ELGABRI, Ali Zaki, 1929- 
SELECTED APPROACHES TO THE USE OF MASS MEDIA IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1967
Speech

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
SELECTED APPROACHES TO THE USE OF MASS MEDIA

IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

DISSertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to my adviser Dr. Richard Mall and to Dr. Robert Wagner for the encouragement during my study at The Ohio State University.
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SECTION I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The period since World War II has been marked by many developments in the mass media. Information transmission systems have become an integral part of our daily life. Their influence is revealed in the behavior of the individual as well as in the structure of society at large.

In recent decades, the means of communication have progressed with astonishing speed in the reproduction and transmission of word and image. Each medium, with its particular techniques, improves day by day and its scope expands as rapidly. Information, which has resulted from discoveries in science and technology has, in its turn, speeded their prodigious advance in a kind of chain reaction. The latest achievements of scientists, notably in research in outer space, open up limitless horizons in the communication field. Most striking, and with perhaps the most far-reaching promise for the future, is the use of the first man-made satellites to relay word and image between continents. Inaugurating the age of outer space communica-
tion, this world-wide exchange of information and ideas has given new reality to world communications.

Less spectacular, but no less significant in their impact upon society, have been the massive growth of television, the development of the low-cost transistor receiver with the consequent spread of radio to the far reaches of the earth, improvement in printing, culminating in such innovations as the use of radio-facsimile and teletype-setting for the simultaneous publication of newspapers in different continents. Another striking trend has been the growing use of the mass media for education, both in the developed and the developing countries. In addition to the greater reliance upon film, radio and the printed word for educational purposes, the last decade has witnessed the vastly increased application of the new medium of television to the teaching process.

In one respect, however, little progress has been made since World War II because millions of people, in vast areas of the world, still have little or no modern means of communication. Today, some two billion persons, living in more than 100 countries and representing 70 per cent of the world population, still lack adequate communication facilities. They have less than the bare minimum of 10 copies of daily newspapers, five radio receivers and two cinema seats.
per 100 people, established as a yardstock by Unesco in a survey carried out at the request of the United Nations.¹

This serious state of affairs hinders social advancement. It is, surely, commonplace today to emphasize that economic and social progress go hand in hand with development of the information media. But we have not, perhaps, given sufficient attention to its implications for the development of insufficiently developed countries. In any event, at a time when these countries are combating illiteracy and striving to carry out programs of economic development, they find themselves deprived of the potent and indispensable aid of an adequate and effective means of communication with which the pathways to change can be made easier and shorter. As Schramm reported, "Mass Communication serves as 'the great multiplier' in development, the device that can spread the requisite knowledge and attitudes immeasurably more quickly and widely than ever before."²

By the rapid growth of three means of mass communication--film, radio, and television--the face of society has been changing in the last fifty years. These three

¹"World Communications," Unesco Publications Center, New York, 1966, p. 5.

interrelated media, offshoots of the technological revolution that began late in the nineteenth century, have already mushroomed into major industries. And they give a unique quality to the age in which we live.

Today—film, radio, and television command audiences of a size that would astonish a great many people and probably surpass the dreams of the individual scientists from whose research they sprang. Yet these media offer nothing more concrete than images on the screen and sounds in the air.

Film, radio, and television have evolved--and are still evolving--languages of their own. These languages are the means by which moving pictures and the spoken word capture and hold our attention. By passing the conventional language of the written word, they use their own grammar, punctuation, and figures of speech to make an immediate impact on the audience. They are equally effective as means of communication in highly literate and in illiterate societies. And because they reach into all our lives, these three media may be instruments of persuasion and change.

As society progresses, communication extends beyond the frontiers of present knowledge and far beyond the range of present social controls. To study these forms of communication and to revitalize and utilize them for the good of the community has become a major task of social educators, particularly in the underdeveloped regions which have become
independent or are on the way to independence. Such pioneering work was done in the past by individuals on their own initiative and inspiration, but these isolated efforts could never match the challenge presented by the poverty, disease, illiteracy, apathy, and despair prevalent in the underdeveloped regions. It became necessary to organize nationwide campaigns for fundamental education and community development using the most effective means in order to release the latent energy of millions in the backward regions of the world, to restore their confidence, get them thinking, and make them feel that they possess the power and capacity to transform their lives and realize their dreams.

Millions of people in these less fortunate regions, comprising some two-thirds of the world's total population, can neither read nor write and have no chance of acquiring literacy by the ordinary methods of schooling—and yet without enlightenment for them and active co-operation on their part, there is little chance of rapid and far-reaching progress. Countries in a hurry cannot afford the luxury of such an inert mass—their human resources are indispensable. Therefore, they have to speed the flow of information, offer education where it has never been offered before, and teach literacy and technical skills very widely. This seems to be the only way they can arouse and prepare their populace to climb the economic mountains. The only way they can do it is to make full use of modern communication effectively.
A United Nations report stated that:

In India, more than 80% of the people live in some 55,000 villages. Many of these villages are physically and mentally isolated. A large part of India has still to be effectively linked by roads. More than 75% of the adult population is illiterate. There is urgent need for professional guidance in modern methods of farming to increase food production and improve health and nutrition. There is need for a new look at family relationships and citizenship and for adapting village crafts to the requirements of a progressive mid-twentieth century world.3

This occurs in India and in many other parts of the world.

Ideally, perhaps, communication with this far flung population which is isolated by illiteracy, lack of transport, should occur in a face-to-face situation in which questions about goals can be answered specifically, instructions can be altered to fit the particular self-interests and motivations of each participant, and suitable personal demonstrations of essential techniques can be given.

Obviously face-to-face communication is impractical. Even if enough skilled development technicians were available, the costs of using them as personal instructors to the millions of people involved would be prohibitive.

The need to find practical substitutes for face-to-face communication has led to the use of various forms of mediated communication—newspapers and books, posters and displays, movies and film strips, and radio and television.

Each of these media has its unique advantages and limitations. Since so many media are usually at the disposal of a communicator, what determines the choice of a medium for a specific communication? This question, like all others involving the interrelationship of the variables within the boundaries of communication, can be answered ultimately only in terms of all the other factors comprising the circle of communication. In this instance, though, more specific factors seem pressingly important. The choice of medium certainly depends in part upon its availability, its suitability for the communication to be transmitted, and perhaps too upon the communicator's interest in the medium as such. Doob said that:

Drums cannot be sounded in a society which cannot be incoded into their "language," and they may not be heard if the communicator develops a personal aversion to them. To anticipate the existence of one of these precipitating conditions is an occupation fascinating in its own right but probably beyond the scope of the analysis of communication as such. . . .

Doob continued to say that it would be wrong to leave the impression that communications always reach people in the neat little package of a single medium. Obviously, the communicator sometimes does indeed use only a drum, a public address system, or a radio transmitter; but frequently, too, he resorts to a barrage of media. In addition, many

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communicators may be functioning simultaneously. In a journalistic report by J. Taylor about contemporary Africa, Doob quoted:

"Today it is not possible to live in Africa and to be indifferent to political questions. In the most remote villages there are some who have travelled to the town or plantations or mines for work and have brought back news of the great changes that are taking place. The most backward tribes are affected by community development plans, and their chiefs are confronted by new problems of social change. Where there is a man who can read, there the newspapers will somehow find their way. Rumors of fear and tensions penetrate along every bus and lorry route; the ferment of change is carried in every basket of goods along the paths linking the market places with the peasant homes."  

There might be some exaggeration in this report, but it does suggest that communications about change in Africa are numerous and are transmitted variously. In such a situation no analyst can ordinarily identify with precision and certainty either the communicators or the audiences. The significant role of communication in hastening social change, however, is clear. It is also clear that one of the significant ways in which the communication process and the social process are interdependent is in the area of uniformity of behavior. People who have communicated with each other for a period of time tend to have similar behavior patterns. The tendency toward similarity is a prerequisite to the development of a system. As the old proverb puts it, "birds of a feather flock together."

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5Ibid., p. 122.
Communication could not be discussed without referring directly or indirectly to almost all behavior. The sweep has had to be broad in order to locate the boundaries. For example, communication in Africa could be appraised only by mentioning most of its significant aspects. For people in general, for Africans in particular, communication is a critical problem at the very center of existence.

It is possible to study human communication without considering mass communication, but hardly possible to study mass communication without taking account of many areas of communication research which are not themselves "mass" communication. Thus one can work with the communication process, communication in groups, or psycholinguistics, and make no reference to mass communication. But to work with the process and effects of mass communication, it is necessary to consider the communication process in individuals, the flow of information and influence between persons and in groups, the nature of language and symbols, and other matters which are not mass communication narrowly defined. Therefore, the boundaries of the field of mass communication have become practically coterminous with those of the entire field of communication study.

It is hoped that this study may spur development of the information media and their effective use in accelerating economic and social progress.
CHAPTER II

FACTORS INFLUENCING EFFECTS OF MASS COMMUNICATION

The problem of media effectiveness lies within the large number of differences among the various media. Some of these differences may operate to increase their effects, and others may operate to decrease them.

In the following discussion, some of the general factors which are involved in media comparisons will be discussed in terms of their effects in:

A. Attracting and holding an audience
B. Providing information
C. Changing attitudes and opinion
D. Inducing action along particular lines

Interwoven with such factors are the immediate effects which exposure to the media may have upon the individuals. These effects such as changes in attitudes, actions, information, images (for example, the image built in one's mind about a Nazi soldier or Viet Cong), and attention, will be discussed within the framework of the four preceding points. These effects are, in fact, an essential part of the four points and are encompassed by them under their broad meanings.
A. Factors affecting attracting and holding an audience

The mass media may differ in the kind of audience they attract and the degree to which they hold that audience's attention.

For example, broadcasting media, particularly television, are reported to provide their audiences with a sense of participation, personal access, and "reality."\(^1\) This may be considered as a factor in holding and attracting an audience. On the other hand, some people might be interested in a medium for its entertainment, or editorial content, supporting the notion that "media exposure varies with different kinds of media."\(^2\) During the time people are in contact with any of the mass media, they are probably in a reading or listing frame of mind; they may be considered interested readers, listeners, or viewers, attracted by the content of the medium. However, people sometimes are exposed to some media involuntarily in the manner of "captives," as in the case of transistor radio, where relatively no effort or initiative is taken to listen to the medium; "it comes to them uninvited."\(^3\) This in turn would

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\(^3\)Ibid., p. 173.
lead to the building of an interest in the media per se.

Film and television were reported by Klapper to "command more complete attention from their audiences than do the other media, and to be at times completely preoccupying, especially for children."\(^4\)

Research on this topic is represented by the work of Beville\(^5\) and Herzog\(^6\) on audiences for radio programs, and Handel\(^7\) on motion pictures. It seems reasonable to assume that additional data are in the hands of advertising and commercial agencies. The degree of attention aroused by the various media, however, appears to be less fully investigated. It is alleged that television is particularly compelling and that individuals give it their undivided attention to a much greater extent than radio,\(^8\) but this is not too well documented and merely highlights the need for numerous comparative studies. One would suspect that the

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\(^4\)Klapper, op. cit., p. 112.


difference between the immediacy of an event transmitted via television and a subsequent motion picture version of it would be the type of factor to be investigated, but differences in conditions of viewing would also have to be taken into account.

In some instances, more precise predictions of effects can be made if the characteristics of individual members of the audience are taken into account. From a practical point of view, this seems to be an important type of problem, because one of the most striking phenomena of mass communication is the extent to which audiences select themselves. But in a chapter concerned with effects, we must concentrate our attention on the changes produced by mass media in those who are exposed. At the same time, however, we must always bear in mind that attempts to produce changes in significant segments of the audience may be unsuccessful, either because the communicators fail to influence those exposed, or because the people one may want to reach do not become exposed to the communication.

Our primary interest in the present section is to account for variations in the extent to which individuals who are exposed to a given communication are influenced by it.

In Communication and Persuasion by Hovland, Janis, and Kelly, there is a discussion of the role of two general factors which play a significant part in determining variation: intellectual ability, and motivation. These are
assumed to operate at three critical phases: whether the individual pays attention to the communication, whether he absorbs the content, and whether he accepts the message conveyed. These points will be further discussed under the following subtitle.

B. Factors affecting provision and acquisition of information

Almost all studies, according to Hovland, indicate some positive correlation between intellectual ability and the degree to which an individual acquires the content of a communication. This is shown in a study by Swanson. His results suggest that:

. . . intellectual ability is the most important trait for predicting who learns from this class of news (about governmental activities), and that understanding the news about government imposes an intellectual task of significant dimensions upon the individual.

Differences in motivation also play an important role in determining how much is learned from communications. In fact, the most important factor in determining the amount an individual will acquire from exposure to media, is probably his interest in the topic. This is particularly


\[10\] Ibid., p. 1084.

the case with presentations in which the individual's interest and therefore his motivation to learn is low.\textsuperscript{12}

Waples and his associates, according to J. W. and Mathilde Riley, reported that "the more closely a topic fits the personal problems of the reader, the greater will be its appeal."\textsuperscript{13} It seems that communication research generally suggests that:

\ldots persuasion is more likely to be effective when it can make the opinion or behavior it exposes appear to the audience to be a mode of satisfying their existing needs. To create new needs and to impel the audience to a particular mode of satisfying them appears a far more difficult task.\textsuperscript{14}

For imparting information and skills, the efficiency of media may be dependent on the extent to which they involve active or passive conditions of learning. Results from communications studies using sound slides (Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield)\textsuperscript{15} and films (Hoban and Van Ormer)\textsuperscript{16} indicate

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 1085.


\textsuperscript{14}Klapper, op. cit., pp. 120 and 121.


that the greater the participation and involvement of the subject in the learning process, the greater will be the acquisition of knowledge.

The relative power of the mass media seems to differ markedly from one communication task to another with regards to the conveying of information.

For example, it was found that multiple media exposure is more persuasive than one medium alone. Klapper, in reporting on this subject, referred to an experimental study in which religious and racial prejudice was found to "be more effectively fought by combined media appeal than by a campaign using a single medium."\(^{17}\) He warns the reader, however, that such findings based on laboratory experiments cannot be automatically generalized to real life situations.\(^{18}\) A study on the campaign events in Erie County, Ohio, in 1940 showed that the more political information that poured into Erie county, the more this information broke over the "normal barriers of resistance and forced the election into everyone's attention."\(^{19}\)

It seems from this study that the more exposure to the campaign in the mass media, the more interested voters

\(^{17}\)Klapper, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

\(^{18}\)Ibid.

become and the more strongly they come to feel about their candidate.

It ought to be mentioned now that radio seems to possess some advantages over the other mass media, for it is able to reach virtually the entire population, providing its audiences with a sense of participation. The information provided seemed to be retained more easily by the listeners via radio than through print even when the information was reduced to its simplest form in each medium. This was apparently more evident among the less educated. It has also been alleged that information that comes through radio, allows creative participation or greater "structuring" than does the concrete imagery of television and film.20 Newspaper seems to allow the reader to control the pace and occasion of his exposure, permitting him an easy "re-exposure."21 It also seems that newspaper permits the reader greater freedom of imagination, interpretation and the like, for, as Klapper aptly puts it:

The reader is taught to be less personally involved than is the radio listener or screen viewer in the sense that he does not feel that he is being personally addressed, but, at the same time, to be more involved in the sense that he is forced to participate creatively in this more impersonal type of communication. Such creative participation is supposed by some observers to be persuasively advantageous.22

20Klapper, op. cit., p. 111
21Ibid., p. 110.
22Ibid., p. 111.
However, it should be noted that no evidence was cited in support for this "creative participation." For that reason the former hypothesis should be tested experimentally in order to know the extent of its validity.

C. Factors affecting changes in attitudes and opinions

The preceding factors play a role to the extent that change in attitude or opinion is dependent on learning what the communicator is saying. A report through the mass media on an actual or expected change in the environment, or a previously unknown fact about the environment, would lead to behavior adjustment in those who are exposed to the message.23

Another way "is by pointing out an existing feature of the environment and reminding the individual that his needs would be served if he adjusted his behavior in a given manner"24 or by bringing to the communicatee's attention a new way of patternning his relationships to the environment.25

It is worth noting that before any immediate behavioral changes may take place, it is assumed that the information provided is perceived as "useful." The information contained

24 Ibid., p. 82
25 Ibid.
in the communications may, according to Davidson be
"stored in the form of attitudes or remembered facts to
guide future behavior."\textsuperscript{26}

We should expect that changes in opinions and atti-
tudes are dependent on both factors: the learning of the
content of the communication and on the acceptance of what
the message implies. One would expect the first factor to
vary with intellectual ability in a positive way, just as
in the case of the learning of informational items. But
the second factor may be inversely related to intellectual
ability.

Burtt summarizes considerable evidence from the
commercial field to indicate that belief is most readily
accorded to information by the less intelligent members of
the audience.\textsuperscript{27}

Another facet in this study is the responses of an
individual to a film or radio program. These responses
seem to be affected by the social and cultural group to
which the individual belongs. Persons in different
cultures typically attribute different meanings to identical
messages. They may ignore or misinterpret those parts of
the message which do not conform to their interests and
tastes, or which tend to disorganize or threaten their other

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., p. 83.

\textsuperscript{27}H. E. Burtt, \textit{Psychology of Advertising} (Boston:
perceptions and the decisions which they have previously made. In Ramseyer's study of influence of four governmentally produced motion pictures, "The Plow That Broke the Plains," "The River," "Work Pays America," and "Hands," he found that changes in attitude were relatively small among upper middle class children of professional parents, and were considerably greater among children whose parents were farmers, laborers, and white collar workers. While part of the effect may be attributed to learning ability differences, the data are consonant with the theory that there are real differences in the predispositions of different social groups.28

It is worth noting that information about predisposition, to be really useful to communicators, must be up-to-date and precise, and for this reason simultaneous feedback is very desirable.29

Berelson states that:

\[ \ldots \text{effects upon the audience do not follow} \]
\[ \text{directly from and in correspondence with the} \]
\[ \text{intent of the communicator or the content of the} \]
\[ \text{communication. The predispositions of the reader} \]
\[ \text{or the listener are deeply involved in the situation,} \]
\[ \text{and may operate to block or modify the} \]
\[ \text{intended effect or even to set up a boomerang effect.} \]

\[ 28 \text{L. L. Ramseyer, "Measuring Intangible Effects of} \]
\[ \text{Motion Pictures," Educational Screen, 1939, pp. 237-238.} \]
\[ 29 \text{Leonard W. Doob, Communication in Africa (New} \]
\[ \text{Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 350.} \]
\[ 30 \text{Bernard Berelson, "Communication and Public Opinion,"} \]
\[ \text{ed. Wilbur Schram, Communications in Modern Society} \]
\[ \text{(Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948), pp. 183-184.} \]
In the Wiese and Cole study, the investigators found interesting differences between children from different economic and cultural backgrounds. The treatment suggested for the delinquent Nazi boy by the upperclass children was "rational" and "educational," whereas that suggested by the Mexican, Negro, and other underprivileged children was "emotional," with frequent suggestion of the child's need for camaraderie. 31

One of the many other factors involved in the process of changing attitudes and opinions is the medium's prestige. Various writers have stressed that one medium may be more prestigious than another. 32 But this generalization would need further specification in terms of "prestige for whom?" Television, during its period of novelty, may be more prestigious for certain segments of the population. In other countries radio may be more prestigious than newspapers, possibly as a result of differences in political control. The latter point suggests that media may, in certain circumstances differ also in credibility, and the medium judged by an individual to be most trustworthy may therefore be more effective. Cantril and Allport suggest


that radio may be more effective than print precisely because the individual feels himself part of a larger group listening simultaneously to the program. He feels less lonely, especially if he is an invalid or if he lives in a remote spot. 33

Another factor in media effectiveness is the extent to which the medium provides flexibility of appeals. Here the comparisons center about the relative advantages of various media in catering to special interests and differences in comprehension. It has been alleged that print is particularly effective in terms of flexibility of appeals because it provides for specialized interests and tastes to a greater degree than other media. 34

D. Inducing action

Still another objective of some communications is to precipitate action. The factors mentioned earlier may all be involved in convincing the recipient that the suggested action is appropriate, but additional ones are involved in producing the desired response. The primary new factors here seem to be immediacy, flexibility, and surveillance. From Merton, it appears that one of the

---


reasons for Kate Smith's effectiveness was the time of the action. Thus, a rebroadcast where all elements were the same except for immediacy would have been expected to be less effective. It is also worth noting that repetition with variation of appeals was an important element in the process of persuasive communication that led to action. Wright cited from a report in the United States Congress that Smith's broadcasts, obtained pledges from the audience for approximately $39,000,000 worth of U.S. Government bonds. In a similar marathon a year later she sold $112,000,000 worth of bonds in 18 1/2 hours. 35

Merton elaborates that Smith's broadcasts were aimed at the same goal, and each was unique. He continued to say:

The effect, therefore, was not one of mere reiteration. And the goal, in this instance, was expected to perform. Each new entreaty sought out a new vulnerability in some listeners. 36

Merton continued to say that varied appeals enhanced the likelihood of persuasion. A listener might ward off one attack; however, he might find another approach quite persuasive. 37 Hence it seems the more frequently an idea is repeated, the more likely it is to be perceived, remembered and constantly reinforced.


37Ibid., p. 37.
Hitler apparently believed in repetition but for different reasons when he wrote in Mein Kampf according to Yu Fredrick:

The intelligence of the masses is small, their forgetfulness is great. Effective propaganda must be confined to merely a few issues which can be easily assimilated. Since the masses are slow to comprehend, they must be told the same thing a thousand times.38

On the other hand, it is obvious that this day-in and day-out repetition, which can easily invite boredom and apathy, may be self-defeating—a weakness as well as a strength in mass communication.

Cartwright reported that:

The more goals which are seen (by an individual) as attainable by a single path, the more likely it is that a person will take that path. Thus persons given more than one type of reason to buy bonds were found more likely actually to do so.39

Here again, flexibility of appeal is relevant. This might serve as an explanation of Cartwright's finding that personal solicitation was much more effective than mass media appeals.40 There may also have been a third factor: personal appeals have the advantage that they can constitute a pressure to carry out an action and can provide

39Klapper, op. cit., p. 190.
surveillance as to whether the suggested action is carried out. This is a phenomenon well known to salesmen, who try to sign up the prospect on the spot. It also represents a "two-way-communication" with its implications. During the marathon, Smith was responding to her audience and modifying her subsequent comments as a result. By doing this she was able to achieve a degree of social interaction and flexibility of appeals approximating that possible in face-to-face discussion and in a manner ordinarily impossible for such an impersonal system of mass communication as the radio.\footnote{Merton, op. cit., p. 39.} It is apparent that the interplay between her and the audience reinforced the sense of a personalized appeal and, reciprocally, the personal character of her messages helped further the sense of a conversational relationship.

The foregoing analysis suggests that in many instances the superiority of one medium over another is based on a large number of different factors. Thus, face-to-face communication is almost universally reported to be more effective than that by radio, but to what extent this is due to oral versus visual plus oral presentation, to flexibility, feedback, surveillance, attention value, or other factors might require another kind of study.
As it appears from the previous discussion, the communicator can influence attitudes or behavior when he is able to convey information that may be utilized by members of his audience to satisfy their wants or needs.

His task may be an easy one if the communicator has control of some significant aspects of his audience's environment. All he must do is tell people about some environmental change or expected change that is important to them.

Communicators, however, seem to be in a more difficult position when they are trying to effect persuasion outside their own group, since they do not control aspects of the environment that are significant to their audiences. Furthermore, they usually do not have a monopoly of the channels of information, and must usually assume that people have already located sources of information that are important to them. To influence behavior under these conditions the communicator's information must be accurate or otherwise more useful than information from competing sources. But it seems sometimes that he can build on tendencies toward action that are already present by reminding people of existing needs and of how they may be satisfied.  

The power of the media could hardly be denied; for through media exposure people usually build certain images

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42Davidson, op. cit., pp. 87, 88.
in their minds about certain events or countries. Harold Issacs reported that:

the image of the murderous Turk that was lodged in the European mind from the time of the Crusades was reactivated, especially for Americans, by the Turkish maltreatment of Armenians immediately following World War I. That is why this unpleasant Turkish character turned up at the bottom of every scale of American images of foreigners assembled by early social science researchers. . . . The Turks began to appear in the more attractive role of stanch allies against Russia, and more widely, as tough and doughty fighters against our foes in Korea.  

This change of image was brought about mainly through radio, television and newspapers which were capable of transmitting the news of the events in Korea, building a favorable image to the Turks as strong allies and bad ones to the communist foes. Similar to that is what we see today on television about the Vietnamies war.

The "emotional investment" that is involved in such image building will facilitate changes in attitudes and opinions.

In closing it should be noted that one general line of investigation which is of high priority is the systematic exploration of cross-cultural differences in communication behavior. Too many of the generalizations about reactions to communication are based exclusively on American audiences,

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perhaps because it is not easy to find out the extent to which these communications modify behavior in underdeveloped countries.

Thus, it is imperative for the completion of this study to look into some of the studies which were conducted in some emerging countries. The objective will be to analyze the results of these experimental studies in light of their environmental conditions in an attempt to link these results to the established social patterns. This attempt should lead to a recommended effective approach to the use of mass media in national development.
CHAPTER III

THE FUNCTION OF MASS MEDIA IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A national development plan in a newly developing country is usually a compromise between essential needs in different sectors. For example, it is not sufficient merely to build factories and turn out machine tools, for industry cannot get too far ahead of its support which are the human resources. So the process of development must go on on a broad front since it is really a broad transformation of society. The radical change in agricultural practices, the creation of social overhead, the mobilizing and upgrading of human resources, and the like are all slow developments and they cannot be accomplished quickly because they require a large degree of human change.

It takes a long time to modernize traditional agriculture, not so much because the task is expensive but because it requires teaching new skills and attitudes, and persuading cultivators to give up out-dated practices and strongly held beliefs. Millikan and Blakmer argue that
"The paramount requirement of change in any society is that the people themselves must change."\textsuperscript{1}

\textbf{Mobilizing human resources}

In a study concerning manpower problems of 75 countries, Fredric Harbison summed up his study this way:

The progress of a nation depends first and foremost on the progress of its people. Unless it develops their spirit and human potentialities, it cannot develop much else materially, economically, politically, or culturally. The basic problem of most of the underdeveloped countries is not a poverty of natural resources but the underdevelopment of their human resources. Hence their first task must be to build up their human capital. To put it in more human terms, that means improving the education, skills, and hopefulness, and thus the mental and physical health, of their men, women, and children.\textsuperscript{2}

In other words, what they can do, what they know, and the attitudes they hold toward national development in general, are respects in which the people must change before the nation can change. This in turn would mean that skill, training, and a change in attitude should go side by side. For example, improving the health and vigor and extending the life span of the population requires not only the provision of medical and pharmaceutical services, but also the teaching of new health habits, which in turn require in many cases the adoption of new attitudes. For another example, recall the

\textsuperscript{1}M. F. Milikan and D. L-M. Blackmer, \textit{The Emerging Nations} (Boston: Little Brown, 1961), p. 23.

fairly widespread religious or philosophical objection of people in traditional societies to the killing of living things (like cows in India). The mobilizing of human resources requires a great deal of attention to what the population knows and thinks of national development, and especially to the encouragement of attitudes and social customs, and the provision of knowledge which will be favorable to development. As a matter of fact, the attitudes in most traditional cultures seem to be lacking in economic motivation and tend to be hostile to change. John Condliff, quoted by Schramm, says that:

The revolution of rising expectations will need a good deal of translation into economic motivation before it can become an effective force for economic development. . . . Motivation implies a change in values. Until the average man and woman in the developing countries wants education for his children enough to make the sacrifices . . . it is not likely that there will be much development. Education and abundance must be desired enough to sacrifice leisure and such customs as expensive marriage celebrations. Foresight and planning must become personal.  

The fear and distrust of innovation in traditional countries was illustrated by the belief that man cannot make any change in his destiny or master his environment, and the related idea that suffering and resignation are to be sought rather than struggled against. In part it is

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grounded in the low margin available for experiment. One unsuccessful innovation in a family that is barely able to raise enough food by present methods may mean starvation. Therefore, the tendency is to stick to the methods approved by centuries of use, inefficient and unproductive though they are. These things help to explain why so few innovators come to the fore in traditional societies, and why new ideas and behaviors often get an unfavorable reception.

Interwoven with such counterproductive attitudes are counterproductive customs and social patterns. Substitution of productive attitudes and behaviors for unproductive ones is a requirement for mobilizing human resources. By productive attitudes we mean those favorable to cooperation especially to cooperation in a long-term national effort, social patterns that make cooperation and mobility easy, attitudes favorable to innovation—to work—to good health practices—and to the achievement of delayed rather than immediate rewards.

The point is that national development is people changing themselves. It is not entirely an impersonal, inflexible process. If the flow of communication will permit, the people can have a great deal to do with setting goals and deciding when and how they should change and what they want their society to change into.
Lerner in writing on modernization said:

The process of modernization begins when something stimulates the peasant to want to be a freeholding farmer, the farmer's son to want to learn reading so he can work in the town, the farmer's wife to stop bearing children, the farmer's daughter to want to wear a dress and do her hair.

Change will take place smoothly and very efficiently when people want to change. It is generally the increasing flow of information that plants the seed of change.

The media in the developing countries

One of the striking observations one notices about mass communication in underdeveloped countries is how the media cluster in the cities. In highly developed as well as underdeveloped countries, broadcasting stations, film theaters and newspapers tend to be where the concentrations of people are. But in highly developed countries, the majority of people live in urban settings. Therefore, if the media concentrate on urban centers in underdeveloped countries they are really concentrating on a minority of people.

This is notably the case with newspapers. In Burma, a country of about twenty-one million people, thirty-three out of the thirty-nine newspapers are published in the

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capital city, and six in another city. Three of Ghana's four dailies are published in Accra. Ethiopia's dailies are so concentrated that three of its ten newspapers are published in Addis Ababa and the rest in Asmara. Only in Latin America, among the developing regions, is the provincial and smaller city press comparatively well developed. However in Haiti, the six dailies are concentrated in the capital Port au Prince.

Social change and mass media

There is a need to look at some of the evidence on how the mass media may be used effectively. These accounts deal with the tasks the mass media can do better than others. Other accounts deal with how they are used, which in fact, has much to do with their effectiveness.

The specific kind of social change, the mass media are expected to help accomplish, is the transition to new customs and practices and in some cases, to different social relationships. Behind such changes in behavior must necessarily lie substantial changes in attitudes, beliefs, skills, and social norms. Basically the mechanism of such a change is simple. Actually, it is far from that.

There are many campaigns that have failed in developing countries. The reason for their failures were that

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6Ibid., pp. 82-83.
7Ibid., p. 150.
either the campaigners were misjudged or they misunderstood the local situation. For example, Foster reported in his book that there was a major effort in Bolivia to introduce a new maize which seemed in every way superior to the old variety. The new maize grew well in the tropics, had more food value, produced a higher yield, and was less subject to insect attack. Therefore, the hopes for improving the diet and health of both humans and animals were high. There was only one flaw in the plans. The maize was too hard to grind by hand, and villages did not want to haul it to the mill in town. But it proved to make excellent commercial alcohol. Thus the campaign resulted not in improving diets but in promoting alcoholism.  

There have been many cases in Asia, Africa, and Latin America where women have refused to make use of newly installed running water in their homes for washing clothes, because they lost the chance for conversation and the company of others which compensated for the hardship. Some of the villages in India rejected an opportunity to install new and inexpensive smokeless stoves, although without such stoves people had to cook on the floor of the house. Each house soon filled with smoke, which gradually filtered through

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9 Ibid., p. 96.
the thatch roof. People had eye ailments and upper respiratory infections. But the smoky house had one great advantage which the campaigners had not known; the smoke kept down the white ants which infested the roof. Without the smoke, the ants soon ate all the thatch, and the roof had to be replaced at a considerable cost.\(^{10}\)

These are some examples of unforeseen consequences of campaigns which failed because of lack of local knowledge. As Schramm said, "Localness is not a strong attribute of the mass media and without a local field staff the media are not likely to know such things (as mentioned) about small localities they serve."\(^{11}\) Traditional villagers who fear change and experiment can often be convinced only by demonstration, and convincing demonstration can only come from local knowledge. A demonstration based on generalized rather than local knowledge, like one in Burma which taught the farmers to plow their rice paddies deeply and resulted in destroying the soil pan that held the water in the paddy, will have a negative influence far wider than the immediate setting.\(^{12}\)

It should be realized that people in traditional societies have learned over the years a relatively sure and safe way to farm. They learned it from their own fathers.

\(^{10}\) Ibid., p. 81.

\(^{11}\) Schramm, op. cit., p. 124.

They watched their neighbors practice the same method. They became skilled in it through many years of trial and error. These lessons they trust; these teachers they know. They have no reason to trust a government man from far away who comes with strange and unfamiliar suggestions of change. What is old, what is tried, what is near, what they themselves have done, is safe. What is distant and new, they distrust. Now that they bear the whole responsibility for their families, they have more reasons than ever to be careful. Another important facet of being local, is to be aware of local culture and symbol systems. Doob writes:

Again and again films are reported to fail because they are not adapted to the audience at hand. An educational picture produced in Nigeria and aiming to instruct mothers on how to bathe a baby offends women in Uganda: a child, they say, should not be shown naked, and his head must be washed first, not last.

Even what appears to be universally accepted cartoons can cause trouble. Some Congo soldiers during World War II, meeting Donald Duck for the first time, threw stones at the screen because they thought they were ridiculed. "Animals don't talk," they shouted. "Who ever saw a duck in uniform?"

He goes on to point out that:

It is possible, however, to adapt familiar communication patterns to the new media. For example, when radio was introduced into what was then the Gold Coast, the introducers deliberately tried to fit it into an African framework. They believed that its initial prestige depended in a large part

on the kind of translation that was used since people allegedly had confidence only in "the deep vernacular . . . a highly figurative and illusive form of language which requires a knowledge of the doings of mythical figures, the traditions, the folklore, the proverbs and rough country humor passed orally from one generation to another." A format was used which resembled the pattern of the linguist who transmits messages between the chief and his people. . . . A 'signature drum' announced the start of a transmission, the way a drum in the village assembles the people; programs began, as linguists open a meeting, by greeting dignitaries (such as the paramount chief and the village headman) and by offering good wishes for the sowing and protection of crops. 14

Sibley suggests that, "planned changes must be congruous with existing cultural beliefs and must be presented in a manner which makes full use of existing social structural arrangements." 15

In a study by Sellers he suggested the use of local people who are known. The audience will allow their acceptance of the media as a medium for recording and reproducing scenes from real life. 16

It seems most difficult for inexperienced illiterate people to make the mental adjustment needed to cope with the technical symbols used in films. Seller said, "Show a normal horizontal panning shot of a row of buildings to an

14Ibid., p. 286.


16William Sellers, "Making Films with the Africans," Memo, The Ohio State University Motion Picture Division, p. 4.
unsophisticated illiterate and he will tell you he saw the buildings rush by on the screen."17 This is why the technique of making films for such people should consider their mental capacity. Seller concludes by recommending that:

Films should be made in the local idiom and should use a technique which follows closely on the lines of traditional story-telling. This requires a most intimate knowledge of the colonial people and their habits and customs, which few outside the people themselves possess. This means that films must be made for the people, with the people, and by the people.18

Supporting Seller is John Hamilton who has done some filming in Iraq, Iran, and Libya. He suggested that it might be more effective to produce films in the local countries, using local people, and fitting the situations to the standards of the countries themselves.19 It appears from Hamilton's testimony that local film makers would be in a more favorable position to see the vital aspects of life than a film maker who is not locally oriented. Indeed the technique employed in the use of a communication medium is part of its effectiveness.

Holmberg says, according to Schramm, that:

The improving of communication media involves more than simply teaching people to read and write, or imparting information through the written word. Many isolated villages of the sierra have not learned to look at photographs in such a way as to grasp


their full meaning. For example, the showing of a public health film at Vicos revealed that the picture had failed to convey its intended message, for each scene was understood as a separate incident. The audience was wholly unable to see any connection between the film and its own life. The conclusion was that they were depicted as larger than life, an entirely different species of animal. Except for religious fiestas, few rural villages had seen any variety of drama, and the functioning and purpose of radio are known only to a few individuals.20

From a study by Danbury and Pinna in Sardinia, Italy, they reported that the programs that dealt with different problems are not aimed at the special problems of the island.21 This, as it appears, seems to disqualify the medium as an effective agent of social change in that particular society, but in the meantime supports the hypothesis that people in underdeveloped areas are less homogeneous than in developed ones for the problems are relatively not the same. Thus, the importance of being local is a necessity in developing countries in order to insure the effectiveness of the mass media.

The introduction of mass media though it is important, is not easy or automatic. My point is that communication is always at the very center of existence for any society whether it is developed or not. Wherever opportunities need to be reported, decisions need to be made, new

20Schramm, op. cit., p. 56.

knowledge to be distributed, or change is imminent--there information flows. These needs are especially urgent and widespread in developing countries where the tasks assigned to the communication media are vastly greater than before the time of development. Thus, the need for more knowledge and understanding of the people's cultural background, social patterns, and educational level arises. This means more comprehensive and detailed study of the different communities involved in the process of communication.

Implications for the mass media

The risk for being ineffective and counterproductive is most probably evident if the mass media are used without adequate knowledge of the local culture where they are going to be received. This is true of any communication, mass or interpersonal, but it is particularly true of the mass media because they cover larger areas, operate from a distance, and get less feedback from their audiences. A village farmer, talking to a cultivator about a farm problem, can easily tell whether he is being understood. The same farmer speaking over the radio to several hundred villages, many of which he has never seen, may never know whether his listeners have understood, and certainly he will not learn in time to make a change in the talk he is broadcasting. Therefore, an efficient use of the mass media for economic and social development implies that they should be as local as possible. Their programs should originate no farther than necessary
from their audiences, and they should be prepared by persons who understand the cultures to which they are speaking. In the meantime, means should be available for the audiences to report back to the media. UNESCO, in reporting on the development of information media in Africa felt:

This was not only a matter of increasing local program production, but also involved a closer contact between broadcasting stations and the audience. To this end new forms of programs should be developed through careful research and experimentation.22

It was also stressed that:

Particular attention should be given to the importance and difficulties of providing programs suitable for African audiences and adapted to the social and educational objectives of governments, and the necessity of developing national and regional facilities for the production of programs in Africa.23

It is worth noting that the importance of local broadcasting was recognized in China. In a Chinese Survey, it was reported that:

While to relay certain programs of the Central People's Broadcasting station at specified hours is necessary, a more important task should be to strive to improve locally-originated programs.24

The difficulties of determining the proper form in which to transmit messages to unsophisticated listeners are


23Ibid., p. 29.

legion. The following quotation from a report on early broadcasting in Ghana indicates the expedients which must sometimes be employed:

The simplest form of dramatization involved one of the basic two broadcasters playing the part of the village fool or sluggard, and having his foolishness or idleness exposed by his opposite number. . . . The exchange of dialogue was generally interspersed with, and certainly always ended with a proverb, often pithy enough to be a wise-crack from the deep vernacular which, in the true African manner, always led again to the inevitable song.25

Although many other examples of problems that face the mass communication planner could be cited, those already given should suffice to underline the need of thorough preparation and research to make the communication process in underdeveloped areas effective. The necessity for continuous audience research is particularly evident. For example, no matter how complete the transmitter covered or the distribution of receivers may be, a broadcasting system in an underdeveloped country is worthless unless the programs produced are meaningful to the audience. It is little use merely to run a well-meaning general broadcasting service. It can be positively harmful, at least to the reputation of broadcasting itself, if the programs heard are alien either because of their language or their mode of presentation.

It seems to the writer that the three essentials for an effective service are programs specially designed for the local audience; a competent, well-trained, local staff; and continuous audience research.

**Selection of media**

The problem of selecting a media system is extremely complicated. The problem is not to find jobs for the media to do, but rather to be discriminating about the uses to which they are put. Although basic techniques may be used in programming, they must in all cases be adapted to meet the needs of the local population. Thus, the problem of selecting a system is an essential part of its effectiveness.

One of the most significant studies that lends itself to this regard, was undertaken by the Institute for International Services, in which various communication media were used in a systematic campaign to induce people in rural communities to adopt several innovations. Three modes were studied.

1- Radio

2- A combination of audio-visual media, including movies, demonstrations, posters, slides, and exhibits,

3- A mixture of radio and the audio-visual combination.

Each mode was applied to one of three comparable and mutually isolated towns. The experimental results were compared to results obtained from control groups.
The particular practices to be undertaken were chosen so that results could be measured objectively. They consisted of constructing a latrine, building a smokeless stove, canning marmalade, and being vaccinated against smallpox. By the end of the experiment, three general questions were asked:

1- Which of the communications media had the greatest motivational influence?

2- What factors other than media might have influenced the results?

3- What interactions were there between the effects of the media and the other factors? For example, was higher literacy associated more often with participation in the Radio Town than in the Audio-Visual Town?²⁶

The radio broadcasts were composed of both informational material and entertainment.

The non-radio, audio-visual materials consisted mainly of the following:

1- Photographic exhibits
2- Illustrated bulletins
3- Posters about each practice
4- Slide sets with synchronized sound recordings

The campaign was divided into two general periods. The first was designed chiefly to inform people that a campaign for certain practices was under way and to induce them to participate.²⁷ In other words, it was a motivation

²⁷Ibid.
campaign. The second period was mostly devoted to specific instructions on the four practices.

The significance of this study lies in the relationship between the degree of participation and the media used. The results on participation in each practice are summarized in Figure 1.

**Latrines.** As it appears from Figure 1, a greater percentage of people in the Audio-Visual Town built latrines than in the Radio Town. In the Mixed and Audio-Visual Towns, more people built latrines than in the control Towns. In the meantime, the difference between the Radio Town and the Control Towns is not significant.

**Stoves.** Significantly greater percentages built stoves in the Radio Town and in the Mixed Town than in the Audio-Visual Town.

**Marmalade.** A significantly larger percentage of the people in the Radio Town made marmalade than in the Mixed Town or in the Audio-Visual Town. The difference between the Audio-Visual Town and the Control Towns is not significant.

**Vaccination.** A significantly larger percentage of the householders in the Radio Town were vaccinated than in the Audio-Visual Town or in the Control Towns.

Another general measure of the degree to which the people were motivated was the total number of practices undertaken by each town. The results show that the people of the Radio Town undertook more practices than the people of the
Fig. 1.—Relationship between the degree of participation and the media used.

Extracted from Fig. 1 of Spector, et al., op. cit., p. 28.
Mixed Town followed by the Audio-Visual Town. The composition of the total practices is shown in Table 1. There were

**TABLE 1.--Total practices undertaken by each town.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Radio Town</th>
<th>Mixed Town</th>
<th>Audio-Visual Town</th>
<th>Control Town</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Households</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latrines</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoves</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marmalade</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total active projects</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
<td><strong>71</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>244</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Active projects/household</strong></td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table was extracted from data reported in Table 5 in "Communication and Motivation in Community Development: An Experiment," by P. Spector and associates, Institute for International Services. Washington, D.C., 1963, p. 31.

several differences among the towns with regard to the pattern of their participation. In the Radio Town, a high percentage of the active practices was done by women; in the Audio-Visual Town, fewer of the practices were done by women; the mixed Town and the Control Town fell in between the Radio Town and the Audio-Visual Town.

When the efforts of women were compared with the efforts of men, the results in the towns differed. In the Radio Town the men participated in fewer practices of their
possible practices than the women did. In the mixed and in the Audio-Visual Towns men participated in more practices than women.

As measured by the first three criteria, radio was generally perceived as being more effective; however, it was less effective than certain of the other media as an instructional or teaching medium.

It is worth noting that, "no significant differences were found between towns or between participants and non-participants in their pre-campaign interests" as it is seen in Table 2.

TABLE 2.--Pre-campaign interest. *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reporting Prior Interest in</th>
<th>Radio Town</th>
<th>Radio and Audio-visual</th>
<th>Audio-visual</th>
<th>Combined Control Towns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latrines</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoves</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marmalade</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Based on data reported in Table 1, *ibid.*, p. 12.

As it appears from this experiment, the practices advocated in the experiment represent important social changes in these communities. There was little prior interest in them. Yet, as a consequence of the campaigns, large

\[28\text{Ibid.}, p. 19.\]
segments of the populations of the experimental towns were
motivated to spend their very limited funds and to devote
time and effort to the practices advocated.

The objective results clearly testify to the efficacy
of the various communication media used in this research
in motivating people, and to the potentialities of such
media for inducing action in community development programs
elsewhere.

Spector and his associates stated that "prior research
on media comparisons, e.g., Wilke, Lazarsfeld, Berleson
and Gaudet, Katz and Lazarsfeld, Emery and Oeser, led to
the point made by Klapper and reiterated by Katz. This

29 Ibid., p. 42.
30 W. H. Wilke, "An Experimental Comparison of the
Speech, the Radio and the Printed Page as Propaganda
31 P. F. Lazarsfeld, Berelson, G., and H. Gaudet, The
32 E. Katz and P. F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence:
The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications
33 J. T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication
34 E. Katz, "The Social Itinerary of Technical
Change: Two Studies on the Diffusion on Innovation," Human
Organization, 1961, pp. 20-22, 70-82.
35 Spector, op. cit., p. 83.
was that the research for the one most influential medium may be fruitless and that different media may have different uses in varying social and psychological circumstances. The present findings tend to confirm this view. No one medium was generally better than the others in all circumstances. Rather, one was apparently more suitable for certain purposes and certain circumstances while another was better because of different situational factors.36

In order to explain the basic findings in terms of its social and psychological circumstances, it is necessary to discuss the interactions among such factors as:

The amount of exposure to the messages, the relative costs of participating in the various practices, the perceived inherent rewards of the practices, the possible competitiveness of the media, and some personal characteristics of the towns people.37

However, these subjective data should themselves be tested experimentally before substantial commitments are made to one communications mode or another in development campaigns.

This study shows the capability inherited in the audio-visual media which were more effective than radio alone or mixed with other media in motivating people to undertake the most costly practice—the building of latrines. Conversely, as the report cited:

The Radio Town engaged more frequently in the smaller practices (stoves and marmalade) than

36Ibid., p. 83.

37Ibid., p. 83.
the Audio-Visual Town. In general, the Mixed Town fell between the other two. The net effect of this pattern of participation in the Mixed Town was that its total effort equalled those of the other experimental towns, but its effort on certain practices tended to be more like the Radio Town, and on other practices more like the Audio-Visual Town.\(^{38}\)

It is probable that the pattern of exposure was different for the different media. Quite probably radio with its inherent advantage of coverage reached and influenced the women in the two Radio Towns more than the men because they were at home more often during the daily broadcast periods. In the Audio-Visual Town, it is also probable that many of the women were prevented by their domestic duties from attending the showings and demonstrations. Therefore, relatively more men than women in this town were exposed to and influenced by the campaign.

Another factor is the different results could be attributed to differential exposure to the media which probably explains the differences in results only in part. It may be that radio was less able to motivate people to undertake investments in the most costly and extensive practice, latrine building, because of the financial risk involved. Therefore, the less costly and time-consuming stoves and marmalade may have appeared more feasible because

\(^{38}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 83.}\)
of the relatively smaller risks involved. It was reported:

that more men's teams were formed in the Radio Town than in either the Mixed or Audio-Visual Towns, yet fewer of these teams actually built latrines than those in the other two towns. The teams may have been formed initially in the Radio Town before the men realized how formidable a task faced them; they then did not carry through when they realized that they had undertaken a major project and could not see clearly its exact implications. The demonstrations of latrine actually discouraged certain potential latrine builders, while encouraging certain others by showing that the practice, though a difficult one, could be accomplished with concerted effort.\textsuperscript{39}

It seems that flexibility which is inherent in the audio-visual mode and deals with negative attitudes, was instrumental in inducing participation in latrine construction.

Radio, while it appears to be less effective than the audio-visual media in obtaining participation on the largest project, nevertheless was able to induce people to undertake projects of substantial magnitude as well as the smaller, less costly ones. This is shown by the fact that the construction of stoves was more popular than marmalade in the Radio Town as well as in the other towns, even though it involves more money, labor, and time. Thus, it seems that the difference in participation found between the Radio and Audio-Visual Towns may be due more to a sex difference in exposure than to an inability of radio to gain cooperation on large-scale projects. It was reported that,

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 85.
"the Mixed Town almost always fell between those for the Radio Town and the Audio-Visual Town rather than above either of them."\(^{40}\)

It is possible that the campaign appeals reached levels of saturation in the Mixed Town and further appeals, regardless of media, were ineffective. Furthermore, it is possible that the use of several media have led to confusion in addition to the possible diversion of the audiences attention from the one most influential medium for a particular group. It also might have desensitized the people to its messages.

It is necessary to mention that most communication studies which have been concerned with the topic have found that the mass media are just effective in reaching and influencing the more literate, highly educated and sophisticated\(^{41}\) persons, in other words, those who could be considered to have general intelligence. These findings were reinforced by Spector's experimental study in which he stated that, "radio's greatest effect was not on the illiterate and uneducated, but on the more literate and educated people in the two radio towns."\(^{42}\) It is worth noting also that the householders whose families participated in the active practices were found to be more "inclined to conduct their

\(^{40}\)Ibid., p. 89.

\(^{41}\)Ibid., p. 90.

\(^{42}\)Ibid., p. 91.
family affairs more democratically with women's needs or wishes given considerable weight."

The analytical presentation for the mass media in developing countries, and which was laid down in this chapter, should be sufficient to warrant more precise understanding for the problems involved in the process in general.

Therefore, in the following chapter, the writer will attempt to shed more light on the implications inherent in the use of mass media in national development.

\[43\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 91.}\]
CHAPTER IV

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR USING MASS MEDIA IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Local programing

There are many communication tasks within economic and social development, and many of them are clearly within the powers of mass communication. But, if a developing country were to use its mass media merely for all the tasks which the media can do best, the system would be far overcrowded. The centralization of the mass communication media as they exist today in most developing countries is not an asset to their effectiveness.

It seems that a broadcasting medium, for example, is asked to do too much, overlooking the fact that when it is broadcasting to the farmers it is not serving the city people. When it is broadcasting to the schools, it is not usually serving the adult population. So what is the answer to that?

Schramm, in an attempt to answer a similar question, raised many others.

In a country like the United Kingdom, the national radio operated on three channels, at different cultural levels. This solution may not be possible for many developing countries,
but they must somehow allocate their radio time by function and content. Should there be special stations for the rural regions? Should there be special stations for light entertainment? Should there be special educational stations? Should all these functions be combined in a single station or network, and if so in what proportion and at what times of the day? These are not easy decisions, and it is sometimes hard to know whether one has made them wisely.¹

In the meantime, there is an almost unlimited number of behavioral changes needed within any community. For example, it is necessary to know the culture well, and to understand the whole pattern of life of which the proposed change is a part. What would such a change mean to the people who are being asked to change? "That is the pertinent question," says Schramm.² It seems unfeasible to fulfill all the needs and interests of a developing community with a balanced program directed from a certain medium. If the media were to present enough different kinds of programs so that each need and interest received some satisfaction, the system would not have presented sufficient quality of some types to have satisfied the need for that type. Consequently, the effectiveness of such programming is doubted.

Some reasons for effective communication are association and empathy. A group of radio programs directed particularly toward a special group of people will develop

²Ibid., p., 227.
the kind of association, empathy, and belonging which are necessary for effective programing. It appears from the analysis provided in this study that local radio programing could help a cultural transition to be more smoothly effected. This would be possible if a chain of different local programs were directed toward achieving some kind of eeling of loyalty and a sense of dependability toward the medium on the part of the audience. With this confidence and association between the system and the community, the medium would be in a position to be effective in achieving the badly needed changes in social and economic structure in developing countries.

Localness and feedback

The operators of the mass media are concerned with feedback of two kinds. One of these is the kind of feedback they themselves can bring about through their programs. By building "localness" into the medium, radio becomes "local radio." Newspapers move into the towns and send their reporters into the villages. the idea that filmes must be made complete in the film study, that programs must be produced entirely in the radio or television studio, and that news is found only in the cities, should be abandoned. Planners for a communication medium should go out to the villages and towns seeking interviews on farm plans and problems, inviting ques-

tions for the medium to answer, letters to the editor, local
speakers and panels on the air. In other words, they should rely heavily on local production in order to bring about a feedback of local news and opinion into the medium. Not only this, but they should also encourage the audience to think that it is indeed their system—not merely a message that comes to them. It seems worth noting Schramm's observation that

the highly educated African or Asian, director or information chief trained perhaps in European or American universities, seems much closer to his European or American counterpart than to the village people in his own country. His programs or films or printed materials are likely to be ill-adapted for the audiences that need them most.

For these reasons, it is desirable to require such local or central medium planners to go through a social reorientation program in their own countries before they are assigned to their duties.

Heterogeneity and media effectiveness

In developing countries there is usually a diversity of audiences and conditions, and a scarcity of detailed knowledge about them. Many in the audience will be new to the medium and therefore unpredictable. Because traditional society maintains little contact between communities, the groups within the potential audience have grown up in relative isolation and may be expected to show a variety of

3Ibid., p. 178.
cultural differences. Therefore, audiences in the less-developed countries are relatively less homogeneous than in many other countries. For example, it could be said in general terms that the American society is more homogeneous than an underdeveloped one. The reasons for this could easily be linked to the ease of transportation and the possession of communication devices--especially television. Vonier, a television educator, appraises television's impact as follows:

Television today represents the common cultural background of the American with electricity in his home and that is nearly everyone. Just as surely as the people of India once drew their impressions of America from watching silent westerns and Charlie Chaplin movies, the American today draws his impression of the world beyond his doorstep from what he sees on the television screen.

How vast and how complete is this process of homogenizing the popular attitudes, impressions, and standards of our nation? Ninety-three percent of all the homes wired for electricity in the United States have television sets, or over 50 million television homes. It has never been before possible, in all human history, to get so many people concerned over one thing except perhaps the need for water, food, or shelter.

That a vast number of people have in common an electronic possession is of no small significance in drawing conclusions about our society. American television is projecting upon the public a point-of-view, an outlook, an attitude, and a set of standards that is very nearly uniform and consistent.4

So it seems that a relative uniformity of behavior and attitudes have been established through television viewing. In

the meantime, television is still far from being introduced effectively in countries that lack electricity and many other necessities for the people's diet.

Medium awareness

Those in charge of a medium must be aware of how much the audience knows about the topics on which information is to be sent; what attitudes they hold that might affect their acceptance or rejection of the information; what kind of language and symbolism they can comprehend; and all the other sorts of information which one would know or could speedily find out in talking face-to-face to an acquaintance. The many examples that were cited in this study demonstrate that misinterpretation of a message is bound to happen in cases where lack of knowledge about the audiences beliefs and behaviors are existing within the message itself. Lerner reports that a picture "must be perceived, evaluated, and acted upon. Indeed, as in most communications, it is the response side of the process that determines its effectiveness."

Yes, it is helpful to know what image the people in a particular culture have of what a subject should be like, and what changes would have to be made in other parts of the culture if the subject matter were to be changed. For

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example, in planning a campaign on industrialization or farming, it is well to know how social status, family relationships, community customs, and values relate to the campaign objectives. Mead reported that:

It makes sense generally, to fence pasture land and to plant trees to preserve land from erosion. However, the chiefs of Basutoland, in Madagascar, have opposed it as an attack on their communal ownership of land and communal responsibility in agriculture which offer them security and makes possible certain valued social patterns.6

The relationship between an audience and the different mass media is a necessity for determining the kind of medium that is most effective in carrying the intended message. For that reason, it is important for answers to be found to certain questions. For example, who is the audience; what do they think of the different media; and many others which a communication planner should think of before starting a campaign that is hoped to be effective. Klapper aptly puts it, "the audience's image of sources, affects the audience's interpretation of the communication and its persuasive effectiveness."7

Repetition with variation

The efficacy of persuasion increases with variation; however, audience over-saturation should be avoided in order not to get a boomerang effect.

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Selection of media

The relative efficiency of the mass media as channels for persuasive communication and action inducers varies from one topical area to another as to defy generalization.

1. It seems that radio is more suitable for inducing women to undertake both cooperative and individual practices which have relatively low cost and easily perceived benefits. In the meantime, it is also suitable for inducing people to participate in free public health practices, such as immunization.

2. Based on the analysis drawn from the results reported by Spector and his associates, the audio-visual mode is most suitable for inducing men to undertake cooperative construction practices involving relatively high costs and deferred benefits.

3. Motion pictures, slides, and demonstrations are more effective in giving instructions about specific procedures than the radio mode.

4. Radio seems to be more influential with literate and better educated people than with others. However, regardless of communication mode, participation is associated with education, social interaction, and greater interest in mass media per se.

In conclusion, radio broadcasting seems to be an ideal means of mass communication for it is unsurpassed in speed, range, and economy. It is particularly well suited to the less advanced areas where difficulties of terrain, economic limitations, widespread illiteracy, and lack of technology have hindered the development of other media. While inadequate transport facilities may hamper the distribution of newspapers and films from urban centers to outlying areas, radio can communicate over long distances regardless of jungle or mountain barriers. This is in addition to its economic advantages. While film, newsprint, and other basic material must be purchased from abroad in the currencies of major producing countries, a broadcasting service is relatively inexpensive to establish and maintain. In the meantime, it should be mentioned that the pervasiveness, immediacy, and intimacy of radio place a heavy burden on those who control its use throughout the world. For the radio in particular and the mass media in general have a considerable power to disorient and engender confusion in a society.

At the present with the advent of television, radio is no longer the only electronic means of mass communications. Television, with its added emphasis on the visual, has grown with astonishing speed. In some countries television coverage now equals that of radio, and the television audience is rapidly reaching that of radio. Many other countries have
started television services, and an additional number are presumably preparing to follow suit. However, it might take a decade before it can be employed to its fullest advantages in the emerging countries.

With the mass media, one does not know exactly to whom one is talking. Its influence could be far reaching, because it tells the person in the mass who he is--giving him an identity, telling him what he wants to be, and giving him aspirations. Mass media provides him with a technique for accomplishing this outlook. The media also tell him to feel that he is that way even when he is not--giving him escape.

In fact, the media not only works on emotions but also on the mind. With human beings who have witnessed and felt suffering, fear, and anger--enjoyment, hope, and pleasure--long before they were able to think clearly, one finds that emotions still lie deeper than reason, sometimes work against reason, and for satisfactory action, should always be harmonized with reason.

Inducing people in traditional societies to adopt certain innovations, or take certain actions will be most effective when a mass media campaign begins with the emotions. Therefore, a mass media campaign ought to start by calming and smoothing, pleasing and flattering. The real issue of a campaign ought not to begin until the masses have been made receptive.
In closing it should be noted that as a country develops, the mass media begins to cover the national news and problems. Thus, the arena of participation and association is widened until it begins to be as large as the nation. As this happens, the conditions of national empathy is encouraged, and all the requirements for developing as a nation are brought within reach.
SECTION II

A MASS COMMUNICATION MODEL FOR
A DEVELOPING COUNTRY (UAR)

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, a mass communication model for developing countries is called for. However, one should bear in mind, that such a model is not a fixed pattern that ought to be employed rigidly. A consideration should be given to the social, economic and political variables which operate in different countries. This in turn should be a factor in determining the localities of mass media centers, kinds of systems operating, types of programs and personnel directed and employed.

Therefore, it is necessary to facilitate the grounds for such design. This requires an analytical and descriptive survey of the country involved. Therefore, the following chapter will deal with Egyptian facets of life that are most closely linked and should be recognized in the planning of a mass communication model.
CHAPTER V

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

Egypt is divided north and south at Cairo into what are termed the Upper and Lower Regions. South of Cairo most of the country is a tableland rising to 1500 feet and the narrow valley of the Nile is enclosed by cliffs as high as 1800 feet. Near Aswan there is an outcrop of resistant rock, chiefly granite, which the river has not been able to erode. This gives rise to a region of cascades and rapids known as the First Cataract, and forms a barrier to human movement upstream, isolating the Egyptian Nile from territories farther south.

Upstream from Cairo the Nile Valley is from six to ten miles in width, and since the river tends to lie close to the eastern side, much of the cultivated land and also most of the major towns and cities lie on the western bank.

For the peasant majority, the desert which rims both sides of the Valley was less a territory than a threatening, thrusting barrier; one did not enter that wasteland but sought only to hold it back from the irrigated fields.

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Thus, the outstanding topographical feature of Egypt is the Nile River on which human existence depends, for its annual floods provide the water necessary for agriculture. Although the country has an area of almost 400,000 square miles only 4 per cent of the total land is inhabited by what amounts to almost 30 million people, making it one of the most inhabited areas of the world.

The completion of the Aswan high dam should provide some additions, but the expansion of the population is proceeding at a much faster rate than the development of new land and agricultural opportunities on the one hand and industry on the other. The government has begun a campaign for the purpose of population control, but these are not likely to affect population growth for some time, until the social customs and beliefs are changed. This in turn requires the effective use of the available mass media.

In the fifteen years following the present government in power, substantial changes in Egypt's political, social, and economic systems have been introduced. These changes, however, have been hampered by the massive population growth, limited arable land, and long-held values.

Languages

Besides Arabic which is the native language of almost 98 per cent of the population, several indigenous languages

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are spoken—Berber, Beja, and Nubian Languages. Siwa, near the Libyan border in the Western Desert, has a population of about 5,000 who speak Berber. The men of Siwa are bilingual in their native Berber and the official Arabic, but most of the women, traditionally excluded from public activity, speak only Berber.

Along the Sudanese border from the Red Sea to the Nile lives a nomadic Beja minority of around 10,000 people. The Beja do not write their own language, and the knowledge of Arabic as a second language among them is not great. None of the women know Arabic, and the men seldom speak it with fluency.3

The Nubian dialect area extends from Aswan in Egypt to across the border in Sudan.

Colloquial Egyptian Arabic is spoken in various mutually intelligible dialects. The chief dialectical division is between Upper and Lower Egypt, with the border line running just south of Cairo at the base of the delta. Within these major dialect areas there are local variations. In Lower Egypt there is a difference between the speech of the urban centers and that of the villages. It is the Colloquial Arabic rather than the modern Arabic which is the exclusive language of conversation. The circumstances where colloquial instead of modern is written are few, but increasing. One

use of written colloquial is for humor; cartoon captions and printed jokes are written in the colloquial. A fair amount of colloquial poetry appears in newspapers and periodicals, and editorials often appear in the colloquial.

Social values

There is a tremendous gulf between the more or less upper levels of Egyptian society and the still largely traditional-bound majority. Within the urban group, wide differences in social patterns and beliefs set apart those in the upper echelons of government, members of the professions, business executives from the lower middle class and those from the depressed and largely illiterate city workers class. There is also a contrast between the mode of life in Cairo and Alexandria and that in the cities of Upper Egypt; the differences are reflected, for example, in the continuing social and economic restriction of women in Upper Egypt and their relative emancipation in Lower Egypt. Although currents of social change are flowing toward Upper Egypt, Egyptians in this part of the country remain more conservative in their outlook and customs than those of the delta, with their greater exposure to Western influence.

Such differences stem also from a traditional parochialism in social life and loyalties on the one hand, and the revolutionary ethos of the new elite on the other. The world of the peasant revolves around his family, lineage, and village.
The effort of the government to inculcate national patriotic fervor among the peasants, through the centralized mass communication systems, confronts a formidable obstacle in this problem of highly localized loyalties.

Urban and rural differences are reflected not only in social outlook and ways of getting a living but also in recreation patterns. In the towns, the mass media of entertainment have gradually replaced traditional family-centered activities. Urban recreation revolves around coffeehouses, clubs, societies, and films. Rural recreation, on the other hand, is centered on family activities and religious ceremonies. Except for brief respites in the local coffeehouse, only such family events as religious feasts, weddings, and circumcisions break the monotony of the peasant's long hours in the fields.

**Literacy**

In 1944, a steady expansion of educational facilities and a campaign against illiteracy started. However, the illiteracy rate still is high. According to the latest figures 59.6 per cent of the population was illiterate in 1960. The illiteracy rate differed considerably with sex: 50.2 per cent for men and 69.6 per cent for women.\(^4\) There is no doubt, that the inadequacy of educational facilities and the

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difference between colloquial Arabic and the written language are major problems in the process of erasing illiteracy. It requires a long time for a person to become literate because of the difficulty of learning to write a classical language which he does not speak.

**Health and sanitation**

Egypt is still having a relatively low life expectancy rate (in 1960 it was 51.6 for men and 53.8 for women) and a high infant mortality (over 130 per 1,000) rate.⁵

Egypt's health problems stem from being overpopulated. Malnutrition leaves the mass of the population vulnerable to the multitude of diseases. The peasant, confined to a small parcel of land or employed as a farm laborer, scarcely ekes out a living at subsistence level. Overcrowded living quarters make environmental health measures difficult to carry out and contribute to the prevalence and severity of the epidemics which sometimes sweep the country. Finally, the heavily populated Nile delta abounds in numerous forms of animal and plant life contributing to discomfort, sickness, and death.

Traditional beliefs and a lack of understanding of the relation of environmental conditions to disease are serious obstacles to the achievement of a modest level of

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personal hygiene or successful application of the techniques of preventive medicine. Religious beliefs also affect popular views about health and disease. Pagan beliefs have persisted within the framework of Islam and Christianity in the countryside, and many of these related directly to sickness and health. One of the folk beliefs is that (spirits) have power to do men good or evil. Another is that the "evil eye" brings sickness and death to its victims. Sometimes a favored son is dressed as a girl to trick the evil eye. These beliefs represent an outlook which has the sanction of long tradition and which is bolstered by his present circumstances, rather than arbitrary notions to be dispelled by rational argument alone.

The system of mass communication in Egypt

There are differences in accessibility to the several information media existing among various groups in Egypt, which reflect the widely divergent economic levels, literacy rates, and interests of the various segments of the population. Attention to mass media varies with occupational group, degree of literacy, economic position, and urban or rural residence. Thus, radio broadcasts of interest to white-collar workers often do not attract industrial workers, and some of the programs appealing to professionals may be considered blasphemous by the devout peasants.
However, a large majority of Egyptians are either regular or occasional radio listeners. Even a great many peasants have access to radio through the village coffee-house, where a radio plays for the benefit of all customers. A high proportion of urban workers also listen to the radio in coffeehouses, at home, or at a neighbor's house. Though the interest in media is there, it is neither planned nor employed to its fullest and best advantage.

The press. Egyptian newspapers may be classified as national and provincial. The national is dominant, and the Egyptian press is capital oriented. The provincial press does exist, but it is limited, and of insignificant influence.

According to UNESCO there are 37 daily newspapers, with a total daily circulation of 500,000 averaging two copies per 100 persons. Out of a total of 24 morning and 13 evening daily newspapers, all but four are published in Cairo or Alexandria. Port Said has two dailes, and Fayum and Minia, in upper Egypt, has one each. Fifteen dailies appear in Arabic, 12 in French, three in English, and seven variously in Greek, Italian and Armenian.

In addition there are 10 Arabic weeklies of general interest and 447 other periodicals, of which 378 appear in Arabic, 161 in French, 13 in English and 23 in various other languages, including Greek, Italian, German and Persian.

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The average daily has 8 to 16 pages, usually with a special weekly edition. The daily coverages consist of important national and international news, features, sports, art and literature and of "political and non-political editorials." 7

The daily and weekly newspapers were nationalized in 1960. At present, there is a remarkable uniformity in the press content and appearance. News reports, national and international, are almost the same in all newspapers.

Radio broadcasting. The broadcasting system is a state monopoly and has been since the early 1930's. Following the establishment of a republic in 1952, a plan was laid down for the diffusion of Cairo broadcasts all over the world. Transmitters were put into operation, 21 medium wave and 15 short-wave transmitters. There are also 2 FM transmitters of 250 watts each. The total power is 4000 KW. 8

The home services consist of seven programs. A "general program," designed to cater to the tastes of listeners at all levels, is heard over medium wave and short-wave for about 20 hours a day. The program consists of about one-half of light music and one-fifth each of "cultural" and news programs.


and the rest of religion, including recitals from the Koran, calls for prayer, sermons, and "outside religious broadcasts." 9

There is also the "Second Program," directed mainly to the intellectual, 3 hours a day of fine arts, sciences, literature, music and plays, which cannot be included in the General Program since the latter is meant to serve the interests of the masses.

"With the People," on the air 8 hours a day, has since 1959 had programs specifically written for groups within the general population, such as workers, the armed forces, and youth. 10

Another program is the "Voice of Arabs," intended to convey and expound the viewpoint of the "Arab Nation." Programing and content are usually fluid and sensitive to political events. The targets are the Arab Countries for 22 hours a day. Other programs are the Sudanese program, directed to Sudan, the Alexandria Regional program, monitored for 7 hours a day, and the local European programs, broadcasting for about 13 hours a day in English, French, Italian, Greek and German.

The foreign services are beamed by short wave to the Middle East, South and South East Asia, East and West Africa,

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10Ibid., p. 231.
Europe, and North and South America in 28 languages. The programs are on the air for 150 hours a day since January, 1965.11

Total output could be divided as follows: 59.9 per cent entertainment, 19.2 per cent cultural broadcasts, 16.1 per cent news and information, and 4.8 per cent religion. There is no receiving license fee. There are 6.6 sets per 100 people exceeding the minimum set by UNESCO (5 sets per 100 persons).12

Television. Television transmission was begun in 1960. As in the case of radio, television is also owned by the government. It operates five main stations and eight secondary transmitters. Programs are transmitted on 625-line definition for 30 hours daily on 3 channels. Programs consist of entertainment (54.8 per cent of total output), culture (32.6 per cent), and news and information (12.6 per cent). A limited amount of advertising is screened.13

Distribution of receivers is still low. In the meantime, sets are placed in public gardens and squares for all to enjoy. Transistor sets are being distributed to many villages where there is no electricity.14

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11 "The Arab Communication Media on the Same Revolutionary Road," op. cit., p. 130.
12 Ibid., p. 129.
13 Ibid., p. 130.
14 Newsweek, August 19, 1963, p. 77.
There is one channel operating exclusively for educational purposes 12 hours a day.

Film. Egypt, according to UNESCO, is the world's fifteenth largest producer of features and a substantial producer of documentaries, but the film audience is provided with only 1.3 seats per 100 persons. Except in urban areas, however, the film seems not to be an important mass communication medium. The time consuming demands of the country's agriculture, the cost of tickets and the distance of many from cinemas are factors which seriously limit movie attendance by Egypt's predominantly rural population. Unfortunately, most of the cinemas are concentrated in Cairo and Alexandria and a few are scattered between the capitals of the governorates. However, the government has mobile cinemas exhibiting films for entertainment as well as for educational purposes. This approach might constitute a sort of public event where information would be provided, but it is doubtful that it would have an influence on precipitating action, since the factors contributing to action are not existing in such mode of communication as it is practiced. These factors are immediacy, flexibility, and surveillance (as it has been mentioned earlier in this study—Chapter II).

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Assessment and evaluation

The question now is, what does all this mean? Here is a country that is considered in the process of development, still below the minimum set by the different agencies of the United Nations whether in literacy, poverty, or health. In the meantime, the country possesses one of the most powerful broadcasting systems and film industries. Is it the tools that make a country develop? Or is it the men behind it?

It seems that a country in a hurry for developing its resources cannot afford the luxury of extravagant and uncentered planning for the means of promoting and mobilizing its human resources. The flow of meaningful information for development has to be speeded up and become more closely attached and sensed by the population.

There is no doubt that face-to-face communication is more influential than any other form of communicating where questions can be answered and instructions can be fitted to the interests of every participant. In Egypt, the mass media are centralized, which puts the communicators in a difficult position for trying to effect persuasion outside their own group. Furthermore, they seem to assume that people are already aware of the source and time of the provided information. Also a program, in colloquial Arabic, directed to the peasants in lower Egypt, will not be appreciated by peasants in upper Egypt and vice versa. A look at
the time devoted to local programing will show the ill fate of such planning for a potent and impressive system of broadcasting. Out of 150 hours a day broadcasting, less than 15 hours are directed to effective mobilization of the human resources for social, health, and economic development. The general program of radio Cairo offers 4 hours out of 20 for cultural and news programs. "With the People" program which broadcasts on a separate channel covers different sectors of the society. In the meantime, the time allocated is 8 hours daily for programs directed to a minimum of four groups of the population; the armed forces, youth, workers, and peasants. In other words, about 2 hours is spent in a directed programing toward each sector.

It is worth noting that Alexandria's local program is most noted and listened to by the people of that city since local news and local programs have more coverage and these programs are closely associated with the people's needs and desires.

As it appears from the study, many hours are directed to purposes that seem to be not the most needed for a rapid development of human resources. The strategy, of the country at large, might be contributing to the planning of the mass media usage. This study is only concerned with ideal and functional planning for the mass media for the purpose of deep rooted and effective development.
To shed some light on the many hours that are not used for the purposes mentioned in the former paragraph, Lerner mentioned that the media in Egypt are diverted to political purposes abroad, as it is at home.\textsuperscript{16} It seems that the diversion of the media to "political adventures" as Lerner likes to put it, was an essential part of the grand strategy of the government in Egypt. Further explanations or analysis on the former sentence, would indulge the writer in another type of study that seems to be of political nature, and would require a thesis in its own right.

CHAPTER VI

MASS COMMUNICATION MODEL FOR THE UAR

The UAR is divided into 25 governorates as shown in Figure 2. Table 3 shows the governorates size, capitals and population. Table 4 shows sex, urban and rural distribution.

The model

First. Establishment of mass communication centers in the governorates' capitals (nearly all the governorates' capitals are located in the center of the governorate which makes it more accessible to information through the rural area that surrounds it (Fig. 2) from the point of view of transportation and communication facilities) consisting of:

1. Film unit (16mm or 8mm) capable of producing films concerned with the governorate and its projection throughout the governorate (mobile units).

2. Radio and television stations, technically capable of covering the governorate.

3. Newspaper unit, capable of publishing local news. Published in the evening, it should be distributed free in rural areas until it stimulates and creates social awareness among the population. Also, it should be written in simple
Fig. 2.—UAR Governorates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governorates</th>
<th>Size (in sq. m)</th>
<th>(Approximate) Population</th>
<th>Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>214.2</td>
<td>3349</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>289.5</td>
<td>1516</td>
<td>Alexandria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port-Said</td>
<td>397.4</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>Port-Said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismailia</td>
<td>828.8</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>Ismailia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suez</td>
<td>306.9</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>Suez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damietta</td>
<td>599.2</td>
<td>1685</td>
<td>Damietta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakahlia</td>
<td>3462.1</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>Kafr el-Sheikh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sinai</td>
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<td>El-Arish</td>
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</table>

*The population of the frontier governorates (the last four) do not include a nomadic population of approximately 78,000. Based on tables in the UAR Statistical Handbook, Central Agency for Public Mobilizationand Statistics, Cairo, April. 1965, pp. 6, 7, 8, and 10.
TABLE 4.—Sex, Urban and Rural Distribution* (Census Year 1960) Pop 000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governorates</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</table>

*Based on tables in the UAR Statistical Handbook Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, Cairo, April, 1965, pp. 7, 8 and 9.
vocabulary suitable to the community intended.

4. The necessary local personnel for the production of these communications. (The importance of getting local people to carry innovation should not be minimized here.)

Second. Establishment of feedback units in the urban centers within the governorate. These units should be staffed with community researchers and the necessary personnel for gathering and supplying information to the local center. The reason for that is the difference existing within the rural areas in living conditions and the differences between the county centers (which hardly could be considered urban) and the rural areas.

Third. From Table 4, the governorates of Cairo, Alexandria, Port-Said, Ismailia and Suez are considered urban areas. In the meantime, the three Suez Canal governorates (Port-Said, Ismailia, and Suez) share common ways of life since their living is based mainly on the Suez Canal activity. This state of living makes them share common interests and problems, plus similar colloquial Arabic. One Mass Communication Center based in the center of "authority" (Ismailia) will be sufficient to carry out the purposes of such a center. Cairo (the capital) and Alexandria should have their own local center for the dynamic evolution in both cities as they far ahead of the rest of the governorates, which make their problem unique.
Fourth. Distribution of the population is closely related between the governorates of lower and upper Egypt, by upper Egypt I mean Giza, Fayum, Beni-Suef, Menia, Asyut, Suhag, Qena, except for Aswan. However, it is obvious that Aswan will create a great deal of industry in this particular governorate which in turn will attract many people to migrate to such an area. This in turn will lead to a change in the social fabric of this governorate. That would make the share per person in communication hours divided fairly among the populace and proper attention would be given to each governorate's social and economic problems.

Fifth. Figure 3 is the designed model for the country in general.

Sixth. Figure 4 gives an example of how a communication center would operate within a governorate. In this case the writer will choose "El-Monofia" (a lower Egypt governorate and the writer's governorate) as an example.

It is necessary here to mention that a powerful general broadcasting service to which all the people of the country can listen is very beneficial, because this continued transmission has a great effect in unifying the aspirations and feeling of the people. In the meantime, such a broadcasting system should not compete or be on the air during the time in which local broadcasting systems are operating. It should be only operating for national news and national events in coordination with local broadcasting centers.
General Mass Communication Center consisted of:

1. general broadcasting system
2. master film unit

for the purpose of national production, news, national events

Munufia Governorate Capital (local Mass Communication Center) consist of:
1) film unit
2) radio & TV system
3) newspaper unit

Feedback Unit consisted of:
Researchers and assistants

c.s. = County Seat.

Fig. 3.—Designed model for the country in general.
Feedback unit Mass Communication Center
research and staff
Purpose: supply information gathered from the rural areas around the unit.

* c.s. = County seat.

Urban
Population  184,000
Rural    1,164,000

Fig. 4.—Communication model for El Minufiya Governorate.
Program planning

In order that mass communication media may play a positive role in the building of the nation, and in the raising of the cultural, scientific, and technical standards, the following criteria should be pursued when planning the programs.

1. The various categories and levels of the local listeners must take an active part, in order that the programs may stem essentially from their wishes.

2. Programs should be based mainly on local production, to bring about a feedback of local news and opinion into the media.

3. Programs should be planned with an inherent flexibility in order to facilitate its repetition in a varied form.

4. Selection of media should be based on its availability to the local people, and suitability for the action desired plus the communicatee's interest in the media per se.

The mass communication model presented in this study considers the diversities which exist within an emerging country: social, economic and educational.

This social, economic and educational problems that hinders the development of human resources in developing countries, has been tackled by the localization of media supported by feedback units.
The model contains a central mass communication system for the purpose of reinforcing national unity and empathy with the country as a whole.

Hence, the model to the writer's belief, seems to be a reliable design for a basic approach to the use of mass media effectively in developing countries.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study is concerned with the analysis of the literature and experiments which are related to the possible applications of a selective approach to the use of mass media in developing countries.

Purpose

Social. This study is aimed at the people who are involved in the process of planning and using the mass media systems in developing countries. It is the writer's aim that this study will be helpful in both planning and use of the mass media more effectively.

Scholarly. To the best of the writer's knowledge, little study of this kind has been undertaken. This belief is based on a review of the literature, theses and dissertations submitted to the American universities and colleges in the United States.

The problem

Question. The problem is stated as follows: How can developing countries make an effective use of the mass media in their national development programs?
**Definition.** Selected approaches to the mass media in national development means, as it implies, the contributions that effective means of communication can make to economic and social development. It also includes the relations between the mass media and the public, and the use of such media in national development such as health, education, industry, agriculture, and so on.

**Specific hypotheses**

1. A local system of mass media is an effective solution to the problem of using the mass media as an arm of economic and social development.

2. A program of communication directed toward a heterogeneous people on a national scale for development purposes (as it is happening in underdeveloping countries) is apt to fail in achieving its goal.

3. A survey of the communities to which the communication messages are directed should be conducted and evaluated before starting the actual processes of communication.

**Assumptions**

1. It is not possible for centralized mass media to fulfill and cover all the needs and interests of a disintegrated community.

2. The use of a centralized system of mass communication will lead to the neutralization of the sources impact on its audience.
3. In developing countries, the greater part of the population lives on the land and is frequently isolated by illiteracy and lack of transportation.

4. A group of programs directed and designed especially to appeal to a particular group of people will develop the kind of association, empathy, and the sense of belonging which are necessary for an effective program or campaign.

5. People in underdeveloped countries are more heterogeneous than in highly developed ones.

Limitations of scope of problem

This study is limited primarily to the development and support of a reliable solution to the problem of the mass media usage and application in developing countries.

As a result of this study, national aims and targets can be fully achieved through reliance on the active participation in local action programs. This requires the mobilization of efforts to stimulate and organize local people for social progress.

Finally, on the basis of the discussion provided in Chapter II, and the findings cited in Chapter IV, and the mass communication model planned in the previous chapter (VI), this should be sufficient in securing an effective use of the mass media, and in mobilizing the human resources that are badly needed for economic and social development in developing countries.
Summary of findings

1. Heterogeneity seems to be relatively characteristic of developing countries; a centralized system of mass communication will not warrant an effective use of the mass media.

2. Local mass media systems should be established in local areas where uniformity in life does exist to insure effective use of the media.

3. A feedback of local nature is necessary to insure surveillance, immediacy, and effectiveness of the media.

4. Local people should be employed in different media to provide association with the media.

5. Local newspapers should be written in simple vocabulary to insure the readers' understanding of the information presented.

6. Those in charge of a medium should be aware of how much the audience knows about the topic, the attitudes they hold, the kind of symbolism they can comprehend, and their interest in the medium per se.

7. Transistor radios ought to be distributed to people in developing countries to build interest in the medium per se.

8. Campaign broadcasting programs for developing countries should appear in a form that will satisfy the people's existing needs.
9. A multiple-media exposure seems to be more effective than the use of one medium alone.

10. Repetition with variation of appeals is an important element in the process of persuasive communication.

11. Radio seems to be more suitable to induce women in underdeveloped countries to undertake low budget home economics.

12. Audio-visual material seems to be more suitable to induce men in underdeveloped countries to undertake relatively high cost projects.

13. Motion pictures and slides seem to be more effective than radio in giving specific instruction on specific procedures.

14. Participation in campaigns carried out through the mass media is associated with the individual recipient's education, social interaction and interest in the media per se.

In closing, the validity of the mass communications model presented in this study depends on its application; no designed model or plan can succeed without the proper application. A careful survey should be conducted in the country involved in order to determine the geographical boundaries of each heterogeneous county, governorate, or state. In this way repetition of similar centers that broadcast or present similar messages could be avoided. A survey of this
nature would also tend to prevent a probable shortage in local media technicians and researchers.

An additional benefit of this type of survey would be a more accurate determination of the most effective media to be used and the most efficient methods of programing for the chosen media.

It is the writer's belief that this model could be applied successfully in any country, whether it is in the process of development or has already been developed. However, such success would depend as mentioned earlier, on an accurate survey of the society involved, particularly in the fields of languages used, social values, literacy and distribution of population (sex, urban and rural distribution).

This model should be tested on a national rather than a local scale. Tests results based on one county, governorate, or state might be insufficient to validate the model as a whole.

It might be hoped that an international organization like the United Nations, with its vast technical resources, might be in a position to implement such a simple basic model in one of the emerging countries.

Until the time such an undertaking is completed and tested practically rather than experimentally (e.g., using control groups) the model presented should stand as theoretically valid on the basis of the discussion and the findings.
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