media were ideally suited to the role. They could reach large audiences with informative and persuasive messages about the details of development. The correlational analyses of survey data about mass media and modernization and field experiments were used to evaluate the role of mass communication in development. In the early 1960's, the relative power of mass media leading to development was mainly assumed rather than proven and the tendency was to ascribe a powerful role to mass media in development. Gradually it was being realized that the role of mass media in development was only contributory rather than direct and powerful. This varied upon such circumstances as the media, messages, the audience, and the nature of the intended messages.

In a nutshell, in the dominant paradigm, the communication flow was one way--which was top-down vertical communication from the authorities to the people, the mass media channels were used to mobilize the people for development, and the audience was assigned a passive role for acceptance of social change.

## Interdependent Model of Development

Rogers, Beltran, Bordenave (1976) and many other development
theorists in developing countries endorse the opinion that the dominant
paradigm approach to development did not result in much progress in de-
veloping countries for a variety of reasons discussed earlier.  In the
1970's this approach was being critically reviewed.  Several viewpoints
were forwarded to show why development did not work.  One such approach
is the "Interdependent Model."  The development philosophy of this ap-
proach is the same as that of the dominant paradigm to the extent that
the stress is on economic growth for development.  But this approach is  √
characterized by an analysis of economic interdependence of the de-
veloped and developing countries and how they will constitute a world
system.  From this perspective development is not a field concerned with
poorer countries of the world but is one aspect of a larger change in
society and the economy as a whole.  There is only one process of de-
velopment in an interconnected world, a process which can take many
forms and can result in poverty and dependence as well as in wealth and
growth.  The supporters of this approach start with the assumption that
development and underdevelopment are only two facets of the same pro-
cess and one cannot understand the nature and essentiality of one in
isolation from the other.

This approach pointed out the futility of discussing communica-
tion and development in an essentially national setting without taking
into consideration the historical evolution of each society and the way

in which the world economic system conditions and regulates its development.

Nordenstreng and Schiller (1979), the main supporters of this approach, emphasized the global structure in the perspective of communication and development. The thrust of their argument is that the international sociopolitical-economic system decisively determines the course of development within each nation. The notion of a relatively isolated nation developing in accordance with the conditions determined mainly within the society is not acceptable. The nations do not develop according to their specific political and economic reality. The development of individual countries depends largely on factors outside their national boundaries so that whatever they do intranationally may be superfluous. For example, if one country changes its monetary policies, it is bound to have effects internationally.

In this approach, the rational conditions, including class contradictions, serve as more or less intervening variables on influences emanating from the historically determined global design. Moreover, this approach is seeking to point out the error of conceptualizing development as the interaction of an international system of sovereign states operating without a basic structure which determines the relations among the countries. Nordenstreng and Schiller make the point that while developmental scholars like Rogers and others talk about external causes of underdevelopment and dependency theory, such notions do not significantly influence their conceptualization. A number of scholars crystallized this approach and gained wide recognition in the

academic community.

Wallerstein (1979), in developing his world system perspective, makes the point that the modern world comprises a single capitalist world economy. National states are not societies having separate parallel histories but parts of the whole reflecting the whole.

Another interesting observation is made by Ploman (1979) in this context, that though not often stated clearly, interdependence is taken to mean not only interdependence of the countries but of the processes and issues.

Attributed causes of underdevelopment in this model. As stated earlier, the scholars supporting this model assumed that development and underdevelopment are two facets of the same processes and one cannot understand the nature and essentiality of one in isolation from the other. Dissanayke (1981) pointed out that the colonial experience of less developed countries is central to this line of thinking. The factors which are responsible for the growth of industrially advanced countries are also responsible for the state of poverty in less developed countries. The gaining of political independence does not seem to significantly alter the picture.

Galtung (1971) argued that colonial structure still persists. Only the system of control is exercised in subtler fashion such as economic and transnational corporations and international monetary institutions. In Galtung's theory, the concept of imperialism plays a crucial role. Imperialism is a relationship between a Center and a

Periphery nation. As a result there is (i) harmony of interest between the center in the Center nation and the center in the Periphery nation, (ii) there is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than within the Center nation, (iii) there is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the Center nation and the periphery in the Periphery nation. This concept of imperialism applies not only in the field of economics but in the political, military, communication and cultural fields. In 1980, Galtung further developed this concept and argued that the rationale for national self-reliance is in Center-Periphery formation where each part is a center. Self-reliance is not something done for the periphery but by the periphery. It is organization of the society in participation with others in the same situation. Prebisch (1980) argued that collective self-reliance of periphery nations is essential for development.

Communication model. The communication model in this approach stresses the international relationships between the developing and developed countries or as Galtung puts it, between the Center and the Periphery nations. Nordenstreng and Schiller (1979) argued that it is misleading to describe the current international situation as a question of competing national interests of dominating and dominated nations and of the rival sectors comprising third world components. In reality, these three categories are far less neatly arranged and much more complicated. They further argued that present day informational conditions, locally or globally, can be appreciated only in terms of "nonhomogeneity of the

national state"--this term has been described by Nordenstreng and Varis (1973) as the conflicting material and nonmaterial interests of the social class within the national boundaries. The informational facilities that flow and circulate locally or internationally are responsive to the power centers of dominant national states. The "cultural agendas" of the world, a nation, a community are organized by the world-wide hierarchy of power and values. The "new international information order" aimed at "decolonization" of information conditions in the developing countries and in general advocating respect for the cultural and political sovereignity of all nations.

Role of communication and emerging development communication patterns. Nordenstreng and Schiller (1979) argued that however, in this model, "communication works to advance the interests of the local and global ownership class by creating ownership-appropriate social environments in which these interests can prosper and their values are internalized by the rest of the population." But they further contended that "the importance of communication is in the struggle to achieve meaningful national economy."

Constraints of the interdependent approach. Dissanayke (1981) contended that the exponents of the interdependence approach are talking of a viciously asymmetrical relationship in which the developed countries thrived at the expense of developing countries. Hence a fundamental precondition for development is the elimination of the asymmetrical relationship.

As Hedebro (1979) pointed out, this approach was also strongly supportive of western, capitalist development models, and just as this approach was formulated for the sake of social change in the developing part of the world, it was also formulated to preserve existing capitalist international relations. In other words, the communication philosophy was to find new forms for maintaining the exploitative relationships. The industrialized countries were never figured among the causes of underdevelopment, they were looked upon as the ideals and as donors of technical and financial aid. It is also in this light we could see the general unwillingness to even consider other roads to development than the western one.

Moreover, Nordenstreng and Schiller, in the context of international dependency, only stressed the international political and economic development. They did not emphasize the international social development. They did not mention explicitly the forms of international dependency whereas, later, Galtung and Frank made this form of dependency and the consequences explicit.

### Dependency Development Model

In the mid 1970's between the passing of the dominant paradigm of development and the emergence of the "New Paradigm," alternative interpretations of the complex phenomenon of development and underdevelopment have been offered both by western and non-western development theorists. The thrust of the dominant paradigm has been the question of how to do development; the interdependent model posed the question

why the development programs have not worked and forced attention to a more global perspective. The "dependency development model" posed the questions: how did the problem of underdevelopment start after all, and why was development not working in some of the developing countries, particularly in some of the Latin American countries. The dependency theorists argue that American imperialism overshadows their (Latin American countries) development efforts and makes them dependent; whereas the interdependent approach has suggested that the cause of underdevelopment may lie in the developing countries' efforts to develop according to their own political and social realities and not as part of a global system.

Attributed causes of underdevelopment. The development philosophy of the Dependency Model is that foreign penetration, technology and information have created underdevelopment rather than being a force for development. The economic and cultural dependency on developed countries shapes the social and economic structures of many developing countries. Dependency theorists, Prebisch (1954), Dos Santos (1970), Quijano (1971), Cardoso (1972), and Chilcote (1974), etc., hypothesized that contemporary underdevelopment was created by the same process of expansion of capitalism by which developed countries progressed.

Frank (1967), as discussed earlier, attributed the causes of underdevelopment to international dependence; there is foreign penetration, information and technologies imposed by foreign countries. The transnational corporations and international trade tactics monopolize

the economic scene. The dominant developed countries dominate and
superimpose on the political and social scene of developing countries
by foreign aid. Thus domination of developed countries leaves the de-
veloping countries only as satellites of metropolitan developed coun-
tries. The "capitalism" which has been a force of development in other
developing countries can be a hurdle and cause of dependency on other
development countries and underdevelopment of certain nations who choose
to be their satellites.

In the context of development, the focus of dependency is shifted
to measurement of external and internal dimensions of dependence. It
emphasized constraints on development by such factors as inequity in
terms of international trade, economic, cultural, communication and in-
formation imperialism of transnational corporations, and vulnerability
of less developed countries in terms of technical assistance.

This development paradigm attributed many of the ills of the
poorer nations to the existing economic orders that condition the flow
of world trade so adversely that it results in perpetuation of colonial-
ism and greater impoverishment of low income countries. The cultural,
communication and information imperialism by controlling the media and
its contents created "cultural dependence." The specific nature of the
processes of ideological domination in capitalist dependent development
suggested cultural dependency. This suggested that domination of the
transnational corporations is not achieved solely through repressive
methods but includes a sophisticated ideological component. Cultural
dependency may be considered an obstacle to adequate understanding of

indigenous cultural processes in the developing nations.

Dependency communication theorists analyzed mass media as "ideo-logical state apparatuses" (ISA) which reinforce the dependent charac-ter of production relationships. Althusser (1971) defines ISA as the means by which the state guarantees the reproduction of society's rela-tions of production through the use of ideology. The role of media under ISA is saturating all citizens with daily dosages of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism, etc., by means of the press, radio, T.V. Dagnino (1973) pointed out the importance of culture and ideology as agents of maintenance and reproduction of dependent relations. A cultural approach to communication suggested that the processes of ideo-logical domination take place whenever dependency relations are rein-forced. Sarti (1981) contended that the dependency theory proposed to serve as an analytical tool for capitalist expansion and cultural de-pendency based on ideological dependency as a weapon of the capitalist system. The capitalist process has to be differentiated in accordance with its articulation in each underdeveloped country. The focus is on the cultural process as a product of the specific type of relationship that characterizes the dependent capitalist process.

In this context it may be said that the dependency approach does not offer "development" as the solution to underdevelopment. The symp-toms of "backwardness" lie in the contradictions in the modes of pro-duction itself.

Developing countries' efforts for development. The lesser developed

countries have been attempting to achieve self-reliance by policies of import substitution, control of hard currency flow and through restrictions on transnationals. But none of these strategies have brought development in real terms.

Communication in the dependency model. The communication pattern in the Dependency Model is identified with the "ideological domination" and "ideological aggression" of the developed countries towards dependent developing countries. The ideological domination is conveyed through U.S. commercial communication networks and transnational marketing corporations. Mattllart (1973, 1976, 1977) argued that the ideological aggression results when the transnational corporations penetrate the political sphere via their control over modern technology and education by their own ideological and economic logic. The advanced capitalist countries sell the most sophisticated communication technology to less industrialized countries. The myth is being created by these advanced countries that advanced technology in mass media could contribute to the process of overcoming some of the problems of underdevelopment in these developing countries. The transnational corporations operating in these developing countries control the mass media and the selection of the media content in imperialist interests--both economic (allocation of their products) and ideological (through the promotion of values consistent with capitalism). This ideological aspect of the media content is presented both in the news and entertainment. It minimizes the portrayal of class conflicts in the society and presents as illegitimate any concrete alternative to capitalism.

Schiller, Nordenstreng, Varis and Mattleart (1976, 1979) reacted against

the myth and pointed out that this was being advocated as only a means

of control for ideological domination.  According to Schiller (1976),

the commercial imperative in mass communication presents itself in two

ways: while products and services are sold to the consumers through ad-

vertising, the mass media create audiences that are sold to the adver-

tisers and sponsors.  Nordenstreng and Varis demonstrated empirically

that the notion of "free flow of information" conceals the reality of

one way flow of information for consumerism.  This concept is acknowl-

edged by the commercial networks in the U.S. and marketing people all

over.

.Various development scholars pointed out that solid structure of

communication media in dependent developing countries increased the ef-

ficiency of their (developed countries) activity.  The increased ideo-

logical activity and sophistication of new cultural forms promoted the

dominant ideology.  Faraone (1973, 1974) emphasized that the countries

differ among themselves according to the process of ideological domina-

tion during the different phases of capitalist-dependent development.

It is argued that the diffusion of the life style of the developed

country through mass media aggravates social inequality, because the

communication and diffusion of the modernized life style is only among

the rural and urban elites.  But the consumerism created by the mass

media frustrates the poor as it does not fit in with their economic and

social reality.  In fact it thwarts all attempts at social cooperation.

Commenting on the consumerism bias of the mass media, O'Brien

(1974) stated that consumerism not only aggravates dependency, it pro-
vokes aspirations that are difficult to satisfy given the low level of
income for the majority of the population in developing countries.
Beltran (1971) pointed out that consumerism unleashes a process of
frustration that leads ultimately to collective aggressiveness as an
escape valve. The typical life style of the developed capitalist soci-
ety, when diffused throughout the developing country, aggravates the
characteristics of social inequality. The values put forth are avail-
able for only minority consumption, i.e. for the urban elites, whether
of commodities, information or entertainment. The urban and rural
masses are excluded from the national communication system just as they
are excluded from the market economy.

The mass media available is highly sophisticated in these depen-
dent countries, but it creates "information poverty" among the masses.
Pasquali (1975) argued that the reasons for information poverty are:
ideology of consumerism bias, urban and elite nature of the mass media,
and the limited reach of the media for the masses. Information poverty
thus created not only suggests atrophy in the ability to inform but
also a remarkable infrastructural hypertrophy in the mass media that
can lead to disintegration and disregard for the national needs. On
the other hand, the cultural dependency theorists claim that the expan-
sion of the communication and information services within the existing
social structure would only strengthen the social disparity.

Role of communication in the dependency model and emerging development
communication patterns. The present role is of ideological aggression.

It is argued by dependency theorists that communication serves the purpose of publicizing transnational interests only. If development is to occur, this role must change. The communication strategies suggested are: to educate the people about the vicious nature and the stifling dependency relationships, to mobilize national and regional support for the structural rearrangement of the society. The advocates of such communication strategies emphasized the use of interpersonal communication channels. They argue that mass media system in these countries is caught in the dependency relationships and at times actively support them; therefore, it cannot be relied upon. What is advocated is communication strategies that would serve the aforementioned educational and mobilizing functions. Mass media could be employed purposefully once structural transformation of the society takes place.

Constraints of the dependency model. Dissanayke (1981) argued that the weakness of this paradigm is that while it examined dependency in external terms, it glossed over the dependency of the peripheral people within developing countries who were chained to metropolitan centers and power elites for communication and economic development.

Most of the cultural dependency literature does not clarify the specific dynamics of ideological processes and its effects that take place. How ideological action takes place, whom and how it affects is not clear.

Sarti (1981) aruges that in many cases the cultural dependency approach implies a mechanistic view of the social reality that fails to comprehend the complexity and variety of indigenous culture. This

model sees people as dominators-dominated, powerful-oppressed, active or passive.

Another criticism against this perspective is that the stress is on the concept of nation and not that of social class. The cultural dependency analysis of ideologies skips over class contradictions. Anti-imperialism becomes the main theme ignoring various forms of class struggle and their manifestations in various societies. Weffort (1971) pointed out that even the validity of the notion of dependency can be disputed because sometimes it stresses the concept of nation and at other times the concept of social class.

Sarti (1981) argued that there is "double alienation" in the concept of cultural dependency. It implies an approach to imperialism which sees countries as aggressors or victims according to their role in the internalized relationships of capitalism disregarding the class structure in each domestic context. The quantitative view of alienation is derived from the definition or ideology as an external element in the productive process and imposed upon the nation. It blames the imperialist ideology and not the ruling elites or the apathy of the recipients. People are considered passive recipients without considering the possibility of evincing any response and the internal ruling elites are seen as only transmitting the ideology of hegemonic center of capitalism, that is the U.S. in the case of many countries. But this view does not recognize that the ruling class is not an all powerful, monolithic block dominating people down to their consciousness but a class with its own internal contradictions.

Stressing the passivity of the dominated society, some of the cultural dependency theorists were of the opinion that even the masses are not perceiving "ideology" within their own societies. This ideology serves only the interests of the local bureaucracy whose objectives may be compatible with hegemonic capitalist centers.

Sarti (1981) pointed out that the cultural dependency literature is inspired by the Althusian concept of ideology. Ideology is seen as a function carried by the state to guarantee the domination process and not something determined by the production process itself. But some cultural theorists divided the process of domination into two parts: repression and ideology, but leaving the former aside. Therefore, as stated earlier, there is a need to study the process of ideological domination--how does it occur, whom does it affect, and how.

Sarti (1981) has further argued that the interpretation of dependency theory that forms the basis of the cultural dependency notion appears somewhat simplified. Cultural dependency adopts that aspect of the dependency theory that explains the realities of the developing countries in a global manner and applies it mechanically to the ideological superstructure. It concludes that the superstructure must be dependent because the economy is, forgetting that correspondence between infrastructure and superstructure, between political, economic and cultural processes, is not mechanical and linear but superstructural phenomena is the result of extremely complex articulation of productive practices.

Cardos (1971) and Santos (1974) contended that there is hetero-

geneity in the dependency literature itself. The dependency theorists

are debating over the theoretical ambiguities in the "dependency" no-

tion itself. They have argued that it is naive to transform the notion

of dependency into an all-embracing concept. It is not possible to de-

fine the theory of dependency adequately. "Dependency" as defined cur-

rently is only political expansion to the periphery mode of production

when it reaches stages of international expansion.

## Basic Needs Model of Development

The interdependent appraoch advocated a global perspective for

development and implied that developing countries must develop in the

context of the economic and political realities of the developed coun-

tries. The offshoot of this approach was the "Dependency Development

Model," where development researchers in developing countries were

faced with the problem of underdevelopment due to dependency relations

created by the imposition of the economic and political realities of

the developed countries. The outgrowth of the Dependency theory is the

theory of Marginality, referring to the consequences of dependency re-

lationships. The marginal position of the common man due to dependency

relationships necessitated the need for the "Basic Needs Model" (BNM).

But it will be fallacious to assume the BNM approach is a development

strategy by itself. It is rather an essential element of patterns or

growth underlying the development strategy.

One of the criticisms of the development paradigm was that it ac-

tually favors western nations more than the people of developing coun-

tries. In the search for an alternative paradigm, the Basic Needs Model was described as a non-western model because it is ostensibly concerned with the needs of the developing countries.

The theory of marginality. As stated earlier, this is an outgrowth of the dependency theory. It evolved through three perspectives during the past decade. Essentially, it refers to the situation where large sections of a country's population do not participate in the social, cultural, economic and political activities of that country.

The concept of marginality was used for the first time by Germani, Quijano and Weffort (1973) to describe the situation of people living in marginal sections of the city without basic services, such as bad housing, unemployment and underemployment, and insufficient income to have access to goods and services considered minimum for maintaining an acceptable standard of living. This population is without education, participation in the political processes and outside the productive processes. So here is one section of society not integrated into the social life contrasted with the integrated sector whose productivity and activity is reflected in its standard of living and active participation in the social, cultural and political life of the society.

In the context of development the emphasis is on integrating the marginal sector into the productive sector of the society.

Germani (1973) indicates that the concept of marginality has its roots in three processes:

a)  the process of extending the rights of man according to

the principles of equality and liberty as well as in-

creasing consciousness or awareness of violations of

these principles;

b) the process of cultural contact and the conceptualization

of cultural marginality generated by anthropologists; and

c) the process of increasing modernization and its extension

outside the west and even within traditional regions of

the west.

Thus the concept of marginality gave rise to the idea that the

depressed groups have the right to enjoy the products of society be it

goods, services, cultural values or any other results of modernization.

The dominant group must cooperate so that change is possible through

gradual extension of these products.  The evident underlying attitude

is paternalistic and the approach is one of giving to the needy.

However, the treatment of marginality and the process of margin-

alization in recent years suggests deeper sociological problems.  The

phenomena of marginality can be attributed to different factors in var-

ious developing countries.

In Latin American countries the phenomena of economic marginality

is the product of national economic systems that are subjected to a

hegemonic industrialized nucleus of transnational corporations.  In

Asian and African countries the economic marginality may be due to the

rural-urban gap and centralization of power.

This concept reveals two polarized positions but the polarized

systems are in fact two parallel systems.  The concepts of periphery and

marginality are essential for construction of a theory of underdevelopment. The periphery is that position of economic space which is characterized by backward technology with consequent low remuneration to the labor force and/or by advance technology with little capacity to absorb the mass of the population into the modern sector. These "excess human masses" created by the very process of economic process are "marginals" or the have-nots.

The concept of marginality and development. The attributed causes of underdevelopment are that the marginal sector is devoid of basic needs and people are living below subsistence level. This happens because a few people dominate the economic scene and reap the advantages. There is no political participation as it is dominated by a few. There is no social participation because of cultural impositions. Cultural imposition may be of an alien dominant culture or subculture of urban elites, etc. They are out of the economic production process because the present industrialization of the country may not have enough jobs for a specific type of labor force.

The incapacity of the earlier development strategies to deal with problems of poverty through trickle-down effects of economic growth led to the Basic Needs Model approach to development as a direct attack on poverty both absolute and relative.

The Basic Needs Model of development--a framework. The Bariloche Foundation in Argentina (1972) first developed a world model to show the feasibility of meeting the basic needs of people all over the world

on the basis of certain assumptions regarding resource availability and environmental constraints.  This approach was subsequently endorsed by many development theorists, by the Dag Hamarskjold Foundation, and by the Cocoyac Declaration of 1975.

The common aspect of these efforts is the insistence that development must enhance the welfare of the poor and satisfy minimum needs.  It was an attempt to deal directly with world poverty by meeting the basic needs of the lowest 40% income groups in the fields of food, nutrition, health, education and housing through employment and income.  This concept included satisfaction of nonmaterial goods for quality of life once the material needs are satisfied.  In 1976 ILO gave shape to this commitment and adopted the Basic Minimum Need Model (BMN).

The success of this development model depended on a variety of factors: the level of people's awareness of their environments, resource availability, means to satisfy the needs, their perception of the level of development achieved, and the perceptions of the planners and decision-makers.

The ILO stressed the typology of the needs essential for development.  These are: normative needs, felt needs, expressed needs or demands, and comparative needs.  The normative needs are minimum levels of health, nutrition, etc.  Without these development will be hampered. Second, there are felt needs, i.e. people's perceptions of their own needs.  Third, expressed needs or demands made by the people on the basis of their felt needs.  Fourth, there are comparative needs.  These

are imputed needs of a group not in receipt of services but relevant in characteristics to other groups (ILO Report, 1976, p. 32).

In 1976, the Basic Human Needs approach was proclaimed by former World Bank president Robert McNamara in his famous Nairobi speech. Soedjatmoko in 1976 developed this further and solidified its applicability to developing nations as an attack on poverty both absolute and relative.

Jussawala and Beal (1982) pointed out that the point of difference in this approach as compared to other approaches is that the emphasis is shifted from measuring income per capita as a growth indicator to measuring the physical quality of life (PQLI) as the indicator of welfare. PQLI is measured by life expectancy, nutrition, infant mortality, literacy and housing. There is increased emphasis on the importance of equity, distribution of rewards, quality of life and meeting basic human needs. Implicit in these and explicit in other indicators is the important variable of access to information and information is the primary source for development.

At later stages, the concept of BMN was broadened to include non-material human needs to give quality of life to the poor once the material needs are satisfied.

Attributed causes of underdevelopment in the BMN model. The assumption is that in developing countries, the marginal sector of the society is barely surviving. These are the poorest of the poor. Their preoccupation is income for survival so they cannot participate in the development process.

According to this model, the organization of the poor themselves is a necessary prerequisite for development. Such organization serves three purposes: first, to participate in planning and utilization of a place in the community life; second, to overcome the mere survival strategy; and third, to break the pattern of powerlessness, exploitation, permanent indebtedness, and a state of dependency bordering on slavery.

There is a lack of appropriate macro policy framework for development. Soedjatmoko (1978:11) argued that such policies should include the adoption of development and equity as development goals of equal importance as growth. It also means the determination of multiple growth goals, a commitment to development from bottom-up, to local self-reliance, community and grass-root organization and participation in planning, decision making and implementation in areas affecting these communities, and reallocation of national funds for health, education and housing in favor of the lowest 40% income. In the developing countries, social structure is another cause of marginality of the disadvantaged sector.

There is a communication gap and information poverty among the have-nots due to the gap in the socio-economic benefits of development between the have and the have-nots. Such gaps could be responsible for the underdevelopment of the have-nots.

Developing countries' efforts for development. In the large, populous third world countries, an unusually high growth rate and rapidly expanding modern sector may not absorb large labor surpluses resulting

from modernization of agriculture. Therefore, irrespective of whether a strategy is pursued of growth before income distribution, growth with income distribution, or income distribution before growth, in these countries a special effort is being made to successfully eliminate absolute poverty.

Special-track development schemes are being planned for the relatively poor and such schemes get priority in the development plans. The absolutely poor cannot be helped by a generalized basic need approach. The development strategy is to have a special track for developing this segment to overcome the specific mental, physical and social debilities associated with absolute poverty and become responsive to the opportunity offered through the basic need approach and to the community activities which make these facilities meaningful. This special track is essential, otherwise the main development process will be on a weak foundation. Moreover, the special track and the normal development track for this group has to run concurrently to avoid any further development gap.

Communication model in Basic Need Model. The experience in various developing countries has shown that basic services are utilized well only if they become an integral part of self-organization and self-management capacity of urban and rural poor through decentralization and integrated rural development.

Decentralization is important to open the way towards village autonomy and active village participation in development planning and

implementation. Many governmental programs in this regard are directed towards the individual villager. This further atomizes the village rather than stimulating organization.

Government programs in these countries also ignore the existing patterns of social stratification and the desirability for the poorest villagers to organize themselves for improving local bargaining positions in the defence or promotion of their specific interests.

The integrated rural development through the basic needs approach needs structural reforms in order to overcome impediments for effective implementation. This implies land reform, improved land tenure practices, caste reforms, and economic revitalization of the rural and urban marginal sector.

Decentralization and rural integrated development in this model suggest two way communication, both top-down and bottom-up, in the development infrastructure. The top-down communication is from the government to the masses for awareness of the basic amenities provided, and to operationally facilitate what is being provided by the government. A bottom-up communication from the people to the functionaries is necessary for needs-based programs.

The basic needs approach requires industrial policies giving priority to labor intensive industries and labor intensive production processes that are compatible with the requirements of efficiency. It requires policies favoring rural enterprises and use of local resources and man-power for such enterprises. The development of rural enterprises would control urban migration of the rural poor as well as raise

the standard of living of the rural poor. Urban migration of the rural poor in search of productive occupation has always been a problem for marginality.

The communication in this context is top-top for the formulation of rural industrial policies, from top-bottom for involving and educating the rural poor for the use of local resources, and bottom-bottom for the feasibility of using local resources for the satisfaction of local basic minimum needs.

BMN approach needs an increasing number of nonexploitative linkages between the modern and the rural sector and development of a network of agricultural support services, road systems, and transport facilities.

This approach calls for institutional reform at the national level and macro economic policies that are supportive of it. Without them any achievement in rural development will eventually be wiped out. This approach is always seen as a means towards the equitable distribution of income as well as of the development burden. Shifts in patterns of growth coupled with an emphasis on basic needs would undoubtedly improve distributive effects.

The decentralization of information networks and the democratization of their control would be an essential precondition for the success of the BMN approach. Thus, even when absolute poverty has been overcome, the basic needs approach among the poor is still essential. At that stage, besides the most urgent ingredients of such an approach (income, food, nutrition, health, including clean water, etc.), there

will be a need for community organizations and activities to have ac-

cess to relevant information in a sufficient quantity; these would be-

come part of informational universe at the regional and local level.

This includes not only access to information, as well as information

channels, but also to shared control over information channels.

Role of communication in Basic Needs Model: emerging development com-

munication patterns.  Both mass media and interpersonal channels are

used for achieving  normative needs, felt needs, expressed needs, and

comparative needs.  There is more emphasis on interpersonal channels

than on media channels.  The interpersonal channels are used to inform,

educate and motivate the masses with support from the mass media.  The

poor have low physical accessibility to mass media because of low pur-

chasing power or living in areas where reach of the media is low.

Therefore, the governments in developing countries provide them with

community T.V., radio sets, and newspapers, etc. and make use of satel-

lites and other improved methods of broadcasting, such as short-wave,

to reach the remote areas.  But mere physical access does not help, it

is necessary to have operative accessibility to community media.  Such

operative accessibility will safeguard against information blockage to

the poor and have-nots.  There is also danger of "information blockage"

among interpersonal channels due to vested interests.

In the context of the BMN model, Soedjatmoko (1976) focused on

the need to define macro-policies for communication.  The efforts to

meet the basic needs and to affect the required attitudinal changes re-

quires unprecedented inflow of information into the village capable of

reaching the poorest of the villagers as well. Therefore it is neces-
sary to develop programs designed to transform the village from a tra-
ditional society into an "information community" of a new kind. Ploman
(1979) argued that information flow in this respect cannot be unidirec-
tional; it need be at least two-way and preferably multiways. The in-
formation flow should be vertical as well as horizontal. The communi-
cation requirements of these two types of information will be differ-
ent. There is a need for two-pronged communication requirements for
development messages from below (from the people), based on the percep-
tion of their felt needs. On the one hand, there is a need for an in-
crease in the amount, range and kind of information needed within the
reach of rural, socially ineffective, and disadvantaged people. On the
other hand, locally produced relevant information is needed. The ver-
tical flow involves providing physical and operative accessibility by
the government to the people through various communication channels.

It is necessary that information thus provided should raise the
awareness and aspirations for quality of life among the disadvantaged
and poor sector. The development information should motivate them to
organize themselves to express their felt needs to the development
agencies. The communication effort is needed to educate people about
the exploitative linkages both by making them aware of their rights and
the existing legislation to protect them.

Constraints of Basic Needs Model. The third-world countries in the
majority rejected the concept of basic needs though it had originated
in the third world itself and concerned the development of third world.

The reversal in attitude was due to the manner in which the concept was being perceived and used by the developed countries in dealing with the third-world countries. The developed countries tied their foreign aid resources to basic needs projects as if they were more concerned about the poor than the elites in the third world themselves, whereas social services to meet the basic needs, in fact, mainly required domestic and not foreign financing. These attempts of developed countries thus reflected the desire to keep third-world countries as noncompetitive, largely pastoral societies, though a little better fed, housed and educated.

In this context, Gamini Corea (1981) argued that the decisive factor in changing the responsiveness of developed countries to the needs of developing countries would be not just the leverage of third-world countries' bargaining power but an awareness on the part of developed countries about the future of their own interest in reordering the framework of economic relations and reordering of the international information flow.

In a national context, the model has serious deficiencies when it comes to reaching the absolutely poor. The basic needs could be met in authoritarian or paternalistic ways and the unintended results of such an approach are a sense of powerlessness and dependency. Moreover the simple provision of basic social services does not automatically lead to their use by the poor in general. Only if the poorer communities organize themselves and participate actively in planning and utilizing these services is there the chance that facilities provided will be

actually used.

It is argued that there is low community participation among the poorest as either the relevant information about new facilities or opportunities does not reach them or their preoccupation for income survival strategy is so much that they cannot physically and mentally involve themselves in any development process.

Soedjatmoko (1978a) pointed out that little has been done to study the national policy framework in which this approach needs to be implemented. Its relationship to other national development goals or to the economic-political dynamics of the development process itself. Arguing this point, Ploman (1979) pointed out that the basic needs model is not as yet seen as a substitute for development strategy but as an expression of a particular emphasis and a particular approach to the development process. It becomes meaningful only when it is set within the framework of the area and national development policies—the policies that are capable of dealing with the structural impediments to such change in emphasis. But no development strategy which treats absolute poverty as residual poverty will not work.

To sum up, irrespective of these constraints, the basic needs approach has added to the conceptual and operational tools of development.

The conflicting paradigms of development are being preached in different contexts by affluent nations. While the conflict of paradigms may remain unsolved, the industrial nations face the challenge of critically evaluating the existing economic order because their prosperity cannot be sustained by the increasing poverty in the developing

nations.

## The New Paradigm of Development

The first predominant approach to development was the Dominant Paradigm. The second predominant approach, the current one, is called the "New Paradigm" of development--a participatory approach to development communication.

Emergence of New Paradigm of development. The models just discussed were all in some ways reactions to the Dominant Paradigm. Development programs based on the Dominant Paradigm were not achieving the anticipated results, leading to revisions. However, each of the three revisions focused on a single dimension of development--the causes of underdevelopment. They did not address the question of how an effective development program could be implemented. The Dominant Paradigm in the 1950's and the New Paradigm in the 1970's were the only two paradigms which emphasized the problem of implementation as well as analyzing the causes of underdevelopment.

The current New Paradigm is a reaction to all development models in the past and it tries to assimilate the various emphases of all other models. Development theorists labeled it as the "new paradigm of development" because for the first time, development theorists and practitioners had incorporated many dimensions in the development model which were never emphasized before.

Rogers (1976) argued that the New Paradigm of development is a meta-model as it consists of various alternative pathways to develop-

ment. One or the other combination of these pathways could be the model for specific developing countries. Such a model would fit their social, political, economic structure, needs for development, availability of resources, and technology. The unifying dimension of these alternative models is "participation in development." This approach attempts to integrate strategically a host of ideas related to development that has emerged in the past such as popular participation, grassroot development, integrated rural development, use of appropriate technology, fulfillment of basic needs, productive use of local resources, maintenance of ecological balances, development problems to be defined by the people themselves, and culture as a mediating force in development. There is an explicit emphasis on the idea of self-reliance, self-development, redistribution of resources between social groups, urban and the rural area, regions and sexes.

This paradigm emerged in the 1970's. The meagre results of the first development decade, universal criticism of the diffusionist development model and the dominant role of communication in development as expressed by Schramm (1963) and others seems to have exaggerated claims when compared with the reality of national communication policies in the third-world countries. The passing of the Dominant Paradigm also indicated the passing of a mechanistic view of communication as message transmission based on a top-down vertical structure. The role of communication which was essentially to inform and influence people is being revised and proposed as a process of social interaction through the balanced exchange of information. The participatory dimen-

sion of the model emerged not simply due to the dashed hopes within the field of communication. Rather, it stems from the failure of the whole development philosophy of the Dominant Paradigm.

The New Paradigm of development--a framework. Rogers (1976, p. 129) initially identified with the Dominant Paradigm approach and laid out clearly its central concerns and preoccupations. He argued that there is a shift in the focus of development in the New Paradigm. In the social system, the shift is towards labor intensive technology, decentralization and planning which included consideration of the endogenous factors of development. The focus on the individual in this approach changed to (i) improved quality of life by blending modern and traditional values with the exact mixture being somewhat different in each locale; (ii) popular participation in decision-making by decentralization which suggests participation, development planning, and execution at the local level; (iii) the emphasis on self-reliance, self-development and self-management whereas the earlier approach advocated a top-down strategy; (iv) distributive justice of economic gain so that rich do not become richer and the poor do not suffer; (v) an emphasis on "society specific" models of development communication as there cannot be any universalistic model of communication based on western experience as advocated by the old approach; and (v) structural factors constraining development rather than individual deficiencies. Villagers and urban poor should be the priority audience for development programs. The development sector should close the socio-economic gap by bringing

up the lagging sector.

The result of this paradigm is an alternative concept of communication in development. Some of the directions under way in newer conceptions of development communication are: self-development, self-reliance, the communication effects gap, the new communication technology, and understanding the participatory approach of the New Paradigm.

Self-development. The present emphasis on self-development suggests concern for the involvement of individuals in their economic and social life. Rogers (1976) identified self-development in this context as some type of small group at the local level that takes the primary responsibility (i) for deciding what type of development is most needed in their village or neighborhood, (ii) for planning how to achieve this development goal, (iii) for obtaining whatever government and nongovernment resources may be necessary, and (iv) for carrying out their own development activities. This was different from the earlier top-down approach to development which defined development in terms of what government does to and for the people. The advantages of self-development approaches are that the rate of accomplishment is often higher than in the case of top-down development approaches, the cost to government is much less, and the nature of development activities is more flexible and more appropriate to changing local needs because of the decentralization of planning, decision-making and execution. Self-development implies a completely different role of communication than top-down development approaches of the past.

Self-reliance.  Self-reliance is independence in development with an
emphasis on the potential of the local resources.  Rogers (1976) argued
that self-reliance suggested rejection of the foreign aid on the one
hand, and on the other hand, rejection of external models of develop-
ment leading to a viewpoint that every nation and perhaps each village
may develop in its own way.  If this is the case, then standardized in-
dices of development become inappropriate and largely irrelevant.  He
further argued that self-reliance in development can be identified at
two levels: national and local.  At the national level, the reliance
is on the natural and human resources available to a country and to the
ability to define developmental problems, set goals, devise strategies,
and make decisions independently in accordance with its cultural ethos.
Dissanayke (1981) pointed out that self-reliance in this model is seen
as a way of eliminating or minimizing the exogeneous political pres-
sures and trade patterns that are associated with exploitation of de-
veloping countries by the developed countries.  This approach to de-
velopment communication discourages the common tendencies of the less
developed countries to imitate the goals and strategies of western
countries in an unreal battle to catch up with them.  It encourages
radical rethinking of the implications of development.

Self-reliance at the local level is identified with the people
defining their own problems of development and devising strategies
based on local resources and in consonnance with the social and cul-
tural ethos of the local people.

The strategy of self-reliance can be successful if it operates

both at the national and local level.  Self-reliance also suggests

self-management of the programs.

Communication effects gap.  The communication effects gap concept has

suggested that there is not only a gap in the socio-economic benefits

of development but there is a knowledge and information gap between the

"have" and the "have-nots."  This could seriously affect the direction

of development.

New communication technology and development.  The potential of new

communication technology such as satellites, broadcasting, cable tele-

vision and computers for facilitating the process of development in

Latin America, Africa and Asia is limited.  But what is new about tech-

nology is not the technology per se as the social technology of how the

new communication devices are organized and used, and how the audience

is organized to receive and discuss the messages.

In the New Paradigm, Rogers has changed his stance with regard

to the diffusion model.  Rogers (1976) argued that for development both

diffusion of technological and social innovations were necessary.  He

advocated that it was communication that was more important in innova-

tion than the innovation itself.  Secondly, the acceptance or rejection

of communication not only depended on what was being communicated but

on how it was being communicated.  The inclusion of social innovations

suggested the concern for human elements and not to treat them as

automatons.

In this context Rogers suggested that mass media and interpersonal

channels may be used for diffusion as mass media could disseminate information about innovations and interpersonal channels could effectively localize the innovations. Rogers and Adhikarnaya (1978) suggested two-way communication for diffusion of innovations, which suggested "feedback loops" from the audience. The importance was given to social needs and social structure in the diffusion of innovations. They suggested a "diagnostic stage" for assessing the needs of the masses for innovations by the change agents. Rogers, Beltran and Bordenave (1976) have further suggested the need for structural changes for making innovations appropriate and acceptable to the people.

Rogers' (1978) third stance is that diffusion has to be treated as a "communication strategy of development." As such a strategy, it would include (i) the important elements of innovations both technological and social; (ii) the communication channels both mass media, interpersonal, and traditional media with two-way communication and feedback mechanisms of several loops. The importance of feedback is not so much for acceptance/rejection of the innovation but for appropriateness of the innovations to the social needs. Rogers suggested two important elements in the diffusion process: (i) the participation of the masses through a dialogue approach suggesting two-way interactive communication approach to assess the need-base innovations; and (ii) a problem-solving approach suggesting self-reliance in using available localized resources for innovations in solving their own problems.

Participatory communication model in the New Paradigm. Participatory

communication is a product of various converging factors rooted in the

criticism of vertical communication system, alternative conceptions of

communication, and the growth of critical consciousness that attempts

to change the socio-political and economic infrastructure of society.

Essential to all development programs is the development of human be-

ings and the assumption that planning and implementation of development

programs should be carried out with the people and not for them. There-

fore, there is a need to see participatory communication both as "means"

and as an "end." Ryan and Kaplun (1980) pointed out that such a per-

spective of communication could be a means towards a new model of de-

velopment based on man's complete freedom from all forms of marginality

and exploitation. It is an end because participation communication can

have varied effects in creating a new awareness of one's conditions.

CIESPAL (Latin American seminar on participatory communication)

in 1974 identified participatory communication strategies as social

processes in which groups with common interests promote communication

strategies which can be used as instruments for social change. These

strategies are used as a force for cultural re-identification. For

this reason they are an education process that starts with an analysis

of reality, rejects the ideology of the elite classes and motivates the

underprivileged population towards concerted action for social change.

The development agencies, the national planning councils and in-

ternational aid agencies are maing participation of the poor, silent

majority in the development process a central concern in their programs

and as a matter of policy. A growing number of academic studies carry a common message to development planners and practitioners: the involvement of the poor in making decisions on development efforts which affect them, the contribution of their resources to development activities, and the assurance that they will in fact benefit from the actions intended to help.

With all this initiative and development projects one senses a disturbing fact: there is little agreement on what participation is or what are its basic dimensions. There has been a rush to encourage participation and to develop analytical techniques for measuring it, but (i) no consistent definitions are being used; (ii) participation is often treated very abstractedly, tending to leave concerte reality behind; (iii) efforts at explanation deal with causes of participation more than with its consequences; and finally (iv) very few analyses of actual experiences with participatory approaches to development can be found, because many studies simply assumed that participation was a good thing and thus neglected the need for more empirical work on the subject.

Bordenave and other development theorists (1976) have argued that the role of communication in a society is determined by the model on which that society operates and development is only an option that it takes at a particular historical moment. A highly stratified society dominated by powerful and oppressive elites will have different models of communication than a democratic society open to social innovations and participation of all. This fact alone suggests difficulty

in promoting grassroot participation at a social level if it is denied
at a political level.

UNESCO, in a meeting on self-management, access and participation
in communication (Belgrade, 1977) stated that ". . . effective partici-
pation implies a basic transformation of communication and media policy,
and in many societies could not be envisaged without some fundamental
social changes that these transformations would not occur through media
alone or at a single level."

Ryan and Kaplun (1980) identified participation in communication
as basically linked to society's institutions, media technology or lack
of it or dependence on it. Too often the participatory communication
models are controlled by the center which sets up their form, their
scope and their duration. Thus in developing countries the notion of
public access and public participation has emerged as a result of criti-
cism of vertical models of communication. In a vertical top-down model
the structure of communication reflects a concentration of decision-
making in the hands of a few elite leaders/government on which the
audience has little or no impact. It treats the public as a silent
majority and reinforces the notion of passivity, though there are grow-
ing calls for the right to communicate, emphasizing the right to in-
formation (declaration of human rights).

UNESCO's general conference at Nairobi (1976) pointed out that
there is a shift in perception of communication as a process of social
interaction through a balanced exchange of information and experience,
whereas in the past the communication was essentially to inform and in-

fluence people. This shift in perception implies the predominance of
dialogue over monologue. It suggests a system of horizontal communica-
tion based upon an equitable distribution of resources, facilities
enabling all persons to send as well as to receive messages.

UNESCO (1978) argued in its report of communication problems in
modern society that the idea of participation is corrolary to: the
search for remedies for many distortions in communication; trend towards
transforming information processes into communication processes and the
shifting of the emphasis from the information monologue into communica-
tion dialogue/multilogue; and from vertical flow of messages to systems
of horizontal communication.

Development theorists argue that approaches to participatory com-
munication differ according to development and socio-political context.
In the developed world where there is information saturation, the ac-
cess and participation is a search for new forms of active communica-
tion and the main thrust is collecting and articulating community opin-
ion. But in developing countries, because of limited media infrastruc-
ture, participation takes different forms. The present trend is self-
development models in the communication system based on popular parti-
cipation. The trend is low cost media, traditional media, rural press,
etc. The main focus is on mobilizing communities for self-development.

Those in favor of participatory communication raise two questions:
Is it possible and meaningful to limit participation to the process of
preparing and disseminating information if programming decisions con-
tinued to be shared exclusively by the politicians, professional and

semiprofessionals. Secondly, is it enough to create pockets of partici-
pation or should all information flow be subject to the requirements of
equal and balanced participation?

Further, wider participation means "increased access" at the lo-
cal level. But in many cases it may mean substitution of local elites
for national or regional elites--a sort of microcosm of the national
macrocosm and that the overall control may not undergo radical change.

The discussion so far suggests that participation communication
by the people is essential for development. The failure to engage all
of the human resources in the task of development not only acts as a
brake on the economic growth but does little to cure the basic causes
of social and political instability which pose a constant threat to the
gains being achieved on the economic fronts. Unless the people benefit
from development, no meaningful progress can result. It is equally
true that unless the people contribute to development efforts, no mean-
ingful progress can result.

Dimensions of participation. In the context of development participa-
tion, the recurring questions with which the development communities
are faced are:

> What is participation, or what may usefully be re-
> garded as participation in terms of development ends and
> means?

> What are the most significant issues or dimensions asso-
> ciated with the analysis and support of participation in de-
> velopment?

To what extent should the analysis of participation treat it as an <u>end</u>--an objective in its own right; and to what extent as <u>means</u> to other ends through mobilization of resources, shared administrative burdens, etc.?

To what extent should participation be viewed in relation to development projects and to what extent to the larger society?

To what extent should participation be regarded as something observable, and to what extent the attitudes or subjective factors might be considered in the definition?

Thus we are faced with three dimensions of participation: what, who, and how.

A. <u>What is participation</u>. Cohen and Uphoff (1976) have arued that participation may be viewed as activities but sometimes including material and attitudinal contributions. They identified four kinds of participation, that is, participation in decision-making, implementation, benefits, and evaluation. There is interaction among the four kinds of participation. The manner and the amount of participation in the four kinds may not be identical. Often different people and groups will participate in decision-making rather than in implementation or benefits and evaluation. Moreover, they will usually participate in varying terms.

A.1. <u>Decision-making</u>. Decision-making is a process rather than a single act over a point of time. This process consists of initial

decisions, ongoing and operational decisions.

Initial decisions are concerned with the assessment of need and
setting of priorities. At this stage there may be a systematic effort
to diagnose major and minor problems and indicate solutions. There may
be a decision whether to take up specific development activities per-
taining to these needs or not. If yes, what should the strategy be?

Ongoing decisions may be concerned with the continuing search for
the needs and priorities that the development activities may respond
to. This will enable the shaping of the directions in which the de-
velopment activity may evolve. The decision may be made whether to
continue or terminate the activity or what else to do.

Operational decisions concern who is involved in making these
decisions.

A.2. Participation in impelmentation. Participation in implemen-
tation is identified with (i) resource contribution, (ii) participation
in administration and coordination, and (iii) enlistment in the pro-
grams.

Resource contribution identifies who contributes various kinds of
inputs needed to carry out a development activity and how these con-
tributions are made, i.e. the extent to which participation is volun-
tary, remunerated or coerced, done on an individual or collective ba-
sis, intermittently or continuously, etc. Development Alternative Inc.
(DAI) studies in small farmers' participation have concluded that re-
source commitment of small farmers to a development project, in terms
of labor or cash, is important for accounting project success. Cohen

and Uphoff (1976) identified resource commitment with information as a complementary resource rather than viewing this important input simply as a matter of process, but DAI distinguished between "resource commitment" and "two-way communications," the latter encompassing flows of information. .

Administration and coordination can involve the people in many ways, the most common could be as development project employees, members of project related committees, or in project-specific roles. The local people involved in the development project may be paraprofessional, skilled or manual workers. This experience brings the people more actively into the development process as well as providing communication channels for expression of·ideas between local people and the external project staff.

Enlistment in the programs concerns the willingness of persons, often thought of as members of the target population, to respond positively to the development program's offerings.

A.3. Participation in benefits (and or harmful consequences). Some of the development specialists have classified and analyzed benefits in terms of amount, distribution, quality and quantity. Cohen and Uphoff (1976) have identified these benefits as material, social and personal. Material benefits suggest higher, equitable distribution and more security of income and consumption. Social benefits suggest services or amenities provided by the development project in terms of availability, access and improved quality. Personal benefits identified are: self-esteem, political power, and a sense of efficacy.

A.4. <u>Participation in evaluation</u> may be by the external and local evaluators. The external project staff may evaluate according to the positive and negative outcomes in terms of project goals. The local evaluation is concerned with the perceptions, preferences and expectations from the project. Both types of evaluations have to be coordinated.

B. <u>The "who" in participation</u> is operationalized by various reports in 1976 by the Rural Development Committee (RDC). The participants may be local residents, local leaders, government personnel and foreign personnel. The first two have local roots and others are outsiders. Local leaders are distinguished from the government personnel by their having some commitment to the local interests. They may be traditional or opinion leaders. Government personnel may be assigned to the area for short or long periods for development activities. They do not have the same stake in the economic and social development of the area as the local residents and leaders may have. Foreign personnel, if associated with the development project, may occupy different roles.

Robert Chambers suggests that most important relationships to examine are those between the points of growth and dynamism, in particular between local interest groups and leaders on the one hand and government organizations and civil servants on the other hand.

The forms of development participation by the government functionaries, planners, communicators and the public depend on how they envisage development and the attitude towards efficacy of such develop-

ment participation. For instance, the government development function-
aries' attitudes towards public efficacy in development participation
may affect the form of development participation of the functionaries
as well as the public.

Narula and Dhawan (1982) identified two aspects of public par-
ticipation in development: first, participation in self-development,
i.e. raising awareness about development programs, articulating their
felt needs and perceived needs among themselves as well as to the de-
velopment administrators; second, self-reliance in development partici-
pation as identified with people committing local resources for meeting
local needs rather than depending on the government; people claiming
cooperation from and with the development functionaries.

Their study identified three dimensions of the Administration Par-
ticipation: First, the administrative capability equipped with an or-
ganization for communication, feedback and feedforward mechanisms for
self-development and self-reliance of the people; coordination among
various agencies to improve efficiency of development programs; and
suitable orientation of the administration for development publicity.
Second, the attitude of the development administrators towards public
participation in development and the machinery for redress of their
grievances. Third, the efforts of the administration for reducing in-
formation blockage among certain segments of the society, especially
weaker sections.

C. The "how" of participation, i.e. how participation is occur-
ing, can best be assessed in terms of the basis, form, extent and its

effectiveness as identified by the RDC (Rural Development Committee).

C.1. The basis for participation may be the initiative and the inducement (motivation) for development. The question is at whose instigation the participants are participating--in recognition of their own interests or prompted by governmental efforts. The initiative may be from the bottom-up or coming from the top-down or it may be shared instead of coming only from the top or bottom as suggested by DAI (Development Alternatives, Inc.) studies.

C.2. Motivation for participation. Why people participate may depend on the source of initiative (Cohen and Uphoff, 1976), sustained interest of the community (Pareek, 1965), and the perception of the development programs as meaningful to immediate needs (Muthaya, 1981).

Cohen and Uphoff (1976) argue that the incentives (motivation) for participation may be voluntary or through coercion and these terms define a continuum of motivation. The local initiative can involve coercive means, and the initiative of the government can depend entirely on voluntary local involvement. People are most likely to participate when it comes freely of their own accord, though they may like that which is induced through the provision of certain rewards for participation. Thus we are dealing with a continuum from volunteered participation to rewarded participation to enforced participation.

C.3. The forms of participation may be identified with the organizational pattern of participation, i.e. whether it is collective or individual, whether it is direct involvement or representative. The content of development paradigm is that development requires people to

participate but the forms of the participation may vary considerably.

For example, in some societies participation is present but relatively

passive, in others, participation is active. Coombs (1980) argues that

people may participate passively in a purely top-down program by lis-

tening politely to its "messages" and accepting any handouts but with-

out altering their customary views and behavior. In this context it

may be suggested that passive participation may occur where people do

participate in development projects but as directed by the government

in a top-down communication.

Murray Silberman (1979) argues that in passive participation

people are directed by the government towards development programs, di-

rected towards or joining into occupational or professional tasks re-

lated to development, drawn into and become active in block organiza-

tions, other formal and informal groups which provide structure and

purpose to economic, social and civic life. Government, through its

resources, strives to mobilize the people to attain the goals it sets

for society's development be it economic or social development. People

become participants in this enterprise, although the choice of what

they do and how they do it is not always theirs. Development special-

ists have termed this type of passive participation as "functional

participation" as contrasted to "popular participation." These two

types of participation will be discussed in greater detail later on.

Coombs (1980) describes active participation where a village or-

ganized itself democratically to examine its needs and options to make

decisions and plans, to mobilize its resources and to seek a specific

kind of help from outside sources to fill gaps and break bottlenecks beyond its own capacity. Most villages seem to fall between the two extremes of passivity and being active.

In the context of active participation, it may be further suggested that people may participate actively by announcing their discontent and calling upon the government to solve their problems; in others the participation involves joining the search for solutions whether in collaboration with or in defiance of the government. In short, participation in its active-passive context looks different in different societies reflecting local economic, political and social variables.

Coombs (1980) identified a number of different types and forms of community participation that are illustrated by the case studies in development communication undertaken in the Asian region and which are discussed below.

: Local "specialists" in a community-based program who render particular services to their neighbors with backstopping from specialists and institutions outside the village. It is a sure sign of serious community commitment and involvement wherever one finds local specialists and volunteers with limited training seriously carrying out important grassroots operational responsibilities in a vertically integrated program.

: Local contributions of money or labor and materials to help defray the cost of a service or project. These types of contributions, involving sacrifices of personal goods and time, are also a sign of serious local commitment to the idea of self-

help and self-reliance.

: The creation or strengthening of self-run local insti-

tutions and mechanisms to carry out important functions bene-

ficial to particular needy sub-groups.

: Creation of broader community-wide mechanisms for select-

ing priorities and for planning and implementing local develop-

ment projects.

: The forming of local pressure groups to bring about struc-

tural changes and reforms, to demand better services from govern-

ment agencies, or to exercise a larger voice in policy and pro-

gram decisions affecting their lives.

: Getting the process started--all villages have the poten-

tial for helping themselves and improving the conditions of

their members, but to realize this potential they may require

initial stimulation and substantial assistance from outside,

not just any kind of assistance but the right kind of assistance

at the right time that will strengthen rather than inhibit their

spirit of self-reliance and self-determination.

Broadly speaking, development participation could be defined as

functional and popular participation.  Functional participation has

been discussed earlier.

Popular participation development is the process of involving a

large number of people in decision-making and in the actual implementa-

tion of development programs.  Murray Silberman (1979) argued that it

goes far beyond the vertical or horizontal communication programs which

often carry with them the hazards of a revolution of rising frustra-

tions. Public participation through sharing establishes a close tie

between what people contribute to development through their labor and

taxes and the benefits they reasonably expect to receive in return.

Where peoples' contributions are unmatched by proportionate benefits

they are being exploited, and where benfits are acquired without the

expenditure of a commensurate amount of labor, privilege is created.

Popular participation finds expression in the United Nations Economic

and Social Council Resolution 1929 (LVIII), which defines popular par-

ticipation as the voluntary and democratic involvement of the people

in (a) contributing to the development effort, (b) sharing equitably

in the benefits derived therefrom, and (c) decision-making in respect

to setting goals, formulating policies and planning and implementing

social and economic development programs.

In the past, governments of many developing countries used popular

participation to promote national development.  Some developing coun-

tries including India had strong community development programs with

popular participation components.  In the 1950's and 1960's there had

been strong interest and even greater fervor to promote participation

at the grassroot level, particularly in rural areas.  It was believed

that popular participation would accelerate development and would dis-

tribute benefits equitably.  Much of this came to naught.  Popular

participation in India and in many countries was stifled by bureaucra-

tic paternalism and by indifferent, if not hostile planners.  It also

suffered at the hands of powerful local interests which feared the con-

sequences of citizens' participation. To the extent that governments
supported popular participation, they tended to view it in terms of
what people contributed to development through voluntary and involun-
tary labor and not what they received.

Popular participation as an official policy is staging a comeback
not because many developing countries showed interest in promoting it
at sectoral and local levels, but as a number of development special-
ists have pointed out, many other factors also accounted for it. These
factors have been discussed in detail earlier in the context of why the
new paradigm emerged.

International development community in various international con-
ferences has stressed the priority of satisfaction of basic needs and
self-reliant growth. The implementation of these development concepts
would need citizen participation, greater self-reliance and development
of appropriate technologies. Specialized agencies of the United Na-
tions, the World Bank, and United Nations development programs and
UNESCO, etc., have supported governments in promotion of self-reliance
and popular participation. Some of the experiments of Gandhi in India,
the Ujamma project of Nyerere in Tanzania, and the Sarvodya movement in
India and Sri Lanka pointed this need. Maeda (1976) identified eight
main objectives that the strategies of self-reliance and self-develop-
ment through popular participation sought to achieve. They are estab-
lishment of self-governing communities, better use of rural labor
force, taking advantage of economies of scale to increased production,
dissemination of new values, avoidance of exploitation, raising the

standard of living of the peasants, mobilization of people for defence
by using the villages as paramilitary organizations and facilitation
of national planning.

C.3.  The extent of participation identifies with the time in-
volved in participation which suggests the degree of intensity, i.e.
how strongly people feel about their participation and how active they
are in it as a result.  Secondly, how intensive the participation is.
Extensiveness is identified with the frequency and duration of parti-
cipation in terms of its being regular or continuous, whereas the in-
tensity of participation is frequently related to the range and number
of project activities involved.  It can be that a number of possible
consequences can flow from the various types of participation connected
with the development activity.

C.4.  Effectiveness of participation is identified with the de-
gree of power the persons or groups have in order to make their parti-
cipation effective.  In political and administrative terms, the basic
source of power is the authority to make binding decisions and to back
them up with another source of power or force.  Influence is generally
regarded as less effective but certainly worth having.

D.  The context of participation.  The what, who and how of participa-
tion is augmented by consideration of how the context of participation
may affect its extent and substance.  The context may be understood
by analysis of the development task in hand and the most salient fea-
tures of the environments in which development projects are taken.
This raises the question whether or not a development project will have

a "participation component" built into it.  Few projects have partici-

pation as an end, but often participation will be an explicit part of

a project's strategy to achieve task objectives.  Figure 2 suggests the

interaction between the general development components of a project and

a specific participation component if such is provided through explicit

mechanisms.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  ┌──────────────────────┐                                 │
│  │ General Development  │ ◄─────────────────┐            │
│  │     Component        │                    │            │
│  │       e.g.           │                    │            │
│  │ Increased Development│            ┌────────┴──────────┐ │
│  │      Benefits        │            │    Feedback       │ │
│  └──────────┬───────────┘            ├───────────────────┤ │
│  D          │    │                   │ Effects of        │ │
│  e          ▼    ▼  ─────────────────┤ Participation      │ │
│  v  ┌──────────────────────┐         │ on Development    │ │
│     │ Specific Participant │         │ Project Design    │ │
│     │     Components       │         └─────────▲─────────┘ │
│     │       e.g.           │                   │           │
│     │ Cooperating Society  ├───────────────────┘           │
│     │  Self-help Programs  │                               │
└─────┴──────────────────────┴───────────────────────────────┘
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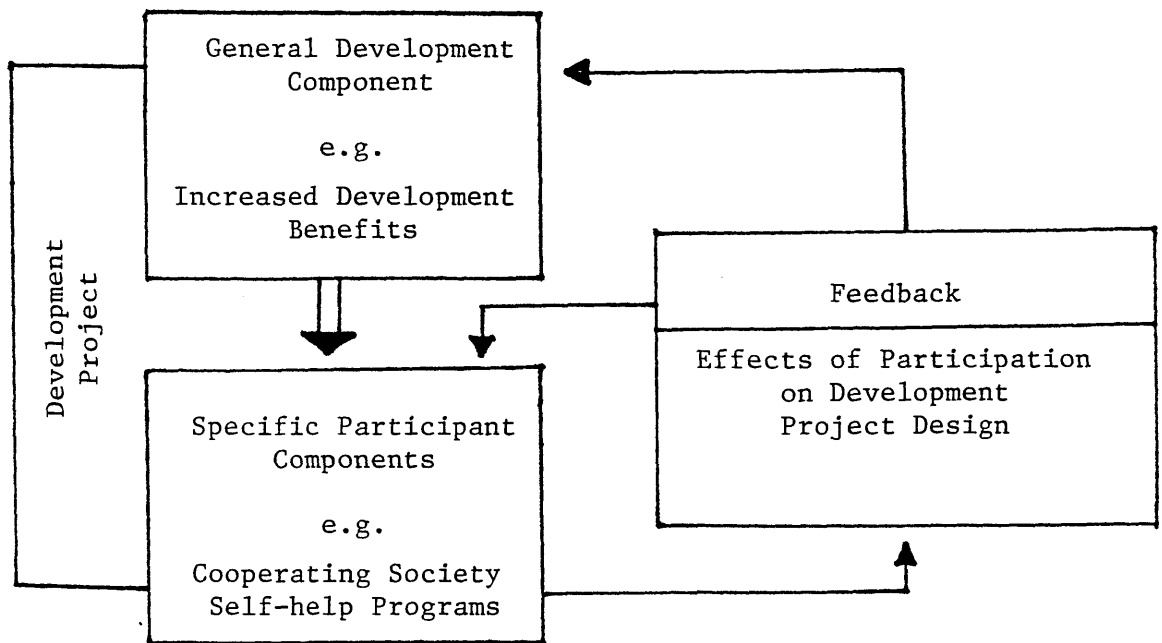
Figure 2.  Context of Participation in Development

Role of communication in New Paradigm of development: emergence of

development communication patterns.  The communication needs as iden-

tified by UNESCO (1978) in the "New Paradigm" are open dialogue between

the people and the government.  The open dialogue reflects diversified

views and experiences. Secondly, multidirectional communication flow is necessary. This multidirectional flow calls for top-down as well as horizontal communication and bottom-up communication. The horizontal communication is across society horizontally--from person to person, village to village, and rural to urban. The bottom-top is from people to government and top-down the other way around.

UNESCO further contends that for participatory rural communication it is necessary that media be available in rural areas, that there should be reception, access to consumption of media, and that there should be linkage between development initiatives and communication channels, i.e. allocating channels and programs for development and the utilization of media. Dissanayke (1981), after critical examination of the various development perspectives, contended that there is a shift of emphasis on the meaning of development in the New Paradigm. There is a parallel shift of emphasis on the meaning of communication also. Instead of linear one-way communication models, a process-oriented two-way communication model began to take shape and gain currency. Berlo (1969, 1979) and Barnlund (1970) advocated a transactional model of communication and the idea of communication as being an interactive process where the communicator and the receiver share an equal responsibility. This philosophy of communication fitted well into the newer frame of development.

Singh and Gross (1978) have advocated the two-way communication models between the policy makers and the public, suggesting the impor-

tance of feedback in this respect. The sender must know how the re-
ceivers are understanding or misunderstanding his message. Therefore
he should have feedback on the development needs of the people. Such
an approach suggests several loops of feedback and feedforward between
the policy makers and the public. Participatory communication suggests
the necessity of top-down, bottom-up and bottom-bottom communication.

Rogers (1976) argued that the functions of the communication also
changed in the New Paradigm. It is not only disseminating information
on development programs but educating the people about these programs
and motivating them for development. It had three functions: informa-
tion, education, and communication (IEC); whereas in the earlier
Dominant Paradigm the communication functions were only dissemination
of information and persuasion through mass media channels.

The communication strategy urged in this paradigm used mainly in-
terpersonal channels with support from mass media--both cosmopolitan
and indigenous media. This was the first time that a greater emphasis
had been put on the interpersonal channels. As Dissnayke (1981) point-
ed out, interpersonal channels were used to create a common identity by
stressing shared values and experiences of the people. Mass media was
employed for reaching the far-flung villages.

The studies done by Beltran, Bordenave and Whiting (1976) have
shown that mass communication in development usually espouses an incre-
mental approach in which change is promoted within existing social
structures rather than seeking to alter structural constraints to de-
velopment. Other radical critics think that it tends to side with the

existing social structure and reflect mainly an incremental change position.

Rogers (1976) pointed out that in this paradigm, mass media is mostly used to disseminate information about development programs and create a climate for development programs. Whereas interpersonal channels are used for information, education and motivating people for development. Interpersonal channels are also utilized for communicating feedback on the development activities.

Various forms of participation advocated in the New Paradigm require sustained flow of information between officials in those sectoral areas and the people involved.

Murray Silberman (1979) contended that "popular participation" requires the two-way communication between the authorities and the people. Normally, in developing countries the communication is top-down and the people are conditioned to receive instructions and guidance. But the people too should be able to convey information, not only about their preferences and values but also their views on problem solving. To the extent possible, people's experiences should be taken into account in devising development plans. Thus knowledge and the experience of the people become relevant in in-forming judgement of the experts. A mutual exchange of views can take place on a sustained basis when the vertical distance between the authorities and the citizens is narrowed and each achieves a better understanding of the other. Properly conceived and executed, such a philosophy of communication can have maximum effect in motivating people to participate in development activities.

By this time, many development specialists have started realizing that there is a close and mutually reinforcing relationship between popular participation and communications. Communications, both verbal and visual, generate impulses which energize people into action. Mao Tse Tung's injunction to "learn from the people" reveals keen appreciation of the accumulated experience of the peasantry and the potential applications for development. The popular participation by the people suggested dialogue approach of Beltran and Bordenave, the problem-solving approach of Havelock, and the dialogue and convergence approach of Rogers and Kincaid.

In "functional participation," the stress is mainly on top-down communication. Both mass media and interpersonal channels are used. Moreover, the functions of the communication are information, education, motivation and communication about development though the feedback component is missing.

Rogers (1976) argued that self-development dimension in the New Paradigm implies a completely different role for communication than the usual top-down, functional approach of the past. In the self-development participatory approach the role of government agencies is mainly to communicate to locally initiated requests to design and conduct top-down campaigns. The mass media may be used to feed local groups with information of a background nature about their expressed needs, to disseminate innovations that might meet these needs, and to circulate information about the self-development accomplishments of local groups so that other groups may profit from these experiences. Communication

in self-development is more permissive and supportive than in the usual

top-down approach where local citizens are told what their problems are

and are persuaded to follow certain specific lines of action to solve

them, usually involving a good deal of dependence on the government.

Constraints of the participatory communication model in the New Para-

digm. The various constraints of the participatory communication mo-

del could be: inherent development paradox, conventional economic poli-

cies, limited reach of information, social philosophy of development,

implicit emphasis on motivation for development, administrative effica-

cy for participation, and status inconsistency.

Development paradox. Ploman (1979) argues that there is a paradox

inherent in the development process. On the one hand there is a need

for a strong central power capable of bringing about structural changes

and a rational allocation of limited economic resources. On the other

hand the construction of a participatory society requires freedom and

decentralization as an essential condition to develop the capacity of

the society to organize itself. Local autonomy, self-reliance and so-

cially effective participation are inalienable parts of such freedom.

It is argued by the international community that popular participation

can be affected by the attitude of the government and the public towards

it. The best intentions of the government to promote popular partici-

pation are likely to encounter certain constraints. The likely con-

straining factors are: negative attitude of development planners and

functionaries, public apathy or ignorance, opposition from vested in-

terests, and the reality that many programs do not lend themselves
readily to participation.

Conventional economic policies. Murray Silberman (1979) argues that
the conventional economic policies have severe restrictive affects on
a citizen's participation in the decision-making process. Given the
positive correlation between income and participation, the persistence
of poverty can only hamper participation in decision-making. Present
development policies based on economic growth have serious implications
for economic distribution, which has important implications for the
popular participation. Vast unemployment and underemployment means a
large number of otherwise productive people may not be able to contrib-
ute to development through gainful employment. Without work they can-
not secure the necessary social services to satisfy minimum basic
needs; access to social services is limited and as a consequence people
cannot share the benefits of development. Silberman has further con-
tended that the centralizing tendencies that are induced in the plan-
ning and administrative bureaucracies by the demands of modernization
may hamper various forms of participation. Due to political control,
efficiency and access at ease, the power and the machinery of the
government is concentrated in the capital cities. Local government
has little power over development activities and depends on the central
government for financial, material and technical resources. The sig-
nificance of this for meaningful participation is clear. The citizens

have real power at the local level and not in the national centers.
They have little access to national centers of power. Whereas commer-
cial interests and business groups are centered in the large cities and
have close access to national planning agencies and bureaucracies which
have a great deal of power in decision-making for development priori-
ties. The result is that the poor lack leverage at the national deci-
sion-making centers while the elements that make up the modern sector
have all too much influence.

Coombs (1980) argues that both economic and political major
structural changes are required for participation. So long as the poor
are economically impotent and politically voiceless they can hardly be
expected to be self-assertive and self-reliant towards a better life
for themselves. He further argues that rural people need an education-
al strategy and not propaganda strategies for development participation
as advocated by the New Paradigm. But the bureaucratic world of spe-
cialization is generally ill-equipped to infuse appropriate learning
(educational) elements into various development activities.

Reach of information. Narula and Dhawan (1982) argue that another in-
hibiting factor in popular participation could be the quality and quan-
tity of information that reaches the public. The complexity of develop-
ment information may not be intelligible to the people and the vested
interests may block the relevant development information. This limits
its usefulness for participation. Ryan and Kaplun (1980) contend that
the entire communication apparatus for participation set up by the
modernizing elites is virtually closed circuit. Access to this is gen-

erally limited to the elites who operate the system and who largely benefit from it.

Social philosophy. Dissnayke (1981) contended that the New Paradigm has emphasized the "social growth" as the main development philosophy. But the social growth philosophy is inconsistent and is criticized by many development theorists. This paradigm is further criticized for presenting many conflicting trends of thoughts and thus making conflicting demands on the people.

Implicit motivation for development. The paradigm has not dealt adequately with two important dimensions of development: development motivation and growth of "development psyche." Pareek (1962) described development motivation as achievement motivation (concern for excellence), extension motive (concern for others) and reducing the dependency motive (concern for direction from others). The formula he presented is $D \rightarrow (AM \times EM) - DM$. Muthaya (1980) described development psyche as a forward-looking, self-help and action-oriented bent of mind.

Administrative efficacy for participation. Narula and Dhawan (1982) argued that the inadequate administrative capability to deliver the development programs to the public is a development constraint. This can be further limited by the gap in the perception of socio-economic reality of the masses and that of the development functionaries, and the lack of adequate communication and contact-points between the citizen and the development bureaucracy.

Status inconsistency. Bordenave (1978) and Dissanayke (1981) have ar-
gued that certain social structural constraints can impede the public
participation. But the New Paradigm has not dealt with this adequately.
Bordenave had argued that the present emphasis on self-development sug-
gests concern for the involvement of individuals in their economic and
social life. In developing third world countries the difficulty in
achieving genuine public participation is conditioned by the public and
private level of equality. The equality is identified with the rights
for common obligations. But a certain homogenous socio-economic level
is a precondition for equality. Narula and Dhawan (1982), while en-
dorsing Bordenave's view, have argued that not only socio-economic
levels but caste differences (of high and low castes) in certain de-
veloping countries, in Indian communities for instance, can be a pre-
condition for equality. Dissanayke (1981) also contended that while
discussing the concepts of self-development and self-reliance, the para-
digm has not paid sufficient attention to certain important dimensions
of community life in developing countries. These dimensions are:
partisian relationships and traditional power structures.

To sum up, the fact that the New Paradigm does not contain a sin-
gle model for participation has several implications. In terms of
theory and research, the game consists of discovering what forms of
participation occur in particular contexts and relating those forms to
the existing social, economic, and political conditions. Perhaps the
forms of participation displayed in one society are not feasible ob-
jectives in another society; perhaps what is productive in one society

is counterproductive in the other. Another line of research consists of the identification of the array of the forms of participation and the factors which seem to account for changes in the forms of participation.

In terms of development programs, the implication is that programs might well be targeted on achieving the optimal form of participation rather than on the overt content of the program. For instance, it may be more important to get a village to assume the responsibility for its own family planning programs rather than to concentrate on the family program per se. Indirect forms of persuasion including paradoxical prescriptions might be more effective in the long run than straightforward appeals to adopt particular practices.