Module on Development Communication 1

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Unit 2

Perspectives on Development Communication

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Introduction: Historical Background

An examination of the existing literature on development communication reveals that the place of communication in the development process has long been recognized. Lerner (1958) classified mass media growth as one of the three phases of democratic political development. The other two are urbanization and literacy. He held that the mass media create opportunity for empathy which helped western men to acquire skills that spell modernity. Klapper (1960) dealt with, not the specific effects of the media on development *per se* but, the impact of the mass media in general. One cannot justifiably exclude development, both individual and socio-economic, from such general impact. Schramm (1964), in what may be classified as the best known exposition of the relationship between the mass media and national development in the 1960s, listed twelve things which the mass media can do in the task of national development. These are:

1. widen horizons;
2. focus attention;
3. raise aspiration;
4. create a climate for development;

5. help change strongly held attitudes or values;

6. feed the interpersonal channels;

7. confer status;

8. broaden the policy dialogue;

9. enforce social norms;

10. help form tastes;

11. affect attitudes lightly held and canalize stronger attitudes; and

12. help substantially in all types of education and training.

This strong faith in communication's power in development was also shared by many political scientists in the 1960s. Almon and Verba (1963), for instance, viewed communication as essential in political integration. Pye (1963) thought the problem of political development is one of cultural diffusion and of adapting and adjusting old patterns of life to new demands. Because communication is the web of society, its flow determines the direction and pace of dynamic social development. Deutsch (1964) pointed to communication as a prerequisite for successful political democracy.

All these studies revolved around a conception of communication which cannot be described as different from the discredited bullet (hypodermic needle) theory which saw mass communication as all-powerful at all times in its effects on the individual and the society. They discuss what communication can do or the effect which communication can have on literacy, aspiration, empathy, attitudes, etc, but without regard to the cultural and socio-economic realities of the recipient audiences. The social and historical contexts of these variables were not studied. How the variables are logically linked with one another was also completely neglected. The researchers appear to believe that the social structures of villages and larger communities where the people live are not important and that the type of interest groups within the communities as well as the economic, political, educational and social institutions in villages or in nations are not relevant to the influence of communication. As Golding (1974, p. 133) points out, the old paradigm of communication's role in development conceives of the "developing countries as emerging from static isola-

tion, requiring an external stimulus to shake them into the twentieth century."

Not only was this old paradigm unilinear, it was also "transportational." It assumed that communicating to or informing the elite, the well-to-do, the articulate and the educated was all the impetus needed to ensure communication effectiveness. The inevitable benefits deriving from the responses of these highly placed members of the audiences would, of necessity, "trickle down" to the masses. Of course, this did not happen. Many reasons can and have been adduced for this failure. But the two most important are the complete neglect of the socio-cultural environment in which the mass media were supposed to function and the complete absence of audience-oriented feedback.

Because the dominant conception of development in the 1960s was predicated on industrial growth and increased gross national product, the old development communication paradigm saw economic growth as the final goal of developing countries. By the early 1970s, it was clear that the vast majority of people in the developing countries were not benefiting from capital-intensive industrialization programmes. The 'green revolution' in agriculture or the various health and family welfare programmes seemed to be producing adverse effects (Beal and Jussawalla, 1981; Steward and Streeten, 1976). Industrialization was causing large-scale migration from the rural areas; technology was fostering greater dependency rather than self-reliance; and western values and behaviour were threatening indigenous cultures and social institutions. A simplistic approach to communication in support of development, which was a natural counterpart of the simplistic model of imitative economic development that held sway in the 1960s, had failed.

A slow but conscious realization that development for each country has to be seen in terms of that country's own needs which, in turn, must be related to its unique circumstances of climatic, historical, cultural and social conditions began to manifest itself. The emphasis on bare economic growth declined. So did the quantitative approach contained in UNESCO's celebrated mass media "norms" for developing countries - 10 daily news-

paper copies, 5 radio sets and two cinema seats per 100 people - which ignored the important issues of media content and equality in access to the mass media. Their decline created the opportunity for the process of lively rethinking contained in the discussions and documents of the International Commission on Problems of Communication headed by Sean MacBride (See UNESCO, 1980).

The immediate result for such rethinking was manifest in sensitivity to the structural and cultural constraints on the impact of communication. In a review of past studies, Rogers (1976a) noted the weaknesses in the study of diffusion among which were psychological bias, ignoring socio-structural variables and a reliance on the individual as the unit of analysis. Halloran (1981) called for a critical, problem and policy-oriented research concerned with questioning the values and claims of the system, applying independent criteria, suggesting alternatives and exploring the possibility of new forms and structures.

What might be described as the turning point for the study of development communication was the 1975 conference held in Honolulu, Hawaii, to review the use of communication in economic and social development. At the conference, the two best known pioneers in this area of study - Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm - admitted that the model of "trickle down" communication in development had been proven ineffective. A year later, Rogers (1976b) edited a series of articles which examined critically the dominant paradigm of communication in development and proposed a new development model. The new development paradigm is one based on equity and it incorporates the dimension of social justice in addition to the dimension of economic growth. Under it, the causes of underdevelopment are attributable to both external and internal factors. The new model addresses the relationships among four sets of variables, namely, the social structural variables; the communication tasks; the psycho-cultural factors of the social actors at both the individual and societal levels and the socio-economic goals of development. Congenial to this new paradigm of development, the new model of development communication sees development not only in phy-

sical terms but also in socio-cultural terms. It stresses access to the media of communication; participation in communication activities and relevance of content to the socio-cultural context.

Conceptual Framework

The new and culturally relevant role assigned to communication in the task of development required a redefinition of development communication. In 1973, when opinions were molding in support of equity, social justice, access and participation, a working committee of the International Broadcast Institute meeting in Cologne, West Germany, on Communication in Support of Development defined the key concepts of the paradigm thus:

Development: The improvement of the well-being of the individual and the betterment of the quality of his/her life.

Communication: The transfer of information between individuals by human or technical means.

Development Support Communication: The systematic use of communication in planning and implementation of development.

While the definitions appear to capture the central issues of these key concepts, they are not operational enough. They fail to provide the framework for explanations and/or demonstrations to enable in-depth understanding and realistic and practical application. Hence, specialists, especially those from developing countries, set themselves the task of fashioning out more appropriate definitions that are operationally relevant to the new paradigm. Discussed here are some of the definitions of the concepts.

Development

Even at the time when the world was still basing all hopes of development on industrialization and economic growth, Inayatullah (1967) drew attention to what development meant in reality to deve-

loping countries. He identified the different aspects of development and gave it a holistic perspective. He defined development as "change toward patterns of society that allow better realization of human values, that allow a society greater control over its environments, and over its own political destiny, and that enables its individuals to gain increased control over themselves"(p. 101). In support of Inayatullah, and to show that his views about development had changed in line with the new paradigm, Rogers (1975) redefined development as "a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment"(p. 345).

These definitions show clearly that development is a multi-faceted concept. This is why it generally means different things to different people and different disciplines. In discussing development, most psychologists, for example, are preoccupied with such individual or personality variables as self-reliance, achievement motivation, self-worth and self-actualization. For the sociologist, the concept of development revolves around the process of differentiation that characterizes modern societies. The political scientist is concerned with developing a capacity to induce change, increase political awareness and improve the ability to resolve conflict political situations. The communication specialist tends to see development as the acquisition of new knowledge and skills, increased self-confidence, control over oneself and one's environment, greater equality, freedom, ability to understand one's potentials and limitations, and willingness to work hard enough to improve on existing conditions.

These different angles from which development is viewed are not exclusive but rather interwoven. Together they stress the fact that development is a normative concept in that it assumes that existing conditions are no longer conducive to human dignity and socio-economic advancement and, therefore, should be changed for the better. Therefore, development, though seen from different angles, means one basic thing to all people - a change for the better, in the human, cultural, so-cio-economic and political conditions of the individual and consequently of the society. It is not solely a matter of technology or of gross national product; more importantly, it is a matter of increased knowledge and skills, growth of a new consciousness, expansion of the human mind, the upliftment of the human spirit, and the fusion of human confidence.

Communication

Communication is not the mechanical transfer of facts and figures as the mathematical model of communication (Shannon and Weaver, 1949) would appear to indicate. It is also not talking at people. It is, instead, an interactive process that works in a circular dynamic and ongoing way (Hiebert et. al., 1985). It is talking with people - a process with no permanent sender and no permanent receiver. In communication, the roles of sending and receiving change hands, depending on who is talking and who is listening. This implies freedom, equality and shared interest.

Communication defined this way departs from what Beltran (1974) has identified as "the classical mechanic-vertical model," which sees communication as a process of transmission of modes of thinking, feeling, and behaviour from one or more persons to another person or persons. In the mechanic-vertical model, the paramount goal of communication is persuasion and the element of feedback is important chiefly as a message-adjusting device to enable the transmitter of messages secure the performance of the expected response from the receiver. This model assigns a predominant role to the communicator, and a very passive role to the communicatee - a sort of one-way communication in which emphasis is on the effects that communication can have on people or on ways in which messages can use people.

The new concept of communication which we shall call the humanized, democratic-interactive model places emphasis on how people use communication or messages. It stresses genuine dialogue, free and proportioned opportunity to exert mutual influences and rejects the idea that persuasion is the chief role of communication. Here feedback is imperative; its importance lies in the

opportunity it creates for understanding the other person's point of view, and, therefore, for ensuring co-orientational influences.

Development Communication

In a very concise way, development communication is the application of the processes of communication to the development process. In other words, development communication is the use of the principles and practice of exchange of ideas to fulfil development objectives. It is, therefore, an element of the management process in the overall planning and implementation of development programmes. In a very broad sense, development communication is the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people through what Rosario-Braid (1979) has described as the identification and utilization of appropriate expertise in the development process that will assist in increasing participation of intended beneficiaries at the grassroots level.

Because it is communication with a social conscience, development communication is heavily oriented towards the human aspects of development. Even though it is primarily associated with rural development, it is also concerned with urban, particularly sub-urban problems. It plays two broad roles. The first is a transformation role through which it seeks social change in the direction of higher quality of life and social justice. The second is a socialization role through which it strives to maintain some of the established values of society that are consonant with development. In playing these roles, development communication creates an enhancing atmosphere for exchange of ideas that produces a happy balance in social and economic advancement between physical output and human relationships.

Interface of Communication and Development

A close examination of the basic tenets of the new development paradigm and of the ultimate requirements of the new communication approach to development would reveal very close similarity between them. To begin with, participation is the key variable in the new development paradigm, just as it is for the new communication approach to development. In broad terms, the ultimate objectives of national development (urban and rural) are economic development, equitable distribution of facilities and of benefits, national cohesiveness, and human development. These are also, in broad terms, the ultimate objectives of development communication, even though, because of the importance attached to intelligent understanding of development issues, development communication gives pride of place to human development. In order to achieve these ultimate objectives, both the new development paradigm and the new communication approach stress the need for the following:

1. equality of the distribution of social and economic benefits, information and education;

2. popular participation in development planning and execution, accompanied by decentralization of activities to the local level;

3. self-reliance and independence in development with emphasis on the potential of local resources; and

4. integration of traditional with modern systems, so that development is a syncretization of old and new ideas, with the exact mixture somewhat different in each locale (See Rogers, 1976, p. 130).

However, communication goes further to identify specific actions that should be taken in order to smoothen the path to achieving the above goals. At the International Conference on Communication Policies for Rapidly Developing Societies held at Mashhad, Iran, in 1975, a working group identified specific activities that development communication must strive to accomplish, if it must contribute effectively to development. These include:

1. determination of the needs of the people and the provision of sufficient citizen access to the communication systems to serve as effective feedback to the government;

2. provision of horizontal and vertical (interactive) communication linkage at all levels of society and communication channels through which people have the capability to communicate with one another in order to accomplish co-ordination

necessary for human and material development;

3. provision of local community support for cultural preservation; provision of local media to serve as effective channels;

4. provision of relevant information;

5. support for specific development projects and social services; and

6. raising people's awareness of development projects and opportunities, and helping to foster attitudes and motivations that contribute to development.

Goals and objectives identification is not the only area in which development and communication are correlated. Research has shown that they also correlate very strongly in goals achievement. The use of communication media has been shown to lead to positive and effective development behaviour. At three levels of analysis - individual, community and national - there is substantive evidence from many countries in the developing world which indicates that development and communication are strongly correlated.

At the individual level, there are many factor-analytic studies which show communication variables to be significantly correlated with development variables (Deutschmann and McNelly, 1964; Bostian and Oliveira, 1965). At the community level, many examples also abound. Rao (1966), in a comparative study of two Indian villages, found strong correlation between communication and social, economic and political development. In a survey of about 460 villages in Turkey, Frey (1966) also found clear correlations between communication and development. One of the examples of studies at the national level that showed strong correlations between communication and development is that of Lerner (1958) which, in about 50 countries, showed that media participation highly correlated with literacy, urbanization and political participation. A UNESCO study, to take another national level example, found in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, a strong correlation between mass media factors and economic factors in general development (UNESCO, 1961). Similar findings were also reported by, among others, Cater and Schramm (1959) for 100 countries and by Farace (1965) for more than 50 countries.

Even though these studies did not say anything about causality, the incidence of correlation is so frequent and the relationships so strong that it does not seem wrong to argue that communication has been both cause and effect in the complex interplay of factors which make for development, both national and individual. In addition, the correlations are so strong that they provide concrete justification for building communication into the development process.

Development communication is not merely a matter of transmitting information about how things can be done better by using available facilities. It is much more than the exchange of problem-solving information. It also involves the generation of psychic mobility or empathy, raising of aspirations, teaching of new skills and encouragement of local participation in development activities.

Development communication assumes the broader function of helping people to restructure their mental framework in interpreting specific events and phenomena, and to relate to the broader world beyond their immediate environments. To be effective in doing this, communication activities in development must be interwoven with other socio-economic and political processes. Development activities require rural people as well as urban people in the government and in business and other urban sectors to establish new social relations with each other. Communication processes facilitate the growth and development of such human relationships. Both the mass media and interpersonal communication systems are necessary to establish and maintain these relationships. But they cannot perform these roles effectively unless they are incorporated into the total development process.

Many development specialists now believe that the chief factor of production in modern times, in both developed and developing countries, is information - seen as knowledge, education or human capital (Parker, 1977). To neglect this chief factor of production in the planning, execution and evaluation of development activities is unwittingly calling for confusion in the interface of the technical and social aspects of development, and, consequently, non-realization of

the full and positive benefits of development.

Approaches to Development Communication

Development communication takes as its starting point both the 'felt needs' at community or local level, and the 'action needs' as identified by planners. The operational strategy for meeting these two sets of needs follows four stages of activities (Boyd, 1975). The first is identifying and analysing the innovations sought by the community and those that development agents want to introduce - to whom, when and with what material means. This is generally known as the diffusion stage in development communication. In the second stage, which is known as the social process stage, the thrust of activities is towards determining how existing social, cultural, psychological and indigenous communication factors as well as government organizational factors, would help or hinder the adoption of new practices among the groups of people concerned. In the third stage, efforts are geared towards identifying existing media and how they relate to the people. Here, one looks at what combinations of communication channels exist and can be used in the communities - traditional and interpersonal channels, as well as modern print and electronic media - for communication 'feed' both into and from the community or communities. Finally, after repeating these analyses for geographically or sectorally related projects, locally tailored communication programmes are drawn up and implemented in phases with the real action potential in the communities (taking into account available supplementary inputs from outside the community).

Three different approaches to putting the above stages into operation have been identified (Moemeka, 1985). These are:

1. the Interpersonal approach which could be through the Extension and Community Development method or Ideological and Mass Mobilization method;

2. the Mass Media approach which could be through the Centralized method or the Localized method; and

3. the Integrated approach which combines all the approaches and methods in appropriate ratio,

depending upon the identified felt need and socio-cultural situation in each community.

We have discussed here the assumptions and tenets of these different approaches.

The Interpersonal Approach

This approach uses the Extension and Community Development method and the Ideological and Mass Mobilization method.

The Extension and Community Development Method

This is the oldest method of using communication to generate development. It is basically oriented to rural development, although it can also apply to sub-urban and urban development. The main thrust of this method is the dissemination of useful and practical information on agriculture, home economics, health and sanitation, etc. Such dissemination is done through the face-to-face method of communication. Agents travel from village to village providing the rural communities with useful information on how to implement new ideas and practices and also teaching them through practical demonstrations.

This method assumes that rural communities are interested in new ideas and practices in order to improve their living conditions. It also assumes that there are necessary and sufficient resources to support their endeavours; that is, to enable the people apply available new information to useful development activities. It further assumes, as indicated in the Animation Rurale programmes of Senegal, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire and Benin (Goussault, 1968) that there is a crop of educated, intelligent and public-spirited leaders within the communities, which can motivate the masses to positive development-directed endeavours.

The basic tenets of the Extension and Community Development method can be summarized as follows:

1. that there are no solutions to problems that are imposed on local communities from the outside; that local communities must first arrive at the problem definition and then its solution on their own;

2. that the social animator - the communicator - is to be as closely identified with the local community as possible;

3. that he/she is to be non-directive in his/her approach;

4. that communication's chief role is to help define the problem but not give the solution; and

5. that community participation and social action is the goal, and, therefore, feedback from the community is an essential means.

One of the countries in which this method has been used is India. The country held, and rightly too, that the great mass of the illiterate and poor rural population is a highly valuable development resource (Rahim, 1976). The premise is that the individual rural family and the communities can be guided to the path of development, if they were given practical knowledge of the social and natural sciences. The government decided that the best way to achieve the projected goals was to decentralize interpersonal communication to the community block level. Each community development block was served by a team of multipurpose village-level workers supported by the subject-matter specialists at the block levels and supervised and co-ordinated by the block development officer. The whole programme was planned, guided and supported by a national-level community development organization. The multi-purpose village-level worker is the key communicator in this method; he/she serves as a mediator between the rural elite and the development bureaucracy or the government (Dubhashi, 1970).

The Ideological and Mass Mobilization Method

This method also makes extensive use of interpersonal channels. In this method, the channels are activated not by development agents, but by the political party cadres. This is because this method sees development, especially rural development, as a process which begins with a radical change in the political orientation of the people. The ultimate result of this change is the formation of new social relations. The main function of development communication, therefore, is seen as that of

"promoting and heightening" the political consciousness of the people.

The primary goal of this method is the ability of workers and peasants to be self-reliant through mobilization of internal resources, and, thus, to be in a position to control their future. Physical and human development is subsumed under political consciousness, because it is held that political awareness would motivate people to participate in development activities to satisfy their needs and aspirations. The operational structure of this method is virtually the same as that of the extension and community development method. But the structure and direction of message contents are different. While the former deals directly with human and physical development problems, the latter puts emphasis on political awareness as a prelude to any other type of development.

An African country best known for the ideological and mass mobilization method is Tanzania where ideological messages in rural development communication originate from the Arusha Declaration of the Tanganyika African National Union party and the essays on African socialism and socialist education by the first President of the country - Julius Nyerere. The only political party in Tanzania, the Chama cha Mapinduzi, assumes responsibility for rural development communication. Therefore, it is the duty of party cadres and government officials to expose the rural population to constant ideological messages transmitted through face-to-face communication, village meetings, rural training centres and political meetings. The basic unit used as channel is called the CELL, consisting of 10 households, whose main functions are (a) to bring people's problems and grievances to the party and the government (b) to communicate to the people the purposes, plans, and the problems of the government and the party, and (c) to mobilize groups for the implementation of development projects.

The Mass Media Approach

This approach involves the centralized mass media method and the localized media method.

The Centralized Mass Media Method

It emphasizes centralized control for both mass media infrastructure and the direction and flow of mass media messages. If we were to construct a continuum with Extension and Community Development at one end, Centralized Mass Media Method would be at the other. It relies wholly on the mass media for its message flow and almost completely ignores the interpersonal system. Because it uses the mass media for dissemination, its coverage potential is substantial; and because the content of its messages is of a general nature, there is usually something of relevance, no matter how small, to different segments of the society. It is based on the assumption that a 'good and relevant message' is capable of being accepted by the individual on his/her own, irrespective of the origin of the message, and that the best and hopeful way to attract and hold a mass audience is to offer open, spontaneous and continuous vicarious satisfaction as well as education.

This is the method used by most countries in developing societies, especially in Africa. Many scholars argue that developing countries adopt this method because it is the cheapest and easiest one to use. However, research has shown that it is also the least effective in ensuring intelligent understanding and effectiveness of development messages (Moemeka, 1987).

In this method, programmes/messages are planned, produced and disseminated by 'experts' and programme officers in the urban headquarters of media organizations with very little or no reference to the views and opinions of the receiving audiences. Whether we are talking of radio, which is the most accessible medium especially for rural audiences in Africa, or of the newspaper, whose content are meaningless unless one was literate, or of television, the urban elite medium whose impact in rural communities is very minimal, the procedure is always the same. Development messages are planned and executed without consultation with the audiences to whom the messages are eventually directed.

The result is that message contents are usually at variance with the felt needs of the people, and, therefore, have very little chance of succeeding.

Not only is there no organization at the reception end, but also, because of the desire to reach the largest number of people, the messages are always of a general nature. Effective development messages demand some sort of organized action at the reception end as well as specificity in message content to ensure relevance.

The Centralized Mass Media method appears to have derived its operational strategy from the Development Media theory (McQuail, 1983) which requires the mass media to join the government in the task of nation-building and development. While the theory makes no reference to the people, it requires control and sanction of the mass media by the government in the interest of national objectives. This is why centralization of activities is seen by media personnel using this method as imperative, in order to have a sharp eye on everything that is done or not done, and in order not to provoke the anger of the government. It is primarily concerned with what the government wants and what ideas media personnel have rather than with constructing messages that would motivate the rural population to positive action towards meeting their own felt needs.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the result of using this method anywhere in the developing world has left much to be desired. It generally succeeds in generating 'effectedness' of messages, that is, getting the messages to reach the target audiences; but it almost always fails in ensuring 'effectiveness' of messages, that is, creating an understanding atmosphere in which the target audiences would accept the demands of the messages and act accordingly (Moemeka, 1981).

The Localized Mass Media Method

This method derives its strength from the Democratic-participant Media theory (McQuail, 1983) and puts emphasis on interaction with the people, and establishment of local media channels to provide access for them. The starting point in this method is the identification of the problems of the people through personal calls, meetings and discussions by media personnel who are required to enter into the socio-cultural contexts of the people. Because of the need for specificity in me-

ssage content, the localized method calls for the establishment of local media - local radio, rural press and television production or viewing centres. Each of these provides access and opportunities for participation of the rural population in the planning and production of development messages.

Through local media, the rural population can talk to themselves as well as to the authorities and participate fully in the construction and dissemination of development messages meant for them. Such an interactive atmosphere based on correct interpretation of the needs and aspirations of the people creates an understanding climate in which confidence, credibility and willingness to make personal and community contributions are at their best. An investigation into the impact of Radio O-Y-O On the Move (a mobile rural radio) in the then Western Nigeria provides concrete evidence to support the usefulness of the localized mass media method. Not only did many members of the rural community participate in the radio activities, but also the participatory acts of these members radiated to non-participants thus leading to a wide range acceptance of the radio messages and consequent changes in behaviour according to the demands of the messages (Moemeka, 1987). The same is true of the impact of rural press in Mali (Kante, 1979) and in Liberia (Miller, 1979). The very action of participating in the planning and production of messages disseminated through these rural media, created self-confidence in the participants and turned them into honorary messengers of development.

Integrated Approach

This approach combines interpersonal and mass media approaches and, thus, avoids their limitations and problems but takes advantage of their potentials. The interpersonal component involves the use of the extension and community development method as well as the ideological and mass mobilization method; the mass media component involves the use of centralized and localized methods. All these are then linked up with traditional channels and modes of communication.

The structure of communication in any soci-

ety is largely determined by the growth and development of technology and by economic and cultural institutions. To the extent that societies differ in their patterns of economic and socio-cultural heritage, their communication patterns are also likely to differ from one another. In traditional societies or rural communities, direct face-to-face communication is valued as the most reliable and authentic form of communication. In such societies, the purpose of communication is usually to promote social harmony rather than individual well-being; to reinforce stability and order rather than to bring about change and growth. But the ultimate goal of development communication is to generate positive and effective change through the provision of necessary information (backed up by physical inputs) that would create understanding and build up self-confidence and motivation to change. The thrust of the integrated approach, therefore, is to feed the interpersonal and traditional network with information that would generate discussions which, in turn, would lead to intelligent understanding of development objectives and each person's role in achieving these objectives.

To feed the interpersonal channels, development communication depends on the mass media which have the potential for rapid dissemination and wide-area coverage. The limits of interpersonal channel is soon reached, if development takes on a national character. Then the importance of the mass media becomes obvious. They have the power to disseminate information and development messages rapidly and, across the nation, but they are generally not able to change people's attitudes. Interpersonal channels lack the above enhancing characteristics of the mass media, but are relatively more effective in inducing attitude change and effective development behaviour, largely due to the impact of opinion leaders and of peer-group pressures. Hence the need for a communication model (integrated approach) that would link the mass media to interpersonal channels.

In rural Africa, no communication strategy is likely to succeed unless it takes into account the five basic principles that underlie the system of traditional communication. These are the suprem-

acy of the community; respect for old age; utility of the individual; sanctity of authority; and religion as a way of life (Moemeka, 1985). These principles infuse relevance and context into communication within rural communities. Therefore, any communication strategy which completely ignores traditional modes and channels cannot successfully win and retain the people's attention for long. Any communication message which completely ignores the values that underlie the context in which the people communicate cannot produce the attitude and behaviour changes necessary for rural development. As research has shown (Rogers, *et. al.*, 1977) not only are two media better than one medium for effective communication, but also a combination of the mass media and interpersonal communication is better than using either alone.

Media Activity Schedule for Development

The following section presents a proposal on how the mass media could be used in order to integrate their messages with interpersonal communication and folk/traditional communication modes and media. The suggestion is with reference to the three mass media of radio, television and newspapers, each of which possesses the potential for playing specific role or roles that are very important in rural development. One or the other of these media provides a channel for direct teaching; production of magazine programmes; features; short talks; short stories; riddles; music; questions and answer sessions; jokes and discussions; spot announcements; drama, playlets and documentaries.

Our suggested schedule shows which of these programme activities is likely to be most effective in which medium and at what stage of the development efforts. For this purpose, development activity has been divided into three stages, namely, Mobilization, Implementation and Consolidation. An example of the type of activities considered important under each stage is also given. In addition, the schedule contains examples of the type of media activities which are likely to be effective and in what medium. For the print media, the schedule contains the suggested proce-

dure for the urban population, using conventional newspapers, and for the rural population, using the rural press.

Radio

A. **Mobilization Stage:**
Mobilization of the general public; motivation of policy-makers and educated population; and mobilization of the illiterate and rural population.

Types of Programmes:
Jingles;
magazine programmes;
drama and playlets;
short stories;
discussions;
spot announcements;
talks and features; and
question and answer sessions.

B. **Implementation Stage:**
Creation of avenues and opportunities for participation;
support teachers and extension agents;
creation of an enhancing mood in the rural communities;
analyses of previous practices;
support written materials (literacy); and provision of information about location of materials and support agents, opportunities for participation and access.

Types of Programmes:
News and information;
interviews;
discussions;
drama and playlets;
educational programmes;
short stories;
variety and light entertainment;
jingles;
idioms and adages; and
question and answer sessions.

C. **Consolidation Stage:**
Propagation;

dissemination of results of projects and activities;
sustenance of efforts and motivation;
reinforcement of public support and efforts;
and encouragement of the rural population.

Types of Programmes:
Talks and features;
interviews;
discussions;
magazine programmes;
drama and playlets;
news conferences;
idioms and adages;
documentaries;
jingles; and
question and answer sessions.

Television

A. Mobilization Stage:
General mobilization of the nation;
motivation of policy-makers and the influential and educated members of the society;
motivation of the educated to participate in literacy work; and
motivation of the illiterate to get them to participate in development activities.

Types of Programmes:
Talks and features;
plays - dramatic forms and playlets;
discussions;
documentaries;
spot announcements;
jingles; and
question and answer sessions.

B. Implementation Stage:
demonstrations -what to do and how to do it;
reports and actions taken;
appeals from the authorities;
literacy teaching;
non-formal education; and
general news and information.

Types of Programmes:
Demonstrations - (with visual aids);
documentaries;
magazine programmes;
discussions;
educational programmes;
interviews;
talks;
jingles; and
question and answer sessions.

C. Consolidation Stage:
Reports of completed projects and on-going activities;
non-formal teaching;
non-formal education;
information on new practices and procedures;
information on new skills and on successful projects; and
projections to the future.

Types of Programmes:
educational programmes;
magazine programmes;
demonstrations;
interviews;
discussions;
talks and features;
jingles;
documentaries; and
question and answer sessions.

Print

A. Mobilization Stage:
Motivation of the literate members of society;
mobilization of policy-makers and business-men and women;
propagation of national and individual benefits of rural development.

Types of Materials:
Feature articles;
analysis of issues;
news and information;
box announcements;

comparative analysis of rural situation;
editorials; and
interviews.

B1   Implementation Stage (Urban Population)
Moral and financial support;
information on on-going projects and activities;
information on needs and requirements;
literacy education; and
non-formal education.

Types of Materials:
Government statements;
statements from national leaders and chiefs;
editorials;
features articles;
news analyses;
box announcements;
interviews; and
educational supplements.

B2   Implementation Stage (Rural Population)
Direction on what to do and how to do it;
encouragement and moral support;
sustenance of enthusiasm;
literacy/ reading materials;
dissemination of project news; and
non-formal education.

Types of Materials:
News and information;
reports of projects;
messages of support from the government and community leaders;
literacy news and materials;
interviews;
short stories;
graphic representations and tit-bits;
views and opinions; and
non-formal education.

C.   Consolidation Stage:
Sustenance of gains made;

encouragement towards higher objectives;
building up spirit of self-help; and
propagating the benefits of rural development

Types of Materials (Conventional Newspapers):
Editorials;
feature articles;
news analyses;
government statements;
publication of development activities and gains;
interviews;
news and information; and
questions and answer sessions.

Types of Materials (Rural Press):
Editorial;
reports of projects and community activities in general;
interviews;
short stories;
wise sayings and adages;
statements from community leaders; and
news and information.

The success of such activity schedule depends very much on how well the mass media programmes are integrated with, not only interpersonal communication systems in general, but also with traditional and folk media in particular. The ratio of each system and each approach in the integration will normally depend on the socio-cultural, economic and environmental conditions of each locality.

To be effective, integration of all the approaches and systems must be based on existing traditional channels and modes of communication which are usually a reflection of the socio-cultural, economic and environmental conditions. Rural communities, especially those which most need development messages, by virtue of their conditions, still rely heavily on traditional media for information and messages. These traditional media and modes are what they have relied upon for years, and they have very strong confidence in

them. Only those mass media strategies which utilize these traditional media and modes in collecting materials to be included in their modern media programmes, and in disseminating, interpreting and consolidating mass media messages will prove effective in rural development.

Our findings, in a survey to determine which of seven media - social forums, town crier, village market, village school, newspaper, radio and television - villagers in the Bendel State of Nigeria depended upon for information about and response to three development projects, namely, Operation Feed the Nation, Local Government Reforms, and Universal Free Primary Education, show clearly the superiority of traditional media (Moemeka, 1981). Even though more than 80 per cent of the respondents said that they first heard of the development projects on radio, 15 per cent through traditional media and 5 per cent from the newspaper (no one mentioned the television), reactions to the projects and subsequent messages were almost exclusively influenced by discussions and decisions that took place through the face-to-face contact provided by the traditional media. This finding supports the statement made by Yu (1977) that no communication policy can afford to continue to concentrate on the mass media while ignoring traditional/folk media and other channels of popular culture. The mass media are most effective when combined with interpersonal media as in media forums or with traditional media such as village theatre and travelling story-tellers.

Conclusion

Development communication is not merely concerned with providing information on development activities. Besides creating opportunity for the people to know about the technical nature of new ideas and on how they work and with what effect, development communication plays the more important role of creating an atmosphere for understanding how these new ideas fit into the real social situation in which the people operate. Its ultimate goal is to serve as a catalyst for local development activities, planning and implementation, and local communication to smoothen the

path to development. If development communication must succeed, then it must include strong components of social organization and interpersonal as well as traditional modes and media. In addition, those in charge of planning development communication must be people who understand the local socio-cultural environment and how change can take place in it - not merely how development messages can be disseminated.

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Suggested Exercises

1. Schramm's (1964) "twelve things" which
the mass media can do in the task of national de-
velopment, appear to assume a perfectly function-
ing mass media systems in a perfectly functioning
society. What possible problems could arise as a
result of the mass media doing each of the twelve
things? Why? And how could such problems be
prevented/solved?

2. In what ways is the old concept of develop-
ment different from the new? And how has this
affected the role of communication in develop-
ment?

3. The Iran 1975 conference on Communication Policies for Rapidly Developing Societies listed six specific activities that development communication must accomplish in order to contribute effectively to development. Take each of the activities and discuss their importance to development.

4. Critically discuss the three basic approaches to development communication, pointing out the strengths and weaknesses of each.

5. How would you use the Integrated approach to help improve health and sanitation in your community/country?

Suggestions for Further Studies

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