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**AN EXPLORATION OF THE PARADIGMS OF COMMUNICATION
AND DEVELOPMENT
WITH AN EMPHASIS UPON THE USE
OF ONE-WAY -
VERSUS TWO-WAY MODELS OF COMMUNICATION**

BY LORI ANNE COLLINS

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Communication Studies in Partial
Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1988

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated with love and devotion to my fiancée Stephen for his constant, patient, cheerful and loving support (as-well as the generous use of his favourite Macintosh computer).

ABSTRACT

OF AN EXPLORATION OF THE PARADIGMS OF COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT, WITH AN EMPHASIS UPON THE USE OF ONE-WAY VERSUS TWO-WAY MODELS

by

Lori Anne Collins

This thesis is an exploration of the historical progress of paradigms of communication and development, and specifically the application of models of communication within these paradigms. The method by which various forms of media are employed (including interpersonal and mass media) to aid in the development of Third World nations is investigated within the context of two paradigms in particular--the modernization paradigm of the 1950's and 60's, and the grass-roots paradigm of the 1970's and 80's. Some of the theoretical roots of each paradigm are revealed, as well as the contributions of the major communication and development theorists of the time. In addition, criticisms of the two paradigms and their application to real-life development problems are included.

Of special interest is the progression of paradigms of communication and development in concert with the progression of models of human communication. The modernization paradigm's application of Shannon and Weaver's one-way model to the developmental problems of the time is found to have shaped its manipulative, dictatorial approach to the mass of disadvantaged peoples the paradigm claimed to aid. In contrast, the grass-roots paradigm's reliance on the more recent two-way models of communication is found to have contributed to its emphasis upon equitable, participative dialogue in relation to disadvantaged peoples. Both models are seen to have influenced the means by which the theorists and practitioners of each paradigm have approached the media, although the modernization paradigm can be said to emphasize the use of mass media, and the grass-roots paradigm to favour the interpersonal or group media forms.

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To the generous faculty and secretaries of the Department of Communication who have made my university education very satisfying and who make me very sad to leave.

To Dr. Marlene Cuthbert for initiating me into the fascinating world of communication and development.

To my parents for inspiring me to pursue my dreams.

PREFACE

As a preface to this work I would like to acknowledge that I undertook an exploration of the role of one-way versus two-way communication within the paradigms of communication for development because of my interest in the grass-roots paradigm. Having been schooled in the criticisms and international focus of the dependency paradigm, I felt the need for a paradigm which provided concrete alternatives at a local or national level. When I became exposed to some of the works of the grass-roots paradigm, I was interested in finding out if this paradigm could provide these alternatives. My approach to the paradigm has therefore admittedly been positive rather than strictly critical.

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INTRODUCTION

"To be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world"

(Paulo Freire, *Education For Critical Consciousness*, 1973, p.1)

Justification For This Thesis

As a discipline with less than forty years of formal history to its name, communications for development has passed through a remarkable number of transformations. From the optimism of the modernization paradigm of the 1950's and '60's hailing the mass media as the saviour of "underdeveloped" peoples everywhere, to the criticism of the dependency paradigm of the 1970's and early 80's, condemning channels of domination and dependency, to the communalism of the grass-roots paradigm of the 80's and beyond, searching for participation through communication, the discipline has reflected the global quest for a solution to the dehumanization of underdevelopment. We must not forget, however, that the history of communications for development is also the history of the growth of a number of contributory social sciences (such as anthropology, economics, education, psychology, political science, and sociology) that influenced the thoughts and actions of its practitioners.

Although the discipline's famous transition from the modernization to the dependency paradigm is well documented, its present inclination toward the grass-roots paradigm has been less celebrated. (Servaes, 1983, 1986) With the grass-roots paradigm presently in its initial stages of formation, whether or not it will provide a unique addition or a major alternative to the dependency paradigm remains unclear. What has become clear, however, is that the grass-roots paradigm presents us with an unprecedented emphasis upon the centrality of two-way, participatory communications within the development process, especially at the local level.

The grass-roots paradigm has provided a contrast to the conventional modes of thought, since the history of communications for development has been, for the large part, the history of the use of predominantly one-way, non-participatory communications for development. Even the more recent reviews of the discipline, such as Hedebro's *Communication and Social Change in Developing Nations: A Critical Review* (1982) and Gerbner and Siefert's *World Communications: A Handbook* (1984), rarely mention the role of interpersonal communications or other small-scale two-way communication channels within the development process. Researchers pass their biases on to practitioners who learn to place the mass media at the forefront of their application of communications to development projects. As Filipino agricultural communication and development researcher Nora C. Quebral pronounces:

To say that a development project has a communication component means that it has staff to put out mass media materials, not necessarily to co-plan how the information expected of it—whether technological or policy

or whatever—is to be obtained and conveyed most directly to the real users. (Quebral, 1985, p. 26)

On the other hand, many grass-roots advocates have condemned the use of large-scale, non-participatory mass media development programs, characterizing national mass media systems as inevitably elitist, monopolistic, inaccessible, and manipulative. (Freire, 1973, Berrigan, 1979, White, 1980, Servaes, 1983) In perhaps one of the most unfavourable characterizations of mass media for development, Andreas Fuglesang and Dale Chandler, (grass-roots researchers and authors of the article "*The open snuff-box: communication as participation*", 1986) speak of the mass media as "a string of rattling tin cans offering disinformation, educational irrelevance, and noisy nothingness." (Fuglesang and Chandler, 1986, p. 2)

Even if one considers this characterization extreme, it cannot be denied that the mass media and other such one-way channels of communication have dominated the articles, texts, reports and documents recording the history of the use of communications for development. The predominance of the mass media within the communications for development literature suggests that such one-way, non-participatory channels have an overwhelming impact upon the daily lives of most people within the developing nations. For the majority of Third World individuals, however, this is not true.

The two-way, participatory (generally interpersonal) exchange remains the channel of communication which most influences the daily lives of developing-nation peoples. Two-way, interpersonal communication is the most accessible, the least costly and often, the most credible means by which developing peoples obtain desired information, and exchange knowledge, experiences, and opinions. One-

way, non-responsive mass media channels may, and often do supplement these interpersonal channels, but mass media *hardly ever* replace them. As Wilbur Schramm pronounced in his famous critical analysis of development media effectiveness, *Big Media, Little Media*: (1977) "...interpersonal communication, whether from change agent to potential adaptor, from friend to friend, or within a group, is the *indispensable element of development communication*, regardless of the mass media used."(emphasis added)(Schramm, 1977, p.259)

If researchers acknowledge that two-way, interpersonally-related forms of communication are indispensable, why then is a study of such forms necessary? The fact remains that, (particularly within the modernization paradigm) however much theorists may have espoused the virtues of two-way communication, in reality their attention remained fixed upon the mass media. As Schramm and other critics later noted, the mass media's greater appeal to theorists and government decision-makers lay within its potential power to persuasively and homogeneously transmit an array of modernizing messages to vast populations. In comparison, interpersonal channels seemed paltry indeed, limited as they seemed to be to the everyday exchanges of traditional local communities.

As well, communication and development scholars have traditionally limited their research to that which they can easily perceive—that which is quantifiable, technologically-oriented and not subject to non-Western cultural interpretation. Robert Chambers, in his text, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* asserts that the organizational realities of professional and academic researchers inhibit them from actually coming in contact with the citizens whose needs they are charged with determining.(Chambers, 1983) Without prolonged

contact with developing-world citizens, understanding of their culture and interest in human exchanges which are not quantifiable or technologically-mediated, how can development researchers come to analyze the importance of two-way communication? This leads us to the purpose of this thesis.

Purpose of This Thesis

If two-way, participatory (mostly interpersonal) communication channels are indeed the primary channels of communication for the vast majority of developing peoples, then an examination of how such communication has been employed (or not employed) within the practice of planned development would be an important addition to the discipline of communications for development. A starting point for such an examination would be the discovery of how researchers and professional advisors within the field of development have interpreted the role of communication channels (both mass media and interpersonal) within the development process.

Within such an examination, one must consider not just *which* channels are employed, but also how they are employed. Although the employment of technologically-mediated channels of communication (such as the mass media) tends to promote one-way communication exchanges, and the employment of human-centred channels of communication (such as the interpersonal oral media) tends to promote two-way communication exchanges, this is not always the case. The degree of participatory feedback incorporated in both mass media and

interpersonal channels of communication depends upon not only the nature of the media, but also the means by which they are employed.

Both mass media and interpersonal channels may be employed in a one-way fashion under the influence of a paradigm of communication for development which emphasizes a one-way, non-participatory model of communication.

Likewise, the participatory potential of both mass media and interpersonal channels may be maximized to include the full extent of two-way communication, within a paradigm of communication for development which emphasizes a two-way, participatory model of communication. This thesis will determine to what extent these scholarly paradigms of communication influence the participatory nature of mass-media and especially interpersonal communication channels of communication employed to benefit the development process.

The Purpose of a Paradigmatic Analysis

When examining scholarly interpretations or modes of thought, it is often most useful to apply a paradigmatic analysis. According to Thomas S. Kuhn, in his famous work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970), a paradigm is a set of concepts, built into theories, which become so established within a particular discipline that they become accepted as accurate reflections of reality, and can be taken for granted by the researchers who employ them. As Kuhn points out, paradigms save researchers a great deal of time and trouble, for

when the individual scientist can take a paradigm for granted, he need no longer, in his major works, attempt to build his field anew, starting from first

Paradigms of Communication and Development

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principles and justifying the use of each concept introduced. (Kuhn, 1970, p. 20)

Paradigms, therefore, present patterns of thought or basic assumptions about a discipline which the majority of its practitioners come to adopt. Although a number of paradigms can exist at one point in time, paradigms do tend to go through a historical process of transitions or "revolutions" as Kuhn terms them, whereby one paradigm comes into favour, grows, is at some point found to inadequately explain certain phenomena, comes into disfavour, and is finally replaced by another, more attractive paradigm. (1970) One must keep in mind, however, that Kuhn's field of reference is the sciences, rather than the social sciences. In the social sciences, as communication and development researcher Jan Servaes notes, "paradigms...tend to build on each other rather than reject each other radically." (Servaes, 1986, p. 204) We may, therefore, perceive elements of former paradigms within new paradigms of communication and development, although each paradigm will ultimately remain distinctive.

Within the confines of this thesis, the paradigm delineations of Jan Servaes will be used to provide a framework whereby the interpretations of communications within the discipline of communications for development can be examined. In his text, *Communication and Development: Some Theoretical Remarks* (1983) Servaes distinguishes between the three major paradigms of communications and development: 1) the modernization paradigm, 2) dependency paradigm 3) the grass-roots paradigm. Although Servaes did not invent the definitions of these paradigms, his text remains one of the best efforts, to date, to concisely summarize and contrast these three patterns of thought within the discipline of communications for development. (Servaes, 1983)

These three paradigms of communication and national development will therefore provide a framework into which this thesis can be organized. Since the dependency paradigm has little to say about communication for planned development, it will only be employed within this thesis to serve as a critical contrast to the other two paradigms. In examining these paradigms, some important questions should be asked and answered, such as:

- 1) How are the elements and/or process of communication defined within the paradigm? What does the paradigm's primary model of communication look like?
- 2) What are the primary purposes of communication for development-perceived to be within the paradigm? How does this relate to the paradigm's conception of an ideal process or model of development?
- 3) Who are perceived to be the participants within the developmental communication exchanges?
- 4) How are the participants characterized by the research community? Are they characterized differently, and if so, how? Is there any evidence as to how the participants characterize each other?
- 5) Which communication channels are employed within the development process, who employs them and how are they employed?
- 6) Is the communication relationship between the participants perceived to be two-way (one of equal communication) or one-way (one in which one party dominates)? If it is a one-way relationship, which party dominates, why does it dominate, and how does it express its domination?
- 7) How well do the participants understand one another and the messages which they exchange (or simply transmit)? Is this factor considered within the paradigm?

By answering these questions we can begin to determine how communication for development is perceived by researchers operating within the modernization and the grass roots paradigm, and using some of the criticisms of the dependency paradigm, we may then discover how close these perceptions came to the needs and realities of the development situation. We should, however, keep in mind that no paradigm can completely reflect reality.

Problems Associated With the Use of Paradigms:

As the sociological historian, Robert K. Merton pronounced in his *Social Theory and Social Structure*, (1968) "All virtues can easily become vices merely by being carried to far and this applies to the sociological paradigm." (Merton, 1968, p. 15) All paradigms are designed with the intention of providing scholars with a means of systematically simplifying a myriad of theories of reality into a compact unit. Theorists design this unit to be easily comprehended and applied, keeping in mind that any paradigm is only *a partial and incomplete representation of reality*. However, after extensive use, a paradigm usually becomes so well established that most scholars come to view it as a complete and unchanging representation of reality, ignoring any evidence which reveals its limitations. In this way, paradigms come to dominate a discipline, (Merton, 1968)

As Thomas S. Kuhn (1970) asserts, the growth of science is characterized by the constant ascent and descent of dominant paradigms. After a particular paradigm becomes reified, anomalies which cannot be explained within the context of that paradigm spur the creation of a new paradigm designed to explain these,

anomalies. A similar growth can be ascertained within the discipline of communications for development.

Although the reification of a particular paradigm initially leads to the ignorance of other areas of research not explained by the paradigm, it also leads to the growth of an alternative paradigm which has the potential to expand human knowledge within the discipline. (Kuhn, 1970) The discipline of communication for development seems to exemplify Kuhn's pronouncements with its varying paradigms and differing models of communication. Thus, the study of paradigms within the discipline of communication and development is actually the study of the growth of human knowledge concerning the role of communications in the development process.

Definitions of Terms Used

Interpersonal Communication

Joseph A. DeVito, in his text, *The Interpersonal Communication Book, Fourth Edition* (1986) notes the importance of interpersonal communications within the lives of all peoples when he declares that:

Much of the information we now have comes from interpersonal interactions. Although a great deal of information comes to us from the mass media, it is often discussed and ultimately "learned" or internalized through interpersonal interactions. In fact, our beliefs, attitudes, and values have probably been influenced more by interpersonal encounters than by the media or even by formal education. (DeVito, 1986, p. 15)

DeVito recognizes that most definitions of interpersonal communication rely upon a few common elements to explain the interpersonal communication process. First, in order for interpersonal communication to take place a "source" and "receiver" are required—at least two persons who formulate and send as well as perceive and comprehend messages, usually face-to-face. The interdependent nature of interpersonal communication means that the parties involved within the communication process will alternately (or simultaneously) take the roles of source and receiver. "Messages" which serve as stimuli for the receiver are sent by the source. The source's act of translating ideas or meanings into symbols or messages is referred to as "encoding", while the receiver's act of translating these messages back into ideas or meanings is referred to as "decoding". The acts of encoding and decoding depend upon a certain amount of "communication competence"—the ability to phrase or decipher meanings according to accepted rules of language and communication interaction.

Messages travel through a medium or "channel" between source and receiver, such as a vocal auditory channel (speaking and listening) or a gestural-visual channel (visual cues or signals). "Noise" is referred to as "anything that distorts or interferes with message reception". (DeVito, 1986, p. 9) Noise may be physical, psychological or semantic in origin. Physical noise interferes with the physical transmission of the signal or message. Psychological noise refers to "any form of psychological interference and includes biases and prejudices in senders and receivers that lead to distortions in receiving and processing information." (DeVito, 1986, p. 9) Semantic noise is due to problems in use of

language causing the assignment by the receiver of meanings different from those intended by the source.

The final two elements of interpersonal communication are "feedback" and "context". Feedback is a fundamental element of interpersonal communication, since all messages which are sent in response to other messages are termed feedback. Finally, interpersonal communication takes place within a particular context--physical, social-psychological, and communication.(Devito, 1986)

Mass Media Communication

Mass communication is defined in Agee, Ault and Emery's *Introduction to Mass Communications* as "the process of delivering information, ideas, and attitudes to a sizable and diversified audience through use of media developed for that purpose."(Agee, Ault and Emery, 1985, p. 19) Lasswell originally defined the elements of mass communication according to the questions: "Who says what, to whom, through what channel, with what effects?"(Dissanayake, 1986, p.62)

After studying these questions it becomes obvious that most of the elements of interpersonal communication are present in mass communications--except for a few very important differences. Chief among these differences is the general absence of feedback among mass media processes. The nature of the media precludes immediate feedback, and what feedback that does exist is limited and hampered by a time lag between source and receiver communication. Mass communications are also directed at a much larger audience than interpersonal communications, usually involve a group of communicators to create a message, and are more dependent upon economic aid.(Agee, Ault and Emery, 1986)

Developing World/Development

Also known as "the Third World", "the underdeveloped nations", "the South", "the East", "the non-industrialized or industrializing nations", "lesser developed countries", the greater part of the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America share a deprivation of economic facilities which has caused them to be lumped together in comparison with the rest of the globe. (Hedebrø, 1982)

Although these continents are inhabited by peoples with vastly different cultures, social and political systems, they do share an important characteristic—the vast majority of them have basic needs which are insufficiently met. Food, clean water, shelter, education, medical care, etc. are all luxury items to the two-thirds of the world's population which possess only one-third of its economic resources. Often accompanying these economic insufficiencies are social and political deprivations which perpetuate a cycle of poverty and oppression. No matter how "development" within these nations is defined, (as increased GNP, distribution of wealth, political reformation, educational improvement, or spiritual growth) it is generally thought of as a movement from a state of deprivation to a state of self-sufficiency. (Schumacher, 1973)

The study and 'practice' of development has been accompanied by controversies over exactly what constitutes development. Common questions posed by researchers ask "what is development, who determines what it is, who makes these determinations, and who receives the benefits of development?" Each paradigm answers these questions in a differing fashion.

Paradigms of Communication and Development

1) Modernization Paradigm

The modernization or dominant paradigm of development of the 1950's and 1960's was based upon the assumption that when national economic growth could be appropriately stimulated within a developing nation through Western capitalistic techniques, the entire population would benefit. The introduction of advanced, capital-intensive technology (including media technology) was seen as part of this economic plan, and it was assumed that the social structures necessary to perpetuate economic growth would build themselves up around this technology. The introduction of Western technology and economic structures was thus assumed to automatically inspire the growth of a democratic social and political structures which would guarantee the economic benefits of all classes in the developing society. (Hedebro, 1982)

What made this paradigm such an inappropriate model for Third World development was the underlying assumption that the industrialized nations should serve as an ideal to which the developing nations need only aspire in order to pull themselves out of their impoverished state. Scholars assumed that the origins of underdevelopment lay within the developing nations, the result of stagnant traditional notions and ineffectual social structures. In order to accommodate development as defined within the modernization paradigm, the traditional methods of living had to be wiped out, so that the underdeveloped society could become a

sort of "tabula rasa" upon which the Western model of development could be imposed. (Rogers, 1976)

The purpose of communication channels in this paradigm of development was to "mobilize human resources by substituting new norms, attitudes and behaviors for earlier ones in order to stimulate increased productivity." (Hedebro, 1982, p. 15). Researchers consequently conceived of the media of communication (especially the mass media) as important tools in teaching the developing populations the skills necessary to participate in modern, Western-style society. Interpersonal communication exchanges came to serve as a complement to the mass media, (within this paradigm) whereby individuals who were "opinion leaders" within a community would influence others to adopt the "innovative" modern behaviours persuasively disseminated by the mass media. (Servaes, 1986)

2) Dependency Paradigm

When it became apparent that none of the purported goals of the modernizational paradigm had been achieved, and that in fact, conditions in the developing nations had even worsened, the dependency paradigm of development came into favour. This paradigm focused upon the complex macro-economic, political, cultural and social forces which were believed to be responsible for the underdevelopment of the Third World nations. Political and economic researchers such as Paul Baran, Gunder Frank, Johann Galtung and others asserted that the responsibility for underdevelopment did not lie within the traditions of the developing societies, but instead, within their relationship with developed nations.

According to dependency theorists, the economic, political, social and even cultural dominance of colonial institutions had wreaked havoc on the lives of pre-independence Third World populations. Colonial powers maintained political dominance in order to facilitate the large-scale economic rape of raw materials from the Third World. This dominance was perpetuated in more subtle forms by the colonial powers after they had officially acceded political rule, as well as by the new imperialist powers such as the United States. In order to maintain their rule, these former colonial and imperialist powers kept Third World nations dependent upon them for the purchase of manufactured items which only they could produce, even going so far as to lend enormous amounts of money in order that the developing nations could purchase these goods. (Servaes, 1983)

Media technology produced in imperialist nations and sold to developing countries only served to perpetuate these dependencies. The content of most communication messages originating from the imperialist nations or patterned upon imperialist forms emphasized the supposed cultural and social superiority of the developed nations. Not only did this technology fail to aid the vast majority of impoverished peoples within the developing nations, but it actually served to widen the gap between this majority and the privileged elite who could better take advantage of the content disseminated by the technology. (Shore, 1980) The structure of international information flows was also balanced toward a privileged elite, the imperialist nations, so that developing nations were always on the receiving end, but seldom on the sending end of international information exchange. (Hedebro, 1982)

The goal of development, according to the dependency paradigm, should be to right the afore-mentioned imbalances in international macro-structures and the the dependent international relationships which so effect the national structures of Third World nations. Policy makers should consider communication elements such as information flow and media technology as part of these imbalances and earmark them for changes more favourable to the developing nations. The abundance of developed-world communication messages which flow through various means to the developing world dominate (and often overwhelm) traditional developing-world cultures, according to the dependency model. Communication researchers and policy-makers should therefore aim to devise ways to balance this flow, thus aiding in the ideal increase of political, economic, social and cultural independence for the developing nations. (Many Voices, One World, 1981)

3) The Grass-Roots or Multi-Dimensional Paradigm

The grass-roots development paradigm came to prominence in the 1980's, partly in response to the dependency's paradigm's over-emphasis on international relationships or macro-structures. According to Servaes, the dependency paradigm holds up to the Third World an ideal of independence from dependent international relations with the developed world, without seriously considering the national structures which perpetuate internal inequities. The dependency paradigm largely ignores the complex relationships between the classes within developing nations and reduces Third World ruling classes to political/economic puppets whose interests are always synonymous with those of the developed world. As well, according to Servaes, the dependency model generalizes the cause of and solutions

to underdevelopment to the point that "Third World" nations with vastly different histories, cultures, political systems, etc. are grouped together with little differentiation.

Dependency models often emphasize the conversion of Western oriented, capitalist, or fascist-style Third-World governments, to more Eastern-oriented, socialist, or communist-style governments. According to the paradigm of multi-dimensional development, however, Third World nations who follow this model may simply be trading one style of central government oppression for another. As the history of development has revealed in Tanzania, China, and other nations, the conversion to a socialist or communist-style of government does not necessarily guarantee that a population will be allowed to actively participate in the decisions which effect their lives. (Servaes, 1983) Therefore, in the words of Servaes, the Third World nations should try to discover,

not how one type of imperialism can be 'converted' into another type, but how the economic, political, cultural, military, social and communicative aspects of structural processes are precisely interconnected, not only at a world level but also at more locally situated levels. (Servaes, 1983, p. 33.)

This view of development as a complex, holistic process which must be suited to the needs and circumstances of the people whom it involves lends itself to a more flexible application of communication technologies and processes. "Access" and "participation" have become the watch-words of grass-roots development advocates (Berrigan, 1979, Cohen and Uphoff, 1980, O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplan, 1981,) and two-way communication channels amenable to greater access to, and participation in the development process have come into favour. An

emphasis on local participatory decision-making as well as a more equitable dialogue between the former agents and receivers of development communication has led to greater consideration of interpersonal communication channels, folk-media and small-scale media technologies. (Berrigan, 1979, Wang and Dissanayake, 1984, Quebral 1985, White, 1986) As Servaes observes:

the present view on communication is fundamentally two-way, interactive and participatory at all levels. The emphasis is more on the process of communication (i.e. the social relationships created by communication and the social institutions which result from such relationships). Alternative communication rejects the necessity of uniform, centralized, high-cost, highly professionalized, state-controlled media: "it favours multiplicity, smallness of scale, locality, de-institutionalization, interchange of sender-receiver roles, horizontality of communication links at all levels of society, interaction. (Servaes, 1985, p.3)

Research Method

A historical research method will be employed within this thesis, in order to explore the movement of thought within the discipline of communications for development concerning the role of interpersonal communication within the development process. (Rubin, Rubin, and Piele, 1986) Although the movement of these thoughts or ideas follows a generally chronological progression, there are instances whereby the origins of certain paradigms far precede their eventual widespread acceptance. By characterizing a paradigm as existing within a certain time-period, it is not implied within this thesis that elements of such a paradigm have not existed before, or did not exist after that time period. Rather, a designated

time-period is meant to signify that a paradigm was dominant (or soon to become dominant) and widely accepted within the discipline.

For each paradigm examined, the major scholarly works influencing the dominant thoughts concerning interpersonal and mass communications for development will be examined. These scholarly works will include articles and texts written specifically within the field of communications for development, as well as some of the major psychological, sociological, political or economic sources upon which these texts rely for many of their suppositions. It is this researcher's contention that it is important to access some of these major sources outside of the field of communications for development in order to explore the origins of thought employed by the field's scholars, as well as to help place these scholars within their specific historical context.

Organization of This Thesis

This thesis will be organized into five basic parts: An introduction, a first chapter discussing the roots and the components of the modernization paradigm of communication and development, a second chapter discussing criticisms of the modernization paradigm, a third chapter discussing the roots and the components of the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development, a fourth chapter discussing criticisms of the grass-roots paradigm, and a conclusion summarizing the materials discussed and suggesting further research. Within each chapter the work of the major contributors to the field will be examined according

to their characterizations of the employment of communication channels for development, particularly in regard to interpersonal communication channels. Again, particular emphasis will be placed upon the contributor's recommendations for the employment of communications within a one-way non-participatory, or a two-way participatory model.

CHAPTER 1

COMMUNICATION WITHIN THE MODERNIZATION PARADIGM OF
COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

Models Of Communication Within The Modernization Paradigm

The Functions of a Model

The term "model" is simply defined in the introductory social science text, *The Research Craft* as "a visual depiction of how something works. It is a prototype to which the real world is compared as data are gathered." (Williamson, Karp, Dalphin, Gray, et al, 1982, p. 20) Karl Deutsch, in his text, *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control* (1963) reveals three advantages for the use of models within the social sciences. Firstly, according to Deutsch, models provide an organized means whereby data may be ordered and related into a meaningful sequence. Secondly, models serve as explanatory vehicles, revealing how a system(s) operates. Thirdly, models serve a predictive function, allowing us to predict the outcome of actions and events as they result from the system's interactions. (Deutsch, 1966)

But models, like paradigms, sometimes suffer from an 'excess' of advantages. In other words, researchers have a tendency to become so enamoured with the advantages of using models that they lose sight of the inherent dangers involved. As theorist James Carey asserts in his treatise on the epistemology of communication studies, "A Cultural Approach to Communication", models, once created, tend to take on an air of permanence. According to Carey, as models become established within a discipline, they come "to create what we disengenuously

pretend they merely describe".(Carey, 1975, p. 19) Once established, models do not just provide a systematic method of organizing reality, they actually *become* reality within the minds of the researchers who use them. Therefore, the study of a discipline's models is a necessary prerequisite to the understanding of how a discipline approaches reality. As Carey reveals,

Models of communication are, then, not only representations of communication, but representations for communication: templates which guide, unavailing or no, concrete processes of human interaction, mass and interpersonal. Therefore, to study communication involves examining the construction, apprehension, and use of models of communication themselves.
(Carey, 1975, p. 19)

Early or Dominant Models of Communication

Scholars and practitioners within the modernization paradigm were naturally inclined to apply the accepted models of communication of the time to the problems confronting them within the field of communication for development. Not only did these models shape the thoughts and actions of early development theorists, but these also served as a pattern against which later theorists could compare their own designs. Within the modernization paradigm these models greatly influenced theorists perceptions of how and why communication could be employed to accelerate the modernization process.

The dominant model within the discipline of communication, according to Carey, has been the "transmission view of communication." In Carey's words,

Our basic orientation to communication remains grounded, at the deepest roots of our thinking, in the idea of transmission: communication is a process whereby messages are transmitted and distributed in space for the control of distance and people. (Carey, 1975, p. 3)

The transmission view of communication suggests that communication is actually a one-way process whereby information, knowledge, values, etc. are persuasively transmitted from a dominant source to (hopefully) dominated receivers. As Carey concludes, the transmission model of communication reveals the discipline's historical obsession with political and economic rather than social or psychological analyses of reality.

Wimal Dissanyake traces this transmission model of reality back to Aristotle's elementary model of communication as revealed in his Rhetoric. Aristotle asserted that there were three elements within the act of communication: the sender, the message and the receiver, and the objective of the communication act was to persuade the receiver to follow the directives of the sender. Until the later years of the twentieth century, Aristotle's model was represented, with few admissions, by the most popular models within the discipline of communication. Four of the most famous are Lasswell's, Shannon and Weaver's, Berlo's and Schramm's models.

Harold Lasswell was one of the earliest social scientists to propose a model of communication when in 1948 he put forth these questions as a means of determining the communication process:

Who
Says What
In Which Channel
To Whom
With What Effect
(Dissanayake, 1986)

This one-way, linear view of communication is repeated in Shannon and Weaver's celebrated mathematical model of electronic communication. In Shannon and Weaver's simplistic model, an information source produces a message, the message is transformed into signals by a transmitter, and signals are adapted to a channel. Finally, the receiver reconstructs the message on the bases of the signals and forwards it to the destination. Notice the complete absence of feedback within this model. (See Figure 1)

Shannon and Weaver's Model of Communication

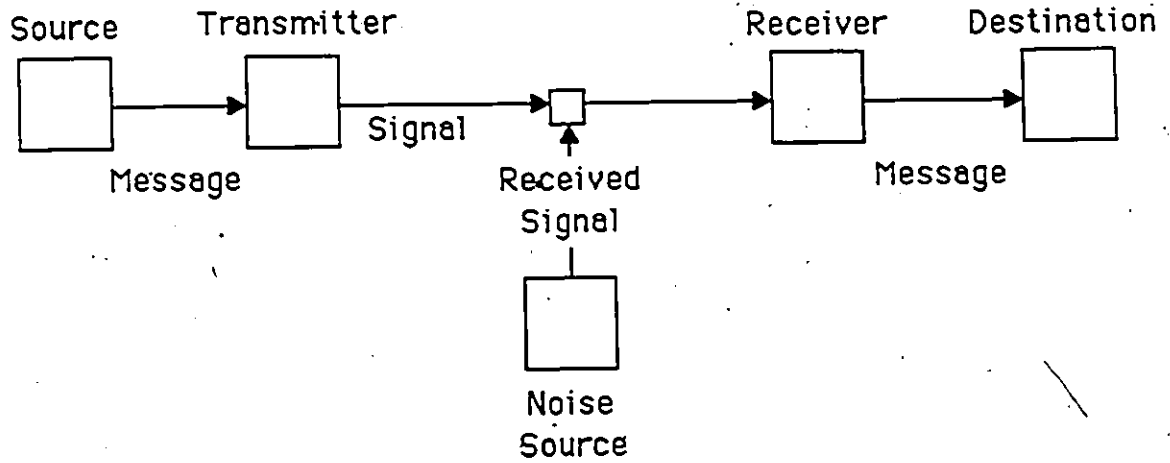


Figure 1

Source: (Dissanayake, 1986, p. 63)

Berlo's model incorporated an element of feedback, but like the other two models, still emphasized the dominant role of the transmitter within the communication process. Dissanayake notes that these three models also share a number of characteristics, including an ignorance of context, an emphasis on manipulation by the communicator of the receiver, an atomistic view of individuals, and a mechanistic view of the communication process. (Dissanayake, 1986)

Wilbur Schramm, who adapted Shannon and Weaver's model to human communication, added encoding and decoding functions. In Schramm's model, the sender was shown to encode his message into a discernable language, while the receiver was noted to decode this message into terms understandable to him. Although this model suggested an element of shared understanding between sender and receiver, it still provided a rather simplistic view of the communication process. (Beltran, 1980)

As Luis Ramiro Beltran noted in his famous article, "A farewell to Aristotle: 'Horizontal' communication," (1980) these simplistic models of communication developed in the United States and Western Europe,

then reflected back on the subsequent practice of communication (production, teaching, research, etc.) and not only in those countries but most everywhere else in the world. (Beltran, 1980, p. 13)

The impact of these models upon research in the developing world is evident in the focus on individual change, emphasis upon spreading persuasive communication or "information" to the developing populace, ignorance of the effects of social structure, and a general disdain for the feedback process. But perhaps the greatest impact of these models on the development processes of the

Third World is the simplicity of their assumptions. The impact of these models will be further discussed in the following sections.

**The Social-Psychological Model of Development:
Roots of the Modernization Paradigm of Communication for
Development**

Although a variety of economic, political and anthropological theories have contributed to the modernization paradigm of communication for development, the social-psychological theories of the late 1950's and early 1960's have provided the most distinct contributions. Social-psychological researchers David C. McClelland, George Foster and Alex Inkeles have all done much to shape how communication for development researchers conceptualize Third World societies and individuals. Armed with these social-psychological definitions of the typical traditional and the ideal modern man or woman thinks, feels, and acts, communication and development researchers and practitioners set forth to transform traditional developing societies into societies populated by modernized, Western-oriented individuals.

David C. McClelland and The Need Achievement Scale

One of the first social scientists to popularize the social-psychological measurement of modernity was psychologist David C. McClelland. In his explorations of a human trait he identified as 'the achievement motive', McClelland investigated methods of increasing the level of an individual's

achievement drive, as well as the relationship between the economic growth of a nation and the level of achievement motive possessed by its citizens. McClelland hypothesized that national economic growth was significantly related to achievement motive levels, so that nations whose citizens, for the large part, possessed a high level of achievement motivation were likely to be more prosperous than nations whose citizens had a low level of achievement motivation.

McClelland used a number of factors to define achievement motivation within his text, *The Achieving Society* (1961). According to McClelland, highly motivated achievers:

- 1) Put less emphasis on the importance of institutions such as the state, church, school or family than less-motivated achievers
- 2) Put more emphasis on the universal applicability of laws and regulations
- 3) Put more emphasis on contractual rather than personalized relationships
- 4) Put more emphasis on achieved status than on ascribed status
- 5) Put more emphasis on peer pressure
- 6) Put more emphasis on cooperation as a means of controlling nature, and less emphasis on self-interest as a motive for cooperation
- 7) Put more emphasis on control of impulses, planning, and a thrifty, disciplined attitude
- 8) Put less emphasis on "deceit and magic" (bribery, trickery or supernatural forces such as luck or God's will) in achieving success and more emphasis on hard work as a means of achievement
- 9) Put more emphasis on man's capacity to control nature, and a individual's possibility of achieving success
- 10) Put more emphasis on material needs and material rewards.

(McClelland, 1961)

Taken together, this list of characteristics suggests that McClelland defined high achievement motivation in terms of a modern, industrialized, Western, protestant, middle-class work ethic. In McClelland's terms, all of the values which characterize the materially successful citizens of a capitalistic, individualist, technologically deterministic modern industrialized culture can be considered

measures of high achievement motivation, while all of the values which characterize the majority of citizens who inhabit a traditional collectivist, spiritually or supernaturally-oriented non-industrialized culture can be considered to be measures of low achievement motivation. (Guthrie, Azores, Juanico, Luna and Ty, 1971)

McClelland attempted to determine the relationship between national economic development and a society's level of achievement motivation by comparing the growth of achievement motivation levels within children's stories, and comparing this growth with the national growth of electrical output. When a content analysis of stories was done for nations with high electrical output growth, McClelland determined that only three of his proposed measures of high achievement motivation were significant. Significant measures included the emphasis on institutions, the emphasis on contractual versus personalized relationships, and the emphasis on achieved rather than ascribed status.

McClelland concluded that an economically dynamic society is characterized by individuals who place more emphasis on public opinion than on traditional institutions. He noted that in order to adjust to a modernizing society, traditional individuals learn that their "rigid prescribed ways of relating to others" (Guthrie et al, 1971) must give way to more flexible customs. According to McClelland, the modernizing individual must learn to be responsive to the opinions of others whose status is not traditionally ascribed, but rather, achieved. In other words, the modernizing individual in a developing society which wishes to be economically progressive must come to imitate the habits of individuals within the industrialized Western world.

George Foster and the Image of Limited Good

Within his text, *Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change* (1962), anthropologist George M. Foster hypothesized that traditional cultures usually failed to embrace modern development initiatives because of the naturally suspicious natures of their citizens. According to Foster, the adoption of modernizing innovations such as cooperative schemes was prohibited in traditional communities, where

villagers frequently are suspicious of each other, filled with envy, ready to suspect the worst about their neighbors, distrustful in the extreme. The quality of interpersonal relations appears to be bad, and true cooperation is largely limited to certain traditional types of labor exchange in agriculture and house building. (Foster, 1961, p. 50)

Foster explains that these attitudes develop within the rigid social structures of traditional peasant society. Within such a society, a family's productive resources are relatively static, limited to ascribed or inherited sources, and cannot increase, except through dishonest means. Therefore, every family zealously guards its own limited resources, and regards with suspicion other families which achieve any kind of economic growth, knowing that such growth cannot occur except at the expense of other families. (Foster, 1961)

Foster's explanation of the limiting characteristics of the social structures in which peasants find themselves was ignored by most development researchers, who instead picked up on Foster's characterization of peasant society as fatalistic, mutually suspicious, and uncooperative. Development researchers such as Everett Rogers attributed peasant fatalism to the values of traditional

culture. He proposed that peasants must undergo social-psychological adjustments in order to overcome such fatalism and take advantage of the modernizing innovations offered in development projects.

Alex Inkeles and The Modernization of Man

In 1966 Alex Inkeles, social-psychology scholar and Director of Studies on Social and Cultural Aspects of Development at Harvard's Center for International Affairs published an article entitled "The Modernization of Man". Continuing the tradition of David C. McClelland, Inkeles delineated within the article the social-psychological characteristics which defined modern man, and advocated the adoption of these characteristics by developing populations. Unlike Foster, Inkeles saw the 'stagnant' or 'non-productive' nature of developing nations to be rooted, not in social structures, but in the social-psychological natures of developing world populations. As Inkeles asserts, development

requires the very transformation of the nature of man--a transformation that is both a means to the end of yet greater growth and at the same time one of the great ends itself of the development process.(Inkeles,1966, p. 151)

Inkeles asserted that development or modernization required the transformation of the "external" and the "internal" condition of man. The external changes involved the movement from rural life to urbanization, from informal to formal education, from traditional interpersonal to predominantly mass forms of communication, from agricultural economy to industrialization, and from local, traditional government to national politicization. According to Inkeles, however,

even if developing nations achieved these structural modifications, they could not claim to be truly modern until their citizens had adjusted their traditional internal attitudes, values and feelings to mirror those of modern man. As Inkeles asserts:

Although his exposure to the modern setting may certainly contribute to the transformation of traditional man, and although that setting may in turn require new ways of him, it is only when man has undergone a change in spirit--has acquired certain new ways of thinking, feeling, and acting--that we come to consider him truly modern.(Inkeles, 1966, p. 153)

The nine basic traits which Inkeles defines as indicative of a characteristically modern world view mirror many of the definitions put forth by McClelland as indicative of high achievement motivation. Not surprisingly, these traits also describe the characteristic attitudes of materially successful European or North American individuals--the by-products of a highly mechanized, capital-centered, individualistic culture. For example, the first trait which Inkeles defines as essential for individual modernization is the willingness to accept innovation and change. Of course, innovation and change are defined in exclusively Western terms, such as

the willingness to adopt a new drug or sanitation method, to accept a new seed or try a different fertilizer, to ride on a new means of transportation or turn to a new source of new, to approve of a new form of wedding or new type schooling for young people.(Inkeles, 1966, p. 154)

Inkeles also asserts that willingness to accept change involves more than just a change of behaviour--most importantly it involves a change of spirit. In other words, it involves a willingness on the part of developing citizens to embrace modern Western ways as 'superior' to those of their traditional culture.

Inkeles considers an individual's willingness to move into the realm of mass public opinion as the second trait of modernity. Following the lead of Daniel Lerner, whose text *The Passing of Traditional Society* was one of the earliest influential works in the realm of communication for development, (to be further examined later in this thesis) Inkeles asserted that modern man tends to form opinions about a large number of issues beyond the realm of his immediate environment or experience. In contrast, traditional man tends to form opinions only concerning those things which immediately concern him, and will not express (or does not possess) opinions concerning matters outside of his experience. Put simply, modern man is more eager to express his opinion on matters he knows nothing about.

Inkeles also attributed modern man with a "democratic" approach to judgement of opinions. Modern man is believed to judge an opinion by its merit and not its source, so that the opinion of the rich, influential man is no more valuable than the opinion of the poor, low-status individual. This leaves the developing world individual raised in the culture of ascribed status to be characterized by Inkeles as hopelessly traditional.

The third characteristic which Inkeles defines as "modern" involves social time orientation. Inkeles characterizes modern man as oriented to the present or the future, favourable toward fixed time schedules, punctual, regular, and orderly in organizing his affairs. (Inkeles, 1966). Most traditional or developing nation cultures instill a less rigid sense of time orientation into individuals, thus leaving them to be perceived by Inkeles and other ethno-centric Westerners as retrogressive and disorderly in their affairs. (Bruneau, 1985)

A fourth and related trait considered as modern by Inkeles is a developing world individual's future-orientation as demonstrated by his believe in planning and organizing. The belief that man can actively plan and control his future is also a characteristically Western cultural view. Westerners tend to view future planning as the only conceivable method of achieving success and productivity in life, while traditional peoples view future planning as an impossible, if not ludicrous enterprise.

As well as controlling his future, Inkeles asserts that modern man believes that he can control his environment, a fifth characteristic of modernity. This confidence in man's dominance over nature is also a Western cultural view, created by the developed nations' highly-developed scientific and technological structure. In Third World cultures, where social structures are rigid and scientific and technological structures are minimal, individuals have very little control over their environment, and cannot hope to have any more. As George Foster reveals:

In nonindustrial societies a very low degree of mastery over nature and social conditions has been achieved. Drought or flood is looked upon as a visitation from gods or evil spirits whom man can propitiate but not control. Feudal forms of land tenure and nonproductive technologies may condemn a farmer to a bare subsistence living. Medical and social services are lacking, and people die young. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that people have few illusions about the possibility of improving their lot. (Foster, 1962, p. 67)

Inkeles' sixth and seventh traits also relate to modern man's ability to control nature. According to Inkeles, modern man has confidence "that his world is calculable, that other people and institutions around him can be relied on to

meet their obligations and responsibilities."(Inkeles, 1966, p. 157) The conception that the world is logically ordered, men are rational, and non-familial institutions are reliable is also a Western cultural viewpoint. According to traditionally-oriented individuals, not only is the future not determinable, but the only people or institutions which hold any obligation toward a traditional individual are family and perhaps members of his/her immediate community.(Foster, 1962)

The seventh trait suggested by Inkeles as characteristic of modernity is a willingness to respect the dignity of others. This trait is related to the culturally ascribed status of the individual, and reflects the Western democratic notion that all individuals possess relatively equal status. In many developing nation cultures, status is ascribed, and low-status individuals, particularly women and children, are expected to serve the needs of high-status individuals (such as males) and follow their directives. (Foster, 1962)

The eighth trait, faith in science and technology has already been mentioned. The ninth trait, belief in achieved rather than ascribed rewards is part of the Western protestant myth that hard work will be duly and justly rewarded. Of course, in many Third World cultures, where the majority of the population is born into life-long poverty and the minority is born into comfort or great wealth, the possibility that hard work will be rewarded is extremely small.(George, 1980)

Inkeles, however, takes little notice of the rural realities of most developing world citizens, and contends that the characteristics of modernity that he advocates

will contribute to making a man a more productive worker in his factory, a more effective citizen in his community, a more

satisfied and satisfying husband and father
in his home. (Inkeles, 1966, p. 157)

Since the great majority of developing world citizens work not in factories but on small peasant farms, the characteristics of modernity which Inkeles advocates all developing citizens adopt are largely irrelevant to their concerns.

Finally, Inkeles asserts that the fastest way to transform the values and attitudes of a traditional population is through a powerful, centralized, highly organized central government, or "the national state and its associated apparatus of government bureaucracy, political parties and campaigns, military and para-military units and the like." (Inkeles, 1966, p. 161) In other words, Inkeles advocates the utilization of a national government system which can influence a great deal of control over its citizens and forcefully persuade them to give up their 'inferior' modern ways. As Inkeles prophesizes

the more mobilized the society, the more dedicated the government to economic development and spreading the ideology of progress, the more rapidly and widely may we expect the attitudes and values of modernity to expand.
(Inkeles, 1966, p. 161)

When the models of modernization designed by Inkeles and McClelland are compared with the theories of the major contributors to the field of communication for development striking similarities appear. The characteristics purported by McClelland as definitively traditional or definitively modern were whole-heartedly adopted by communication for development theorists, along with their assertions concerning the necessary pattern of modernization. As well, the national communication networks recommended by communication for development theorists as necessary to forcefully persuade developing peoples to

adopt appropriate modern behaviour also resembled Inkeles' scheme of mobilizing society by spreading the ideology of progress. Further similarities can be detected in the following outlines of communication for modernization theorizing.

The Modernization Theory of Communication for Development: Major Theorists

Although a number of scholars have contributed to the creation of the modernization paradigm of communication for development, four researchers-- Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm, Lucien Pye and Everett Rogers have made considerable and lasting impacts within their field. Together these four researchers created a distinct conception of communication for development which fed upon the social-psychological theories of McClelland et al and inspired a plethora of policies, projects and experiments aimed at furthering the goals of modernization through communication practice and research. Although we may critically view the theories of these researchers as hopelessly naive, ethnocentric and even authoritarian, we must keep in mind that our criticisms have developed from the vantage of time and experience. Theories such as those perpetuated within the modernization paradigm should not be viewed out of the context of their place within the particular historical circumstances of both social science research and developing world-developed world relationships.

Daniel Lerner and the Passing of Traditional Society

Published in 1958, Daniel Lerner's detailed study of the mid-twentieth-century Middle Eastern society was perhaps the first major contribution

to the modernization paradigm of communication for development. Lerner's conclusions concerning the manner in which developing societies passed from traditional through transitional to modern organizations were widely accepted within the many offshoots of development research as a basis for an integrated model of national development. Combining social-psychological and institutional criteria, Lerner emphasized the special role of the mass media in leading a traditional society into modern ways and means.

Lerner's Model of the Role of Communication for Development:

Lerner begins his text with the assertion that the modernizing Middle East is bound to follow the example of Western society, and that any protests to the contrary by independent-minded Middle-Easterners are simply expressions of anti-Western ethnocentrism. (Lerner, 1958) Lerner denies the validity of the charges that the application of a Western model of development involves the ethnocentric imposition of foreign values, insisting that

in this predicament the ethnocentricity of Americans aiding development programs abroad is only the minor term; the major term is the ethnocentricity of the developing peoples themselves. (Lerner, 1958, p.viii)

In Lerner's estimation, modernization constitutes "the infusion of a rationalist and positivist spirit" (Lerner, 1958, p.45) such as that advocated by McClelland and Inkeles as the psycho-sociological disposition of an individual prepared to live in (or create) a modern society. The greatest stimulant of this

rationalist modern spirit in the Middle East, according to Lerner, is an expanding national mass media system. As Lerner pronounces,

That some millions of Turks now live in towns, work in shops, wear trousers and have opinions who, a generation ago, lived in the centuries-old sholvaars symbolizing agrarian, illiterate, isolate life of the Antolian village is what modernization has already done to some people. That other millions throughout the Middle East are yearning to trade in their old lives for such newer ways is what modernization promises to most people. The rapid spread of these new desires, which provide the dynamic power of modernization, is most clearly perceived in the coming of the mass media. (Lerner, 1958, p. 46)

Lerner's theory of modernization is complementary--mass media exposure increases urbanization, urbanization increases literacy, literacy increases mass media exposure, and increased mass media exposure stimulates greater economic participation (per capita income) and political participation (voting).

Lerner asserts that this model of modernization began in the West and serves as an homogenous pattern for all modernizing societies, "regardless of variations in race, color, creed." (Lerner, 1961, p. 46). The West serves as the influence which first undermines traditional society and the ultimate example of the social organization which the developing world desires to achieve for all of the modernizing world, including the Middle East.

Most of the attitudes or social-psychological characteristics presented by Lerner as representative of the modern man reflect those advocated by McClelland and Inkeles. In Lerner's estimation, modern individuals view their future as controllable, social rewards as achieved rather than ascribed, and innovation as possible, even desirable. But the most important social-

psychological characteristic possessed by a modern individual, according to Lerner, is the capacity for "empathy".

Empathy is manifested in the capacity to picture oneself in an unfamiliar place or position. Thus, an individual brought up in a traditional culture, if he learns empathy, can imagine himself rejecting his traditional culture and adapting the modern culture (and then act on this imagining). Consider the picture of a newly empathic modern man presented by Lerner:

The young ex-villager, when he has learned to read and earn his living in the city, sees his family, community, religion, class, nation in different relationship to himself than he used to do. His new view certainly differs from what his father's used to be. A whole new style of life is involved. (Lerner, 1958, p. 400)

In other words, the individual possessing empathy comes to view the modern, Western-style culture brought to him through formal Western education as superior to the traditional ways and views of his upbringing, thus effectively divorcing him from his family, his religion, his home community, and all of the other artifacts of his native culture.

According to Lerner, empathy makes modern individuals more participant, allowing them to make personal decisions about public issues—or enter the realm of public opinion. The ability to empathize means that modern individuals can move beyond their personal experiences and "express opinions on many matters which are not their personal business." (Lerner, 1958, p. 49) In this manner individuals move beyond the concerns of their immediate locale to participate in a national ideology.

Channels of Communication for Development:

The principle means by which traditional individuals can develop such empathy is through the mass media. The mass media teach individuals that the modern, Western way of life is superior to their own traditional way of life, and suggest that they too can participate in such a modern life. Because the mass media is staffed by professional communicators, transmitting "mainly descriptive messages" through "impersonal media" to "relatively undifferentiated mass audiences", (Lerner, 1958, p.56) Lerner portrays them as superior to the traditional oral communication systems. Such oral systems are biased and restrictive, in Lerner's terms, because their content is prescriptive--emanating from authoritative sources, the channels they employ are interpersonal and typical receivers are usually included within the source's "primary groups of kinship, worship, work and play."(Lerner, 1958, p. 56).

In the tradition of Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan, Lerner perceives the development and spread of the mass media as a primary force for modernization in the twentieth century. As Lerner pronounces, "the mass media has, over the centuries of their development, so enlarged the rate and scale of social change that scholars speak of an "acceleration of history."(Lerner, 1967, p. 122)

Lerner perceives the spread of the mass media (particularly the Western-produced mass media) as a means of teaching individuals within developing nations the appropriate attitudes, desires and behaviours for a modern individual in a modernizing society. He proudly quotes a young Iranian man, who noted that "The movies are like a teacher to us: they tell us what to do and what not".(Lerner, 1967, p. 124) Especially noteworthy, in Lerner's opinion, is the

mass media's ability to multiply these teachings--to relay the same message to millions within relatively short periods of time. When applied to development, this "mass multiplier" effect is proposed to greatly speed up the rate at which individual, and subsequently institutional modernization can occur.(Lerner, 1967)

Lerner's Model of Modernization: Criticisms

Besides its obvious ethnocentric bias towards a Western mode of development, Lerner's model of communication for development is essentially one-way, linear and non-participatory. To begin, Lerner's model of development offers individuals within the developing world no choice concerning why they should develop, how they should develop, and what they should develop into. Individuals within the developing world are left with only one model of development to follow--the Western model. Accepting this model, in Lerner's estimation, is inevitable for all nations wishing to move into the modern world of power and privilege. Rejecting this model, in Lerner's view, is simply an assertion of the developing citizen's traditionally intractable nature or his anti-Western ethnocentrism.

The only means available by which such an individual can achieve greater personal success is through the adoption of modern attitudes, and the participation in modern institutions. There are no channels through which an individual can communicate his own personal visions of success or a better life. There are no means by which an individual can shape his own destiny in accordance with his traditional cultural beliefs and values, or within the confines of his own traditional institutions. Within the development process there are only

Western values, Western beliefs and Western institutions. In Lerner's model this "truth" is as obvious and irrefutable as the law of gravity or the evolution of the species. No communication is necessary, in Lerner's estimation--for when there are no questions worth asking (or listening to) what dialogue can develop?

Within Lerner's concept of empathy and the importance of its development through the mass media, there is also a uni-directional, non-participative bias against the communication of needs and desires by the developing population. The only method whereby the traditional individual can learn to "change" is by empathizing with individuals and situations which are far removed from his own. Of course, in Lerner's view, the only individuals and situations with which the traditional man or woman should empathize are modern, Western-style individuals and situations. And of course, this system of empathy cannot reverse itself--it is immaterial to Lerner whether or not a modern, Western-style individual (such as himself) can empathize with the attitudes and experiences of a traditional individual. In Lerner's estimation, there is no need for such empathy. Since modern Western man has reached the pinnacle of social and psychological development, there is no need for him to understand the feelings and practices of developing societies, except to know that they are inferior.

The method by which Lerner perceives this empathy to develop also precludes any two-way communication between traditional and modern man. Lerner's association of modern values and attitudes with mass media systems of communication suggests that individuals who wish to modernize can only do so through a system which communicates to masses of people, but which can not be communicated with--a system which teaches, but cannot be taught; a system which

preaches, but which cannot listen; a system which is unresponsive. Such a system can reflect the modern cultural values of an urban elite through its Western produced or Western-style content, but it cannot reflect the traditional cultural values of the mass of society far-distanced from this urban elite.

Through a mass media system, national governments and development professionals can inform a developing population as to what they consider appropriate behaviour to achieve growth and development. However, such a system leaves no room for the developing population to communicate its needs and desires to those people with the power to aid them. Of course, why would national government officials and development professionals need to find out how a traditional population wishes to grow and develop when such officials and professionals believe that they *already know* the best way for them to develop?

Ironically, Lerner characterizes oral communication systems as biased, backward, authoritarian, non-participatory and limited in scope because of their traditional associations, while mass media systems are believed to be unbiased, unprogressive, equalitarian, and participatory. Lerner characterizes the mass media as "a distinctive index of the Participant society" (Lerner, 1958) because they allow the formation of opinions which encourage people to participate in modern social institutions, and adopt modern innovations. Conversely, he characterizes oral systems or interpersonal communication as non-participatory because they are structured along traditional lines of authority, with traditional leaders or high-status members of a community attributed with more credibility as communication sources than low-status members. (Lerner, 1967)

Lerner completely ignores the advantages of oral communication systems, especially their great potential to provide two-way, interactive communication between persons. He describes the mass media as the communication order of the future, and the oral system as the method of the past, with modern society always progressing from a primarily oral to a primarily mass media system of communication. International communication, in Lerner's estimation, is characterized not by "peoples speaking to peoples" (Lerner, 1967, p. 121), but by peoples speaking via human and technological intermediaries (the mass media).

Wilbur Schramm and the "Mass Multiplier"

Author and editor of several books concerning the use of instructional mass media for communication and development, theories and models of communication, Wilbur Schramm contributes to the modernization paradigm through his optimistic estimations of the potential of large-scale instructional media to transform developing societies. However, unlike Lerner, Schramm does not reject all oral or interpersonal media channels as perpetuators of a stagnant traditional culture, suited only to delay modernization. Although Schramm does not assign primary importance to such interactive channels, he does consider them a necessary complement to the more effective large-scale media.

Schramm's Model of Communication for Development:

In Lucian Pye's famous 1961 collection of articles, *Communications and Political Development*, Wilbur Schramm uses a kind of elemental systems approach to communication and development. He asserts that communication is inseparable from society, and that as society grows, so too must communications systems. Such systems move from a community-wide, to a nation-wide coverage through the growth of the national mass media. Schramm echoes Lerner in his list of the services of the mass media in development, including the stimulation of national ideology, the dissemination of government policy, the spread of education—especially literacy, the increase of economic markets, the perpetuation of ideal models of modern individual attitudes and behaviour, and the recognition of a developing nation's place in the international political system. (Schramm, 1961)

Channels of Communication for Development:

Schramm offers a more detailed view of how communication stimulates change within the developing world in his representative collection of articles co-edited by Lerner, *Communication and Change In the Developing Countries* (1967). Although Schramm asserts that the development of a national mass media is as or more important than other institutions within the developing society, he also concedes that the traditional media of social communication will necessarily continue to be authoritative at the local level. As Schramm relates:

Interpersonal channels of communication play an important part in mediating the effects of the mass media even in the most advanced societies. In some of the developin countries, the interpersonal channels have to carry most of the job.

(Schramm, 1967, p.11)

Schramm acknowledges that interpersonal channels dominate communication in most developing societies, and recommends the employment of a combination of mass and interpersonal channels for spreading modernization-oriented messages. The best mix of these channels provides the maximum amount of two-way communication between development communicators and development receivers. The maximization of two-way communication is principally advocated by Schramm as the most persuasive means of changing attitudes and behavior, not because it increases the control of the developing populations over their own development processes.

Regarding the uses of mass communication, Schramm proposes that formal education, or the multiplication of knowledge resources may be one of the mass media's greatest potential functions. The use of a variety of forms of mass media for correspondence instruction in developing nations is cited by Schramm as an important method of maximizing the developing world's scarce educational resources. (Schramm, 1961) Referring to the potential employment of educational television in maximizing teaching resources, Schramm notes that "In a developing country a television set in each village could constitute a whole school." (Schramm, 1961, p. 51)

Such media could also be used to teach the modern skills which allow people to participate in a modern society as well as to encourage this participation. As an example, Schramm presents the farm forums of India, where the mass media is used "to implant the idea of change and help people make the decision to change." (Schramm, 1967, p. 18)

Regarding the employment of the mass media for the encouragement of participative change, Schramm emphasizes the need for devising effectively persuasive content. As Schramm asserts:

The problem is really how to devise messages that will arouse or make salient "a felt need," a sense of "strong practical benefit," and stimulate "willing cooperation." Unless that problem is solved no amount of moving of messages from point to point is likely to accomplish a great amount of desired change. (Schramm, 1967, p. 20)

Thus, in Schramm's view, the task of the mass media is not just to inform the masses about topics of interest, but to actually stimulate interest in topics which development communicators believe to be relevant.

Schramm and the Mass Multiplier: Criticisms

While Lerner purports that developing populations should change or adjust their values and beliefs to meet the standards of mass media messages, Schramm does acknowledge that to a certain extent, the message must be adjusted to the populations. Schramm recognizes that modernization messages should seek to be culturally relevant, should attempt to incorporate feedback, should be credible and repeatable, and should provide the means whereby people can practice their new-found skills, such as literacy. Despite a certain sensitivity or respect on the part of Schramm concerning the cultural differences of Third World populations, the views he adopts, the communication uses he advocates, and the change-oriented practices he encourages do not ultimately differ significantly from Lerner.

Schramm's concessions to cultural differences stem from a concern for *accurately targeting* a pre-determined change message to a developing population rather than a respect for its cultural autonomy. Likewise, Schramm views the need for feedback in terms of a more effective marketing or advertising of modernization, rather than in terms of the need for participatory decision-making involvement on the part of the developing population. Rather than prioritizing two-way communication in terms of popular political participation or equitable dialogue, Schramm speaks of two-way communication primarily as an effective means "to bring about a change in attitudes or behaviour" or "a condition of effectiveness in any campaign, in any country, that aims at change." (Schramm, 1967, p. 23) By prioritizing the use of two-way communication as a means whereby appointed professional communicators or elite government leaders can more persuasively communicate their persuasive, pre-determined messages, Schramm reinforces the one-way model of communication for modernization.

According to Schramm, development-oriented communication practices must take place within the linear, vertical, framework of this model. Messages regarding appropriate attitudes and behaviours for modernization are conceived and designed by largely Western-influenced professional communicators and elite leaders, without benefit of consultation with the developing populace. These messages are then persuasively transmitted through a variety of means (mostly mass-media channels) to the developing populace, which is expected to readily receive these messages, recognize their importance, and adopt the advocated behaviors and attitudes as superior to their age-old cultural traditions. The only feedback from the populace which the government leaders or professional

communicators may consider receiving is that feedback which allows them to create messages which are more persuasive or readily accepted by the populace.

The steps that Schramm outlines for professional communicators to follow when persuasively communicating messages for modernization drive home the manipulative, even propagandistic nature of the modernizational paradigm of communication for development. The first step in a campaign for change, according to Schramm, is to *convince* the populace that they need to change. (Schramm, 1961) To illustrate this point, Schramm relates how a cabinet minister of a soon-to-be independent Third World nation who enthusiastically informed him:

"Do you know the most important thing we are going to have to use radio for, come October? We're going to have to *convince* our people that they're a nation!" (emphasis added)
(Schramm, 1967, p.18)

Thus, in the view of Schramm, as well as the elite members of Third World governments, national pride and patriotic feeling do not spring from a populace's natural affiliation, cultural identity, or even from satisfaction with national policies and institutions. Instead, according to Schramm:

The idea of *nation-ness* and unity must be implanted; and, so far as possible, communication must help to control the centrifugal tendencies that are always threatening unity.
(Schramm, 1967, p.18)

Words such as "implanted" and "control" suggest that communication is viewed as a tool to be used by the government to manipulate the populace, or create support for its national policies, and to enforce its rule by reducing or suppressing any voices which oppose these central policies.

The second step in a communication campaign for modernization, according to Schramm, involves the teaching of a variety of new, Western-style skills which are designed to allow the traditional peasant to take part in the modern society. This modern society is assumed to spring up from the afore-mentioned national policies for modernizational change. Of course, no mention is made of exactly how the peasant can apply these skills when he or she does not have access to the modern materials or infrastructures which make them relevant.

Finally, the media becomes responsible for the third step in this campaign, mobilizing and persuading the populace to participate in the government's schemes for national change, by actively adopting new, Western-style modern attitudes and behaviours. (Schramm, 1967) As Schramm states, the populace must be persuaded

to be active in the program; to take part in planning and governing; to tighten their belts harden their muscles, work longer, and wait for their rewards. (Schramm, 1967, p.19)

Yet if we consider what we know about the circumstances of developing populations from Foster's research and other sources, many fallacies can be detected in this line of thought. First of all, if developing peoples consider that their opinions, their decisions, or their independent actions will be readily received, respected and acted upon by the forces which govern them, then they will not have to be persuaded to participate, they will be eager to do so.

Secondly, as pointed out previously by Foster, developing populations often have no use for planning, co-operating, or belt-tightening (even if they could possibly tighten their already greatly constricted belts). Such peasants

know that the rigid nature of their social structures dictates that no matter how hard they work, or how hard they plan, or how much they sacrifice (if they have anything to sacrifice) they will not become any more successful than they are presently. Peasants who know that their social structures restrict success, and who also know that their government will not allow them to change these social structures, view the government's concept of participation for what it is, a sham, or a token. No amount of persuasion on the part of the government will convince them otherwise, since such persuasion does not even touch upon the factors which constrain true participation. (Foster, 1962)

Schramm, constrained by such ideas of campaigns, implanting, persuasion and control, can only perpetuate a one-way model of communication for development, despite his seeming recognition of the relevance of cultural differences and two-way communication. To a certain extent, Schramm reaches beyond the limits of a Lerner's rigid conception of modernization (from industrialization to urbanization to literacy to mass media to modern attitudes and opinions) by considering the importance of interpersonal communication, traditional cultural values and participation. However, the way that Schramm incorporates these considerations into a one-way, authoritarian, manipulative model of communication for modernization negates the possible contribution of these considerations to a real growth of knowledge in the field of communications for development.

Lucian Pye and Communications for Political Development

Political scientist Lucian Pye first made an impact upon the field of communications for development when his multi-disciplinary collection of articles, *Communications and Political Development* was published in 1961. Not only does Pye bring together most of the principal contributors to the modernization paradigm of communications and development within his text, but he provides some influential theorizing in his editorial comments concerning the varying aspects of communications for political development. As revealed in his comments, Pye relies principally upon Lerner's model of communications and development (and the evolution of developing societies from traditional, to transitional, to modern) as a basis for his theorizing.

Pye's Model of Communication for Development:

Perhaps even more so than Lerner, Pye places communication at the center of the circle of influence stimulating modernization within developing nations. In Pye's estimation, the study of communications provided one of the best means whereby researchers could examine the evidence of the political growth of a developing society. Consider this passage in which Pye pronounces:

Communication is the web of human society. The structure of a communications system with its more or less well-defined channels is in a sense the skeleton of the social body which envelops it. The content of communications is of course the very substance of human inter-

course. The flow of communications determines the direction and the pace of dynamic social development. Hence, it is possible to analyze all social processes in terms of the structure, content, and the flow of communications.(Pye, 1961, p.4)

Viewing a modern communications system as a sort of "watchdog of government", Pye asserts that such a system contributes to the growth of informed political opinion within developing societies, providing a "common fund of knowledge and information" upon which developing peoples can base their political decisions. Like Lerner and Schramm, Pye views the modern communications system as both a role-model and a teacher, spreading tantalizing images of modern life while teaching the modern behaviours associated with this life to traditional developing peoples. Pye also emphasizes the importance of modern communication systems in stimulating the need for changed attitudes and behaviours on the part of traditional developing peoples.

Like Lerner and Schramm, Pye also associates the modernizing force of the mass media with nation-building, emphasizing the media's potential to mobilize the population and stimulate participation in modern political processes. Pye's definition of participation is also limited to actions on the part of the populace which are skillfully directed by modern communicators and political leaders.(Pye, 1961) Pye refers to the stimulation of such national political involvement as "the process of organizing sentiments, articulating and aggregating interests, and the orderly extension of participation."(Pye, 1961, p.18)

Pye reflects the standards of most of his contemporaries when he holds up the Western model of society as the ultimate manifestation of a dominant modern-world culture being diffused through a variety of communication channels

throughout the globe. This homogenizing culture reflects the principles purported by Inkeles, McClelland, Lerner and others as representative of the superiority of modern Western life, (and of course, thought to be absent in traditional Third World cultures) including "a scientific and rational outlook", high levels of technology, urbanization, industrialization, secularization, humanization, democratization, and, finally, the development of mass public opinion.

Channels of Communication for Development:

In regard to the communication systems which can be employed for the stimulation of political modernization, Pye delineates the role of both mass and interpersonal communication channels. As Pye outlines,

- ✓ A modern communications system involves two stages or levels. The first is that of the highly organized, explicitly structured mass media, and the second is that of the informal opinion leaders who communicate on a face-to-face basis, much as communicators did in traditional systems. (Pye, 1961, p.25)

The principle difference between traditional and modern communication systems, according to Pye, lies within the nature of the official sources of communication. Within a traditional system, the sources of communication are non-professionals designated according to social status or personal ties, who disseminate information and opinion along hierarchical lines and channels. The credibility of information within traditional systems, therefore, depends upon the social status of the communicator in regard to the receiver, or the closeness of personal ties between communicator and receiver.

In modern communication systems, according to Pye, mass media sources are designated according to professional ability, not personal or social affiliation, and are presumed to be "comparatively independent of both the governing and the basic social processes of the country." (Pye, 1961, p. 25) Such modern mass media systems within developing nations are purported by Pye to be guided by universalistic standards which assume that "objective and unbiased reporting of events is possible, and that politics can best be viewed from a neutral and non-partisan perspective." (Pye, 1961, p. 25) Pye connects mass media with interpersonal channels within modern communication systems in a "two-step flow" model of information dissemination. In this "two-step flow" professional communicators interact with influential persons within the networks of personal communication either directly, or through mass mediated messages. Through the process of feedback, the professional communicators can determine how their messages are received and redistributed by these influential interpersonal communicators, and adjust their messages for maximum impact.

Pye acknowledges the power of such informal channels of information and suggests that the spread of the mass media is less important than its adjustment to such interpersonal channels, since the media's effectiveness depends upon its impact on influential interpersonal communicators. Unlike Lerner, Pye concedes that traditional interpersonal or oral channels of communication can exist within a modernized society, although his principal interest in such channels lies within their potential to further diffuse the messages of professional mass media communicators. The superiority of modern communication systems, according to Pye, stems from the rate, volume, uniformity, and accuracy by which the mass

media can distribute messages to be diffused through interpersonal systems. Thus, interpersonal communication systems present themselves mostly as tools employed by professional communicators to increase the diffusion and effectiveness of their mass mediated messages. (Pye, 1961)

Pye's Communications for Political Development: Criticisms

Once again, communication for development is conceived of in terms of a one-way flow of political manipulation, persuasion and control from an elite of professional modern communicators to a mass of ignorant, unskilled, traditional receivers. Pye, like Lerner and Schramm, refers to participation on the part of these traditional receivers, not in terms of critical contributions to the creation of political policy through equitable communications, but instead in terms of well-directed political actions designed to enforce the power of a predetermined national political system.

Feedback from traditional receivers to professional communicators is mediated through influential interpersonal communicators, and designed to better target persuasive messages to the silent mass of traditional receivers. The potential of interpersonal communication networks to provide the majority of Third World peoples with a greater voice in the development of their societies is ignored.

Once again, the mass of developing peoples are not provided with the opportunity to communicate their visions or concerns regarding an ideal process of development, but instead are forcefully persuaded to adopt a Western-style process of modernization (with all of its "superior" modern attitudes and behaviours) which a small group of professional communicators and government

leaders considers to be ideal. Within such a process there can be no true two-way, interactive communication, but instead only the unilinear, manipulative patterns which place an elite group of Westernized professionals permanently in the role of communication sources, and a mass of traditionally-oriented developing peoples permanently in the role of receivers.

Everett Rogers and the Diffusion of Innovations

In 1962 Everett Rogers published the ground-breaking study, *The Diffusion of Innovations*. Rogers' text examined the employment of communications for the diffusion of modernization-oriented innovations in the Third World and other societies, and served as a model for an entire generation of diffusion studies. Although many studies had been published previously concerning the diffusion of innovations, Rogers' text was unusually thorough in its theoretical framework, especially in regard to the use of communications. Rogers also provided the most detailed analysis (among his colleagues in communication for modernization research) of the role of interpersonal communication within the modernization process, especially in regard to planned change.

Rogers' Model of Communication for Development:

The employment of Western standards of success is apparent in Rogers' definition of planned change. Modernization or planned change is defined in Rogers 1971 revised edition of *The Diffusion of Innovations*, (with F. Floyd Shoemaker) *Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach* as

caused by outsiders who, on their own or as representatives of change agencies, intentionally seek to introduce new ideas in order to achieve goals they have defined. (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971, p. 9)

Development or change is thus conceived of by Rogers as something imposed by (probably Western or Western-oriented) cultural representatives from *outside* of the developing society or community in order to promote the goals that *they*, *the outsiders* have defined as important or necessary.

The role of communication channels within this process of modernization or directed change is to serve as a means whereby modern innovations introduced by outside agents may be diffused throughout a traditional society or community. Rogers defines diffusion research as more active than most forms of communication research, since it aims at bringing about changes, not only in individual knowledge and attitudes, but also in "overt behavior...that is, adoption or rejection of new ideas." (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971, p. 13) Thus, in diffusion research, Western-oriented change agents employ communication channels to spread the word about modern innovations which the traditional developing individuals are persuasively encouraged to adopt.

Rogers perceives four basic functions or stages composing the process whereby an individual adopts or rejects an innovation introduced into a social system. First, the individual gains awareness and some understanding of the innovation through a variety of communication channels, or passes through the Knowledge Function. Second, an individual has the opportunity to form an attitude toward the innovation, favourable or unfavourable, as part of the Persuasion Function. Third, the individual passes through the Decision Function by initiating

behaviors--such as trial adoptions, or collective community discussions which allow him/her to choose to adopt or reject an innovation. Finally, the individual seeks reinforcement for his decision to adopt or reject the innovation in the Confirmation Function. (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971)

Although Rogers does not provide an exact definition of modernization in the first edition of *The Diffusion of Innovations*, he does indicate which characteristics define a modern and which define a traditional individual. These characteristics follow the line of thought perpetuated by McClelland, Inkeles, Lerner, and others regarding the need for 'modern' individuals to adapt Western-style cultural traits and behaviours. For example, Rogers presents a prototype or model of the typical modern farmer, portraying him as the "both busy and businesslike" (Rogers, 1962, p. 64) proprietor of a larger-than-average-sized farm, director of the local cooperative, involved in a number of formal community organizations, well-educated, prosperous, cosmopolitan, socially separate from his immediate neighbours, lives at a distance from his parents and, of course, open to new innovations. The traditional farmer, on the other hand, is portrayed as the proprietor of a small farm with buildings in a state of disrepair and little machinery. The traditional farmer is less-educated and socially compatible with the majority of his neighbours, who form his peer-group, although he does not take part in community organizations. The traditional farmer works very hard, takes no vacations, lives with his parents or in-laws and displays little interest in the world beyond his immediate community, and is opposed to the adoption of innovations. (Rogers, 1962).

Channels of Communication:

Rogers advocates a dual approach to the communication of messages (an approach later echoed by Schramm and Pye), in which mass media channels are employed in concert with interpersonal channels of communication. Upon examining the use of a variety of communication channels employed by traditional individuals, Rogers concludes (as did Schramm and Pye) that mass media channels are most effective in creating knowledge or awareness of an innovation within the traditional receiver, while interpersonal channels are most effective in persuading or influencing the receiver to adopt the innovation. (Rogers, 1962) Thus, according to Rogers, mass media channels serve mainly as "rapid, one-way, efficient dispensers of information," (Rogers, 1962, p. 99) while interpersonal channels function as a much slower, but more credible and influential two-way exchange of ideas leading to attitude formation and change.

In his explanation of how messages move from mass media through interpersonal channels, Rogers uses the two-step flow model advocated by Lazarsfeld and others in their studies of how political opinions are spread from the mass media to the majority of individuals through influential intermediaries. Rogers, however, expands this to a multi-step flow model in which messages may travel through a varying number of intermediaries or "opinion leaders" between the original, mass media source and the ultimate individual receiver. These opinion leaders are defined as persons whose expert knowledge or advice is sought on particular topics, and who may therefore influence the attitudes and behaviours of other individuals. Opinion leaders at the top of a chain of influence usually receive most of their knowledge or information from mass media channels, and hence serve

as intermediaries who can interpret and diffuse this information to others through interpersonal channels. (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971)

The utility of opinion leaders in providing opinions or influence which is positively oriented to innovation depends upon the norms of the opinion leaders local community as a whole. If the opinion leader's community is more modern in its orientation, then the opinion leader is likely to stress the positive aspects of an outside innovation. However, if the community is more strictly traditional in its orientation, the opinion leader is likely to ignore or to stress the negative aspects of an outside innovation. It is unlikely that individuals who fall beyond the norms of their community are likely to assert much influence as opinion leaders, because, as Rogers explains, "*better communication occurs when source and receiver are homophilous*" and "*interpersonal diffusion is mostly homophilous*". (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971, p. 14)

According to Rogers, homophily is "the degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education, social status, and the like" (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971, p. 14), suggesting a common cultural or sub-cultural group membership. These similar attributes, etc. lead to similar meaning-systems or conceptions of the world which make communication easier and more effective. Such homophilous communication is more important within traditional rather than modern systems, where heterophilous communication (communication between individuals who are culturally dis-similar) is more common. According to Rogers, a change agent who communicates directly with developing-world peoples must take account of the

cultural differences between the peoples and himself when he attempts to communicate with them.

Rogers' Diffusion of Innovations: Criticisms

Despite Rogers' attention to the importance of two-way, interpersonal processes, his model of the Communication and Diffusion of Innovations does not significantly differ from the unilinear models of Lerner, Schramm and Pye. The innovation-diffusion process is identified by Rogers as comparable to a one-way communication process, whereby a source transmits a message, through a channel, to a receiver, with certain effects (the S-M-C-R-E model) Rogers concedes that this model does not significantly differ from Aristotle's simple, one-way model of communication, or Lasswell's "*who says what through what channels of communication, to whom with what...results.*" (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971) (See Figure 2)

**Rogers' Model of the Diffusion of Innovations
as Compared with the S-M-C-R-E Communication Model**

ELEMENTS IN THE DIFFUSION OF INNOVATIONS
AND THE S-M-C-R-E COMMUNICATION MODEL ARE SIMILAR

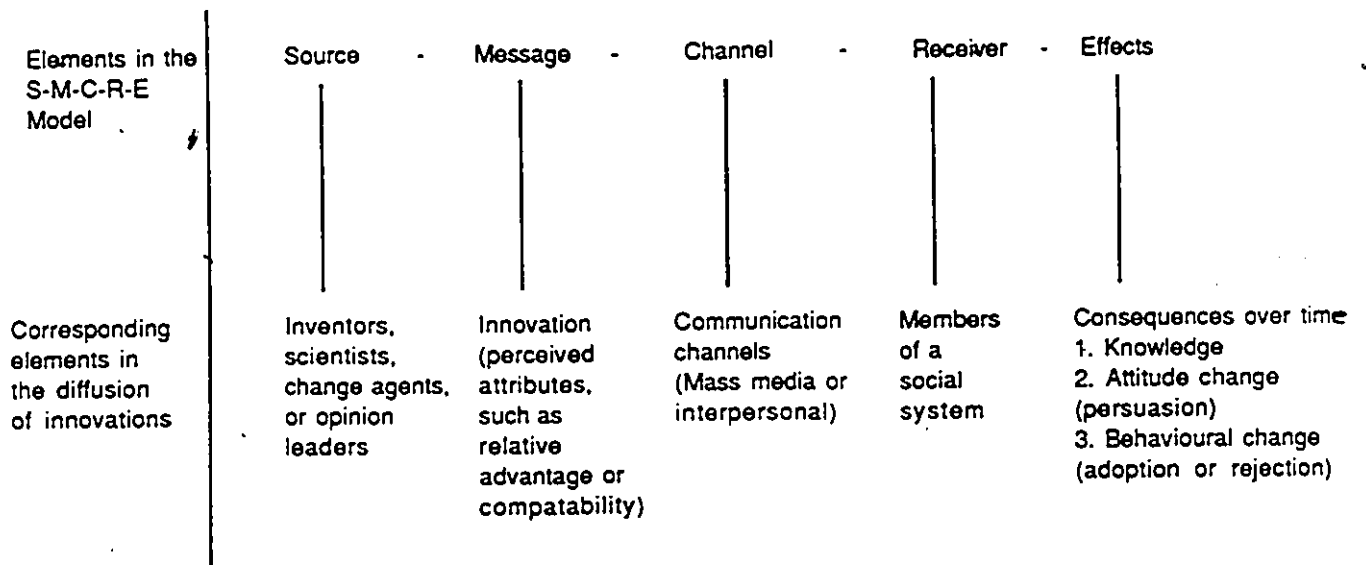


Figure 2
(Source: Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971, P. 20)

Within Rogers' model of the diffusion of innovations, communication is defined as "the transfer of ideas from a source with a viewpoint of modifying the behavior of receivers." (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971) Similarly, diffusion is defined as made up of four principal elements "(1) the *innovation* (2) which is *communicated* through certain *channels* (3) over *time* (4) among the members of a *social system*." (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971) Rogers' model of the diffusion of innovations when applied to Third World societies always involves a Western or Western-oriented source, who introduces a Western-originated modern innovation, then persuasively communicates messages about the advantages of adopting this modern innovation to mostly traditional, Third World individuals, who will hopefully adopt the innovation along with the modern, Western attitudes and behaviors associated with it.

The Third World individuals are free to adopt or reject the innovation, but this is the extent of their decision-making power. They are not asked to make any major contributions to the choice and/or adjustment of an innovation suited to their particular circumstances, they are not provided with any direct channel of feedback to communicate their ideas about the innovation to the original Western source-- in fact, there is no channel for feedback in either the S-M-C-R-E model or Rogers' paradigm of the innovation-decision process! (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971) (See Figure 2)

Paradigm of the Innovation-Decision Process

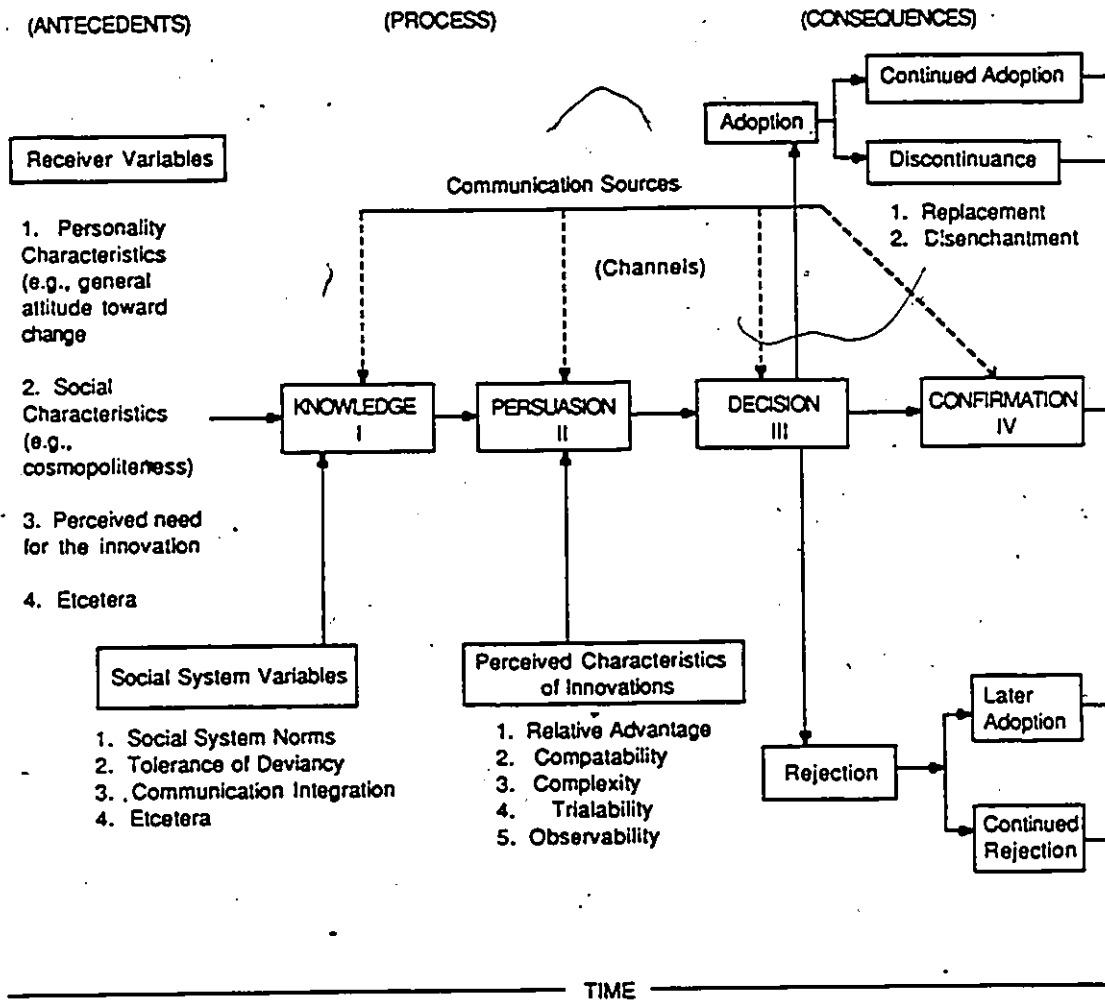


Figure 3 (Source: Rogers, 1971)

Thus, within Rogers' model, the targeted receiver moves from the knowledge (understanding) function, to the persuasion (attitude formation) function, to the decision (adoption or rejection) function to the confirmation function (reinforcement seeking) function in regard to the innovation, but at no time is the receiver pictured as returning feedback to the ultimate source. The receiver is not asked to communicate to the source his expectations for the innovation before it is introduced, and neither is he expected to communicate his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the innovation after he has adopted or rejected it. Thus, the receiver has no real input into either the beginning or the end of the process. Like one of a million potential consumers targeted by an advertising campaign to try a new product, the individual receiver can only communicate his opinions through the actual adoption or rejection of the product. The only difference between Rogers' innovation-diffusion model and a commercial product campaign is that when consumers fail to adopt a commercial product, the producers do not call them irrational, unintelligent, uncooperative and dogmatic!

Like Lerner, Schramm, and Pye, Rogers' use of the term "participation" in regard to collective decision-making is misleading. (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971) Rogers speaks of collective decisions made by organized communities concerning an innovation and its utility. The collective-decision process, as pictured by Rogers, follows a similar path to that of the individual innovation-decision process. It begins when a modern-oriented individual, often an outsider stimulates the need for an innovation by connecting an existing problem to an innovative solution. Next, initiators "incorporate the innovation into a specific

plan of action that is adapted to the conditions of the social system."(Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971)

After the innovation is incorporated, it is legitimized by the community's informal representatives of norms and values. The innovation then comes into the realm of collective approval, whereby the majority of the members of a community may participate in a collective decision to adopt or reject the innovation. The final step involves action or execution of the collective decision to adopt or reject the innovation. Rogers notes that acceptance of such collective innovation-decisions depends upon their degree of participation in the decision-making process, so that those individuals who have participated in the process are more likely to act upon the decisions made.(Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971) (See Figure 4)

**Paradigm of the Collective Innovation
Decision-Making Process**

1. STIMULATION of interest in the need for the new idea (by stimulators)
2. INITIATION of the new idea in the social system (by initiators)
3. LEGITIMATION of the idea (by power-holders or legitimizers)
4. DECISION to act (by members of the social system)
5. ACTION or execution of the new idea.

Figure 4

Source: Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971, p. 276

Again, although individuals within a social system may be able to participate in the innovation-decision process at the local level, their participation is limited to a choice of adoption or rejection. They have no communication links to the original source of the innovation, and therefore cannot influence its creation or adjustment to their needs and circumstances. They also have no direct links with the original source to communicate their satisfactions or dissatisfactions with the innovation once it has been introduced or adopted. Only limited participation can therefore be said to exist within this essentially one-way process, since there can be no input and no feedback from the original source to the targeted receivers of the innovation.

Rogers' model of the process whereby individuals come to adopt new innovations emphasizes the superiority of modern, advantaged individuals in comparison with traditional, disadvantaged individuals. When considering the profiles of those individuals who are first to adopt as opposed to those individuals who are last to adopt a modernizing innovation, Rogers portrays the early (and hence forward-thinking) adopter as possessing the characteristics of a modern, advantaged Western individual. According to Rogers' study, early adopters are more educated, more economically and socially successful, more literate, more rational, more intelligent, more change-oriented, less fatalistic, less dogmatic, and possess higher levels of achievement motivation than later adopters. As well, early adopters have greater exposure to both mass media and interpersonal channels of communication, have greater contact with change agents and are more likely to be opinion leaders than later adopters. (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971)

So where does this leave later adopters? Although Rogers does not specifically speak of them, later adopters are left to be considered in the less than flattering terms which contrast them with earlier adopters. Thus, because individuals from traditionally-oriented cultures postpone adoption of (or even choose not to adopt) an innovation, they come to be thought of as not only economically and socially disadvantaged, but also irrational, unintelligent, backward, fatalistic, dogmatic, and un-motivated. Judged by modern, Western-oriented researchers, according to his propensity to adopt a Western innovation *devised and introduced* by foreign agents, the traditional individual cannot defend his actions--his protests remain unheard.

Rogers' definitions of who is forward-thinking--the modern "innovators" who are the first to adopt innovations, and who is backward--the traditional "laggards" who are last to adopt innovations, is dependent upon the kind of innovations introduced. The innovations to which Rogers refers are always Western-oriented, usually technologically-based techniques devised by Western or Western-educated scientists and communicated by elite professionals. Such innovations are not devised to serve the true needs of the majority of disadvantaged, traditionally-oriented Developing World peoples with who these scientists and professionals have little contact, much less real communication. So if an impoverished farmer stubbornly refuses to adopt an expensive innovation ill-suited to his particular needs he is branded a "laggard" and negatively compared with his elite counterpart to whom such a "modern" innovation is better suited.

Yet the same elite farmers who are said to possess all of the qualities of a truly "modern", innovative individual will do everything in their power to prevent

the adoption of innovations which are not introduced by "modern" Western scientists. Innovative revolutionary ideas involving structural changes such as the equitable redistribution of land, the institution of labour laws, cooperative ventures between small landholders, and other social justice measures have been met with strong, often violent resistance by the elite power-holders in dozens of Third World nations. When such revolutionary, non-technological innovations are diffused, it is usually the mass of disadvantaged, traditionally-oriented citizens who are the first to embrace and actively defend their use, while the elite group of modern individuals whom Rogers terms "innovative" are the last to reluctantly agree to adopt such innovations (if indeed they ever agree). (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971)

Within the modernization paradigm a number of similarities can therefore be found between the dominant model of communication and the determined role of communication within the field of development. All of the major communication for development theorists cited conceived of development communication as part of a one-way process from elite development professionals or authorities (source) to economically-disadvantaged citizens (receivers). All theorists defined development-oriented messages as Westernized, elite-generated modernizing influences transmitted persuasively in hopes of changing the traditional attitudes and behaviours of these disadvantaged citizens. As well, all theorists virtually eliminated the participation of these citizens within the communication process, reducing their roles to passive receivers, and limiting all possible means of feedback.

Communication between two parties always involves some form of feedback-- we are always sending and receiving messages, whether or not we acknowledge or react to them. However, because modernization theorists and practitioners subscribe to a one-way model of communication, feedback from disadvantaged receivers is limited through lack of contact and lack of interest or attention by elite sources. Communication between elite sources and disadvantaged receivers can be thought of as both symmetrical and non-responsive. The relationship is symmetrical because the elite source maintains a dominant political, economic, social, and cultural position over the disadvantaged receiver. It is non-responsive because the elite source does not acknowledge or respond to the messages sent by the disadvantaged receiver. Such a relationship leads the elite source to move further and further away from the needs of the receiver, as revealed in the following criticisms of development theorists and practitioners.

CHAPTER 2

THE MODERNIZATION PARADIGM
OF COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT:
FORMAL CRITICISMS

Following a characteristic pattern of ascent and descent (as defined by Kuhn) the modernization paradigm of communication and development gradually came to lose the support of the majority theorists. A few critical voices rose during the height of the paradigm's popularity in the 1950's and 1960's, but they were quickly silenced by the unbridled confidence and optimism of most modernization for development theorists. As the years progressed and it became more apparent that the goals of the modernization paradigm were at best unattainable, and at worst, undesirable or even destructive, criticisms became more numerous. Among the criticisms levelled at the paradigm were accusations concerning the unilinearity of communication for development models, an undue focus on the individual while ignoring social structural limitations, and the ethnocentrically-Western cultural approach of the model. Communication and development critics such as Luis S. Beltran, Juan Diaz Bordenave, Everett Rogers and Sanford Danziger, and Inayatullah, as well as anthropologists such as George Foster, Ward Hunt Goodenough and Robert Chambers all contributed some relevant criticisms concerning the communication-related inadequacies of the modernization paradigm.

The Modernization Paradigm--One-way Communication:

Beltran: Alien Models

One of the principal criticisms leveled at the modernization paradigm of communication for development concerns its inherently unilinear nature. Critics contend that what is labelled as "development communication" within the modernization paradigm is actually Western-oriented "propaganda" persuasively transmitted to disadvantaged populations by elite sources. According to Latin American theorist Luis S. Beltran, such a practice only serves to reinforce the unequal relationship between the few economically, politically and socially advantaged peoples designated as active sources and the mass of perennially disadvantaged peoples designated as passive receivers.

Within the modernization paradigm, communication becomes a tool of the powerful, reinforcing their conceptions of "superior" modern behavior and forcing these conceptions on a largely silent populace. The unilinear nature of communication systems employed within the modernization paradigm essentially inhibits any feedback from disadvantaged receiver to powerful source. As Beltran asserts:

What often takes place under the label of communication is little more than a dominating monologue in the interest of the starter of the process. Feedback is not employed to provide an opportunity for genuine dialogue. The receiver of the messages is passive and subdued as he is hardly ever given proportionate opportunities to act concurrently also as a true and free emitter; his essential role is that of listening and obeying... such a vertical, asymmetric and quasi authoritarian

social relationship constitutes, in my view, an undemocratic instance of communication. (Beltran, 1980, p. 23)

In his article "*Alien Premises, Objects, and Methods in Latin American Communication Research*", Beltran notes that models of communication for development employed within the modernization paradigm have provided inappropriate solutions for Third World societies. According to Beltran, the models of communication which are employed by modernization theorists to help understand and alleviate political, social, economic and other problems in the Third World were created to reflect the realities of North American society. Such models were created by theorists living in the North America of the 1940's and 1950's, when, as Beltran indicates,

individuality was predominant over collectivism, competitiveness was more determinant than co-operation, and economic efficiency and technological wisdom were more important than cultural growth, social justice, and spiritual enhancement. (Beltran, 1976, p. 115)

Thus, as Beltran concludes, the models which characterize modernization research were designed to analyze a basically prosperous, peaceful, democratic, highly industrialized society intent upon assimilating a mass of individuals from distinct cultural backgrounds into a homogeneous whole. Such models become entirely inappropriate when applied to the politically, economically, socially and culturally distinct realities of the Third World. Third World societies which are characterized by political unrest, structural inequalities, and labour-intensive, agriculturally-based, non-industrialized economic systems can hardly be expected to

imitate distinctly Western forms of development as advocated by modernization theorists.

Unable or unwilling to discern the structural bases of the problems facing the developing world, modernization theorists focus on individual responsibility. According to Beltran, modernization theorists' fascination with the social-psychological characteristics of so-called traditional versus modern peoples developed in response to this focus on the individual.

Following this intellectual trend, communication scholars came to recommend the employment of mass media and interpersonal channels in an effort to change individual, not system characteristics. One-way communication techniques such as the "diffusion of innovations" system advocated by Rogers took this "person-blame" to the extreme, characterizing individuals who do not adopt desired attitudes and behaviours as hopelessly backward. Beltran elaborates this viewpoint, noting the ethnocentric biases inherent in studies which conclude that:

If peasants do not adopt the technology of modernization, it is their fault, not that of those communicating the modern technology to them. It is the peasantry itself which is to be blamed for its ill fate, not the society which enslaves and exploits it. Most peasants, research has found presumably by birth and their sovereign will, are not only ignorant but stubbornly bent on tradition... And, superstitious and Catholic as they often are, they have not learned from the developmental mystique of "the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism" the virtues of saving and investing. (Beltran, 1976, p.117)

Modernization Models and Structural Inequalities:

Diaz Bordenave: Communication for What?

Latin American scholar Juan Diaz Bordenave notes that the one-way, diffusionist communication approaches advocated by modernization theorists only focused upon the attitudes and actions of individual receivers who were conceptually divorced from structural constraints. Such homogeneous, de-contextualized approaches failed to distinguish between farmers who possessed vast amounts of land and capital and farmers who possessed next to nothing in the way of resources. In his article, "*The Communication of Agricultural Innovations in Latin America: The Need for New Models*", Diaz Bordenave relates how the heterogeneous realities of farmers in Latin America dictate who can take advantage of modernizing innovations, and who cannot. Generally, such innovations favour the already advantaged farmer, serving only to increase social, economic and political distance between the elite advantaged farmer and his impoverished counterpart. (Diaz Bordenave, 1976)

Diaz Bordenave also faults the diffusion model for reducing development communication to a form of government-sponsored propaganda. Within the diffusion model, government planners attempt to persuade developing peoples to adopt nationally-approved modes of thought, feeling and action. Such a model assumes that the receiver of diffusion communication is a "blank page" upon which a favoured message can be written. It ignores the realities of the common rural peasant farmer situated within the confines of social, cultural, economic and

political limitations, and addresses the artificial concerns of an academic elite. No wonder critics like Diaz Bordenave come to recognize that "*in Latin America a large portion of mass media content is frivolous, irrelevant, and even negative for rural development.*" (Diaz Bordenave, 1976, p. 142)

Rogers and Danziger: The Knowledge Gap

In the 1975 article published with Sanford Danziger, "*Nonformal Education and Communication Technology: The Second Dimension of Development and the Little Media*", Everett Rogers acknowledges the deficiencies of models of communication for the diffusion of innovations when he concludes that they ignore the essential question of structural effects. Rogers became a champion criticisms of the modernization paradigms and alternative theories of communication for development (such as found in the dependency and grass-roots paradigm) when it became increasingly apparent that modernization models of communication for development (including his own) were failing to contribute in any significant fashion to the development of the Third World. Rogers' displayed his support of these criticisms through his editorial sponsorship of articles by Beltran, Diaz Bordenave and others as well as his own work with researchers such as Danziger.

Declaring that models of communication employed by modernization theorists leave no room for the examination of how innovations are diffused along communication networks according to differences in political, economic, or social advantages, Rogers and Danziger cite as an explanation Tichenkor's knowledge gap hypothesis. Tichenkor explains the creation of a knowledge gap in this way:

as the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socio-economic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease.
(Rogers and Danziger 1975, p. 226)

There are three principal reasons, according to Rogers and Danziger, why communications aimed at diffusing innovations such as modern agricultural techniques reach an elite group of advantaged farmers but not the mass of disadvantaged or marginal farmers. The first of these reasons is that elite farmers tend to have greater access to what the authors term the "Big Media" or the more technologically complex and expensive mass media through which much of the information regarding modern innovations flows. Secondly, the elite farmers are more receptive to innovation messages because they, much more than the marginal farmers, possess the means to take advantage of such innovations. Finally, the original sources or producers of innovation messages are usually more homophilious (culturally similar) with the elite farmers, making interpersonal communication between message producers and the elite farmers easier and more frequent. Such producers also tend to shape their messages with such elite farmers in mind, creating communication which is readily applicable to (and understandable by) the elite, but not to the mass of marginal farmers. (Rogers and Danziger, 1975)

The structure of communication networks in most developing societies is such that contact between message producers, elite farmers and marginal farmers is often non-existent. As Rogers and Danziger explain:

The marginals are literally on the margin of their social system: they lack a high degree of meaningful mass media or interpersonal communication with the power-holders who run their society. The elites lack adequate feed-forward knowledge of the marginals, they find it difficult to communicate effectively with them, and the marginals lack access to mass media message production (especially in the Big Media) or to direct interpersonal channels with the elites (or with each other); so there is often little or no contact between marginals and elites in the same system. The marginals are relatively isolated from, and unintegrated with, their system; thus they are marginal in a communication sense. They remain on the fringe of the communication network. (Rogers and Danziger, 1975, p. 227)

Marginals are thus not only denied access to mass media institutions which create and disseminate messages, but also to alternate interpersonal channels within organizations which influence the production of development-oriented messages. In accordance with this one-way structure, marginals also lack the feedback channels through which they can communicate their knowledge and opinions concerning the programs of development which are foisted upon them from the top of the system. Rogers and Danziger note that partly because of the lack of such channels, the means whereby such marginals can initiate change within a society are also missing. Among such solutions as the instatement of more two-way communication channels, Rogers and Danziger recommend a greater exploration of the complex nature of interpersonal communication networks and the roles played by farmers of differing status within these networks. (Rogers and Danziger, 1975)

**The Modernization Paradigm of Communication For Development:
Exercises in Ethnocentrism**

One of the major criticisms levelled at the modernization paradigm of communication for development was aimed at the ethnocentric nature of its Western-based assumptions. An early critic, Inayatullah, points out the absurdity of some of these assumptions, while critics such as Rogers and Danziger, Goodenough, Foster, and Chambers reveal how such assumptions, when applied to development projects, fail to change the circumstances of developing peoples. All critics conclude that initiatives based on such assumptions are not only incapable of creating development in any real sense of the word, but can actually create a chasm of mis-communication (or no communication) between those who are appointed to provide development services and those who are perceived to be in need of such services.

Inayatullah: Ethnocentric Assumptions

As an early critic of the modernization paradigm, Inayatullah was one of the first communication for development scholars to point out the ethnocentrism of Lerner et al. As Inayatullah asserts in his article, "*Toward a Non-Western Model of Development*", much of what Lerner and his associates conclude about the role of communication within the development plans of Third World societies is based upon assumptions made according to modernization paradigm of development. The major criticism which can be made against this paradigm, according to Inayatullah,

is that it rests upon the erroneous premise that because Third World societies have not attained the level of technological development exhibited by Western societies, they are therefore "sterile, unproductive, uncreative, and hence worth liquidating." (Inayatullah, 1969, p. 100) The ethnocentric blindness of the modernization paradigm lies in the means by which

it measures the creativity of the "traditional" world with a few limited standards such as urbanization and industrialization, like the person who measures the competence of everybody in terms of his own special competence. It ignores (because it cannot measure it with its available instrument the possibility of existence or (at least the potentiality) of non-material areas of creativity. (Inayatullah, 1969, p. 100)

Inayatullah points out that modernization theorists make the mistake of assuming that all of humanity is destined to adopt the cultural goals and values of Western man, and that technological competence cannot be achieved without adopting such values. In doing so, such theorists selectively ignore a vast history of technological innovations made by an array of "underdeveloped" societies (such as India, Egypt and China) within the framework of their own cultural value system. In a criticism which could easily be applied to Rogers' model of the diffusion of innovations, Inayatullah notes that the West judges itself to be superior because of its own innovativeness, yet it expects the rest of the world to achieve such "superiority" through imitation of the West, rather than original innovation. Inayatullah asserts (as did many critics years after him) that a communication system that encourages the Third World's imitation of the West can only create a

dependence on Western models, not the independence necessary for true development. (Inayatullah, 1969)

Goodenough and Foster: Communicating Goals and Purposes

Other early critics of the culturally ethnocentric modernization paradigm include George Foster, previously mentioned, and Ward Hunt Goodenough, who produced the text, *Cooperation in Change*, (1963). Goodenough's text concentrated upon the attitudes and actions of the change agents of the time. Goodenough indicates that Western or Western-oriented change agents typically impose their own culturally ethnocentric values upon the communities they are charged with aiding. Goodenough adds that what change agents perceive as universal human needs may in fact be part of their own personal moral order imposed upon culturally distinct developing peoples.

Too often, according to Goodenough, change agents such as technical experts make assessments and recommendations about how a community should develop according to what the experts themselves want for the community, not what the community wants for itself. In fact, investigating how a community views its own wants and needs is usually beyond the abilities of most technical experts in health, agriculture, or other modern sciences. (Goodenough, 1963) Such experts rarely possess the communication skills necessary to become aware of and correctly interpret communicated wants and needs which are culturally distinct from their own. As Goodenough pronounces:

Technical assistance programs to underdeveloped communities are, of course, predicated on the assumption that change agents are technically better equipped to discern effective means of meeting certain wants than are the community's members. But it is well to remind ourselves that what we observe to be needed is not necessarily what is really needed at all.
(Goodenough, 1963, p. 54,55)

George Foster also criticizes Western theorists for assuming that the achievements of their scientific, technologically-oriented culture will be envied and readily imitated by traditional societies. As Foster pronounces:

Our conviction of superiority and our beliefs that we have knowledge of truth make us anxious to "share" this superiority with other peoples whom we believe to be less fortunate. It sometimes comes as a surprise to us to discover that the members of all cultures believe that basically their way of doing things is natural or best.(Foster, 1962, p. 68)

In this way, Foster contradicts the views of the major communication for modernization theorists whose models rest upon the presumption that developing peoples will, sooner or later, realize that their way of living is inferior and adopt the culturally superior behaviours of modern, Western society if the advantages of these behaviours are persuasively transmitted.

Foster also notes the fallacy of many modernization theorists, and modernization agents who ignore the importance of differential perception when communicating with developing-nation peoples. Differential perception refers to the differences in culturally-shaped world-views between developing-world peoples and Western change agents. Even when Western change agents are familiar with

the language and circumstances of developing-world peoples, they often remain unaware of differences in conceptual understandings.

Foster cites a humorous example in which an instructional film produced by Cornell University's *Hacienda Vicos* Peruvian project was shown to Indian workers and their families. The film, which concerned the transmission of typhus through lice, was previewed by the project's health personnel and narrated by a physician who explained, through an interpreter, the principal facts of transmission. All health personnel felt that the film would be understood by the Indian families.

When members of the audience were questioned a week later about the film, the difference between "modern", Western-oriented and traditional Indian perceptions became apparent. The Indian viewers remarked that they had seen lice before, but that "they had never seen giant lice like those shown on the screen" and could not make any connection between themselves and such lice. (Foster, 1962, p. 139) As well, they concluded that these giant lice must only afflict strange people like those shown in the film, "who had a curious and unpleasant white and rosy colour" and not Indian peoples such as themselves. (Foster, 1962, p. 139) Finally, they saw the film as a disconnected group of scenes with no visible relationships, rather than a continuous story with a logical series of conclusions.

Foster notes that the communication of development goals and purposes between development planners and developing peoples is often as fruitless as the *Hacienda Vicos* experiment. Believing that they have correctly ascertained a community's wants and needs, planners decide upon a program of action whereby the community, with their aid, can achieve these wants and needs. This program is then persuasively communicated by the development planners under the assumption

that it will fulfill the development goals and purposes of the community, and thus enlist their enthusiastic participation. When such participation is not forthcoming, planners invariably scratch their heads and wonder why developing peoples are so uncooperative, rather than wondering if perhaps they mis-interpreted the developing peoples' goals. (Foster, 1962) Such mis-communication denies the homogeneous assumptions of modernization theorists who purport that development-oriented messages can be easily communicated to and understood by developing-world peoples.

Chambers: One-way Communication of Knowledge

The ethnocentrism of development theorists and planners is also remarked upon by Robert Chambers in his text, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. Although Chambers' text was published in 1983, it criticizes a persistent mentality of ethnocentrism and cognitive arrogance which can be traced back to the modernization paradigm. Chambers asserts that the communication patterns (or lack thereof) between developing world rural peoples and the "outsiders" who purport to help them reflect the outsiders' disdain for rural knowledge and opinions. Chambers remarks how, from Western and Third World urban professionals down to the lowest-paid government extension worker, it is assumed that

the modern scientific knowledge of the centre is sophisticated, advanced and valid and, conversely, that whatever rural people may know will be unsystematic, imprecise, superficial and often plain wrong...Knowledge flows in one direction only--downwards--from those who

are strong, educated and enlightened, towards those who are weak, ignorant, and in darkness. (Chambers, 1983, p. 76)

Chambers defies the legitimacy of theories of diffusion (such as Rogers'), which presume that the sophisticated knowledge of the modern, educated, urbanized development planner is necessarily superior to the indigenous knowledge of the rural peasant farmer. Rural peoples' knowledge of their own circumstances and environment is of little interest to development professionals who seldom contact, much less communicate with rural peoples in any meaningful fashion. The one-way, top-down channels through which most development professionals learn about the rural poor are often limited to misleading surveys and inaccurate stereotypes. (Chambers, 1983) Without the benefit of two-way communication, the typically prosperous, urban development professional cannot hope "to make the long leap of imagination and see and feel the world from within the skin of a poor rural person" (Chambers, 1983, p. 106).

The majority of critics examining the modernization paradigm of communication for development concluded that the paradigm ignores essential structural inequalities, makes ethnocentric presumptions about the superiority of Western ways of life, and regards communication as an all-powerful, homogenizing force for change. Critics also concluded that the model of communication employed within the modernization paradigm can be described as one-way, vertical, and top-down, emphasizing the "superior" power and knowledge of official producers of communication, while ignoring even the possibility of feedback from the designated receivers—the "underdeveloped".

Within a model, or a paradigm which denies the legitimacy of developing peoples' opinions, attitudes, and values no true, need-based development can occur.

CHAPTER 3

THE GRASS-ROOTS PARADIGM
OF COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

Models of Communication Within the Grass-Roots Paradigm

Having become disillusioned with the unilinear models of communication generated in the early days of the field, theorists attempted to devise models which reflected more accurately the real-life processes of communication. Theorists such as Barnlund, Carey, Kincaid, Singer and others picture communication within two-way, circular and contextualized models. All such theorists portray communication as continuous, simultaneous interactions between persons situated in particular socio-cultural contexts, through the sharing of meanings. Perhaps most importantly, communication within these two-way models is not conceived of as a static event, but rather a dynamic, continuous process, in which the persons involved, the setting, and the messages are subject to alteration through time. (Dissanayake, 1986)

These two-way models of communication have provided an alternative for theorists within the field of communication for development who have rejected the one-way models of the modernization paradigm as inadequate reflections of the complex process of communication between persons as well as inherently manipulative in nature. Within the grass-roots paradigm, communication for development theorists have drawn from these recent models and incorporated them into their analyses and recommendations. In employing these two-way models,

grass-roots theorists have focused upon forms of communication which provide maximum opportunities for dialogue—including various forms of small-scale and group media.

Although grass-roots theorists acknowledge that certain forms of communication (such as television) do not lend themselves to the creation of dialogue, they assert that the trick lies not so much in what form is employed as how it is employed. Within the modernization paradigm, even forms of communication which lent themselves to two-way dialogue (such as interpersonal or group communication) were employed in a one-way, top-down fashion. Within the grass-roots paradigm, however, theorists emphasize the necessity of incorporating equitable dialogue into every aspect of a development program in order to create a truly participatory reality. A study of the models of two way communication which have helped to inspire this recent emphasis on dialogue and a closer attention to the complexities of the communication process is therefore necessary.

Models of Two-Way Communication

The more recent models of communication appear in a number of guises and titles. Barnlund refers to "transactional communication", (Barnlund, 1970, p. 68), Kincaid talks of "convergence" (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981, p. 6) Carey argues for a "ritual definition" of communication (Carey, 1975, p. 6) and Singer speaks of "the intercultural communication process" (Singer, 1987, p. 64). A more detailed

look at Barnlund and a brief view of Kincaid, Carey and Singer's definitions will reveal the essential similarity of these models.

Dean C. Barnlund and the Transactional Model of Communication:

Barnlund determines the limits of his model of communication when he pronounces that communication:

is not a reaction to something, nor an interaction with something, but a transaction in which man invents and attributes meanings to realize his purposes. It should be stressed that meaning is something "invented," "assigned," "given," rather than something "received." (Barnlund, 1970, p. 68)

This definition belongs to the first in a number of postulates which Barnlund employs to explore his transactional model of communication. Within this first postulate, Barnlund notes that communication is characterized not by the production of messages, but instead by the evolution of meaning within and between individuals.

Barnlund also asserts that communication is dynamic and continuous. Barnlund pictures communication as an organic process rather than a static mechanical function. Individuals do not simply "input" messages and "output" responses--there is a dynamic, ongoing process involved whereby messages are interpreted according to the internal meaning structures of the individual, and responses are shaped. This production of meaning is part of the growth and change of an individual and his/her surroundings, not something which can be said to be situated in a particular, separate place or time. As Barnlund indicates:

Communication with the physical world, or with other human beings, is not a thing, nor even a discrete act, but a continuing condition of life, a process that ebbs and flows with changes in the environment and fluctuations in our needs.

(Barnlund, 1970, p. 89)

According to Barnlund, the typical view of communication is causal and linear—"A sender causes, by means of a message, certain effects in a receiver. Communication originates with the speaker, it terminates in a listener." (Barnlund, 1979, p. 90) Such a model tends to create a simplistic, static view of communication which does little to reflect the complexities of real-life transactions. Communication, according to Barnlund, is actually a continuous, circular process of meaning creation and exchange, in which the labels "sender" and "receiver" are meaningful only "to fix the point of view of the analyst who uses them." (Barnlund, 1970, p. 91)

Because communication is a dynamic, continuous, organic process, no communication message can be said to be entirely repeatable. The same words repeated to different persons, or even to the same person at different points in time will not necessarily be interpreted identically. Humans are not mechanical structures which can be expected to perform identical functions at different points in time, but spontaneous, organic beings marked by growth and change.

For this reason communication is not only unrepeatable, but irreversible. Communication, like any other behaviour pattern, cannot be erased or modified once it has occurred. Subsequent communication messages may shape our impressions of an initial message, but they can never completely erase our initial impressions. (Barnlund, 1970) As Barnlund pronounces: "Human experience

flows, as a stream, in a single direction leaving behind it a permanent record of man's communicative experience."(Barnlund, 1970, p. 9)

James W. Carey and the Ritual View of Communication:

Carey contrasts the transmission view of communication discussed earlier in this work with the ritual view of communication. While the transmission view emphasizes a one-way, electronic, de-contextualized, manipulative model of communication (the transmission of signals over distances for the purposes of control), the ritual view emphasizes a two-way, humanized, contextual, participatory model of communication. As Carey asserts:

In a ritual definition, communication is linked to terms such as sharing, participation, association, fellowship, and the possession of a common faith. This definition exploits the ancient identity and common roots of the terms commonness, communion, community and communication. A ritual view of communication is not directed toward the extension of messages in space but the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs.(Carey, 1975, p.6)

Carey notes that it has been the transmission, rather than the ritual view of communication which has dominated American academic thought. This dominance, according to Carey, has arisen from a uniquely American obsession with power relations (the transmission view) and an equally American aversion to cultural analysis (the ritual view). Carey's blunt pronouncements echo Beltran's criticisms of the American-based models of communication for modernization which ignored the presence of any cultural differences characterizing North American or Latin American realities.(Carey, 1975) Carey asserts:

This intellectual aversion to the idea of culture derives in part from our obsessive individualism which makes psychological life the paramount reality, from our Puritanism which leads to a disdain for the significance of human activity that is not practical and work-oriented and from our isolation of science from culture: science provides culture-free truth where culture provides ethnocentric error. (Carey, 1975, p. 7)

Kincaid and the Convergence Model of Communication:

Within his convergence model of communication, D. Lawrence Kincaid defines communication as:

a process in which the participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding... Communication is always a joint occurrence, a mutual process of information-sharing between two or more persons. In other words, communication always implies relationship. (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981, p. 63)

Kincaid perceives the communication process as taking place within a network of interconnected individuals joined by patterned flows of information. This shared information leads individuals to "converge or diverge from each other in their mutual understanding of reality." (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981, p. 63). Kincaid notes that a minimum level of shared mutual understanding and accord about symbolic information is a requirement for two or more individuals' participation in collective social activities.

Within Kincaid's theory of convergence, two or more individuals may converge toward a greater mutual understanding of each other's meanings through repeated exchanges of information. In the process of information exchange each individual is constantly involved in interpreting and creating meaning. Like

Barnlund, Kincaid considers communication to be a dynamic process, characterized by mutual causality and an interdependent relationship between participants. This relationship between the participants is the most important element to be considered within the communication process.

Like Barnlund, Kincaid also rejects the conception of communication as a uni-directional act in which messages are transmitted from active sender to passive receiver. (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981) Rather, he recommends the consideration of "the full matrix of relationships in which the communication participants exist." (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981, p-72) When considering the impact of either mass or interpersonal communication, one must place the communication within the context of personal meanings and social relationships in which the individual exists. (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981)

Singer and the Process of Intercultural Communication:

Within his text *Intercultural Communication: A Perceptual Approach*, (1987) Marshall R. Singer contends that what makes intercultural communication so difficult is the fact that each cultural representative maintains a unique meaning structure whereby he/she creates and interprets messages according to his/her own cultural precepts. Since every individual creates and interprets (or encodes and decodes) messages according to his/her own unique internal meaning structures, all interpersonal communication exchanges can be considered a form of intercultural communication. (Singer, 1987) As Singer asserts:

no two humans can share *exactly* the same perceptions or identities—regardless of how similar they may be. Therefore, as we have seen, every interpersonal communication is to some extent also an intercultural communication. (Singer, 1987, p. 67)

The complexity of the intercultural or interpersonal communication process is depicted by Singer within his model of communication. (See figure 5) Singer's tenets concerning the elements of this communication process resemble those of Barnlund, Carey, and Kincaid in their emphasis upon receiver-oriented meaning and transactional exchanges. Singer contends that communication involves the simultaneous sending and receiving of messages (consciously and unconsciously) between individuals involved in the everyday processes of life. These messages, verbal and non-verbal, may be interpreted uniquely by each individual sending and receiving them, although some commonality of meaning usually exists. Some messages will be attended to closely, while others will be ignored, according to each individual's method of cognitive selection—or use of natural "censor screens" which aid decision-making. Again, an individual's meaning structure or "data storage bank" as Singer refers to it, determines how messages will be selected and responded to. (Singer, 1987, p. 87)

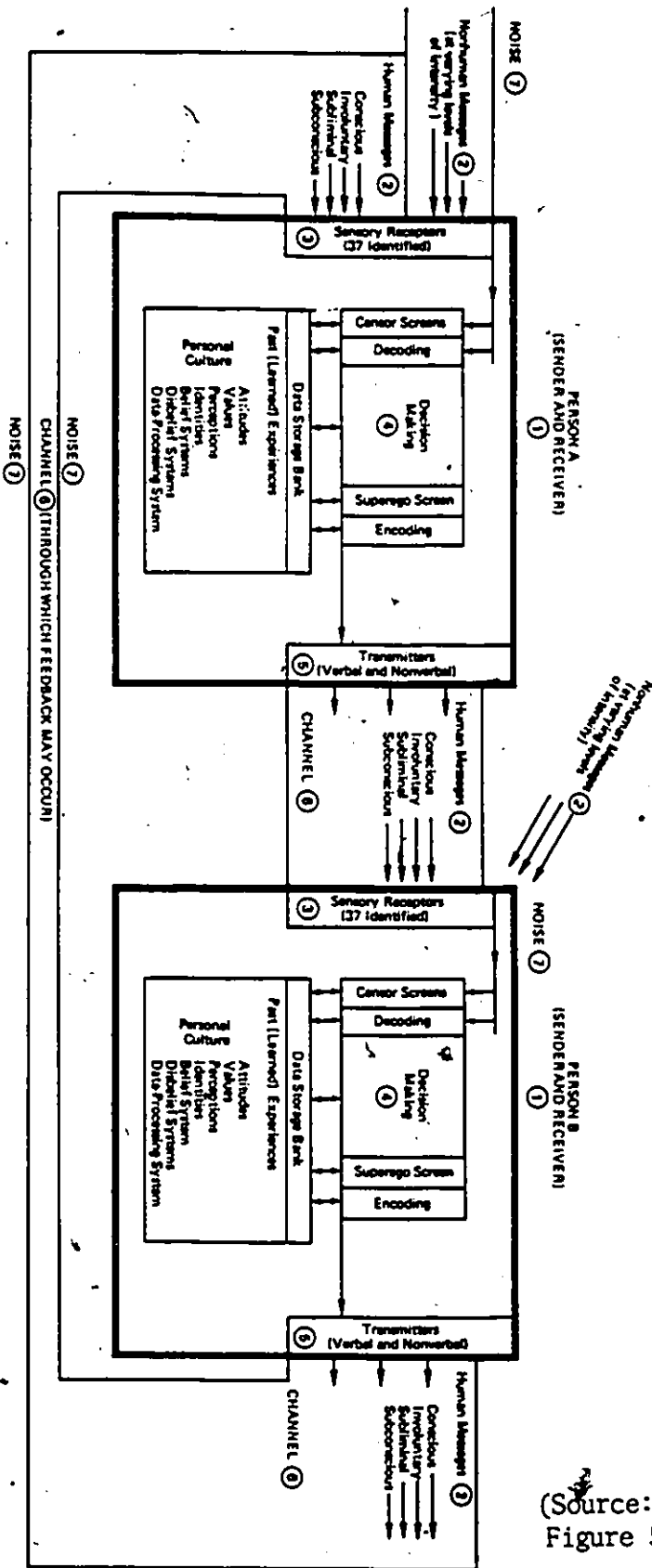


FIGURE 3.1 The communication process. Adapted from an earlier version that appeared in Singer, *Weak States in a World of Powers*, p. 17.

(Source: Singer, 1987, p. 70)
Figure 5

It is a basic tenet of this work that communication is a process. As such it is continually operating, through feedback, with the environment and with everyone and everything in that environment. It is an ongoing process that never ceases, until we die. It is applicable regardless of the level of analysis. (Singer, 1987, p. 66)

In Singer's estimation the best means whereby individuals can foster a good communication relationship is to be aware of the various elements which make up the communication process and which can contribute to or hamper the exchange of meanings. By making explicit our meanings to others through feedback as well as being open to differing interpretations of messages, we can come to greater understandings and better communication. (Singer, 1987)

In summary, the more recent models of communication display a complexity not found within the models of communication employed within the modernization paradigm. Their emphases on organic processes, transactional relationships, and meaning exchanges are echoed by grass-roots theorists who believe that these elements are also essential to the analysis of development-oriented communication. Evidence of such two-way models can also be found within the concepts of andragogy and participatory community development.

**Andragogy and Community Development:
Roots of the Grass-Roots Paradigm of
Communication for Development**

In order to gain some understanding of the emergence of the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development, one should examine two concepts which can be considered to be directly related to the emergence of the most recent

paradigm. These concepts have been labelled, for the purpose of this thesis "participatory community development" and adult education or "andragogy". Outside of the specific field of communications, these two concepts have contributed the most to the present paradigm of communication for development.

Community Development: The Participatory Model

Although Paulo Freire's work can be said to be inspirational to much of the recent theory and practice of community work and adult education, a discussion of Freire's direct contributions will not occur until later in this thesis, in context with other theorists addressing the elements of the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development. It is not the intention of this author to trace the history of community development, but to reveal some of the major assumptions made within the participatory model of community development which have contributed to the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development. The ideals of community development can be traced far back in history, but for our purposes, we will concentrate upon the latter half of the twentieth century.

James Midgley, Anthony Hall, and the Popularization of Community Development:

Although the ideals of participatory community development have long been advocated within Third World development policies, the recent popularization of community development practice has occurred within the past twenty years. Two documents published by the United Nations, *Popular Participation in Development* (1971) and *Popular Participation in Decision Making* (1975) led to a renewed interest in participatory community development by developing nations and

voluntary aid agencies. As noted by James Midgley in his article, "*Community Participation: History, Concepts and Controversies*", central to the definitions of community development within these documents were the ideals of local, participatory decision-making, cooperative self-sufficiency, and collective action.

According to the participatory model of community development, in order to help communities organize into development forces, community workers are appointed (upon request and/or permission of a local community or the national government) by a sponsoring agency. Such workers can be ideally described as

skilled in understanding interpersonal relationships, fostering group activities and promoting community solidarity and in teaching local people to be resourceful in their dealings with the outside world. (Midgley, 1986, p. 30)

These skills should be employed by the community worker to "conscientize" the community's residents—or make them aware of the alternatives they can collectively create to make their lives better. In the process of conscientization the community worker may engage in a variety of communication practices such as: "persuading, arguing, suggesting, challenging, analyzing and agitating in building people's organizations." (Midgley, 1970, p. 31)

Mass meetings are an essential part of a community worker's efforts to foster collective community participation in development, especially among the least-advantaged. Within such meetings local issues should be discussed and analyzed, a plan of action may be formulated, and a feeling of group solidarity may be created. The challenge for the community worker lies in the difficult task of stimulating organized community development without becoming overly manipulative or directive.

Within the participatory model of community development, a development worker should allow the community members to form their own views and make their own decisions, without the imposition of outside ideological preferences. For this reason the community worker is advised to allow leadership within the community to emerge naturally, so that organizations do not collapse once the community worker has departed along with the outside initiative for change. (Midgley, 1986) With the ultimate goal of participatory community development being self-management of a community's own resources, popular participation by its members in organizational processes is essential.

Anthony Hall, in his article "*Community Participation and Rural Development*" asserts that participatory community development has emerged in contrast to what has become the typical national government-initiated, government-determined "blueprint" approach in which community members are expected silently follow the directives of "expert" outside planners. Instead, true participatory community development "is based instead on a process of continuous dialogue between planners and beneficiaries in the search for the most appropriate strategy." (Hall, 1986, p. 100) Although participatory techniques have been advocated by many development agencies, it is mostly non-government organizations seem to take a real interest in community participation. In many non-government organizations development projects,

The top-down management techniques of the "blueprint" approach are firmly eschewed in favour of dialogue, mutual consultation at all stages, self-reliance, collective action to solve group problems, democratic decision-making and local control over project activities. (Hall, 1986, p. 103)

Non-government organizations tend to take more interest in such participatory projects because these projects are conceived of as more true to the ideal goals of self-help and people-centred development, and because such projects are often ignored in government schemes. Government projects are generally organized to fit within the hierarchical structures of national authority and consequently limit the contributions of disadvantaged peoples to carrying out actions dictated by government representatives. Participatory community projects which could challenge the authority of the government are viewed with disfavour by those in power and consequently fail to garner official support. This leaves non-government organizations with a chance to apply their often smaller, but more consistent resources to projects which may actually serve the needs of disadvantaged peoples themselves. (Hall,

Robert Chambers and the Sharing of Indigenous Knowledge:

Robert Chambers, in his text *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, asserts that both development planners and rural peoples should share their knowledge through dialogue in order to find the best solutions to rural community development problems. Development planners, who tend to assume that they have nothing to learn from disadvantaged rural peoples, should make a special effort to tap rural peoples' knowledge and wisdom. If they did bother to make real contact with the rural poor, such "experts" might realize the limits of their own knowledge and the expertise of the poor, especially in areas which pertain to rural development. As Chambers pronounces:

Neither rural people nor outsider scientists can know in advance what the others know. It is by talking, travelling, asking, listening, observing, and doing things together that they can most effectively learn from one another.
(Chambers, 1983, p. 100)

Together, theories of participatory community development point to a form of development that aims at creating equitable participation in the organization, management and distribution of local resources through cooperative efforts. This equitable participation is especially important among the least advantaged members of a population, who are often ignored within a nationally-organized development programs (and often within the institutional structures of the nation as well).

Essential to the organization of such co-operative, participatory efforts is the incorporation of a continuous process of group communication (or dialogue), between a professional community worker and the community to which he/she is appointed, as well as among the community members themselves. A more exact account of how these participatory communication activities are organized is given later in this thesis.

Participatory community development thus represents the realization of an ideal form of community organization in which citizens with common needs work together to help achieve these needs. Rather than wordlessly following the directives of a government expert, community members dialogue with a community agent who does not direct, but helps citizens to determine their own problems, goals, and sources of collective action. Good two-way communication necessarily represents an important element of these participatory efforts, leading

communication theorists to apply the more complex two-way models of communication to grass-roots development programs.

Adult Education and Community Development

Malcolm Knowles and The Modern Practice of Andragogy:

Although adult education has been associated with community development in various guises before the concept of "andragogy" arose, it was Paulo Freire who popularized the connection between the two. Within his literacy classes, Freire developed a theory and practice of education which relied upon the equitable participation of both "learner" and "educator" in the educational development process. Freire also stretched the scope of adult education beyond the conventional intake of information to include critical thinking skills, individual participation in community development, political and economic change, and the realization of personal worth and capability. (Freire, 1972)

Malcolm Knowles, relying upon his experience in the field of adult education, has devised a model of adult education which summarizes the conclusions made by Freire. The role of the adult educator as defined by Knowles comes very close to the ideal role of the community worker or change agent as defined within the field of participatory community development. According to Knowles, the responsibilities of the adult educator entail:

the involvement of clients in a penetrating analysis of higher aspirations and the changes required to achieve them, the diagnosis of obstacles that must be overcome in achieving these changes, and the planning of an effective strategy for accomplishing the desired results. Their part in this process is that of helper, guide,

encourager, consultant, and resource--not that of transmitter, disciplinarian, judge, and authority. (Knowles, 1980, p. 37)

According to Knowles, the conventional form of adult education, or pedagogy relied upon the transmission of knowledge from learned teacher to silent, ignorant adult, much in the same form that the education of children took place. Eventually it became apparent that adults were different beings than children, and that they learned in different manners. It was discovered that principle difference between child and adult-oriented learning styles was one of experiential or self-directed knowledge. Adults have a reservoir of experience which children do not to apply to learning experiences, and are also more likely to have initiated learning within their past experiences. As well, adults have moved from the dependency of childhood to the self-directiveness of maturity, and their learning styles reflect this need for independence.

Consequently, adult teachers concluded that a new style of teaching was needed to accommodate adult learners. Knowles defines this new style as "andragogy". Among the essential elements of andragogy include the creation of a spirit of equality between teacher and learner, so that the learner feels accepted, respected, and supported. (Knowles, 1980) With this spirit of equality, teachers and students become "joint inquirers" in a relationship "in which there is a freedom of expression without fear of punishment or ridicule." (Knowles, 1980, p. 47) Perhaps the greatest indicator of an equitable relationship is the amount of time spent by a teacher listening to, rather than lecturing to adult students.

Within the model of andragogy, adult learners are free to diagnose their own learning needs and create their own learning plans. As has been often noted in

relation to participatory community development, Knowles asserts that "human beings tend to feel committed to a decision (or an activity) to the extent that they have participated in making it (or planning it)." (Knowles, 1980, p. 48) When a teacher tries to impose activities which they alone have planned upon adult learners they will be met with apathy, resentment, and withdrawal. But adults will respond with enthusiasm to the chance to plan their own learning process, with the teacher serving as a guide or resource.

Not only the planning, but the undertaking of the learning process should be "the mutual responsibility of learners and teacher." (Knowles, 1980, p. 50) Within this learning process, emphasis should be placed on techniques that tap the rich experiences of the adult learners--techniques such as group discussion, simulation exercises, and field projects. Adult education should allow adults to relate their past and present experience to the learning process, much in the way that participatory community development should allow citizens to relate their past and present experiences to the community's development process.

Stephen Brookfield: Adult Education and Participatory Community Development:

The leap from the concept of andragogy to the practice of adult community development-oriented adult education is not very far. Stephen Brookfield, in his text, *Adult Learners, Adult Education and the Community*, makes the connection between adult education and community development within his definition of the "liberating model of adult education". (Brookfield, 1983, p. 69) Brookfield associates the liberating model of adult education for community development with radical adult educators and political theorists such as Freire. Within this model,

community education is defined as "a compensatory or readjustment mechanism concerned to promote the collective well-being of an identified disadvantaged or disenfranchised group." (Brookfield, 1983, p. 69)

Brookfield characterizes this model of education as distinctive because it fails to draw clear demarcations between the acts of education, social development, and political change. Instead, theorists contend that these acts are interwoven in a community-based movement to attain social justice. Within the liberating model, adult education becomes a means whereby marginalized or disadvantaged groups may gain awareness of collective problems and organize in order to help attain the social, economic and political rights denied to them. A liberating adult education project will therefore measure its achievement not just by how many people learned to read, but how many came to seek social justice. As one community adult educator declared, "in the most important sense success will depend on the extent to which adult education contributes to the process of social change." (Brookfield, 1983, p. 69)

Brookfield admits that forms of community-based adult education are derived from Western cultural ideals of local-level democratic political organization, and therefore may not be suitably applied to all communities. It is especially important, according to Brookfield, for educators and community workers to realize that communities are not the homogenous units that democratic ideals suppose, but are instead composed of a number of heterogeneous factions. Therefore, community workers must beware, not only imposing their own democratic notions upon a community, but trying to serve all groups equally and expecting all groups to receive equal benefits. As proponents of liberating models of community education

have discovered, it is more beneficial to begin by serving the most disadvantaged groups--those that are least served by their local environment.(Brookfield, 1983)

Common themes in these theories of community development and adult education are ideals of participation, self-direction, equality of relations and dialogue. Vital to the grass-roots approach of adult education and community development is an emphasis on bottom-up rather than top-down initiatives for social and political change, especially at the local level. The role of communication within this approach remains to keep a channel open through which the mass of disadvantaged peoples can voice their interests, opinions and needs to those in positions of power and influence. The ideals of community development and adult education can also be applied to the use of communication within a grass-roots paradigm of development.

The Grass-Roots Paradigm of Communication for Development:

The grass-roots paradigm, as a relatively new paradigm of communication and development, is characterized by a diversity of labels and definitions. Forms of grass-roots communication can be found under various titles and guises including alternative, bottom-up, culturally-oriented, community-centred, horizontal, indigenous, multi-dimensional, participatory, and popular communication. Theorists such as Servaes, Freire, Berrigan, O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, Wang, Dissanayake, Kidd, Reyes-Matta, Nair and White all provide slightly different definitions of this new form of communication for development. Yet, despite the diversity of labels and definitions which they employ, these

theorists hold a number of assumptions in common about the fundamental elements of this new paradigm of communication for development. These elements include an emphasis on equitable participation, (especially by marginalized or disadvantaged peoples) self-management, independent production of messages, bottom-up (from marginalized to privileged groups) or horizontal (from marginalized group to marginalized group) communication, and the creation of shared inter- or intra-group meanings through dialogue or transactional communication.

A closer examination of these theorists will reveal the commonality of their support of a two-way, participatory model of communication for development in opposition to the dominant one-way, non-participatory model first perpetuated within the modernization paradigm. Models of two-way communication such as used by theorists Barnlund, Kincaid, Carey and Singer, and including the concepts of communication as a transactional, contextualized, organic and complex process have become an essential element of the grass-roots paradigm. In the struggle to attain a form of development which is participatory, equitable, and self-reliant, grass-roots theorists have come to view two-way communication as an ideal means whereby citizens can organize collectively, resolve their differences, and make their needs and wants known.

Jan Servaes: Another Development

As noted previously, communication theorist Jan Servaes has provided the most thorough summary to date of the latest paradigm of communication and

development. What Servaes terms as "another development" or "multi-dimensional development" (more commonly known as "grass-roots development") must involve the achievement of three basic components: life-sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom. (Servaes, 1983, p. 48,49) According to Servaes, such development must be viewed as a multi-dimensional process

involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty." (Servaes, 1983, p. 48)

Within this process of development, communication is viewed as a common public right and a public freedom. Servaes, summarizing the thought of a number of communication and development theorists asserts that three conditions must be met to achieve this right or freedom. First, the public must be able to participate effectively in the communication field; second, a framework in which this participation takes place should be designed and set up; and third, the media must be allowed professional autonomy, free of the influences of powerful figures.

Important political principles of communication asserted within a multi-dimensional or grass-roots paradigm of communication for development include the universal right to communication resources to meet basic needs, the creation of a national communication structure which promotes two-way communication at all levels, and the right to acquire and exercise basic communication skills. Among the various theorists cited by Servaes, two essential goals of communication for development come to the forefront: the maintenance of equitable popular participation, and the attainment of self-reliance. Through communication, according to the grass-roots paradigm, developing populations maintain the right to

hear, the right to be heard, and the need to create their own systems of education and expression leading to personal and structural development.(Servaes, 1983)

Paulo Freire and Dialogue for Conscientization:

No survey of the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development would be complete without a look at the theories of one of its founding fathers, Paulo Freire. Although a number of theorists and practitioners can be accredited with major contributions to the grass-roots model of communication and development, none has been looked to so often for inspiration in recent years as Brazilian educator, religious philosopher and social/political activist Paulo Freire. Through articles and texts such as *Pedagogy for the Oppressed* (1970), and *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1972) as well as his successfully organized community development and adult education projects in a number of Third World nations, Freire's theories have come to form much of the basis of the recent repopularization of grass-roots communication for development.

As noted previously, Freire begins with a revolutionary process of adult literacy education from which ideas of political, social, cultural and economic development are naturally generated. Freire uniquely distinguishes between the typical student-teacher education relationship, which he calls "banking education" and the more equitable relationship of conscientization or critical education.(Freire, 1972) Banking education, as Freire terms the dominant form of pedagogy, involves a teacher-student relationship characterized by power and oppression, where, "instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes

deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat."(Freire, 1972, p. 58).

True education, according to Freire takes place between an educator and an educatee who share their knowledge and experience with one another in order to develop a critical understanding of their place in the social, cultural, political and economic order. Through equitable dialogue, such persons can come not only to understand their place in the world, but also how they can transform their world to better suit their needs. (Freire, 1972) As Freire asserts:

Knowledge is not extended from those who consider that they know to those who consider that they do not know. Knowledge is built up in the relations between human beings and the world, relations of transformation, and perfects itself in the critical problematization of these relations. (Freire, 1972, p. 109)

Within his text, *Education for Critical Consciousness*--specifically the section entitled *Extension or Communication*, Freire contrasts the ideal of conscientization with the common forms of communication for development as evidenced in the modernization paradigm. Focusing upon the concept of "extensionism" within the development process, Freire notes that the term implies the mechanical transmission of a message, the content of which is dictated by the transmitter, from a superior source (an extension agent--an expert representative of an elite government) to an inferior receiver (a disadvantaged peasant). In this way the extension agent becomes the truly human Subject of knowledge, while the peasant is left to the less than-human role as the Object of the agent's transmissions.

Negating the worth of the dominant one-way, top-down pattern of communicating modernizing messages, Freire asserts that extension agents and

professional development planners do not promote development communication in any true sense of the word. (Freire, 1972) As Freire declares:

from a truly humanistic point of view, it is not for them to extend, entrust, or dictate their technical capacities, nor is it for them to persuade by using peasants as "blank pages" for their propaganda. In their role as educators, they must refuse to "domesticate" people. Their task is communication, not extension. (Freire, 1972, p. 97)

Freire asserts that extension agents must be willing to engage in dialogue with peasants in order to avoid invading peasant culture with an alien view of the world. According to Freire, if extension agents engage in dialogue, "they neither invade, manipulate, or conquer. They thus deny the connotation of the term 'extension'" (Freire, 1972, p. 116) When the extension agent tries to impose his/her view of the world on the peasant, he/she engages in cultural invasion, propaganda and manipulation. When, however, the agent endeavours to share his view of the world and the view of the peasant through humanistic dialogue, the possibility of mutual education exists.

Freire's theories of communication used within the conscientization process reflect the two-way models of communication presented by Barnlund and others. (Freire, 1972) The inseparable reciprocity of a two-way communication relationship is reflected in this definition of communication by Freire:

The thinking Subject cannot think alone. In the act of thinking about the object s/he cannot think without the co-participation of another Subject. There is no longer an "I think" but "we think." It is the "we think" which establishes the "I think" and not the contrary. This co-participation of the Subjects in the act of thinking is communication. (Freire, 1972, p. 137)

Thus, within Freire's model of communication for development, equitable participation by those individuals (subjects) labelled as "sender" and "receiver" within a conventional one-way model is indispensable.

Freire also acknowledges the importance of accommodating the differential perceptions of dialoguing subjects in order to ensure the success of communication. As Freire asserts, the expressions of each subject must be understandable within the other's internal frame of meaning. Thus, extension agents can only communicate with peasants by entering their cultural universe and attempting to understand their frames of reference. (Freire, 1972)

UNESCO: Communication and Participation

Two UNESCO reports, one published in 1979 by Frances Berrigan and one published in 1980 by Jerimiah O'Sullivan-Ryan and Mario Kaplun have provided some extensive summaries of the structure and practice of grass-roots communication. Both reports provide some detail about how concepts such as participation, access and self-management can be operationalized in terms of communication and applied to a real-life development setting. Although the reports display some minor differences in regard to how they refer to the process of participatory communication, their similarities are striking.

Berrigan: Community Communication

In a 1979 UNESCO report on mass communication, "Community Communications: the role of community media in development", Frances J.

Berrigan discusses the potential of small-scale, interactive media for promoting participatory community development. Berrigan contrasts the vertical, one-way, homogeneous, non-participatory approach of national mass media systems to the horizontal, two-way, heterogeneous, participatory approach of community-centred communication systems. While mass communication systems remain inaccessible to individuals wishing to question, criticize or comment upon content, community communication systems hold feedback as an essential part of the communication structure. (Berrigan, 1979)

Berrigan defines community communication as:

media to which members of the community have access, for information, education, entertainment, when they want access. They are media in which the community participates, as planners, producers, performers. They are the means of expression of the community, rather than for the community. Community communications describe an exchange of views and news, not a transmission from one source to another. (Berrigan, 1979, p. 8)

Community communications are therefore supported by media which allow individuals at the community level access to information necessary to make decisions concerning their part in the development process. They also allow the community to exchange their views through discussion and make decisions concerning development policies and action. Finally, community media allow communities to exchange their views about development with other communities as well as national planners and administrators.

Media of community communication vary from the technological sophistication of radio, photographs, audio and video cassette tapes to the relative

simplicity of folk drama, drawings and posters. According to Berrigan, the medium of communication is less important than the means by which it is employed. Community media are media which can be available locally, which are affordable, which can be operated by non-professionals, which can be locally serviced or maintained, and most importantly, enable wide-spread participation by community members. (Berrigan, 1979) In Berrigan's words, community media

should contribute to another approach to development:

one which is based upon participation, (that) demands that the people affected by development are involved in a selection of development priorities, and the design of projects. It is an approach which attempts to build upon a consensus. Participation calls for a horizontally-layered process, in which community groups consider and decide priorities for development and suggest the ways in which this can be achieved. It is in the operation of this procedure that community communications can play a part. (Berrigan, 1979, p. 13)

Some essential questions presented by Berrigan concern the politicization of communities through the use of community media. In countries where citizens are accorded the legal right to basic needs but for one reason or another have not been accorded these rights, the use of community media to protest this injustice is appropriate. However, in the majority of developing countries, where citizens are not accorded the legal right to basic necessities, political protest should be undertaken with more caution. The question remains, should aid agencies attempt to introduce politicizing community media techniques to a disadvantaged community, knowing that rebellious actions, on the part of the community could lead to violent retaliation from those in power? Or should these agencies ignore the structural limitations which perpetuate the community's poverty and focus on local initiatives which do not threaten those in power? (Berrigan, 1979) These are tough

questions which are not often posed by grass-roots paradigm supporters--perhaps because there are no easy answers.

O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun: Grass-roots Participation:

In their 1980 report to UNESCO, "*Communication and Society: Communication Methods to Promote Grass-roots Participation*" researchers Jeremiah O'Sullivan-Ryan and Mario Kaplun discuss the Latin American perspective of communication and grass-roots development in the Third World. O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun note that the present inclination toward grass-roots communication was well-summarized in UNESCO's 1976 "*Report on Means of Enabling Active Participation in the Communication Process and Analysis of the Right to Communicate*" which declared that:

In the past, the role of communication in human society was seen essentially as to inform and influence people. It is now being proposed that communication should be understood as a process of social interaction through a balanced exchange of information and experience. . . This shift in perception implies the predominance of dialogue over monologue. The aim is to achieve a system of horizontal communication based upon an equitable distribution of resources and facilities enabling all persons to send as well as to receive messages. (O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, 1980, p. 3)

According to O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, Latin American development theorists view participatory communication strategies "as social processes in which groups with common interests promote communication strategies that can be used as instruments for change." (O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, 1980, p. 11)

Participatory communication is perceived as a tool by which disadvantaged groups can combat their marginality in the social, political, economic and even cultural

structures of their nations. As evidenced in these statements, ideals of communication and development within Latin America have been much influenced by the work of Paulo Freire.

O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun note that despite the fact that international aid agencies have espoused the values of participatory development for years, the actual reification of these values has suffered from a number of shortcomings. As the authors point out, no consistent definitions of participation have been used by agencies, and when participation is defined, it is often in a very abstract manner. As well, explanations of participation speak of causes rather than consequences, and very few analyses of real-life participatory approaches can actually be found. Within Latin America, real-life participatory approaches often take place within the context of oppressive political regimes, and therefore groups working within such projects are afraid to define themselves as participatory or distribute reports of their experiences.

O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun report that one of the best conceptual definitions of participatory or grass-roots communication was put forth at a UNESCO conference on "*Self-Management, Access and Participation in Communication*" in 1977. The conference defined "access" as related to both the level of choice and the level of feedback available to individuals. (O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, 1980) Within a participatory system, individuals have access to a wide range of communication materials "the choice of which is made by the public instead of being imposed by production organizations." (O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, 1980, p. 16) Access also implies an interaction between producers and receivers of communication messages so that that audience members maintain a

means of contact with administrators of communication organizations through which they may comment and criticize.

The conference defines participation as the involvement of the public in production and management of communication systems. It is recommended that the public have unlimited opportunities to produce communication programs with the aid of technical facilities and professional help. The public should also be involved in decision-making concerning the planning of programs, the management of communication organizations and the formulation of national, regional and local communication policies. The ultimate aim of such participation is public self-management.

Despite its idealized approach to the creation of grass-roots communication systems, the conference did recognize restrictions preventing the realization of such systems, especially at a national level. Such restrictions include structural constraints such as the lack of communication infrastructure and resources, socio-cultural constraints such as illiteracy, the use of a dominant language among diverse language groups, and political or ideological constraints which restrict the spread of dissenting national political or ideological views. The conference also recognizes that even when projects labelled participatory are given national government approval, they are usually made to conform to the hierarchical, top-down approaches of the government's central planning office, thus making their participatory element almost negligible. (O' Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, 1980)

Indigenous Communication: Wang, Dissanayake and Kidd

Within their text, *Continuity and Change in Communication Systems: An Asian Perspective*, editors Georgette Wang and Wimal Dissanayake focus upon the role of culturally indigenous communication systems within the development processes of Asian nations. Wang and Dissanayake point to three major elements relevant to a new, culturally-oriented development concept which have much in common with the grass-roots paradigm of Servaes et al. The first element referred to in culturally-oriented development is a focus on local initiatives for development, including an emphasis on active local-level decision-making, participation and bottom-up communication. Second, endogenous factors such as indigenous cultural beliefs and practices are recognized as essential to the achievement of culturally-oriented development goals. Third, development is conceived of as a multi-dimensional process--the improvement of every aspect of life, according to local or national cultural definitions (rather than outside definitions imposed by international forces) is essential to the development process. (Wang and Dissanayake, 1984a)

Wang and Dissanayake note that within the modernization paradigm of communication for development, theorists such as Lerner rejected indigenous communication systems as imbedded in traditional culture and thus antithetical to the creation of a modern society. Mass communication systems imported from more modern, foreign cultures were viewed by theorists such as Lerner as the inevitable replacements for "the indigenous communication system, characterized by oral communication and direct participation by the audience." (Wang and

Dissanayake, 1984b, p. 24) Later it was discovered that mass communication systems accompanied by centralized planning, and top-down, one-way transmissions from government representatives to disadvantaged peoples were found to be ineffective in promoting development, partly because of their insensitivity to local needs and culture.

Despite the fact that indigenous communication systems are more readily and universally accessible, culturally relevant and open to participation than mass media systems, they have been largely ignored by development for communication theorists and planners. Part of the reason for this ignorance is the association of indigenous communication with rural areas, in contrast with the urban focus of most development planners. Development planners, as noted earlier by Chambers, often hold little interest in the natural information environment or traditional communication systems of the rural poor. Western-oriented theorists tend to concentrate upon information or education-centred communication systems (such as the mass media) while ignoring the more unfamiliar indigenous culture-based communication systems. (Wang and Dissanayake, 1984b)

Dissanayake: Buddhist Communication

Dissanayake speaks of a fourth paradigm of communication for development which corresponds closely with Servaes' grass-roots, multi-dimensional paradigm. Dissanayake characterizes the paradigm as concerned with self-reliance, popular participation in decision-making processes, use of local resources, fulfillment of basic needs, and the integration of indigenous cultural factors into the development process. Most importantly, according to Dissanayake,

the fourth paradigm rejects the tendency to imitate Western modes of development, instead opting for approaches uniquely suited to local needs and circumstances.

(Dissanayake, 1984) As an example of a project in keeping with this fourth paradigm, Dissanayake presents a Sri Lankan Buddhist approach to development, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.

Sarvodaya literally means "the welfare of everyone." (Dissanayake, 1984, p. 39) In 1958 the Sarvodaya movement began as a self-help organization with development programs in over 2,500 villages scattered throughout Sri Lanka. By 1977, 138,580 Sri Lankans were participating in 454 development camps voluntarily organized by Buddhist religious brethren in concert with citizens. The objectives of the Movement are 1) to create an awareness of problems of concern to villagers and devise means to solve them 2) develop community leadership skills 3) Teach economically profitable skills (as well as organizational skills) 4) Encourage the planning of independent development programs and find the resources to support them. (Dissanayake, 1984)

Dissanayake defines the Sarvodaya approach to development in this manner:

Its objective is community awakening through self-help and the formulation of development programs which bear the unmistakable imprint of the indigenous culture. Rather than blindly following the developmental scenarios that have been written in the West—no doubt, of Western interests—the architects of the Sri Lanka Sarvodaya Movement are engaged in a timely and arduous endeavour to formulate and put into practice a development strategy springing from the deepest currents of the culture that permeates society. (Dissanayake, 1984, p. 39)

The Sarvodaya movement encourages the development of a social order in keeping with Buddhist values such as self-knowledge, self-reliance, cooperation, popular participation in economics and politics, dependence on small-scale, labour-intensive organizations, and balanced urban and rural growth. Within the Sarvodaya movement the development of personal and social moral consciousness are intertwined, so that the individual achieves a sense of personal liberation through the liberation of his fellow man.

The Movement, as Dissanayake asserts, operates according to Buddhist notions of interpersonal and group communications in keeping with Sri Lankan culture. (Dissanayake 1984) Dissanayake contrasts the one-way, Western Aristotelian model of communication typical of the modernization paradigm with the Buddhist model within the following chart:

<u>ARISTOTELIAN MODEL</u>	<u>BUDDHIST MODEL</u>
1. Emphasis on communicator	1. Emphasis on receiver
2. Influence on a key notion	2. Understanding a key notion
3. Focus on control	3. Focus on choice
4. Emphasis on outward process	4. Emphasis on both outward and inward processes
5. Relationship between communicator and receiver asymmetrical	5. Relationship between communicator and receiver symmetrical
6. Stress on intellect	6. Stress on empathy

(Dissanayake, 1984, p. 49)

It becomes apparent from examining these models that the Aristotelian model displays all the characteristics of a one-way model of communication from a forceful, dominating source to a passive receiver. The Buddhist model, however is more in keeping with two-way models such as Barnlund's which are based on a notion of communication as a process of meaning exchange between individuals who are simultaneously sources and receivers.

Kidd: The Performing Arts and Development in India

In his article "*The Performing Arts and Development in India: Three Case Studies and a Comparative Analysis*", Ross Kidd takes a critical look at three organizations with different methods of employing indigenous communication in India. Two of the organizations, the Song and Dance Division (SDD) of the Indian government, and Jagran, a Delhi-based non-government agency are characterized by Ross as dictatorial or domesticating in their approach. The third organization, Action for Cultural and Political Change (ACPC), a voluntary animation team in Southern India is characterized as liberating in its approach. The first two organizations can be said to follow a modernization approach to the employment of communication for development, while the third can be said to be characteristically grass-roots or bottom-up in its approach.

The Indian Song and Drama Division was created in 1954 as a section of the national Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Its principle purpose was to promote national unity and the government's development plans: capital savings, agricultural development, family planning and prohibition through live entertainment media. The native song and drama campaign was launched in

concert with a series of campaigns promoting government programs which were carried out through the mass media.

The Song and Drama Division is organized through central government offices which determine its policy and commission the scripts used. Ritual forms of song and dance as well as traditional forms of theatre are employed to showcase government development plans. A typical script will compare the lives of two families, one modern, the other traditional. For example, a common family planning theme involves the story of two neighbours, one who ignores the advice of a family planning officer and finds it increasingly difficult to care for his growing family, while his neighbour, who heeds the advice and limits his family to two children reaps the financial benefits of his decision.

Jagran, a mobile mime troupe first organized during the massive Indian population control program in the last half of the '60's to communicate development objectives through mime. Today, Jagran defines its purpose as to make the oppressed Harijan people conscious of the obstacles to their development, services provided by the government, their rights as citizens and their responsibility to their community. (Kidd, 1984) Jagran also hopes to change

"traditional habits and attitudes" which they see as the major obstacle (along with ignorance of opportunities for self-advancement through government services) to Harijan self-development. (Kidd, 1984, p. 103)

Skits performed by Jagran are very similar those of the Song and Dance Division in their simplicity and dictatorial nature. In a skit closely resembling one performed by the SSD, the Jagran troupe mimes the difficulties of a man, his pregnant wife and nine children attempting to get onto an over-crowded bus.

Scripts are produced using government-produced research and performed by actors with the aid of a narrator familiar with the local dialect.

The final group discussed, Action for Cultural and Political Change was founded by six young Harijan graduates in 1974 in order to organize Harijan and other agricultural laborers to fight for better living and working conditions.

Drawing on Freire's approach to communication for conscientization, as well as a Gandhian approach to peaceful political protest, the ACPC group seeks to develop an organized approach to attacking structural inequities. Dividing into four independent teams of animateurs, ACPC has tried to stimulate the development of local-level labourers' organizations which can eventually join together to form a broad-based movement.

The first stage in an ACPC animation process is a period of acceptance in an area where they have been invited to come. After choosing a village with a fairly large population and a history of struggle, an animateur finds a place to stay, gets to know the local citizens, and studies his local surroundings. The animateur then calls a mass meeting explaining that the purpose of his presence is to build a laborers' movement. If the community decides to accept the ACPC program the animateur begins the second stage of the process--the adult education and literacy classes.

Literacy classes motivate Harijan participation and provide a discussion forum for socioeconomic and political issues of concern to the village. Skits, spontaneous role-plays and other participatory dramas are used to re-enact local concerns such as landlord-tenant relations, followed by a group discussion of personal experiences relating to such concerns. During these discussions the

animateur conscientizes the group to the structural causes leading to their problems and suggests that their disunity may only serve to continue their oppression.

The next step in the process is the training of village leaders and action committees. Ten to fifteen highly-motivated citizens (usually not the formal leaders of the village) are chosen by the animateur to help mobilize the community and devise strategies to attack issues of most concern to them. Methods of group discussion used in the literacy classes are also employed within these action committees.

Finally, the Harijans unite to tackle small issues such as petitioning local bureaucrats for basic services in order to build confidence and experience. The community then progresses to more fundamental struggles using various forms of peaceful public protest such as wage strikes, hunger strikes, land occupations and the like. This higher level of struggle requires a greater mobilization of citizens, including more mass meetings and the creation of inter-village action committees.

To summarize, Kidd criticizes both the Song and Dance Division and Jagran for their modernization-style approaches to development. Both SDD and Jagran are hierarchies espousing a top-down model of communication in which decisions are made at a central office and passed down to local-level workers. Both SDD and Jagran ignore social structural problems to focus on traditional individual behaviours thought to be contrary to the official goals of development (such as family planning). According to Kidd, SDD and Jagran seek to persuade developing peoples that they are to blame for their own development problems, and should seek to change themselves and their situations accordingly.

In contrast the ACPC is a collective, cooperative, grass-roots style project rather than a top-down initiative. ACPC does not blame the poor for their poverty by ridiculing their attitudes or behaviors, but instead seeks to attack the structural inequities which keep the poor oppressed and exploited. While SDD and Jagran speak *to* the poor through dictatorial sketches, ACPC dialogues *with* the poor, holding their consent and participation to be critical to the development process. (Kidd, 1984) Kidd summarizes the essential differences between the two approaches to communication for development in this way:

SDD and Jagran are "top-down," "banking" exercises; ACPC is one of conscientization. The former deliver information in a one-way fashion about topics largely chosen by decision makers outside the community; the latter stimulates popular expression of, discussion, and action on problems identified within and by the community. The former is an exercise in propaganda--an active source operating on a passive receiver with the object of anesthetizing people and persuading them to accept the legitimacy of the ideas they are receiving from the dominant structure. The latter is a process of engagement, analysis, questioning, and deepening people's understanding and resistance to the dominant structure. (Kidd, 1984, p. 117)

The writings of Wang, Dissanayake, and Kidd all attest that an important element of the grass-roots approach is the incorporation of a society or community's unique indigenous cultural expressions. One method of promoting development while preserving these expressions is through the use of traditional of folk communication forms and structures. Also central to the writings of all three is the incorporation of two-way, participatory forms of communication within these cultural expressions, as generally asserted within the paradigm of communication for development.

Kidd's work especially points to the possible revolutionary political implications of a locally-based grass-roots project which aims for regional organization and national attention to inequities. As one of the more radical applications of grass-roots communication to the local development process, the Harijan movement attests to the fact that local grass-roots initiatives can expand to connect regionally and attack local, regional, and eventually, national structural inequities. The success of such projects, as Kidd notes, must be considered in concert with the retaliatory measures which they provoke from local, regional and national power-holders and/or authorities.

Communication for Participation: Exploring the Discipline

Perhaps because the grass-roots paradigm is still in its formation stage, it appears to be expanding in two directions: while theorists' definitions are becoming more specific, they are also becoming more diverse. Now that the basic premises of the paradigm have been established (participation, equitable communication, self-management) theorists are coming to realize that a good deal of diversity and freedom of interpretation is possible within the paradigm's limits. More recent publications by communication for development theorists such as Fernando Reyes-Matta, K.S. Nair and Shirley A. White reveal some of the different means and levels by which grass-roots communication can be employed within the development process.

Reyes-Matta and Alternative Communication:

Within his article "*Alternative Communication: Solidarity and Development in the Face of Transnational Expansion*", Latin American theorist Fernando Reyes-Matta reveals some of the problems faced by critics seeking an alternative to the forms of communication for development established under the modernization paradigm. One of the greatest problems is the wide range of communication practices grouped together under the term alternative communication. (Reyes-Matta, 1986) As Reyes-Matta asserts:

Definitions of 'alternative communication' are still unclear. Marginal communication, group communication, popular communication, and horizontal communication are encompassed by the widest definition of alternative communication, which must refer as well to the relationship between alternative communication and the dominated: the oppressed sectors of society at the national level, and the dominated countries at the international level. (Reyes-Matta, 1986, p. 190)

Reyes-Matta notes that alternative communication's diverse forms "emerge from the need to express the particular world view of a social group, class, country or region." (Reyes-Matta, 1986, p. 191). A form of communication which is truly alternative must therefore remain heterogeneous enough to accommodate the unique social, cultural, economic and political realities of those persons who seek to employ it.

As Reyes-Matta reveals, alternative communication is a concept which can be defined by what it is *not* as much as by what it *is*. Alternative forms of communication first arose in opposition to the dominant systems of communication (both national and international) which marginalized certain sectors or populations. Within Latin America these alternative forms of communication arose to confront

the economic and political authoritarianism of the national and international systems which kept the majority of the population oppressed. But alternative communication must do more than just stand in opposition to a dominant or oppressive systems in order to survive.

In order to survive, alternative forms of communication must adapt to the needs of the particular group or society which employs them.(Reyes-Matta, 1986)

As Reyes-Matta explains:

an alternative project's relation to society is what determines its existence and growth. Thus, alternative communication experiments are consequences of a will to act that makes them the center and mobilizing force for a given kind of action, a given historical project for which they can be sources of information, orientation, or symbolism, and points of reference for identity, for atomized sectors wishing to reconstruct their social fabric.(Reyes-Matta, 1986, p. 202)

So alternative forms of communication provide not only oppositional media, but also means of access and participation for populations and sectors whose unique needs and contributions are ignored by the dominant communication systems.

Despite the variations which characterize alternative communication, there are some fundamental elements common to most alternative forms or systems. In defining these fundamental elements, Reyes-Matta echoes the assertions of Servaes, Freire and other theorists whose contributions to the grass-roots paradigm of communication and development have already been discussed. (Reyes-Matta, 1986) In fact, he asserts that "alternative forms are bound, inevitably and necessarily, to the advances made by Paulo Freire."(Reyes-Matta, 1986, p. 200).

Fundamental elements of the alternative communication process include social dialogue rooted in the real-life experience of the participants, popular participation, critical reasoning or consciousness-raising skills, cooperative or solidarity movements and democratic decision-making means. Forms of communication which may accommodate this alternative process may include traditional expressions of folk culture (indigenous communication) interwoven with more modern forms of technology such as film, photography, slides, audio and video cassettes which can be manipulated by marginalized populations. Common to all alternative forms recommended by Reyes-Matta is the possibility of a two-way dialogue between the senders and receivers of communication which permits an interaction not possible within the confines of dominant modes and systems of communication.

Nair and White: Levels of Participation

Within their 1987 article "*Participation is the key to development communication*", K.S. Nair and Shirley A. White conform to the grass-roots paradigm's definition of communication as part of "a *transactional* process model in which the adoptors and the experts give and take within mutually agreed upon common values." (Nair and White, 1987, p. 36) Nair and White see participation as an essential feature of grass-roots development, but they recognize that participation has many different possible dimensions and forms. Referring to Cohen and Uphoff's 1980 article, "*Participation's Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity through Specificity*", Nair and White note that a number of questions about participation's place in development program should be asked. Questions

concerning who participates, the process of participation, the kinds of participation occurring--such as participation in decision-making, implementation, benefits, and evaluation of a development program are all relevant to the analysis of a development project.

When these questions are applied to the field of communication for development, the process of transactional dialogue comes under scrutiny. (Nair and White, 1987) Nair and White note that the process of communication usually associated with grass-roots or participatory development "is a dialogue, wherein sender and receiver of messages interact over a period of time, to arrive at shared meanings." (Nair and White, 1987, p. 37). The senders and receivers within the typical transactional process include a development communicator or change agent and the disadvantaged citizens of a rural community.

Nair and White note that within this transactional process, however, there are varying degrees of participation between development communicator and rural community members. The participatory level of a particular development program can be placed upon a continuum of participation ranging from high to low. The extent to which both development professional and developing community citizens should participate in the process of development communication may vary according to the medium of communication employed as well as situational factors such as resources available. Both the development professional and developing community citizens have the responsibility to decide the extent to which they should participate in the various aspects of the process. (Nair and White, 1987) (See Figure 6)

Nair and White's Matrix of Participation

		Development Communicator (DC)		
(TG)		high	quasi	low
T a r g e t G r o u p R e c e i v e r	h i g h	IDEAL (1)	ACTIVE (2)	BOTTOM (3)
	q u a s i	PASSIVE (4)	TRANSACTIONAL (5)	ELECTIVE (6)
	l o w	TOP-DOWN (7)	SELECTIVE (8)	HAPHAZARD (9)

Figure 6

Source: Nair and White, 1987, p.37

When comparing the grass-roots paradigm's approach to communication and development with that of the modernization paradigm, the differences between the two become very clear. While the modernization paradigm concentrates on the transference of ethnocentrically Western values and behaviours to developing nation peoples, the grass-roots paradigm concentrates on the preservation of unique indigenous cultural traditions. While the modernization paradigm relies upon a one-way model of communication, whereby an authority dictates, or transmits development messages to "passive" disadvantaged peoples, the grass-roots paradigm promotes a two-way model whereby disadvantaged peoples dialogue with authorities and/or one-another.

While the modernization paradigm emphasizes the use of inherently one-way mass media, and even employs interpersonal communication in a one-way, top-down fashion, the grass-roots paradigm emphasizes the use of (especially small-scale) media which lend themselves to two-way dialogue, especially in concert with interpersonal communication. While the modernization paradigm defines participation as the involvement of citizens in behaviour affirming central government authority (such as voting after receiving persuasive messages from the mass media) the grass-roots paradigm defines participation as the involvement of disadvantaged peoples in behaviour (including dialogue) which allows them to choose and create their own form of development. Finally, while the modernization paradigm encourages disadvantaged peoples to be dependent upon a central government authority for the production of messages, the grass-roots paradigm

encourages these people to independently produce and disseminate their own opinions and decisions concerning their place in the development process.

The political implications of the modernization versus the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development provide us with perhaps the most crucial contrast between the two. While the modernization paradigm supports the authority of a hierarchical political structure, the grass-roots paradigm, in its more radical form, challenges the status quo by demanding a more equitable system. When grass-roots projects challenge the status quo they approach the ideal of structural change which many critics of the modernization paradigm have supported, but they also attract unfavourable, sometimes violent attention from authorities. The problem of how far a grass-roots project should or must go in order to challenge structural inequities has not as yet been sufficiently discussed within the grass-roots paradigm.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICISMS OF THE GRASS-ROOTS PARADIGM
OF COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

Criticisms of the present configuration of the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development have been noticeably absent, probably because of the relative youth of the paradigm. In this author's search for critical assessments of the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development only a very few works were found to be applicable. As the grass-roots paradigm grows in popularity and more theorists become aware of its dimensions as well its applications, such criticisms will necessarily become more numerous. Such criticisms which are available will be examined, and some personal assessments by the author will be made.

CRITICISMS OF THE PARADIGM OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATIONJames Midgley, Anthony Hall and the Application of Participatory Development:

Within his article "*Community Participation: History, Concepts and Controversies*" (1986), James Midgley notes that a principal reason why criticisms of participatory development have been so limited is because of the difficulty in separating the ideological or ethical issues from the theoretical or practical considerations. The ideals which are popularized within the participatory paradigm—such as equitable participation, self-reliance, access, social justice, cannot be seen as anything but laudable, and social scientists who criticize this paradigm may be

accused of criticizing these ideals. It is not, however, the social scientist's duty to judge the moral efficacy of particular ideals, but rather to judge their theoretical consistency and their application to real-life situations.

In regard to the real-life application of participatory community development, Midgley notes that many of the assumptions made by theorists in regard to the equality and cohesiveness of disadvantaged communities are overly idealistic. (Midgley, 1986) As Midgley notes theorists often ignore the fact that:

even deprived communities are differentiated in terms of status, income and power. Nor is it recognized that poor people do not always behave in the nicest way towards each other...the exploiters in many poor communities are comparatively small fish who are themselves poor and exploited by others. (Midgley, 1986, p. 35)

Although communities may vary in the amount of divisiveness, even communities or community groups which are very cohesive socially, economically, and politically usually possess cultural status differentiations between old and young, male and female, religious and irreligious, etc. As Midgley asserts, a clearer understanding of these differentiations as well as the interpersonal "conflicts, rivalries and factionalism" which most communities suffer from would result in a more realistic approach to the problems of community development.

Midgley also warns that where community workers are involved in development programs, the possibility of undermining the independence of community members is always present. (Midgley, 1986) As Midgley asserts: "The very act of introducing a community worker into a the community as part of a social development project is an external imposition." (Midgley, 1986, p. 36) With the introduction of a community worker, the likelihood that he/she will impose his/her

views of the world upon the community (consciously or unconsciously) is very great.

Even community workers who consciously try to reduce their influence upon the community will probably at least try to insure that the community adopts the form of equitable participation in decision-making which he/she feels to be ideal. Yet, the concept that the democratic form of group decision-making is the ideal form is not necessarily universal. (Thompson, 1987) As noted previously, many cultures differentiate in terms of age, sex, and other culturally-determined forms of status, and these differentiations are often employed within their methods of decision-making.

Another false assumption of the participatory community development (and consequently the grass-roots) concept is that community members will be willing to make the kind of continuous commitment necessary to make a truly participatory community development project work. Midgley notes that the poor, who must devote almost every waking hour to the task of survival, have little free time to allocate to development projects. This does not mean that the poor will never be willing to devote any available time, but it does mean that community workers or other development coordinators cannot expect constant, highly-motivated support from community members. As Midgley notes:

it is surely unrealistic to hope for permanent activism or to conceive of community participation as an endless and hectic round of mass meetings, rallies, protests and other activities. (Midgley, 1984, p. 36)

Perhaps the most important concern voiced by Midgley is the extent to which participatory community development can contribute to major improvements

in social conditions. Some critics contend that community development cannot be effective because it does not alter the basic structural inequities of the national or international system. Midgley notes that the recommended means by which these structural inequities can be altered vary according to the ideological leaning of the critic. While right-leaning critics assert that only competitive enterprise can inspire development, socialist or Marxian critics opt for the revolutionary transformation of government structures. However, as noted by Servaes previously, competitive enterprise soon turns into elite monopolies, and government structures which are supposedly transformed often end up imitating the centrally-organized, top-down modes of organization used by their predecessors. (Servaes, 1983)

The relationship between the governing authority and the community development project plays a crucial role in how independent the project may become. Government approval and support is often necessary for the survival of a project, yet such government reliance has proven time and again to lead to a dictatorial approach in which the community must meet government standards and perpetuate government decisions. Many practitioners have concluded that the less involved a development project is with national government or other authority-oriented organizations, the more likely that it can become truly autonomous or participatory. (Midgley, 1986) However, as Berrigan and others have noted, projects which directly oppose government policies, especially in the more oppressive nations, are often in constant danger of being forcefully terminated. (Berrigan, 1979, Thompson, 1987)

Hall reaffirms this contention, noting that "state-directed participation is a contradiction in terms." (Hall, 1986) According to Hall, projects funded by

/ voluntary, non-government agencies are far more likely to lead to the true participation of disadvantaged peoples, but tend to be small, dispersed, and difficult to link together on a national scale. As Hall asserts:

Once projects grow in size beyond a certain point the problems of bureaucratization and growing official links with government increase the danger that they could lose many of their original 'participatory' features such as dialogue and democratic decision-making.
(Hall, 1986, p. 103)

The application of two-way grass-roots communication models to real life communities is thus more complicated than indicated by most theorists. Internal divisiveness as well as simple cultural distinctions can reduce the likelihood of an equitable form of participatory decision-making arising at the community level. As well, the funding and organization of communities employing grass-roots models of communication can greatly affect how truly independent of authoritarian communication systems the community is likely to become. While these criticisms suggest that the grass-roots paradigm is overly simplistic, the following criticisms of Robin Mansell suggest that the paradigm has no legitimacy at all.

Robin Mansell: Criticism of the New Dominant Paradigm

A more specific criticism of the grass-roots paradigm of communication for development is provided by Robin Mansell in the article "The 'New Dominant Paradigm' in Communication: Transformation versus Adaptation." (1982). Mansell contends that the grass-roots paradigm is not only flawed but completely illegitimate substitute for its predecessor, the dependency paradigm. (Mansell, 1982) Chief among Mansell's criticisms is the contention that the new paradigm is a very

narrowly-concerned approach "unconcerned with the importance of the political, economic, and social context in which the process of communication development must take place." (Mansell, 1982, p. 42)

In this vein, Mansell accuses the grass-roots paradigm of simply being an adaptation of the old modernization paradigm, (an old idea perpetuated by different labels) rather than a truly transformed paradigm in the Kuhnian sense. Mansell asserts that the two-way models perpetuated with the grass-roots paradigm divert attention away from the essentially one way, dependent nature of communication relationships between First and Third World countries. As Mansell notes:

The assumption built into the model is that communication relationships are inherently mutually beneficial and positive, and that they are entered into voluntarily by all participants. Clearly, the reality of communication relationships in the context of international relations has not been characterized by this assumption. (Mansell, 1982, p. 53)

The grass-roots emphasis on mutuality, reciprocity, and convergence of meaning in communication relationships diverts critical attention away from the inequities of existing communication imbalances and leaves theorists without an applicable critical model. According to Mansell, the effect of such two-way models when applied to dominated-dominator relationships is to "neutralize and deflect critical analysis of real relations between those participants." (Mansell, 1982, p. 53) Like the modernization paradigm, Mansell sees the grass-roots paradigm of development as suffering from an absence of political and economic contextual analyses.

Mansell further asserts that the new dominant paradigm does not provide for the examination (or even the recognition) of factors which constrain communication in the development process. For this reason, Mansell contends that the grass-roots paradigm does not even recognize the dependency paradigm. (Mansell, 1982)

Dependency theorists, unlike grass-roots theorists, (Mansell, 1982, p. 54) recognize that research is needed "break the strength and direction" of dependent First-World-Third World relationships. According to Mansell, such research has led to more critical solutions to dependent relationships, like the call for a New World Information and Economic Order. (Mansell, 1982, p. 54).

Criticisms of the Grass-Roots Paradigm--Validity?

Much of what Midgley and Hall write concerning the difficulties of applying the concept of participatory community development (and hence, grass-roots communication) to real-life development situations cannot be refuted. The general lack of recognition within the grass-roots paradigm of the real-life divisiveness among disadvantaged groups is undeniable. Although many such groups have overcome their differences to form cooperatives, unions and other solidarity efforts, the presence and potential divisiveness of such differences should never be ignored.

Also undeniable is the fact that the notion of equitable participatory decision-making is not a culturally universal concept. Although it has been advocated by theorists such as Ghandi, Nyerere and others who are fiercely loyal to their nations' unique cultural values, the notion of democratic (or social democratic) participatory development is not culturally acceptable within all Third-World societies or social groups. (Thompson, 1987) This leaves us with the question--can grass-roots

development succeed without interfering with indigenous cultural values? Freire, Dissanayake, Kidd and others would say "yes" to this question, but other theorists and practitioners could disagree.

Another important question remains—can true participation (including communication participation) ever be realized within a authoritarian national and international system? Are all grass-roots projects doomed to be dominated by the outside ideals of community workers or directed by central government or other authorities? The tendency for domination is strong, but the formation of independent, community-based cooperative efforts like the Basic Christian Communities of Central America attest to the possibility of self-directed participation by disadvantaged groups. Many of the revolutionary movements of Central and South America have strong ties to Basic Christian Communities which display all the characteristics of grass-roots participation. (Berryman, 1984, p. 35). Robert White in his article, "*Communication popular: language of liberation*" (1986) specifically speaks of the role of grass-roots or "popular" communication in the organization of Honduran peasant communities which have become involved in land-reform movements. As he attests, many of the members of these peasant movements are also involved in Basic Christian Communities and subscribe to the grass-roots principles of liberation theology. (White, 1986)

Briefly, liberation theology (as subscribed to by Freire and others) arose in Latin America principally through priests and religious leaders who lived in close personal contact with the impoverished peoples who make up the majority of Latin America's population. Some religious leaders working within church-sponsored rural development programs such as adult education, marketing cooperatives, health

clinics, etc. came to realize that these programs failed to attack the underlying structural problems which kept the majority poor and oppressed.(White, 1986)

These leaders came to

an ever more radical commitment to support of mass organisation of peasants, agrarian reform and profound changes in the rural power structures.(White, p. 6, 1986)

This call for profound structural changes brought the radical religious leaders in conflict with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and its alignment with the ruling elite within Latin America. While radical religious leaders purported that true Christians could not stand passively by while millions suffered, the hierarchy of the Church asserted that the Church was concerned with spiritual matters and could not align itself with a political movement, especially one that provoked violent responses. The debate between the two factions continues today and has spread beyond Latin America to the Vatican and many Latin American-involved North American churches.(White, 1986)

Basic Christian Communities or *comunidades eclesiales de base* are defined by Phillip Berryman in his article, "*Basic Christian Communities and the Future of Latin America*" as

small lay-led groups of people, primarily poor, who combine consciousness-raising, bible study, worship, mutual help, and (often) political action in defense of their rights.(Berryman, 1984, p. 27)

According to Berryman there are 80,000 such communities (varying from a dozen to one hundred people) in Brazil and many more throughout Latin America. Such communities grew up as part of the liberation theology movement and as Berryman

attests, borrow much from Freire's methodology of conscientization--but they also can be considered as part of the growth of Protestantism and traditional "bible study groups" within Latin America.

Sometimes participants in Basic Christian Communities represented the minority of an actual physical community, while in other cases an entire village would belong to such an organization. When local leaders emerge within the community, pastoral agents often accede their organizational role, so that within one parish an entire network of Basic Christian Communities may emerge. Communication remains an important part of these grass-roots structures often organized to attack political, social, and economic inequities. As White has outlined

Peasant groups found in the rural parish structure, with its leadership training centres, small radio station and system of educational programmes reaching into remote communities, a ready-made pattern of local and regional communication channels. In many cases the church began providing the external structure for the process of communication popular. (popular communication) (White, 1986, p. 7)

Again, involvement in grass-roots groups (such as Basic Christian Communities) which successfully organize and endeavour to challenge established political and economic structures is a dangerous proposition for many developing-world citizens. The success of participatory protest movements among disadvantaged peoples in Central and South America has been accompanied by an incredible amount of bloodshed. (Berryman, 1984) Grass-roots (and other) theorists may ruminate about the necessity of changing social structures, but no

theorist can judge whether or not the real-life sacrifices necessary to change such structures should be made.

This leaves us with the criticisms of Mansell. Mansell's contention that the grass-roots paradigm is at best incomplete because it ignores the international sphere of dominance and dependency should be considered in relation to Servaes' contention that the dependency paradigm is incomplete because it ignores the national and local sphere. Both paradigms, as representations of a particular mode of social-scientific thought, tend to emphasize particular spheres of influence while ignoring other spheres, but neither completely forgets the importance of these other spheres.

Although the grass-roots paradigm does concentrate on the local-level of participation, it does not ignore national or even international structures of dominance and dependency. Freire, who is generally acknowledged as a father of the paradigm provides a succinct analysis of the dominance of "outside", "metropolitan", colonizing or First World cultures which invade the indigenous societies of the Third World. His analysis is indistinguishable from the that of number of dependency theorists when he argues :

Societies which are dual, "reflex", invaded, and dependent on the metropolitan society cannot develop because they are alienated; their political, economic and cultural decision-making power is located outside themselves, in the invader society. In the last analysis, the latter determines the destiny of the former: mere transformation—for it is their transformation—not their development—that is to the interest of the metropolitan society. (Freire, 1972, p. 160)

If one considers the world as a system, then the international, national and local spheres can be seen as interconnected. International dependencies and oppressions are part of national and local dependencies and vice versa. While the dependency paradigm attacks these dependencies from an international perspective and the grass-roots paradigm attacks them from a local perspective, both paradigms can be viewed as attacking the same system from different directions.

Nor can the grass-roots paradigm be said to completely ignore social, economic, and political contextual factors in its quest for participatory local-level communication. Most grass-roots theorists refer to local-level communication as a means of attaining an organized form of collective political, social or economic protest or access to political channels. (Freire, 1972, O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, 1980, Servaes, 1983, Reyes-Matta, 1986, White, 1986) Although not all grass-roots projects move beyond the local level, some (such as Freire's conscientized literacy groups, the Harijan Action for Cultural and Political Change and Latin American Christian Base Communities) have become controversial forces for national structural change.

Finally, there is Mansell's contention that the grass-roots paradigm has focused on the benefits of communication rather than the constraints. Although it cannot be denied that the grass-roots paradigm does focus on a model which pictures communication as a two-way, reciprocal, and even harmonious process, this model has arisen as an alternative to the dominating, dependency-forming models of communication which characterize many inter and intra-national relations in regard to the Third World. While the dependency paradigm provides some alternatives for these dominating relations at the international level, the grass-roots

paradigm provides alternatives at the national and local level. Despite Mansell's assertions, the New World Information and Economic Order is a no more (or less) realistic alternative than the grass-roots ideal of bottom-up participatory communication. Both alternatives are ideals which are difficult to realize and have been actively opposed by the forces in power.

So where does this leave the grass-roots paradigm? The grass-roots paradigm is an admittedly idealized, over-simplistic alternative to the dominant communication structures of most developing nations. However, the grass-roots paradigm does provide some important principles and concepts virtually ignored by the dependency paradigm. While the dependency paradigm provides a good criticism of dependent international and internationally-tied intra-national oppressions, it does not provide many concrete alternatives. The international solutions which the dependency paradigm provides for the problems of First World-Third World dominance and dependency (such as the New International Economic and Information Order) are highly unlikely to be realized at any point in the near future because they put the onus for change upon the First World dominators who have no good reason to give up their profitable ways. The withdrawal of the United States and Great Britain (and their much-needed funds) from UNESCO in response to the call for the New Order remains a case in point. Because international bodies such as UNESCO have no real power over national bodies, recommendations made by international committees are notoriously difficult, if not impossible to enforce.

The grass-roots paradigm provides a more easily realizable form of alternative communication than the dependency paradigm. If organized to attack

inequitable social, economic, and political structures, community groups employing grass-roots communication tactics can work to reduce national and nationally-tied international dominating relationships. As mentioned previously, these projects are often in danger of adopting one of two extremes--either becoming so independent that they are quashed by dominant forces which perceive them as threatening, and becoming so dependent on government or other authorities that they simply become an extension of the elite will.

As noted by Berrigan, Nair and White and others, development projects must exist in the real world, under a variety of circumstances which dictate their form and growth (or lack thereof). Any ideal of development must needs be perceived in terms of this reality, and such projects should be judged within the confines of real-life circumstances. The ideals of grass-roots development, as researchers suggest, will probably exist with varying intensity and completeness in real-life projects. The grass-roots paradigm is a young paradigm, and the results of its application to real life will take time to evaluate.

The goals of the grass-roots paradigm have been seen to be more appropriate to developing-world circumstances than those of the modernization paradigm. Its application to real-life projects has brought mixed results, but it has proven more successful than any other method in allowing the independent organization of development efforts by developing-world peoples. In concert with dependency concepts, it may offer the greatest hope for the recent future analysis of communication and development efforts. But we must remember that as a paradigm it is always limited--it will always be an imitation--but never a complete reflection of reality.

CONCLUSIONS

Our investigation of the application of models of communication to the growth of paradigms within the field of communication for development has revealed the extent to which theories and concepts have evolved. The modernization paradigm's application of communication was revealed to very much reflect the limits of the one-way models of the time. Within the paradigm theorists and practitioners perceived of communications in a simplistic, dictatorial, ethnocentric, and unresponsive fashion. Communication was something used by an elite, Westernized professional or authority figure to persuade an undifferentiated underdeveloped populace that their impoverishment was the result of their traditional ways, and that the way to success was enshrined in modernization. Whether mass or interpersonal, communication conducted within this paradigm of development always flowed in one direction--from the elite who considered themselves in the position to inform, to the disadvantaged whom the elite considered un-informed. This relationship was never reversed.

The myriad failures of this paradigm of communication and development inspired growing criticism, and the inception of alternative paradigms. The failure of the paradigm to inspire any form of understanding of, communication with, or even respect for disadvantaged developing world peoples was just one of its faults. Researchers came to recognize that the complex realities and structural limitations of national and international developing-world relationships could not begin to be

analyzed, let alone resolved by such a paradigm. In response to these insufficiencies the dependency and the grass-roots paradigm came to life.

While the dependency paradigm provided an analysis for mostly internationally-tied structural oppressions, the grass-roots paradigm focused on mostly national and local oppressions and alternatives. Among these alternatives was the organization of greater local-level cooperation among disadvantaged peoples in improving their situation and letting their opinions be heard. Herein lies the crux behind the application of more recently-developed, two-way models of communication to the grass-roots paradigm.

The principal means of organization and access was seen to be the practice (and eventual institution of) two-way dialogue at a number of levels. Such dialogue begins at the local level, and ideally extends to the national and even international level. Such dialogue reflects the concept of communication as dynamic, transactional, convergent, contextualized, and complex. Whether at the interpersonal, group or mass media level, communications among and between disadvantaged and other peoples must allow for the persistence of such dialogue, according to the grass-roots paradigm.

Recommendations for Further Study

Only the test of time can determine if the ideals of the grass-roots paradigm can significantly contribute to the *reality* of development on a world-wide basis.

Badly needed is a comprehensive, detailed study of grass-roots communication programs implemented under a number of different circumstances. As mentioned previously, the impact of divisive factors such as inter-community rivalries and

cultural hierarchies need to be investigated within the context of grass-roots development programs.

Also in need of exploration is the comparative growth of grass-roots-styled programs operating under a variety of forms of organization. How possible is it to attain local and national grass-roots objectives within a project with/without government support and/or approval, with/without the aid of an outside agency and a community worker (change agent), or with/without full community participation? In addition, more complex studies of the actual use of a variety of communication media--interpersonal, group, and mass (where applicable) within grass-roots projects are needed to determine if the use of such media actually reflect the two-way models of dialogue supported by theorists.

One of the greatest challenges which the grass-roots paradigm may have to face deals with the relative dependence or independence of a project. If an outside agent consciously tries to make the community aware of their oppression and stimulate action for change, is that agent not imposing his/her view of the world on the community? The very ideals upon which the grass-roots paradigm is based--equitable participation, access and two-way communication, are founded in Western ideals of representative democracy. When an outside agent tries to reify these ideals within a community organization, is he/she not imposing his/her cultural values upon a community? When this community responds to these ideals and challenges the authorities which maintain inequitable structures, can the aforementioned outside agent take responsibility for the possibly violent consequences?

These questions have, on the whole, been ignored within the grass-roots paradigm which often fails to follow through its recommendations to their logical conclusions. The history of development has attested to the fact that change does not usually occur without the stimulation of some kind of outside influence. (Thompson, 1987) However, if some kind of outside influence is inevitable for development, one must consider to what degree the influence is actually "outside" of the community. A North American social worker from an elite background will bring much more of an outside influence to a community than a priest educated in a nearby city who has lived and worked in the community for twenty years. Also important to consider is the degree to which the outsider is conscious of imposing his or her views on the community. An agent who consciously tries to restrict his or her influence and allows the community to decide, as much as possible, how they wish to carry out any "development" action will be less imposing than an agent with little respect for the community's wishes.

As well, a difference may be perceived between an agent who makes his or her services indispensable to a community, and one who allows community members to quickly take over his/her duties, especially in the area of leadership and organization. A true grass-roots organization cannot forever be dependent upon the direction of an outside agent, but must quickly undertake to direct its own destiny: Again, the problem arises with the fact that a community is actually a very heterogenous unit and that agents must decide which factions to support, or try to resolve the differences between the factions (often an impossible task).

The grass-roots paradigm of communications for development is itself in need of further exploration as a systematic model of thought. Its connections with

the dependency paradigm should be further defined and made explicit. As well, the various strains of the paradigm—including influences from adult education, participatory community development, liberation theology, etc. should be more strictly delineated by theorists who refer to the paradigm. Once the theoretical definitions of the paradigm have become more exact, more detailed critical evaluations of the theory itself, and especially its application to real-life circumstances (such as found in Cohen and Uphoff's "*Participation's Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity Through Specificity*") should be conducted.

Like all paradigms, the grass-roots paradigm should be considered within the confines of its social-scientific conception. As a man-made system of thought, it should be considered as a possible addition to a progressive body of theory and research concerning communications for development, not an end within itself. Its tenets should be critically dissected and evaluated, so that those concepts of use may be adopted and those which are inapplicable may be discarded.

Ties between the grass-roots paradigm and its predecessors should also be examined more closely by researchers. Although Mansell purports that the grass-roots paradigm exists in contrast with the dependency paradigm, commonalities between the two can be found. Both paradigms criticize the one-sidedness of the modernization paradigm—including its uni-dimensional approach to development and its cultural ethnocentrism. Both paradigms indicate that alternative forms of development (including alternative methods of communication) should be considered to combat the oppressive, dominating structures and relationships which presently characterize the Third World.

While the dependency paradigm focuses mostly on criticisms and international-level policy-making, the grass-roots paradigm focuses mostly on alternative practices and national or local-level objectives. The dependency paradigm focuses on large-scale, internationally mass-mediated relationships between dominant industrialized and dominated non-industrialized nations. In contrast, the grass-roots paradigm focuses on local or intra-national, often interpersonal relationships between disadvantaged community groups and local authorities. Both paradigms hold a similar vision of an ideal world in which all communication relationships exist between equal participants who neither dominate nor are dominated.

Although the grass-roots paradigm appears to exist in opposition to the modernization paradigm, some similarities may also be detected (especially when both are contrasted with the dependency paradigm). Both the grass-roots and the modernization paradigms tend to focus on local or national-level communication relationships. Both paradigms also provide more concrete applications of communication to the development process, and both consider individual-level behaviours and attitudes, although in the grass-roots paradigm an attempt is made to place these individuals within the context of structural inequalities. Finally, both paradigms suggest that the presence of a change agent may be necessary to help stimulate development at the community level, and recommend certain approaches be taken by the change agent to that effect.

The ability of the grass-roots communication initiatives to force a real change within unequal political, economic and social structures is as yet unproven. It appears that grass-roots communication devices work best to organize protests

against inequities and to give the disadvantaged a greater, more threatening voice against those in power. Admittedly, communications alone cannot force those in power to change their ways if they do not wish to change, but communications can make the views of the disadvantaged and their determination not to remain oppressed more widely known.

The future of the grass-roots paradigm is as yet uncertain, especially in terms of its political implications. Most theorists have failed to look beyond the initial objectives of local grass-roots projects to create a detailed picture of how the ideals of grass-roots communication could function at a national level. Taken to a national or international level, grass-roots objectives suggest a form of political anarchy where hierarchical organization is replaced with ad-hoc, participatory decision-making. Humankind as a whole has been unable to function in units beyond the small band or group without some kind of hierarchical organization and delegation of authority. Any incorporation of grass-roots objectives at the national level must accommodate for some sort of hierarchical political structure.

Grass-roots theorists have not as yet been able to conceive of a national concept of grass-roots communication, other than in very idealistic terms. The difficulty of making an impact upon some often very rigid and repressive political, social and economic structures at the local level has pre-occupied grass-roots theorists, making dreams of national grass-roots systems appear particularly ethereal. However, if projects continue to catch on, as they have in Latin America and some other areas, and after years of struggle, systems begin to change even at the national level, grass-roots theorists will have to consider more carefully these

national implications. (Of course by that time another paradigm will probably have arisen to deal with this question!)

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VITAS AUCTORIS

Lori Collins had the dubious fortune of being born in St. Thomas General Hospital, (recently named the only hospital in Ontario not running at a deficit) St. Thomas, Ontario, on the eighteenth of March, 1963. Miss Collins is presently one of three students in her family completing their education--including her sister, Mrs. Mona Collins who is pursuing a degree in Art and English at the University of Western Ontario, and her mother, Mrs. Willa Collins who is undertaking an independent study in Religion and Social Work at the University of Waterloo. Her father, who had sense enough to be satisfied without a university education covers at home by keeping the cars in shape and feeding the dogs.

Miss Collins completed her Honours and Masters degrees in the Department of Communication Studies, with the assistance of the University of Windsor's tuition scholarships and graduate assistantships. Next year she will be undertaking two very important and challenging enterprises--the beginning of her Ph.d. at the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Southern California, and her wedding to Mr. Stephen Jarvis in July.