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The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1972
Mass Communications

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A FUNCTIONAL PLAN FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF
BROADCASTERS 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

Omar Ismail El-Khatib, B.A., M.Sc.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

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PART I

COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The last two decades have been marked by tremendous developments in the mass media. 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. 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, and improvements in printing, culminating in such innovations as the use of radio-facsimile and teletypesetting for the simultaneous publication of newspapers in different continents. Another striking trend has been the growing use of the mass media for education. In addition to the greater reliance on film, radio and the printed word for educational purposes, the last two decades have witnessed the vastly increased application of the new medium of television to the teaching process.

These media are variations on a theme older than civilization itself. Modern communications are the direct successors of the signal fire on the hill, the drum in the forest, the pigeon in the air, the dispatch sent by ship, coach or train; of all those means, indeed, by which people have sought, since time began, to satisfy the need to communicate rapidly with each other. The mass media of information are normally considered to have started with the development of mechanical printing in the fifteenth century. However, it may equally be maintained that they are a social outgrowth of the industrial revolution which changed long time ago the face of what we today call the developed countries but
is only now having its broad effect in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In his edited book, Mass Communications, Wilbur Schramm has made the following observation on the growth of the media:

The importance of the printing development in the fifteenth century is that the balance was swung from the long centuries of spoken, first-hand communication toward visual and second-hand communication on a large scale. The importance of the developments in the nineteenth century is that some of the limits were taken off communication; it was extended, over the heads of the specially privileged and the specially able, to the masses who had need of it. And the importance of the recent electronic developments is that the balance of the communication channels is again swung back toward spoken and seemingly first-hand communication, although to fantastically large audiences.

It is the belief of this writer, that any study concerned with the development of information media in the developing countries should be guided by two major premises. The first is that a prerequisite to the freedom of information is the very existence of adequate mass communication facilities. As early as 1948, the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information had proclaimed that freedom of information "...is the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is dedicated" and that it "depends for its validity upon the availability to the people of a diversity of sources of news and of opinion." In the following year, the General Assembly expressed its conviction that "freedom of information is one of the basic freedoms and that it is


essential to the furtherance and protection of all other freedoms."³

A decade ago UNESCO estimated that "nearly 70 percent of the total population of the world, living in more than 100 countries [at present] lack these facilities to a degree that denies them full enjoyment of this basic human right."⁴

The second premise is that development of the information media forms part of economic development as a whole. Such an integration of the mass communication field into the overall economic development process is of growing importance at a time when the developing countries are striving to attain in a matter of years a level of advancement which it has taken the developed countries centuries to achieve. This is why the development of the information media has been given increasing recognition by the United Nations which stressed the important role of the media in education and in economic and social development. The raising of educational standards in the developing countries calls for the dissemination of knowledge of farming and industrial techniques, health and community development, among other things. But when one is attempting to accomplish in a matter of years a task which it has taken centuries to complete in the advanced countries, the traditional means of education alone prove inadequate. It is here that the broadcast media, unsurpassed in speed, economy, range and force of impact, offer

the greatest possibilities for effective action.

Experience has shown that the development of these media is reciprocally related to economic development. On the one hand, a certain level of wealth must be attained in any society before it can sustain the development of services not as immediately essential as food and shelter. On the other hand, the information media can markedly stimulate the capacity to create further wealth by enlisting the "human" or "non-physical" factors, such as improved skills and better education, more directly in the economic development process. This interrelation calls for planning for the development of the broadcast media as part of any overall program for economic and social expansion, taking into account the multiplicity of other national needs.

However, there is evidence that development of the media, possibly because their effects are more indirect than direct, have not been given the place they should logically occupy. For example, "...while problems of developing transport and telecommunication services have recently received increasing attention, limited consideration has been given to problems of developing the broadcast media in programs for economic expansion." Similarly, "...while a service function such as formal education is now generally accepted as a basic factor in economy and social expansion justifying heavy investment, the development of the media has often been regarded solely as consumption, with the primary emphasis on its cultural significance."5

Let us now turn to the availability of broadcast facilities in the developing countries and examine the trends of their development over the past two decades. Figure 1 shows that in 1960 Asia, South America, 6 UNESCO, Statistics on Radio and Television 1950 - 1960 (Paris: UNESCO, 1950), p. 9.

---

5 Ibid., p. 16.
Africa and Oceania had less than one third of the world’s number of radio broadcasting transmitters, and less than one quarter of the world’s total transmitting power. The dearth of facilities is still more acute when it comes to the distribution of radio broadcasting receivers. Figure 2 shows that in 1960 the same four continents had less than one seventh of the world’s radio receivers.

Distribution of television broadcasting transmitters, on the other hand is shown in Figure 3. In 1960 the number of television broadcasting transmitters in Asia, South America, Africa and Oceania was estimated at 13% of the world’s total; whereas their share of television receivers in the same year was estimated at only 9.1% as shown in Figure 4.

In the ten years between 1950 and 1960 all four continents made progress in their absolute numbers of radio receivers as shown in Figure 5. In terms of percentages of the world total, however, Asia was the only continent of the four to achieve an increase of 1% as shown in Figure 2. The absolute numbers of television receivers have also increased in the four continents between 1953 and 1960 as shown in Figure 6. In terms of percentages of the world’s total, the increase was 8.8% for the four continents as shown in Figure 4. Asia, South America and Oceania marked an increase of 6%, 1.7%, and 1% respectively. Africa with 0.1% increase, was barely touched by television in 1960.

7 Ibid., p. 15.
8 Ibid., p. 19.
9 Ibid., p. 25.
11 Ibid., p. 15.
12 Ibid., p. 24.
13 Ibid., p. 25.
Fig. 1. Distribution of radio broadcasting transmitters by continent
Estimated percentages: 1960
Fig. 2. Distribution of radio broadcasting receivers by continent
Estimated percentages: 1950 and 1960
Fig. 3. Distribution of television broadcasting transmitters by continent
Estimated percentages: 1953 and 1960
Fig. 4. Distribution of television receivers by continent

Estimated percentages: 1953 and 1960
Fig. 5. Total number of radio receivers by continent: 1950 and 1960 (in millions)
Fig. 6. Total number of television receivers by continent: 1953 and 1960 (in millions)
More progress has been achieved over the past decade. On the basis of the latest statistics available, UNESCO estimated that around 1968, there were approximately 18,850 radio broadcasting transmitters and 13,140 television transmitters in the world operating on a regular basis, distributed by continent as shown in Table 1 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTINENT</th>
<th>TOTAL NUMBER OF RADIO BROADCASTING TRANSMITTERS</th>
<th>TOTAL NUMBER OF TELEVISION BROADCASTING TRANSMITTERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>18,850</td>
<td>13,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America, North</td>
<td>8,150</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America, South</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>2,320</td>
<td>2,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>4,710</td>
<td>5,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This means that while Africa, South America, Asia and Oceania held to their 30% share of the world's radio transmitters in 1968, they achieved almost 25% share of the world's television transmitters in 1968, compared with 13% in 1960, and only 3% in 1953. There are indications, however, that the four continents have achieved an increase in their radio total transmitting power over the last decade. Many developing countries, in an attempt to reach wider audiences, raised the power of their radio transmitter without necessarily building new ones.

---

In order to measure the sufficiency of facilities in the developing countries, UNESCO established a general yardstick suggesting, as an immediate target, that a country should aim to provide for every 100 of its inhabitants at least the following facilities: ten copies of daily newspapers; five radio receivers; two cinema seats, two television receivers. Table 2 shows that in spite of the remarkable increase in the estimated total numbers of radio receivers in various parts of the world, Africa and Asia in 1968 still fell below UNESCO's very low minimum level.

---


### TABLE 2
**TOTAL NUMBER OF RADIO RECEIVERS AND RECEIVERS PER 1000 INHABITANTS:**
1950 and 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTINENT</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of Radio Receivers (millions)</td>
<td>Number of Receivers per 1000 inhabitants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America, North</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same two continents in 1968 also fell below UNESCO's minimum of two television sets for every 100 inhabitants as shown in Table 3.

### TABLE 3
**TOTAL NUMBER OF TELEVISION RECEIVERS AND RECEIVERS PER 1000 INHABITANTS:**
1953 and 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTINENT</th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of Television Receivers (millions)</td>
<td>Number of Receivers per 1000 inhabitants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America, North</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the increase of facilities reflected in the foregoing statistics, the fact remains that there is a dearth of radio and television facilities over the greater part of the world. This means that a good part of the world's peoples lack the adequate means of being informed of developments at home, let alone in other countries. It also means they lack adequate means of communicating with other countries, i.e. sending as well as receiving messages. The actual situation is in fact even worse because the UNESCO minimum level criteria do not take into account the distribution of facilities within countries. In many developing countries, the majority of the population live in rural districts, whereas the facilities for information are concentrated in relatively few urban areas.

The low number of receivers per 1000 in the developing countries is partly due to the sharp increase of population in those countries. Table 4 shows the population increase in the three major underdeveloped regions of the world over a period of nineteen years.

### Table 4

**POPULATION INCREASE IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA: 1950-1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTINENT</th>
<th>Estimates of Midyear Population (millions)</th>
<th>Increase (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>2517</td>
<td>3552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>1381</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

While these figures indicate that well over two thirds of the world population live in Asia, Africa and Latin America, they clearly show that the population increase in the same three regions is over four-fifths of the world's total increase.

Any realistic approach to the problems of developing the information media must clearly include an examination of the relationship between underdevelopment of the media and underdevelopment generally. In this direction, UNESCO undertook a study which attempted to correlate, on the one hand, various indices of the use of information facilities and, on the other, various factors in economic, social and educational development. This study shows a very high correlation of development of the mass media with economic factors in general development, particularly income. The study confirmed that as income rises, the demand for the mass media increases in comparatively greater proportion in the developing than in the developed countries. It thus becomes apparent that as the economy of a developing country expands, one may expect a commensurate increase in expansion of the mass media. Indeed, the two processes interact because development of the media in turn spurs economic growth.  

Daniel Lerner also found a very high correlation between the measures of economic growth and the measures of communication growth. Schramm and Carter found such correlation in 100 countries.

---


21 Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, p. 47.
It might be reasonably anticipated, therefore, that the increase in demand for the broadcast media in the developing countries will continue in the future and that this demand is related to three major factors: (1) growth of population, (2) increasing per capita income; and (3) the comparatively higher demand for the media which a given rise of per capita income stimulates in the developing countries, as compared with developed countries. All the determinants of future demand work in the same direction. Population in the developing regions is rapidly increasing; per capita incomes are rising; the demand for information media in the developing regions is highly sensitive to growth of either of these two factors. Consequently, the resultant estimated increases in future demand for the media are greater than is commonly realized.

Placing the demand in 1955 at 100, UNESCO expects demand for all of the media to show the following increases by 1975: Africa 338, Latin America (excluding Argentina) 341, Near and Middle East 384, Far East (excluding Japan and Mainland China) 382. The conclusion emerges that by 1975 the demand for the mass media in all four regions combined will, in all likelihood, be three-and-a-half times that in 1955. It is expected that the development of low-cost miniaturized radio and television sets will boost those figures even further.

In light of the foregoing analysis we can say that the transition to modern communications in the developing countries is a certainty. The question, as Wilbur Schramm puts it, "...is not whether the mass

---

media will ultimately come into wide use in the developing countries as channels of information and education, but rather whether their introduction should be hurried so that they can do more than they are doing at present to contribute to national development.\textsuperscript{23} Their particular importance to the developing countries lies in that they are — in Schramm’s words — great multipliers.” Just as the machines of the Industrial Revolution are able to multiply human power with other kinds of energy, so are the communicating machines of the Communication Revolution able to multiply human messages to a degree previously unheard of.\textsuperscript{24} It may well be that mass communications are about to play a key part in the greatest social revolution of all time — the economic and social uplift of two-thirds of the world’s people. It is not to be implied that mass communication can do it alone. Without determined national leadership, adequate population and resources, and availability of capital, the most efficient communication system could not bring about economic development. But this at least Schramm says with confidence:

\begin{quote}
If the mass media or some equally potent and rapid means of information were not available, it would be utterly impossible to think of national, economic and social development in terms of the timetables that are being attached to such development today.\textsuperscript{25}
\end{quote}

Development in the broad sense does not only mean growth, but also gradual modification of behavior, individually, and collectively, so that all the members of the community may be able to benefit from and adjust to the development process. The promotion of human resources in any

\textsuperscript{23} Wilbur Schramm, \textit{Mass Media and National Development}, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p. 91.
society, therefore requires, in addition to the circulation of goods, men and money, a constant flow of knowledge and know-how as well as dissemination of information on national objectives and government activities. Economic and social development is thus closely related to the development of information to the population as a whole and to its different sectors. Economics and communication are both organic to society, and neither can develop to any great extent without a corresponding development in the other. Society makes certain economic arrangements before it can do certain things with communication, and it must do certain things with communication before it can do certain things with economics.

Walt W. Rostow has listed the developments he considers necessary preconditions to what he calls economic "take-off." These are the building of a new generation of men and women trained appropriately and motivated to operate a modern society; a productivity revolution in agriculture; a massive build-up of transport facilities and sources of energy; and the development of a capacity to earn more foreign exchange.

Daniel Lerner has developed more fully one pre-condition which Rostow, the economic historian, subsumes under others, but which a sociologist like Lerner prefers to set off in a more important position. He speaks of a "national empathy" which must develop as the people of a developing country acquire a feeling of rationally and a capacity for working together. Lerner pictures the mass media as "mobility multipliers" which make possible increases in empathy and social participation through mediated experiences. The media do this for

people by "depicting for them new and strange situations and by familiarizing them with a range of opinions among which they can choose."27

If we ask to which of these preconditions must communication contribute, the answer would of course be, to all of them. Communication must be so developed as to make for a greater effort in every way. Schramm cites six of its essential functions: (1) to contribute to the feeling of nation-ness; (2) be the voice of national planning; (3) to help teach the necessary skills; (4) to help extend the effective market; (5) to help prepare people to play their new parts, and finally, (6) to prepare the people to play their role as a nation among nations.28

Lucian W. Pye notes that a scanning of the most elementary problems common to the new states suggests the conclusion that the basic process of modernization and national development can be conceived of as problems in communication. In Pye's view:

...the generally recognized gap between the more urbanized leaders and the more tradition-bound, village-based masses, which is the hallmark of traditional societies, represents a flaw in the structure of the national communications and a fundamental problem in personal communications among people with grossly different life experiences.29

John T. McNelly thinks it would be optimistic in the extreme to expect the emergence in the near future of an adequate general theory to explain or predict a process so complex and ramified as mass communication in social and economic development. He notes that

investigators have tended to look at mass communication in terms of variables which lead to it and variables which follow from it. He arranges these variables in this kind of paradigm:

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          Mass Communication
           /               |
       /                 |
  Antecedent Variables  Consequent Variables
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The antecedent variables tend to be factors such as education, socio-economic status, literacy, age and family background. The consequent variables often include knowledge, attitudes and motivation regarding modernization, empathy, opinion leadership, and innovativeness. As the arrows suggest, mass communication can be studied as a dependent variable with respect to the antecedent variables, as an independent variable with respect to the consequent variables, or as an intervening variable serving as a link between the antecedent and consequent variables. And the possibility is left open in this scheme for direct effects, as the lower arrow indicates, of the antecedent variables on the consequent variables, apart from mass communication. The arrows suggest predominant or probable, but not necessary, directions of causality. It is assumed that mass communication can interact with the antecedent and consequent variables in an almost infinite variety of ways to influence the development process.

The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing analysis point to the need for use of mass media that are capable of transmitting information rapidly and efficiently, that are amenable to constant

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readjustment to recognized requirements and aspirations, that can provide an equal distribution with satisfying regularity and continuity in all spheres of activity. Radio and television seem remarkably capable of answering these demands and of insuring an effective flow of information, general or practical education of young people as well as adults, and culture for the support of development activities and human progress. The chief reason why communication growth has lagged in many countries is not so much lack of interest or lack of belief in the potential of communication systems to contribute to national development, as simply unwillingness, under cross-pressures of budget-making, to make the commitment to such development. The best basis for such a commitment, the best buttress against cross-pressures, is a well-thought-out plan that integrates the development of mass communication into the general pattern of social and economic development.

If the social and economic plans of a developing country are to bear fruit, it should be recognized that the broadcast media of both radio and television have a significant contribution to make. They should be considered part of the country's basic facilities, like harbours, roads, electricity, with an investment of funds not merely for immediate and identifiable results, but for the promotion of a long-term increase in national production. As with investment in education, broadcasting resources should be expected to yield results in the form of an informed, motivated and skilled people, leading to the increased availability of productive manpower whether in urban or rural areas.

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The effective use of radio and television however, is only possible if there is a close integration of the efforts of all concerned on the three levels of planning, production and reception of broadcast programmes. This calls for professional training of broadcasters to enable them to play effective roles in their respective levels. Training of broadcasters is one of the pressing needs in many developing countries. The number of radio and television specialists is still small compared with the needs, and it should be steadily increased if the media are to play a major role in bringing about change in the developing countries.

"In the process of development" Schramm reminds us, "it is not sufficient merely to know the need for change or even to decide for change. Before substantial amounts of change can occur, new skills must be spread throughout the population. This requires a nation-wide program of education and training." The pioneer role of broadcasters in bringing about change to their communities; by spreading skills, education and training, makes it of paramount importance that they themselves should be well trained. If it was ever true that all a good broadcaster needed was common sense and a 'flair', the same can no longer be said today. The complexities of the modern world make heavy demands on his knowledge, resources and skills. His task has been broadened and his responsibilities magnified by developments in science and technology, the invention of new and powerful communication media, the rapid changes of our time and the widening of the horizons of the public he serves. The broadcaster must be made aware of the role of mass

32 Ibid., p. 140.
communication in the social system in which he lives. He should be conscious of the power of the instrument in his hands—a tool for education and constructive economic and social progress and indeed, a weapon for political action, both good and bad. This awareness is the first step in building the sense of responsibility which is a primary qualification of the professional broadcaster.

No matter how complete the transmitter coverage or the distribution or receivers may be, a broadcasting system in a developing country is worthless unless the programmes produced are meaningful to the audience. The availability of well-trained staff is a corollary of good programming. According to George Codding "the three essentials for an effective [broadcasting] service are a competent, well-trained staff, programs specially designed for the audience, and continuous audience research."

The first of these three essentials is the subject of this study. In dealing with "Professional Training of Broadcasters in the Developing Countries," the study starts in Chapter II by defining the major roles and functions of radio and television in those countries. Handicaps to effective communication in the developing countries are discussed in Chapter III.

Part II deals with a plan for training of broadcasters in a selected developing country—Jordan. The general characteristics of the Jordanian scene are discussed in Chapter IV and the proposed plan is presented in Chapter V. Conclusions and summary of findings form the final chapter.

CHAPTER II
MAJOR USES OF BROADCAST MEDIA IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

A great economic, social and political transformation is sweeping the underdeveloped countries. This transformation is manifested in new aspirations and expectations, a new eagerness to plan and promote economic growth and to acquire modern technology, a challenging of age-old traditions, the rise to power of new leaders, and the emergence of new nations.

But for those aspirations, expectations and eagerness to materialize, and in order for transformation to mature and develop "human resources must be mobilized and difficult human problems must be solved." Developing countries need desperately to mobilize their human resources which know little beyond their villages, little of science, little of modern agriculture, little of the efforts at economic development, little of the responsibilities of nationhood. They require the active and informed cooperation of their village people as well as their city people. Therefore they are going to have to speed up the flow of information, offer education where it has never been offered before, teach

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1 Throughout this study, we use Everett M. Rogers' definition of the term 'development': "Development is a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization. Thus we define development and economic development in essentially similar terms, although recognizing that there are types of development, such as political and social, which are not strictly economic." (Modernization Among Peasants — The Impact of Communication, pp. 8-9).


literacy and technical skills very widely. This is the way they can motivate and prepare their populace for development. And the only way they can do it and keep the timetables they have in mind is to make full use of modern communication.

In the service of development, the broadcast media are agents of social change. They are expected to help accomplish the transition to new customs and practices and, in some cases, to different social relationships. Behind such changes in behavior must necessarily be substantial changes in attitudes, beliefs, skills, and social norms. To be able to use the broadcast media effectively in the process of social change we must remember Schramm's statement:

....there are some tasks the mass media can and some they can't do and some they can do better than others,....how they are used has much to do with their effectiveness. [Therefore in this chapter we shall]....look at some of the evidence on how the mass media may be used effectively in the service of national development. 3

What we have just said suggests the following generalizations concerning the efficient use of the broadcast media to accomplish social change:

A. Establish a 'Climate' for Development.

1. Infuse mobility and widen horizons

In his book, The Passing of Traditional Society, Daniel Lerner said that 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 that 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."\(^5\) Having discerned this psychological pattern,
Lerner is suggesting that the man who changes in a developing society
is usually a "mobile personality." By this he means a person who has
a high capacity to identify with new aspects of his environment. With
the spread of curiosity and imagination among a previously complacent
population come the human skills needed for social growth and economic
development. Change will not take place smoothly or efficiently unless
people want to change. It is generally the increasing flow of information
that plants the seed of change and furnishes the climate for development.

The mobile personality is high in empathy which "...is the basic
communication skills required of modern men and which endows a person
with the capacity to imagine himself as a proprietor of a bigger
grocery store in a city, to wear nice clothes and live in a nice house,
to be interested in 'what is going on in the world,' and to 'get out of
his hole.'\(^6\) The mobile personality sees himself 'in the other
fellow's situation.' This is the type of person who accepts and
advocates change. And says Lerner, this is "the predominant personal
style only in modern society, which is distinctively industrial, urban,
literate, and participant."\(^7\)

In his book, *The Lonely Crowd*, David Riesman discusses personality
and social mobility in three stages: the stage of tradition-direction,
the stage of inner-direction, and the stage of other-direction. The
major agency of character formation in societies dependent on tradition-
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\(^5\) Daniel Lerner, op. cit., p. 348.
\(^6\) Lemer, in Lucian Pye (ed.), *Communications and Political
Development*, p. 342.
\(^7\) Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, p. 50
direction is the extended family and its environing group or clan. Models for imitation are likely to be generalized in terms of the group. What one imitates is behavior and specific traits as he does not confront problems of choice very different from those he watches among the group. One's personality growth is conceived as "a process of becoming an older, and therefore wiser, interpreter of tradition."  

With the advent of transitional growth, opportunities open for a good deal of social and geographical mobility. People begin to pioneer on new frontiers of production and intellectual discovery. Society as mediated by the primary group no longer proclaims unequivocally what one must do in order to conform. Rather, one soon becomes aware of competing sets of customs and paths of life from among which he is, in principle, free to choose. The wider horizon of possibilities and of wants requires a character which can adhere to rather generalized and more abstractly defined goals. Such a character must produce under its own motive power the appropriate specific means to gain these general ends. In the new situation, the drive instilled in the inner-directed individual is "to live up to ideals and to test his ability to be on his own by continuous experiments in self-mastery -- instead of by following tradition."  

In the phase of transitional growth the inner-directed person is able to see industrial and commercial possibilities and to work with zeal required by expanding frontiers; but then comes a stage of other-direction when the conditions for advancement alter significantly and

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9 Ibid., pp. 57-59.
he needs neither such zeal nor such independence. Business, government, the professions become heavily bureaucratized; societies increasingly turn to the men who run the machine. Social mobility under these conditions continues to exist. But it is less dependent on what one is and what one does "than on what others think of one — and how competent one is in manipulating others and being one self manipulated."

The first element in the social dynamic of development, therefore, is an infusion of modern or 'mobile' personality. The second element is what Lerner calls "The Mobility Multiplier: Mass Media." The increase of psychic mobility started with the expansion of physical travel. With the improvement of technical means of transportation, physical displacement became an experience lived through by millions of ordinary people who were formerly bound to some ancestral spot. Geographical mobility used to be almost the only vehicle of social mobility. But in our time the "earlier increase of physical experience through transportation has been multiplied by the spread of mediated experience through mass communication." Radio and television opened to the large masses of people the infinite vicarious world. Many more people in the world were to be affected directly, and perhaps more profoundly, by these media than by the transportation agencies. Vicarious experience occurs in conditions quite different from those of physical experience. Thus, while the traveler is likely to become bewildered by the profusion of strange sights and sounds that attend the complex natural environment, the receiver of communications through the simple artificial setting contrived by the creative communicator is likely to

10 Ibid., pp. 57-59.
11 Lerner, op. cit., p. 52.
be enjoying a composed and orchestrated version of new reality. He has the advantage of more facile perception of the new experience with the concomitant benefit of facile comprehension. Thus the media, Lerner says, discipline man "in those empathic skills which spell modernity." They also depict for him "the roles he might confront and elucidated opinions he might need." With their continuing growth in our time, especially in the developing countries, the media are "performing a similar function on a world scale."  

"Mobility, as a factor in communication," says Rao "enables a person not only to observe things outside his own community but also to interact with people who have different habits and, in some cases, speak other languages. This experience of exposing oneself to a wide area of human activity as well as interacting with people other than those whom one knows intimately leads to an increase in knowledge and a widening of horizons." In traditional societies when people first encounter radio and television, they perceive a quality of magic in them. So much so, as a wise African put it, because they can "take a man up to a hill higher than any we can see on the horizon and let him look beyond," and because "they can let a man see and hear where he has never been and know people he has never met." And even when the spell of magic is gone, radio and television can still aid people in the developing countries to have a better understanding of how other people live, and consequently to perceive their own lives with new

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12 Lerner, op. cit., pp. 53-54.
insight. They are a liberating force as they wrench people loose from the bonds of isolation and distance and transport them from a traditional society to the great society, thus providing them with a capacity to conceive of situations and ways of life quite different from those directly experienced. In this area, both Lerner and McClelland, put forward the daring thesis that the mass media can have distinct characterological effects by providing their consumers with a capacity for empathy which is seen necessary if a newly mobile person is to operate efficiently in a great society where — in Pool's words, "every business firm must anticipate the wants of unknown clients, every politician those of unknown voters; where planning takes place for a vastly changed future; where the actions of people in quite different cultures may affect one daily."  

It is through communication that people can learn about new ideas, can be stimulated by change which is conveyed to them or be cognizant of change and its meaning, and can understand what is going on outside the village in which "we were born, our parents were born, and their parents before them."  When the newly mobile villager begins to meet individuals outside his village or tribe, to recognize new roles and learn new relationships involving himself, he is starting his journey to the great society where high empathic capacity is the predominant personal style, leaving behind the traditional society where people are deployed "by kinship into communities isolated from each other and from a center"; where few needs requiring economic interdependence are

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15 Ithiel De Sola Pool, in Lucian Pye (ed.) *Communications and Political Development*, p. 249.
16 Rao, op. cit., p. 16.
developed due to the lack of "urban-rural division of labor;" where, because of this lack of bonds of interdependence, "people's horizons are limited by locale and their decisions involve [only] other known people in known situations; and where therefore, "there is no need for... a national 'ideology' which enables persons unknown to each other to achieve 'consensus' by comparing their opinions." It is through the flow of information that people could be conscious of what Rao calls the 'Fourth dimension' — that which is going on around an individual in which he may not be directly involved — and consequently be able to participate actively in the development process when the opportunity presents itself. In the absence of one's consciousness of what is going on outside his immediate world the opportunity itself will not be recognized. It is necessary that a large number of people in any given community seize (and often create) the opportunity if development is to take place. Otherwise development remains lopsided and the benefits of growth are not shared.

It is fairly well established that a systematic relationship between the major forms of mobility — physical, social and psychic — is required for a modern participant society. As to sequence and phasing mobility evolved in successive phases over many centuries. The first phase was geographic mobility. Man was unbound from his native soil. The age of exploration opened new worlds, the age of migration peopled them with men transplanted from their native heath. The second phase was social mobility. Once liberated from his native soil, man sought liberation from his native status. The transplanted man was no longer obliged to be his father's shadow, routinized in a social role conferred

17 Lerner, op. cit., pp. 49-51.
18 Rao, op. cit. pp. 6-7.
upon him by his birth. Instead, as he had changed his place on the earth, so he sought to change his place in society. The third phase was psychic mobility. The man who had changed both his native soil and native status felt obliged, finally, to change his native self. Once transforming his place and role he had to transform himself in ways suitable to his new situation. The acquisition and diffusion of psychic mobility may well be the greatest characterological transformation in modern history, and it is any case the most fundamental human factor that must be comprehended by all who plan rapid economic growth by means of rapid social change. For psychic mobility — what has elsewhere been called empathy — is the mechanism by which individual men transform themselves in sufficient breadth and depth to make social change self-sustaining. Thus, the broadcast media, by bringing what is distant near and making what is unfamiliar understandable, can help bridge the transition between traditional and modern society and establish a suitable climate for development.

2. Focus attention on goals and problems of development

The farther a traditional society moves toward modernity, the more it depends on broadcast media for information about distant as well as immediate environment. As a result, a significant portion of the ideas as to what is important, what is interesting, what is detrimental, and so forth, comes through the media. Radio and television, in their capacity as 'watchmen on the hill' are responsible for deciding on what to report back. By choosing whom to focus the camera on, what events to record, which person to quote, what issue to probe, they determine

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to a large extent people's knowledge, concerns and discussions. Thus communication concentrates the attention of the people on government development plans. The degree of future participation of the people will depend on the quality and quantity of information they have from the media. The more relevant the communication, the better the chances for a rational and broad-based participation. In the absence of effective communication channels and their use, the fate of a development goal will be decided in isolation by a few interested people at the top.

Communication not only helps the public know of government development programs, but also helps the government learn of the needs of the public and plans its programs accordingly. A responsible government uses broadcast media to give it a feel of the public spirit before, during and after the introduction of any new program. This constant feedback is essential for effective planning in the developing countries where almost total participation on the part of the public is required in the development process. Hence the government in power needs not only to inform the public but also to learn of the public mood. "There is a generally accepted principle," says Schramm, "that, wherever it is desired to bring about a change in attitudes or behavior, two-way communication, therefore, is a condition of effectiveness in any campaign, in any country, that aims at change. But it is especially important in the developing countries, because of the special responsibilities being placed on communication." In somewhat the same vein, Dube reported his experience with the Indian community

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development workers. "Communication is a two-way process," he said. "It involves giving as well as receiving information and direction. While this fact has been recognized in defining the role of the Community Development Projects as agents of communication and change, in actual practice the projects have tended to assume the role of the giver, and the village people have been mostly at the receiving end." 22

What is true for the government in power is true for political parties too. It is through communication that they can gauge public need and determine what promises will be effective at election time. Whether it is in an election or in a government program, victory may often be, as Rao put it, "just a communication channel away." 23 Thus, for example, in countries where the media are common a political candidate has little chance unless the people have become well acquainted with him through the media. Joe McGinnis tells us that, in the United States, the high cost of media time does not dissuade political candidates from using them. Their media specialists encourage this form of advertising by citing several instances where the media, and especially television, are of utmost importance. The most universally cited instance is the election involving an unknown candidate running against the incumbent. The newcomer must rely normally on inactive citizens to overcome the traditional support that regularly elects the incumbent. Because the newcomer is unknown and is appealing to persons with little active interest in politics, media specialists

23 Rao, p. 108.
would advise that he must therefore wage his campaign in the quiet of the voters' homes. There is still a difference of opinion, however, regarding the effectiveness of the so-called 'political commercials' between media consultants and researchers. While media experts claim that the victorious candidate will be the one with the effective media marketing technique, researchers maintain that the public is more likely to have an opinion reinforced rather than converted. Intensive studies of political campaigns showed the general conclusion that while the media do not directly change the voting decision of any large proportion of the electorate, they do have a lot to do with what issues or individuals are talked about during the campaign. Among the direct and immediate effects which exposure to the media may have upon the individuals, Pool cites changes in attention and information. Changes in the information one has, Pool notes, may change one's distribution of attention, or changes in what one attends to may change one's information. Pool concludes:

Various experimental and survey results suggest that mass media operate very directly upon attention, information, tastes and images. Election studies for example, show that the campaign in the mass media does little to change attitudes in the short run, but does a great deal to focus attention on one topic or another.

By focusing attention on certain topics rather than others, the media are able to make these topics play a larger part in the campaign. This function of the media is significant in the developing countries because it means that the attention of the people can be concentrated

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26 Pool, in Pye (ed.), Communication; and Political Development, p. 250.
and retained on development. Interest can be directed, from time to
time, to a new behavior, a new custom, a new agricultural, vocational
or health practice, or something that needs to be changed. In fact,
as one looks at countries in different stages of development he sees
a spectrum of developmental uses of communication, all of which are
going on all the time, but which are emphasized in different degree at
different stages of development. By emphasizing given topics and
directing attention toward certain issues, the media can also control
some of the subjects of interpersonal communication. Were it
possible, the leaders of a developing country would personally go to
every locality and visit every small group in the country and put in
their minds a development problem or an idea or opportunity to think
about or discuss. Unable to go personally to many localities or many
groups, they can, instead, plant ideas and subjects on a wide scale
through the mass media.  

3. Arouse the general level of aspirations

Aspirations, as defined by Rogers, are desired future states of
being. This concept of aspiration is of great importance to the
developing countries which need to rouse their people from fatalism
and a fear of change. Such elements as fatalism and lack of deferred
gratification which predominate in the culture of the developing
countries make people think more in terms of the past and present tenses
than of the future. What is needed in developing countries is to
encourage both personal and national aspirations. Individuals must

28 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 54.
29 Rogers, op. cit., p. 36.
learn to look into the future and come to desire a better life than they have and to be prepared to work for it. As citizens, they must aspire to the progress, strength and greatness of their nation.

The findings of David C. McClelland, Daniel Lerner and Paul J. Deutschmann show that the media can raise the aspirations of developing peoples. On the findings of Lerner and Deutschmann, Everette Rogers bases his model of the Role of Mass Media exposure in Modernization:

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**Fig. 7. The role of mass media exposure in modernization**

On the left hand side of the paradigm are possible variables that may act to determine whether an individual will be in the mass media audience or not. The role given to mass media exposure in this model is a central one. It is viewed as the indicator of contact with mass media messages, ideas that should lead to greater empathy with the roles portrayed in the media, to adoption of new ideas, to wider

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31 Rogers, op. cit., p. 102.
political knowledge, and to stronger aspirations to a better life.

The modernization process begins with new public communication — the diffusion of new ideas and new information which stimulate people — as individuals and as citizens — to want to behave in new ways.

The mass media can be used to mobilize the energies of the people (without creating insatiable expectations) by the rational articulation of new interest. Discussing the attitude of the Indian villagers toward the future, Rao explained that when communication widened their horizons spatially and temporally, they were able to separate the past, the present and the future and to think in these terms. "If it was good enough for my grandfather, it's good enough for me" is an indication of traditionalism. Unless one has the ability to look into the future by sizing up the present in relation to the past, the growth potential is bound to be limited. "Future orientation" as the ability of an individual to project and to plan for the future depends importantly on the information he has on which to base his projection.

Rao has described how the aspirations of villagers were raised by "unintentional messages" of mass communication. One of the motives of newly stimulated aspirations in the Indian villages he studied was to own a particular kind of blouse seen in pictures. The tailor had had to see every movie within a radius of about fifteen miles in order to be able to duplicate the styles seen therein and thus protect his business. The village women had begun to order their blouses by mentioning the name of an actress, specifying a scene in a particular movie. The tailor's attitude toward the movies was motivated by economic considerations. Any entertainment or other value they might have had

32 Rao, pp. 70-71.
for him under different circumstances is spoiled by the need to concentrate his attention on a specific scene. But the village women continue to look upon the movies as pure entertainment, oblivious to the fact that they have at least contributed to the economic betterment of one individual in their village, and possibly more. The men of the village have reacted similarly. Their shirts have collars now and an increasing number of them are emulating the styles of the city-folk. Exposure to the media or to city-folk can trigger dormant desires, for prettier clothes, for example, creating certain demands which, in the course of time, bring their own supply. From aspiration for a new shirt to aspirations for national greatness may be a wide leap, but the building of national aspirations is one of the first uses that most new nations assign to their media. As an example, Schramm cites the Soviet mass media which have for decades been full of news of national growth and industrialization, imbuing the diverse people of the USSR with a sense of belonging to a powerful nation moving toward a stronger economy and a better life.

Of course, raising the aspirations of a nation is not without danger. Very often, it becomes apparent that "aspirations are more easily aroused than satisfied." Whereas, the developed countries achieved a participant society as an outcome of the slow growth of physical, social and psychic mobility over many centuries -- those centuries which our history books now summarize as Age of Exploration, Renaissance, Reformation, Industrial Revolution, etc. -- the developing societies seek to accomplish this sequence in decades. In their desire

33 Rao, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
35 Lerner, op. cit., p. 331.
for rapid progress lies the danger that the effect of mass media will be to increase popular desires and demands faster than they can be satisfied by economic and social growth. Acute imbalances are likely to be built into the growth process by the government's desire to register rapidly those improvements that will be highly visible to the public eye, without due concern for the durability of these improvements. People who acquire skills create new demands for opportunities to use them productively. Those who acquire mechanical skills demand machines to operate; those with professional training demand opportunities to practice their professions. If a society fails to supply these opportunities — to satisfy the demands posed by visual expectations — then it must face what Millikan and Blackmer call the "revolution of rising frustrations."  

The spread of frustrations in areas developing less rapidly than their people wish can be seen as the outcome of a deep imbalance between achievement and aspirations. This situation arises when many people in a society want far more than they can hope to get. This disparity in the want/get ratio has been studied intensively in the social science literature in terms of achievement and aspiration. Lerner expressed this relationship by the following equation adapted from an ingenious formula of William James:  

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\text{Satisfaction} = \frac{\text{Achievement}}{\text{Aspiration}}
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It is a serious imbalance in this ratio that characterizes areas

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suffering from rising frustrations. Characteristically in these situations the denominator increases faster than the numerator. Aspirations outpace achievements or actualities in many emerging nations so far that many people, even if they are making some progress toward their goal, are dissatisfied because they get so much less than they want. As a matter of fact, in some developing countries aspirations have risen so high as to cancel significant achievements in the society as a whole.

As actualities fell far short of aspirations, Lerner described the 1960’s as a period typified by a "revolution of rising frustrations." Political leaders in developing countries often came to realize that their speeches were — in Rogers' words — "promissory notes on which they could not deliver." Government instability, he noted, became prevalent in many African and some Asian and Latin American countries. This led development analysts to conclude that, while a certain level of aspiration for modernization was a good thing, too much led to a general frustration which could have pernicious consequences. Among the reasons why aspirations outrun actualities in many emerging nations, Rogers cites the use of mass media in less developed countries:

As important heralds of the gospel of desires, the mass media have effectively put forth the message of wider horizons. Unfortunately, the mass media have not been equally effective in showing their audiences how to achieve these new goals. For example, it is very likely more difficult to teach villagers how to read by way of radio instruction than it is to make city life appear desirable. Hence the need to utilize the mass media as tools for achieving development actualities (such as literacy) grows more important.

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38 Lerner, op. cit. p. 333.
39 Ibid., p. 349.
every day. When mass media audiences are encouraged to want more are not fully informed on how to get more (food production, higher incomes, better education for their children), the net result is frustration, not modernization. 40

Mead looks at the matter psychologically. She says:

It is conceivable, (then), that it is not harmful, from a mental health point of view, to stimulate needs, desires, demands among peoples who now feel no such needs or desires, or who at least are not conscious of them or articulate about them. Such stimulation does of course, create instability, disharmony and tension. If means are not available for dissipating the tensions successfully, persistent frustration is to be expected. But if means are made, then the created frustrations can become the basis for new, desired and self-perpetuating behavior.... [When] the desire to have new kinds of machinery, or new food, or new free education, is stimulated and then, because of poverty or lack of personnel, the desire cannot be realized, persistent frustration is to be expected, with possible return to old behaviors which will then be less satisfactory than in the past. There are then clearly dangers here... the danger of cultivating "felt needs," which are unrealizable under existing conditions, can be diminished by keeping close to local conditions, to that which is immediately feasible, so that training teachers precedes building local schools, importing a minimum supply of a new seed precedes the demonstration of its superiority. 41

In the same vein, Toffler cautions against overstimulation, which causes the body to crack under its strain, and "the mind and its decision processes [to] behave erratically when overloaded." He points out that the indiscriminate racing of the engines of change may undermine not merely the health of those least able to adapt, but their very ability to act rationally on their own behalf. The same point is made about understimulation. Psychophysiological experiments, says Toffler,

"point unequivocally to the existence of what might be called an 'adaptive range' below which and above which the individual's ability to cope simply falls apart." The successful adaptation, therefore, can occur only when the level of stimulation -- the amount of change and novelty—is neither too low nor too high.

Future shock, according to Toffler, is the response to overstimulation. It occurs when the individual finds himself compelled to operate above his adaptive range. Culture shock, the profound disorientation suffered by the traveler who has suddenly found himself, without adequate preparation, in an alien culture, provides an example of overstimulation and adaptive breakdown. It is a "form of personality maladjustment which is a reaction to a temporarily unsuccessful attempt to adjust to new surroundings and people." The culture shocked person is forced to grapple with unfamiliar and unpredictable events, relationships and objects. The unpredictability arising from novelty undermines his sense of reality. He longs "for an environment in which the gratification of important psychological and physical needs is predictable and less uncertain." He becomes "anxious, confused and often appears apathetic."

Change, Slade tells us, has two very powerful languages, both available to us. "One transmits data in motion. The other transmits the image in motion. One is the computer, the other film, television and

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43 Ibid., p. 306.
44 Ibid., p. 308.
In the developing countries, television viewers experience culture shock through over-exposure to foreign films and programs. Barnouw tells of the opposition of artists, teachers, and social workers in many countries to American television. "They tended to feel a culture was being wrenched loose from its moorings." Some writers of the Third World classify the use of American television programs in their country as a type of cultural invasion. A Brazilian, Paulo Freiro, in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, has defined cultural invasion. "In cultural invasion... the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression." Indeed, experience has shown that the attractive prices of American television programs overseas have, in many cases, curtailed the development of talent for local television production. A Canadian television writer-director, in addressing a group of American television executives, stated in 1966: "You've made it impossible for us to earn a living... By the way my young son thinks he lives in the United States." Schiller has also taken a strong position on what he sees as a threat to the survival of the national, regional, local or tribal heritages of developing societies or their cultural integrity.

If there is a prospect that cultural diversity will survive anywhere on this planet, it depends largely

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49 Barnouw, op. cit., p. 114.
on the willingness and ability of scores of weak countries to forego the cellophane-wrapped articles of the West's entertainment industries and persistently to develop, however much time it takes, their own broadcast material.50

Schiller further points out the problems of introducing consumer demand too early in the nation's economic development.

To foster consumerism in the poor world sets the stage for frustration on a massive scale, to say nothing of the fact that there is a powerful body of opinion there which questions the desirability of pursuing the Western pattern of development...The stimulation of personal consumption wants diverts painfully scarce materials from group projects and long range improvement possibilities. Also, it creates or at least intensifies attitudes of individual acquisitiveness that go poorly with the community's desperate need of far-reaching social cooperation.51

Information overload is another outcome of overstimulation. If overstimulation at the sensory level increases the distortion of our perception of reality, "Cognitive overstimulation interferes with our ability to 'think.'" When the individual is plunged into a fast and irregularly changing situation, or a novelty-loaded context, his predictive accuracy falls down. He can no longer make the reasonably correct assessment on which rational behavior depends. To compensate for this, to bring his accuracy up to the normal level again, he must gather and process far more information than before, and he must do this at high rates of speed. In short, the more rapidly the environment changes, the more information the individual needs to process in order to make effective, rational decisions. Yet, there are built-in constraints and limitations on man's ability to process information.

51 Ibid., pp. 114-115.
Psychologists and communication theorists who set about testing what they call "the channel capacity" of the human organism found that "overloading the system leads to serious breakdown of performance." It is of great importance therefore, that communicators and change-agents do not submit the recipients of their messages to information overload. In their effort to accelerate the rate of change in developing societies, the agents of communication and change must not force people to process information at a far more rapid pace than was necessary in their slowly-evolving societies.

Therefore, when a government seeks to raise the aspirations of its people, it must consider how far it can go towards satisfying those aspirations. The mass media should not be vehicles of information overload; they should not be used only to stimulate people, to encourage them to want more, but also to show them how the levels of their achievements could be raised. If appetites are stimulated but not satisfied, at best the people will not rise so quickly to the enticement the next time. A sound policy requires that there be some conformity between what the people are roused to want and what they are able to obtain. But the essential point to be made here is that without raising aspirations, without stimulating people to strive for a better life and for national growth, development is unlikely ever to take place.

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52 Toffler, pp. 311-313.
B. Provide a Forum for Discussion, Leadership and Decision-Making

While the broadcast media have a unique ability to inform, they can only help in the decision or teaching functions. Some of the indirect means in which the media can act in the decision process are discussed in the following pages.

1. The broadcast media can enrich and support the interpersonal channels.

Sociologists once viewed a "mass society" as one in which mass media communicated in a one-way fashion with individuals who communicated little with each other. The "mass media" was seen as an all-powerful influence on behavior. A classic study by Lazarsfeld and others suggested that this image of society needed revision. They found "...that ideas often flow from radio and print to opinion leaders and from these to the less active sections of the population."53 This so-called two-step flow of communication suggests that ideas spread from sources via relevant channels to opinion leaders and from them by way of personal communication channels to their followers. It is likely that the first "step," from sources to opinion leaders, is mainly a transfer of information while the second step, from opinion leaders to their followers, may also involve the spread of influence. Merton defines opinion leaders as those "...who exert personal influence upon a certain numbers of other people in certain situations."54 It is obvious that one of the important implications of the two-step-flow of communication model is the central place awarded to opinion leaders and to their

interpersonal communication with their followers. The importance of the term "opinion leaders" is reflected in the variety of terms, many writers have used in referring to individuals who are influential in approving or disapproving new ideas. For example, Key communicators; leaders, informal leaders, information leaders, adoption leaders, fashion leaders, local influentials, influentials, influencers, tastemakers, sparkplugs, and gatekeepers, all refer to the same basic dimension, opinion leadership.

The assumption of the two-step flow of communication model that opinion leaders obtain new ideas from mass media channels and then pass them along to their followers via interpersonal communication channels implies that opinion givers have higher mass media exposure than opinion-seekers. In his study of opinion leadership in Columbian villages, Rogers provided support to this notion, by finding that "opinion-seekers have lower mass media exposure than the opinion-givers." Katz and Lazarsfeld also found that "the opinion leaders tend to be both more generally exposed to the mass media, and more specifically exposed to the content most closely associated with their leadership." For example, the influential person whose advice bulks large in the interpersonal decision process of a society of farmers usually reads more or hears more broadcasts about farming than does the average farmer. The man whose viewpoints about politics are appreciated usually makes

56 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 239.
a high use of the political media. Thus, although the information obtained from the media is not a single and sufficient cause, it is surely a contributing factor in the influence exerted.

This is significant to developing countries because it means that it is possible through the mass media to feed the channels of interpersonal influence. When information on irrigation is carried in the broadcast media, there is a very high chance that this same information will be picked up and repeated by the "influentials" in this area. Therefore, other things being equal, if the opinion leaders are not basically opposed to what is expressed or implied by mass communication, if they have ready access to the media, then there is no good reason why the media should not supply information that would enrich and support interpersonal channels.

It is obvious that the broadcast media channels and the interpersonal channels function in different ways. While broadcast media channels provide for a potent means of spreading information quickly, interpersonal channels provide for two-way interaction and feedback which make them more effective when the goal is persuasion. In his book, Modernization Among Peasants - The Impact of Communication, Rogers lists some of the distinguishing characteristics of both:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMUNICATION CHARACTERISTICS</th>
<th>INTERPERSONAL CHANNELS</th>
<th>MASS MEDIA CHANNELS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Direction of message flow</td>
<td>Two-way</td>
<td>One-way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Speed to large audience</td>
<td>Slow</td>
<td>Rapid</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Message accuracy to large</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td>audience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Ability to select receiver</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ability to overcome selectivity</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

60 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 125.
There is much research evidence that widespread media exposure alone is not expected to bring about substantial changes in human behavior. Communication research tells us that the 'hypodermic needle' model of mass media effects — the mass media viewed as furnishing the stimulus that causes direct and immediate response — is largely a false conception. What the results of communication research suggest is that mass media communication is more significant in changing cognitions (increasing knowledge of ideas), whereas interpersonal communication is more likely to cause attitude change. Only messages that reinforce prevailing attitudes and beliefs are likely to "get through," while conflicting messages are shut out by the individual's selective processes. In Klapper's words:

By and large, people tend to expose themselves to those mass communications which are in accord with their existing attitudes and interests. Consciously or unconsciously, they avoid communications of opposite hue. In the event of their being nevertheless exposed to unsympathetic material, they often seem not to perceive it, or to recast it and interpret it to fit their existing views, or to forget it more readily than they forget sympathetic material. The processes involved in these self-protective exercises have become known as selective exposure (or, more classically, "self-selection"), selective perception, and selective retention.\(^{62}\)

The development of mass media is, of course, one of the requisites for a modernizing society. But the traditional modes of communication — the coffee house, the local meeting, the market place, and others — continue to be influential long after the media are available. The

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\(^{61}\) Rogers, *Modernization Among Peasants*, pp. 126, 221.

interpersonal channels of communication play an important part in mediating the effects of the mass media even in the most advanced societies. In some of the developing countries, the interpersonal channels have to carry most of the job. The introduction of change among the traditional people in less developed nations on a mass basis would seem to be most effectively brought about by mass media channels coupled with interpersonal communication. Combining mass media with interpersonal communication channels would link the wide audience potential (and other advantages) of the mass media with the ability to "get through" that characterizes interpersonal communication. Used in complementary -- rather than competitive -- roles, mass media and interpersonal channels could prove an extremely powerful force in the modernization process. In fact, this combination of mass media with group discussion is utilized in radio farm forums, well-known in countries like Canada, Japan, India, Pakistan, Mali, Nigeria, Ghana, Costa Rica, Brazil, Togo, Malawi, and Niger. Following a pattern similar to that used in the radio forums, several organizations have used television as the mass media channel for their forums. In 1954, UNESCO sponsored an experimental "teleclub" program among French farmers. The Italian telescuola ("School by TV") experience in basic education is usually considered highly successful. Like the Italian telescuola, the fundamental purpose of "radiophonics schools" in Latin America is basic education.

Undoubtedly, the largest and the most thoroughly researched media forum program today is India's representing "a degree of experience with

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64 Ibid., p. 7.
the radio rural forum unequalled in the world." This communication system was launched on a national basis in 1959, as a result of a UNESCO-sponsored investigation directed by Dr. Paul Newrath. The Newrath experiment was set in a single language area of 100 by 300 miles in the State of Bombay, where agencies of the Government of India cooperated in organizing forums in 150 villages. Experienced change agents on loan to the project from the Ministries of Education and Community development, organized the forums. Every few weeks, throughout the experiment, they visited each forum for observation and maintenance.

The broadcasts focused on specific agricultural, health and community development innovations. The treatment ranged from "old-style religious plays, through folk songs, sketches, panel discussions, and talks with peasants, to plain lectures." Of each broadcast, five minutes was reserved for a "listeners' corner" to answer questions relating to the previous forum discussion. Twenty programs were broadcast over ten weeks.

Professor Newrath's field experiment was so designed that comparisons could be made in knowledge of innovations among peasants who lived in three types of villages: (1) those in which he established radio forums; (2) those in which radios were available, but no forums were organized; and (3) those with neither a radio nor a forum. Figure 7 shows that the forum villages had far greater gains in knowledge of innovations that did the control villages. It is obvious that nonforum

65 Ibid., 107.
Radio forum villages (N=20) 5.7
Non-forum villages with radio (N=8) 1.5
Non-forum villages without radio (N=10) 0.7

Gain in knowledge of innovation scale

Fig. 8. India radio forums resulted in a gain in knowledge of innovations among villagers
villages with a radio did not gain much in knowledge level; this emphasizes that the modernization effects of mass media communication channels among peasants in less developed countries are greater when these media are coupled with interpersonal communication channels in media forums.

Not only did the forum members show "an impressive gain in knowledge," but changes in group process were also noted. Observers reported that the forums "functioned on the whole very well." Over successive forum sessions a systematic trend was noted toward a decrease in the tendency of certain members to dominate the discussion and, also, toward gradual involvement of those who spoke up very little in the beginning. "The group method of discussion brought with it a learning process both in meeting and discussing things together and in decision making."  

Determining the effectiveness of these mass media and interpersonal communication forums, Rogers lists five elements:

1) Program content relevant to peasant problems beamed at an appropriate audience level. When the message content is irrelevant to villagers' interests, the media forums are no more effective than any other type of communication system.

2) The postprogram discussion, which emphasizes local application of the ideas presented.

3) Feedback from the audience in terms of their reactions,

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68 Neurath, Radio Farm Forums in India (Delhi: Govt. of India Press, 1960), p. 196.
70 Neurath, Radio Farm Forums in India (Delhi: Govt. of India Press, 1960), p. 197.
interests, and questions of clarification to the mass media communicator.

4) Careful organization, operation, and maintenance procedures.

5) Including village opinion leaders in forum membership to ensure the spread of information to villagers who are not forum members.

It must be noted, however, that, in some cases, mass communication is the most effective means of conducting what Schramm terms 'point-to-point' communication. Many developing countries face the problem of reading, informing, upgrading community or extension workers. They have thousands of such workers in various fields who are typically scattered far and wide. More often than not, those countries had no time to give them adequate training, thus leaving them in need for information and assistance. Radio — and sometimes other media — were found to be useful under such conditions in upgrading the extension workers. It is doubly useful when the media can — at times — reach both the worker and the public simultaneously, thus enabling the extension agent to decode the message, so to speak, over the shoulders of the villagers and help them to understand and apply. Many developing countries resorted to this tactic in their attempts to assist and upgrade teachers.

In certain situations, it must be remembered, the mass media can take over some of the usually interpersonal channels of leadership. The radio and television addresses of the late President Nasser

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71 Everett M. Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, pp. 143-144.
contained everything possible to give the impression of a conversation
and thus were illustrative examples of personal leadership exerted most
effectively through the mass media. The charismatic leader, through
the intimacy and immediacy of radio, the unequalled vividness of
Television, projected his presence into every corner of the Arab World
and 'conversed' with his people on various topics of national development.

2. The media can bestow prestige, enhance, authority and enforce
   social norms

People are strongly inclined to accept as probably true statements
made by persons whom they admire and respect. If the personality
and reputation of the speaker elicit admiration and respect from an
audience, the likelihood that he will win belief is increased. "A
stimulus with prestige," writes Doob, "prevents the arousal of or
weakens critical or incompatible responses that otherwise might block
the learning of pre-action responses."\(^{73}\) The Greeks used the word
ethos to describe the influence of a personality on an audience.
Aristotle thought that ethos was a powerful force in persuasion;
Quintilian, Cicero, and subsequent writers including contemporary ones,
all have written about "ethical proof," and agree in substance that
the speaker whose prestige is high has an advantage over the speaker
whose prestige is low.\(^{74}\)

The mass media are invested with an aura of prestige, and it helps
one's reputation to be endorsed or praised by a well-regarded radio
or newspaper. In fact, merely to be noticed by the media contributes

\(^{73}\) L.W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Henry Holt

\(^{74}\) Wayne C. Minnich, The Art of Persuasion (Boston: Houghton
to an individual's status. It is a matter of common observation that the media recognition confers a degree of prestige upon the concept, person, or institution so recognized. Lazarsfeld and Merton cogently described this somewhat puzzling ability of the media to confer status. They observe that

The mass media confer status on public issues, persons, organizations, and social movements.... The mass media bestow prestige and enhance the authority of individuals and groups by legitimizing their status. Recognition by the press or radio or magazines or newsreels testifies that one has arrived, that one is important enough to have been singled out from the large synonymous masses, that one's behavior and opinions are significant enough to require public notice. The operation of this status conferral function may be witnessed most vividly in the advertising pattern of testimonials to a product by "prominent people." Within wide circles of the population (though not within certain selected social strata), such testimonials not only enhance the prestige of the product but also reflect prestige on the person who provides the testimonials. They give public notice that the large and powerful world of commerce regards him as possessing sufficiently high status for his opinion to count with many people. In a word, his testimonial is a testimonial to his own status....The audiences of mass media apparently subscribe to the circular belief: "If you really matter, you will be at the focus of mass attention and, if you are at the focus of mass attention, then surely you must really matter."75

The prestige native to the media thus helps to allow them to build media personalities into the kind of "prestige sources" which are in themselves aids to persuasion. That this prestige aura and the general confidence in mass media contribute to effective persuasion,

says Klapper, "...is attested by numerous observers. Waples, Berelson, and Bradshaw find evidence that by and large people 'tend to accept arguments they see [or hear] in the public communications' and that 'an attitude frequently changes from a subordinate to a dominant position when it is justified by the authority of print', celluloid, or wireless."  

Schramm believes that this power of the media may be even greater in a developing country, where the media are relatively scarce and the stream of names in the news is smaller, than it is in economically developed countries, and may provide a way to build leadership. Rao maintains that communication in the developing traditional societies aids in the process of status change from heredity to achievement. When the media channels are opened up, persons in the lower socio-economic classes are availed of the opportunity to enter the ranks of the "respected." As information becomes more widely accessible, some seize the opportunity and gradually gain a status within the community. By seeking out information and actively engaging in communication, they are singled out by the rest of the community as "informed" persons and turned to for advice. Rao further notes that when communication channels are opened and information becomes a status-achieving tool, a shift of influence from age and traditional status to knowledge and ability occurs. "The farmer who hears of better yields elsewhere," says Rao, "can no longer rely on the 'knowledge' of the village 'grand uncle' who has always been the 'expert' on farming. He

77 Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, p. 135.
would rather discuss his problems with the agricultural office, if one is available...If some younger person has experimented on his farm and got improved yields he is then sought out not only because of his knowledge but also because of his proven ability."

The status conferral power of the mass media which has long been discovered by most national political leaders in the developing countries, is more needed by local leaders who often need additional status. The voices of the community development workers on radio, their pictures and words in television, are real contributions to their local reputation and image in the community. In like manner, it is useful to give status and visibility to those persons or acts that deserve to be emulated.

Schramm notes that "the Soviet and East European mass media have perhaps done the best job of this — in publicizing heroes of labor, productivity records, successful collectives, and other exemplary models for development activity." As a matter of fact, focusing the attention of the mass media on the whole movement of development is in itself a status conferral process. As people are attracted to participate in development, their very participation will give it further status, and on goes the spiral.

As it is possible through the media to confer status and establish in the public mind norms for development behavior, it is equally possible to police deviations from those norms. In a sense, this is the other side of the status conferral coin. Just as some countries have used the mass media to bestow prestige on their best laborers

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and farmers, so also they have not hesitated to use them in denouncing inefficiency, laziness and corruption. Many social norms are inconvenient or burdensome to individuals, and therefore some leniency is allowed in applying them. Many people have private knowledge of deviations from social norms, and so long as the knowledge remains private, no social action is invoked to penalize the deviation. But once it has been revealed publicly, then people are forced to take a public stand against the deviation and they usually act to dispose of it. As the norms in a developing society are unlikely to be universally known, then part of the job of the media is to publicize them and make serious deviations from them known. As Lazarsfeld and Merton say, "Publicity closes the gap between 'private attitudes' and 'public morality.'" 80

3. The Media can broaden participation in the policy debates

There is a widely accepted principle that wherever it is the intention of the communication to bring about a change in behavior or attitudes, two-way communication will be more effective than one-way. Among the responsibilities of the media that are better served by two-way communication is the political task of helping in broadening the base of decision in national development. The less authoritarian the leadership, the more essential this task becomes. Efforts should be encouraged to create innovations in communication structures — informal networks of extension services and local information, decentralized government institutions, and the like — in order to involve more of the villagers into the decision-making process. Ideally, two-way

communication in support of change requires participation by both parties to the suggested change. The significance of such participation is underscored by Dube's experience with the Indian community development workers. "Communication is a two-way process," said Dube. "It involves giving as well as receiving information and direction. While this fact has been recognized in defining the role of the Community Development Projects as agents of communication and change, in actual practice the projects have tended to assume the role of the giver, and the village people have been mostly at the receiving end."

In the mass media, as well as in interpersonal communication, a maximum of two-way communication will often pay. Schramm and Winfield cite an example from Jordan, where an agricultural broadcaster, against the advice of some people, scheduled a program for very early morning. He made it a question-and-answer program, to let the farmers participate and select the topics. The result was an agricultural audience and level of audience interest such as the country had never seen before. The farmers sent in hundreds of questions every week, and tuned in their radios at dawn to hear the other side of the two-way exchange.

In most of the developing countries there is the massive problem of trying to awaken the bulk of the people to new ideas and to the potentialities of new techniques, without at the same time producing — in Pye's words — "Crippling tension and deep psychological frustrations and anxieties." Unless the majority of the people are exposed to new

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ways of thinking and led to adopt new attitudes, there can be little hope of any steady progress toward economic development, social modernization, and political maturity. When the country begins to develop, the face-to-face talk of the traditional villagers about local policy matters ceases to be sufficient. The hitherto usual lack of interest on the part of the village in policy at high levels, and the corresponding lack of interest of the high levels in sharing policy with the village can no more continue. With development comes the urgent need to widen the theater of political discussion and policy making. The ordinary people need to overhear the debates on national policy in order that they can form opinions and act on these opinions at the proper time. The policy makers, on the other hand, need to understand, more clearly than before, the thoughts, needs and wishes of the villagers; so that they can consider them in formulating their larger policies. The accomplishment of these things in a nation of any size without the mass media, would be almost impossible.

As the country starts to develop, the media begin to cover local news, local spokesmen and local problems. Audiences in other parts of the country as well as the national policy makers are thus exposed to these local items. Simultaneously, the media cover the national news, the national problems, and the statements and views of leaders concerning what national policies should be adopted. Gradually the theater of policy discussion gets wider and wider until it encompasses the whole nation, thus bridging the gap in outlook between the innovators of change and the bulk of their rural population.

4. The mass media can help form tastes and contribute to the feeling of nation-ness.
There have been repeated instances when new songs, music or paintings were rejected because they were unfamiliar, although at a later time, they have become famous 'classics.' The success of such art works depended largely on their being introduced and made familiar by the mass media which wield the particular power of speeding up this familiarization process and thus of having an effect on the forming of taste. To a developing country this power has a special significance. Developing countries can utilize this effective mechanism to build the sense of 'nation-ness' which many of them badly need. 'National' art -- once it exists -- can be emphasized as the focal point that binds all the nation's people. However, whether a national art exists or not, the folk art of various regions of the country can be used to pull those subgroups psychologically closer together.

When a new nation is born, the first demand usually made on its communication system is to implant the idea of nation-ness and to help control the centrifugal tendencies that threaten the nation's unity. Communication is used to disseminate culture which is one of the best bridges between peoples. To form a unified community or nation, communication helps to bring together people of various regions, languages, castes, cultural tastes and interests, or other potentially divisive characteristics. For developing nations that are newly independent, "this function of communication is of crucial importance, because the newly won freedom usually releases destructive forces of factionalism." Whereas a unified country can act effectively in times of crisis,

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a factionalized country will find itself unprepared and psychologically weak. The need for cohesion is of vital importance in the process of development. Communication enhances cohesion by interpreting one group to another, leading to a respect for diversity within a broad feeling of unity.

Without the feeling of nation-ness, no nation can pierce the economic barrier. This feeling brings about a growth of national loyalties and awareness, supplementing local loyalties and local awareness. It enables peoples of different cultures, different languages, different religious and political beliefs to come to realize their common interest and shared goals toward which they should work together. With such realization comes a gradual widening of horizons, a gradual shift in focus of attention from local concerns to national ones, which involves a tremendous speeding up of information from far-away places. In the process of economic development, the concerns of society can no longer remain traditional and self-contained, but now must be related to the national interest. "The man who had been chiefly a citizen of the village is now self-consciously a citizen of the nation."

As the citizen cannot extend his environment unless the communication system extends its environment, a modernizing of society requires mass media, some of which must be national. The media must carry the news and viewpoint of the nation, and they must come into the village. When this happens, people will learn to read the print and acquire receivers for the radio and television. Consequently, the local communication systems — the bazaar, the casual conversation, the coffee house,

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the local government — will also concern themselves with national affairs and with adequate leadership, the sense of nation-ness will continue to gain momentum and develop its spiral growth.

5. **The mass media** can affect lightly held attitudes, and slightly canalize stronger attitudes

Any significant change in the life of an individual tends to introduce some degree of disharmony or instability in the way his life activities, his attitudes and beliefs, are organized. Such instability can be described psychologically as emotional tension. Mass communication is not very effective by itself in changing attitudes that are strongly held and deeply entrenched. But it is quite possible through mass communication to have some effect on lightly held positions that are not strongly defended, or on new questions concerning which there has been neither time nor information to build up strong attitudes. Hence, with mass media, it is easier to win on a new battle field than an old one. Klapper states that conversion could be far more easily accomplished by "side attack" than by direct frontal attack on existing opinion. Side attack which consists of creating a new opinion, may be said to be a procedure in which the extra-communication forces, which normally impede change, are not likely to be operative, Direct frontal attack, on the other hand, is likely to stimulate them to immediate and effective activity. In fact, frontal attack on a deeply-held belief may lead to "boomerang effect"

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87 Margaret Mead, *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, p. 287.
thus resulting in reinforcing that belief in direct opposition to desired change.

The mass media can also be used to make a very limited change, or a slight re-direction in existing attitudes. Social scientists have commonly observed that persons are far more amenable to having their existing needs implemented than they are to developing entirely new needs. This view is generally confirmed by communication research which strongly suggests that persuasion is more likely to be effective when it can make the opinion or behavior it espouses appear to the audience to be a mode of satisfying their existing needs. To create new needs and to induce the audience to a particular mode of satisfying them appears a far more difficult task.

For example, the efficacy of advertising is believed to be largely due to its almost exclusive concern with canalization and its concomitant release from tension. Even before the days of formalized motivation research, which in effect identifies semi-conscious or unconscious consumer needs and suggests modes of partially sating them, Lazarsfeld and Merton observed that "advertising is typically directed toward the canalizing of pre-existing behavior patterns or attitudes," and that "it seldom seeks to instill new attitudes or to create significantly new behavior patterns." Schramm notes that if people have been convinced of the fact that learning to read is a good thing, then it is much easier to convince them of the desirability of going

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90 Joseph Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication, pp. 120-121.
to a class or listening to a broadcast or doing something else to learn to read." Similarly, if a new health or agriculture practice can be presented as merely a tiny change in an old honored custom, then it is more likely to be accepted than if it is depicted as a frontal attack on an old custom. The same principle applies to political propaganda. A manuscript ostensibly dictated by Joseph Goebbels suggests that existing audience attitudes may be directed toward new objects by the use of words which are associated with the existing attitudes. Such symbol transference is a technique used by virtually all successful propagandists. In these ways, at least, mass communication can be used to change attitudes — if no deeply anchored attitudes or strong behavior patterns exist on the point in question, or if the change can be molded as mere extension or redirection of an old strong attitude.

It is obvious that the mass media can be of great aid in the decision making that usually accompanies economic and social development. But it is equally obvious that their aid does not lie in frontal attacks on long-valued customs or deeply entrenched attitudes. These firmly held positions are in the domain of personal influence and group norms. In this vein Ithiel De Sola Pool makes the following observation:

> Psychotherapy shows that to change deeply rooted attitudes requires the development of an intense relationship with a reference person. So too the literature on teaching, i.e.,

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the imparting of skills, demonstrates that while many skills can be learned from reading, or TV, or movies, the learning of difficult matter requires a level of motivation that is engendered only in a relationship with an important reference person who demands the effort.  

If changes are made in firmly held beliefs and customs, therefore, interpersonal communication is normally needed, and group change is usually involved. In such major decisions the help of the mass media is only indirect. They can feed information into the channels of interpersonal influence. They can bestow prestige and enforce norms. They can broaden participation in the policy debates. They can help form tastes and contribute to the feeling of nation-ness. Where there are no deeply anchored attitudes, or where the change desired is no more than a slight canalization of an existing attitude, they can have a direct effect. But for the most part, in the sphere of strongly held belief and behavior, they can only help.

C. Spread Education and Training

While the broadcast media are capable of handling directly the first group of information tasks, and indirectly for the most part, the second group of decision-making tasks, they can handle the third group of teaching tasks directly in part, and partly in combination with interpersonal communicators. For example, the broadcast media are perhaps used to the best advantage in education when they can be utilized in a classroom as part of a total educational experience under the supervision and guidance of a classroom teacher. But where schools

and teachers are not available, or where teachers are inadequately trained, the media can fill in.

Education — a life-long process from early childhood to mature age — is of direct concern not only to those attending institutions of formal instruction but to the population as a whole. The fact that broadcasting is a mass medium, the impact of which is not confined to certain social strata or particular geographic areas, makes it an especially valuable tool in the pursuit of this life-long education.

The continuing process of education throughout an individual's life calls for a new approach to the problem of education. The need for such approach was stressed by the Director-General of UNESCO when he addressed the Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers responsible for Economic Planning of UNESCO's Member States in Asia held in Bangkok in November 1965:

The ever-changing conditions of our present civilization, as well as the unceasing expansion and renewal of human knowledge, make it mandatory for every man and woman constantly to bring up to date whater he or she learnt earlier in life. Education therefore becomes less concerned with the teaching of a static content which would equip for life once and for all, than with teaching how to learn — and to learn continuously. Education is also a continuing process in this sense that, being at every point capable of being supplemented by further knowledge, it must be integrated, vertically so to speak, through its various levels. The barriers between formal school education and other kinds of education break down in this new approach; the educational process appears as a Continuum, from literacy to higher education.95

In this educational process, it is obvious that radio and television broadcasting have today a privileged, though of course not

self-sufficient or isolated, importance in developing countries. Prior
to television, many developing countries have been operating mobile
film vans, built on trucks, and carrying their own power generators,
as well as projection screens, loudspeakers, and other supplies as
needed. These vans go from rural community to another, showing films
on health and sanitation, better agricultural practices, government
organization and citizen responsibility, and so on. Frequently the
broadcast media are the main channel to reach the rural areas and
illiterate segments of the population regularly. While each medium
has its own specific characteristics, assets and limitations, they
share certain common and peculiar features which place them in a
particularly favorable position to make a contribution to society

1. Formal education

In light of the immense potential of radio and television in
contributing to the solution of the problems of qualitative improvement
and quantitative expansion of the educational systems in the developing
countries, it is of great significance that broadcasting be recognized
in national education policies as a teaching resource of great value
in the following areas:

a) School education

In primary and secondary school education, broadcast media may
fulfill four distinct though closely interrelated functions:

1) They may enrich the classroom lesson given by the teacher,
provide illustrations, introduce new material not available in text
books, and link the school closer with the outside world. This has
been the first and by now almost traditional use of school broadcasting,
based on the assumption that schools are adequately staffed with qualified teachers but that the learning process might well benefit from programs which infuse interest and vitality. Henri Dieuzeide, research chief of the Institut National Pedagogique of Paris notes that "the enrichment broadcast, which is integrated into classroom teaching and makes a qualitative improvement in the teaching" has been successfully undertaken in many places throughout the world.  

2) Broadcasting may provide direct instruction, particularly in subjects where the school-teacher may be expected to have inadequate qualifications or where educational materials are either lacking or outdated. Significant fields in which this approach is now being applied to an ever greater degree, are the teaching of the natural sciences, of mathematics, of geography and of modern languages. Dieuzeide puts heavy emphasis on choosing the broadcast subjects according to the educational needs, because the effort to choose such subjects according to their suitability for air presentation leads to the danger that they are selected "for aesthetic rather than for educational reasons," that is to say that they are not chosen on the basis of "a systematic analysis of educational needs."  

In the same vein, Henry Cassirer states that the meeting ground between the high points of teaching and television clearly emerges in such key subject areas as sciences and modern languages. He points out that "subjects normally are chosen for televised instruction in

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the United States because of special needs in schools and colleges, and not because of any conviction that they lend themselves particularly well to presentation over the air." He further notes that (even in such a highly developed country as the United States), "the teaching of natural sciences is harassed by a shortage of science teachers...and a lack of equipment for demonstrations and experimentation at many schools...At the same time, here is a field which particularly requires visual demonstration." In the field of modern languages, Cassirer says the American educational system is ill equipped to cope with this task not only due to the shortage of qualified teachers, but also because

....even those teachers officially considered fully qualified frequently suffer from poor pronunciation and emphasis on the written word, due to the training they have received at the university. Such training gives poor equipment for the use of modern methods which emphasize the spoken and relegate reading, and even more writing, to later stages of language education."

Obviously, such broadcast programs enhance the interest and visual perception of the students, provide instruction where none might have been available before, and are also an efficient way of training teachers in science who view the programs with their class. It is also noted that "open broadcast of actual classroom content is important in that it serves to educate parents as well as students, permitting them to see what education is and what it does."

The role of the teacher is vital with regard to both the enrichment and the instructional programs. It is his function to prepare and apply

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99 Cassirer, op. cit., p. 119.
100 Stanford University Institute for Communication Research, Educational Television, The Next Ten Years (California: Institute for Communication Research, 1965), pp. 28-29.
his pedagogical skills so that the information provided by broadcasting is assimilated by the individual student.

3) The in-service training of teachers may be served not only in this indirect way but may also be one of the main purposes of broadcast programs — coupled perhaps with such techniques as correspondence teaching and programmed instruction. Such use serves the long-term improvement of education. Many developing countries suffer from the inadequate qualifications of teachers in-service and require means to guide and instruct these teachers, however remote their schools may be from urban centres. One of the major educational uses of radio and television which have been practiced in many countries throughout the world, according to Dieuzeide, is "the broadcast designed to palliate the deficiencies of an existing educational system — for example, substituting for unqualified teaching staff or upgrading present teachers — and thus making a largely quantitative improvement in the system." According to Cassirer, "the widest use of broadcasting in teacher education and probably its most significant contribution is in the in-service training of teachers, the continuing education of the professional."

In mass media continuing professional education the greatest attention is paid to television projects for teachers and medical personnel. The Brandeis survey reports that teachers are U.S. educational television's "largest special audience." From 80 hours


102 Henry Cassirer, Television Teaching Today, p. 131.

103 Brandeis University Morse Communication Research Center, One Week of Educational Television, Report Number Four, April 17-23, 1966 (National Center for School and College Television, 1966), p. 48.
devoted to in-service teacher education on educational television stations in 1964 the number increased to 130 hours in 1966, accounting for one-fourth of the adult programming. Programming for physicians over educational television stations doubled in the same period. Twenty educational television stations offered programs for physicians in 1966 compared with ten in 1964. In-service teacher education is increasingly seen as a fit subject for mass media utilization throughout the world. Schramm and others report "Evidence on the effectiveness of media systems for teacher training has been almost uniformly favorable... (and)... on a little firm evidence from Columbia and a considerable amount of observation and evidence on the part of school officials of UNRWA program, Algeria, New Zealand, Columbia and Samoa, we can assert that any of several media-based systems can contribute to the in-service training of teachers. Schramm also states, "the contribution of correspondence study and broadcasting would be useful in developing countries to provide in-service teacher training. Edstroem adds to this statement with a comment about the African situation. "Teacher training by correspondence, preceded and followed up by face-to-face courses and sometimes linked with radio, would undoubtedly help to solve the teacher problem."

In addition, many teachers in developing countries, particularly

\[104\] Ibid.,
\[105\] Ibid., p. 49.
in primary schools and rural areas, suffer from their isolation and long
for opportunities not only to advance their knowledge and skills but
to maintain continuous communication with educators elsewhere. The
use of radio and television to provide such in-service training and to
be a forum for the discussion of issues close to the work and life of
the teacher "...may prove in the long run to be perhaps the most
effective educational use of broadcasting, for while a programme
broadcast to school children will have to be repeated year after year
for the same grade, programmes for teachers have a multiplying, long-
range and lasting effect. Broadcasting organizations may be reluctant
to schedule programmes for what would appear to be a relatively small
number of listeners or viewers, but the mass impact of such programmes
is likely to be much greater than broadcasts aimed at a far larger
audiences. Furthermore, such programmes for teachers may also be
employed to guide them in the better use of other educational programmes."109

4) A fourth alternative that should be considered is the use of
broadcasting to create schools literally 'out of the air.' In
discussing the preceding functions of the broadcast media in school
education, the implication was that schools with teachers exist in the
community and that broadcasting simply serves to improve instruction.
In fact, however, many children have no opportunity at all to receive
education because schools are simply not available. Dieuzeide refers
to this educational use of radio and television as "development
broadcast, designed to carry education to communities where there has

109 UNESCO, "Radio and Television in the Service of Education and
Development in Asia," Reports and Papers on Mass Communication No. 49
never been a school. In this case radio and television conduct a mass educational activity which really precedes the school.\textsuperscript{110}

An often cited experiment in such conditions is the Telescuola in Italy. Henry Cassirer tells us about the background of this effort to meet the priority needs of the middle schools in Italy.

In Italy only 25 out of every 100 children register for the middle school which covers the ages of 11 to 14. The drop-out continues year by year, with the result that no more than two of the original 100 students complete a university education. These conditions...show the urgency of providing increased opportunities for education. The weakest link in the Italian school system appears to be the middle schools where the greatest drop-out occurs...In many of the smaller towns and communities, no such middle schools are available. Children are physically unable to continue their education after attending primary school unless they leave home and move into urban centres. The Italian Government has drawn up a comprehensive plan for the expansion of middle school facilities...The implementation of this plan will, however, take considerable time. In the meantime, every effort must be made to remedy the situation as rapidly as possible, in order to prevent new school generations from augmenting the mass of unemployed and uneducated youngsters. Italian television therefore decided in 1958 to cooperate with the Ministry of Education in launching telescuola, which consists of the complete course of instruction normally given in middle schools. Telescuola has been the most extensive project to date which couples television with the teaching by correspondence.\textsuperscript{111}

It may well be envisaged that classes in developing countries will gather around the television screen and that the bulk of instruction will be provided over the air. To assure pedagogical preparation, follow-up and supervision, literate monitors who do not


\textsuperscript{111} Henry Cassirer, \textit{Television Teaching Today}, p. 217.
have proper teaching qualifications may be sufficient. Such a system would have to be coupled with some elements of correspondence teaching and correction of written work at pedagogical centres.

It may be justifiably argued that a system such as this could not match the effectiveness of a fully-fledged school system, but on the other hand the education provided in this manner might go a long way towards bridging the serious gap which exists today in many developing countries and which needs to be closed as rapidly as possible.

b) Vocational and technical education

In view of the urgent need in developing countries for expanding and improving vocational and technical education, including agricultural education, and the existing inadequacies of instructional materials and staff, it is necessary that special attention be given to using the resources of broadcasting, in this area of education. Obviously, at a time when "the skills of a few must rapidly become the possession of many" it is no longer possible to depend on "the craftsman [who is] used to teach his trade to a few chosen apprentices and a search must be made for "one master [who can] simultaneously train hundreds of students." Here, the broadcast media can fulfill functions of an immediately practical nature which supplement their wider application to teaching.

Broadcast education in the area of technical skills training has been applied in developed as well as developing countries. In Japan "vocational and technical correspondence courses (combined with television and radio) began in 1961. Known as the technical skill..."
education program, it concentrates on slide-rule handling, book-keeping, television repair, and the use of the abacus...According to a survey conducted by the Institute of Broadcast Culture, the estimated audience figures for each class in 1962 or 1963 were as follows: slide-rule, 62,000; book-keeping, 51,000; television repair, 134,000; abacus, 600,000.

In Czechoslovakia television courses are offered in welding technology, machine tool cutting, reading engineering drawings, and slide rule calculation. These courses are intended for groups of viewers at their place of work. In Argentina 4,500 adults enrolled in fashion and electrician courses, combining television with correspondence study.

Radio is limited in vocational training itself, but it may be applied to this end in combination with correspondence teaching, organized group reception and local supervision. Television is already proving effective in this field, and it has been widely used for professional and technical training in many developed countries. In such professional fields as dentistry and medicine, for example, it has become possible — thanks to television — that "hundreds of students clearly see the tiny cavity in the tooth of a single patient" and that "an entire auditorium peer over the shoulder of the operating surgeon."

Various developing countries are giving courses in cattle breeding

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114 Ibid., pp. 63-64.
and the milking of cows, in the elements of electricity, in the handling of the slide rules and the abacus; one might well envisage instruction in many other mechanical trades, from plumbing to welding. One of the principal obstacles to the introduction of modern facilities in developing countries is frequently the absence of craftsmen skilled in their installation and maintenance. The application of the broadcast media to this field might thus have a far reaching impact.

Of another specific importance is the use of broadcasting for vocational orientation and guidance. Radio and television can provide widespread familiarity with vocational outlets for available manpower. By giving an insight into the activities of specialized workers, of trades and professions, these media provide orientation to the young and to people forced to change their occupation. They also provide an opportunity for planning authorities to direct manpower resources toward desired ends. The broadcast media can thus carry special programs developed in collaboration with educational counselling specialists and labour ministries for career information and vocational guidance.

c) Higher education

There is a rapidly increasing demand for higher education in developing countries (and to varying degrees in all countries and among all peoples) and consequent pressure on the relatively limited facilities available, together with the need to widen access to higher education for young people who have the ability to profit by it but do not have the means or opportunities to attend regular institutions of higher learning. It is under such conditions that university-type instructional broadcasts, particularly in the technological fields,
should be made as widely accessible as possible, not only to students within a campus through the use of radio and television as closed-circuit systems, but also to others who cannot attend such courses because they live far away, or are at work, or simply because universities cannot accommodate more students. The establishment of university-type broadcasts, which disseminate instruction in one or more subjects to students -- who can also be given opportunities for intermittent personal supervision -- has particular importance. Moreover, Cassirer points out that "the broadcasting of courses provides opportunities for the general public to become better acquainted with college teaching so that many people who would not otherwise have thought of doing so are now devoting themselves to obtaining an education." 117

Such broadcasts should be started by educational authorities, in collaboration with broadcasting organizations, for instruction through mass media, in combination with other new techniques of teaching such a programmed instruction and correspondence courses. The many examples of this trend toward combining the broadcast media, particularly television, with correspondence study include offerings of the Kansas State University Extension and the Extra-Mural Department of University College, Nairobi, Kenya. 118

To ensure continuous improvement and refinement in the use of the broadcast media for this alternative way to higher education, UNESCO 119

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118 Charles A. Wedemeyer and Gayle B. Childs, *New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study* (Chicago: Center For the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1961), p. 46.
recommends "...that a systematic programme of research, including action research in all aspects of the application of mass media to education should be undertaken by universities, education ministries and broadcasting organizations." UNESCO further points out that the scope of the research program "...Should cover areas such as development of suitable tests, assessment of the relative efficacy of different techniques of programming and teaching through mass media, cost factors, problems of the integration of the curriculum in the broadcasting techniques and its adaptation to the varying levels of audience ability and aptitude." 120

Current experiences with this type of university instruction in the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan would seem to indicate that here lies a future for developing countries. One particularly interesting development in both industrialized and developing countries is the use of television for higher technical education of employed which was the subject of a pilot project in Poland with the cooperation of UNESCO from 1966 to 1970. In this experiment, the televised courses, associated with correspondence courses, were provided for those who, for reasons of employment or residence, were unable to attend intramural studies. 121 Another experiment at the university level covers not only higher technical education but also includes a large number of disciplines at various levels and for various degrees has been pioneered by the Open University of the United Kingdom created in 1969. The Open University is primarily intended for

adult students in full-time employment or working at home and, exceptionally for students under 21 who, for health or domestic reasons, are unable to attend a conventional institution of higher education. The teaching methods of the Open University involve home study with correspondence and broadcast elements, summer courses and study centres located in 250 communities in various regions, themselves using radio and television programs jointly prepared by the University and the BBC. Of the 25,000 students registered for 1971, teachers represented the highest proportion, i.e. 30%, followed by the group of partially qualified scientists, engineers, laboratory assistants and technicians who wish to obtain a degree qualification and represent 14.7%.  

In addition to such systematic courses, universities play a significant role in the dissemination of knowledge and culture to a broader audience, as for instance in the 'University of the Air' broadcast by the Australian Broadcasting Commission.  

2. Out-of-school education

With the rapidly changing conditions of modern life and the tremendous advances in human knowledge, it has become important for every person constantly to strive to keep pace with these advances in knowledge and to pursue a life-long education. This is especially true of the huge number of underprivileged people in developing countries. They have to learn much more and much faster if they are to achieve a dignified place for themselves in modern society.

For this continuous process of life-long education, radio and television are valuable tools in the hands of educators and development...
planners. Radio is the main channel available to communicate with people scattered in far-flung communities with their large illiterate populations, who should not be made to feel isolated from the general life of society. The underprivileged should be made to feel that they too belong to a changing progressive community. To help in the advancement of this objective, the broadcast media are to be utilized in literacy as well as in various areas of adult education.

a. Literacy

Everett Rogers defines literacy as "the degree to which an individual possesses mastery over symbols in their written form, or is able to encode and decode written messages — to write and to read." There is little empirical research dealing with the social psychological changes that accompany the acquiring of the ability to read and write; however, speculation from diverse sources imply that it represents more than just a simple skill. Lerner states: "Literacy is indeed the basic personal skill that underlies the whole modernizing sequence....the very act of achieving distance and control over a formal language gives people access to the world of vicarious experience and trains them to use the complicated mechanism of empathy which is needed to cope with this world." Carl Becker notes that the written word first equipped men with a "transpersonal memory," and Harold Innis points out that historically "man's activities and powers were roughly

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124 Everett Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication, p. 72.
extended in proportion to the increased use of written records."127

Illiteracy is a scourge and its eradication is a necessary
condition for national progress. Rogers notes that "the majority
(probably about 70-80 percent) of the peasants in less developed
countries are functionally illiterate. Nearly half of the world's
adult population, or some 700 million persons, can neither read nor
write. World illiteracy has grown by at least 200 million in the last
six years! In less developed countries 70 percent of the children are
not in school today, so that in another generation there will be
millions more of adult illiterates."128 I. Keith Tyler elaborates
on the primary school aspect of the problem: "....Even more serious, the
recent expansion of primary school education has not been keeping pace
with the population explosion, so that it has been estimated that the
number of illiterates is increasing by as much as 20 to 25 million
persons each year."129 Literacy instruction is viewed by many experts
as the best possible means for a developing nation to break the
vicious cycle of low incomes, high birth rates, and slow development,
and make progress along the path toward modernization.

Radio and television can be of considerable value in the world-wide
campaign to eradicate illiteracy. They can make specific contributions
to each of the following four distinct phases of this campaign:

1) Public motivation

Public motivation is a vital element in any literacy campaign.

127 Harold Adams Innis, Empire and Communications (Oxford:
128 Everett Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 68.
129 I. Keith Tyler, "Combating Illiteracy with Television," AV
Wright has identified some of the factors that drew villagers to adult literacy training in Guatemala; most important was a general motivation for modernization, perhaps typified by one peasant whose reason for enrollment was "to come from darkness to light." The specific reasons for participation were also mentioned, such as to earn higher wages, to write to girlfriends, to be able to sign one's name on documents, and so on. In his discussion of the place of television in dealing with the problem of illiteracy, Tyler believes it is very important that the televised lessons incorporate economic motivations.

Literacy is of concern to the nation as a whole, literates and illiterates alike. A campaign can be totally successful only when all sections of society are convinced of its importance and are ready to contribute to it materially and personally. Only when the consciousness of the nation is aroused can the campaign hope to achieve success. Public motivation, therefore, is important for the literates, who can help in the campaign, and for the illiterates, who should benefit from it. Radio and television, which day after day reach the entire population, are among the primary tools to arouse the nation to the significance of the literacy campaign.

2. Encouragement of individual learners

Beyond the general motivation, individual learners must be encouraged to enroll in literacy classes and to continue in their attendance. Here, radio and television can be particularly useful as

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media around which listening or viewing groups are constituted. Experience shows that such groups, which at first may come together primarily to discuss broadcast programs and envisage follow-up action on the community level, soon express the desire to receive literacy instruction also, and that the regularity and interest of broadcast reception helps to counteract the wide tendency for massive drop-out of learners.

It is also important to train lay leaders of the groups when possible. Togo has organized a training program for the leaders of its broadcast clubs. "Club leaders" reports Kahnert, "are required to attend a training program lasting two to three days. Leaders of existing clubs are invited to attend the training sessions for leaders of new clubs. This has the double advantage of providing the old leaders with a refresher course and of allowing them to give both the new leaders and Radio Togo personnel the benefit of their experience." Another African country, Niger, provides leaders with two weeks training and gives them a competitive examination at the end of it. Radio Niger is also responsible for another innovation: some leaders are provided with tape recorders with which to record the reactions of their groups. These reactions then become part of subsequent broadcasts to the groups, thus increasing the dialogue.

3) Instruction in literacy work

While experience in the use of radio for direct instruction in the skills of literacy is inconclusive, there are important advantages

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to be achieved by radio in this field. It should be extensively used to mobilize public opinion so that it may show energy in eradicating illiteracy; to attract voluntary workers for the field, and to motivate individual and group learning.

The more complete medium of television, on the other hand, shows every promise of becoming an important tool for the teaching of reading and writing. Its endless possibilities should be fully utilized wherever possible.

The earliest of the large-scale efforts to use television in building literacy was the Italian Telescuola program "It's Never Too Late" started in 1960. Schramm and others note that "even now, after six years, it is estimated that 15,000 meet three nights a week in about 1000 viewing centres throughout the country, to view 'It's Never Too Late,' and practice what they have learned." Lyle has contributed to the literature on this program. Lyle, after a study mission to Italy states,

The enrollment in the adult evening courses has ....fallen as the reservoir of potential students was gradually decreased....In the early phases of the program, more of the teaching load was carried by the television teachers since the monitors then used were generally volunteers without teaching qualifications....The present practice is to use qualified primary teachers wherever possible in this capacity. The program at the time of the mission left the bulk of the actual teaching to the ....monitor; the television presentation might better be considered as supplemental enrichment to the personal teaching of the monitor."

Lyle and Souza report on projects in Latin America which concentrate on literacy training at the place of employment. According to Lyle a

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program in Peru has been most successful working with domestic servants. Souza notes that since 1961 when a law was passed in Brazil requiring employers of over 100 persons to provide elementary education for adults there has been increasing use of television for this purpose. Other examples of basic education programs throughout the world utilizing broadcasts include Radio Togo, Radiovision in Niger, and the Radio Schools of Honduras. Several of these projects utilize listening groups.

4.) Achievement of functional literacy and follow-up

The many potential contributions of radio and television to social education and vocational orientation and training, demonstrate the value of the broadcast media in all efforts aimed at obtaining functional literacy where the content of the lessons are related to the immediate needs of the audience in their working environment and the needs for the development of that environment. Rogers measures functional literacy "as the ability to read and write written symbols at a level of competence adequate for carrying out the functions of the individual's role in his customary social system."

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140 Ibid., p. 97.
141 Everett Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, pp. 73-74.
In the same vein, Wright and others state that an individual was functionally literate "if he could comprehend the written materials which deal with his problems of daily living, i.e. those of health, nutrition, and personal-social economics." Schramm also emphasizes the need to provide reading material suitable for new literates:

More people have regressed near-illiteracy after finishing a class because they have not found suitable and interesting reading matter than for any other reason. They must practice to retain and perfect their new skill, and they must have practice material that carries adult ideas in simple words. Once the level is found, then it is possible to teach a great deal about agriculture, health, government, arithmetic, and other important topics, all within the material prepared for reading practice.

Schramm further notes that few campaigns are more closely to the development than a literacy campaign. As literacy is a means to create more useful, more productive citizens, and to speed up the development process,

...its incentives must grow out of assurance that to learn to read is a good thing from the point of view of the community and the individual, and will pay a reward in jobs and position within the community. The follow-up reading material must be related in a practical way to the life, problems, and opportunities of the community, or else the new literate is likely to decide the effort wasn't worth it, and give it up.

In short, radio and television broadcasting, which appeal to the emotions and the reason of all men irrespective of their degree of


\[144\] Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, p. 159.
literacy, are well suited to the education of illiterates and their adaptation to a society in rapid change. They create a climate of curiosity, of new attitudes of mind and new practices, which are favorable conditions for a successful literacy campaign.

Audio-visual methods and television used in literacy instruction relate it to the outlook and perception of the illiterate; they illustrate instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic so that the learner can make a transition from his previous visual concepts to the new symbolism of the written word or figure. Broadcasting, is also an effective tool for the guidance and training of monitors, instructors or animators of a literacy campaign dispersed over a wide geographic area, as it is for the training and guidance of adult education leaders, group organizers, convenors, social workers and others engaged in adult education. As it is frequently difficult to gather such personnel for seminars and training courses, particularly when they are dispersed over a wide area, their continuous training and guidance through broadcast media is of particular importance. Such guidance may also aim at improving the use that is made of adult educational programs.

b. Adult Education

For imparting knowledge as distinct from skills, radio and television are convenient and powerful tools. Practically all broadcast programs have a certain educational significance, if only in the sense of conveying to isolated audiences in remote villages a sense of participation. The feeling of being part of a whole makes for a better citizen; in fact it seems to be the pre-condition for being a citizen in the politico-sociological sense of the word.
Broadcasting is also the main disseminator of news and information. For people living in dispersed areas, for illiterates, for the poor who could not afford to buy a newspaper even if they could read it, radio and -- potentially -- television broadcasts are very often the only sources through which they learn what is happening in the world, including their own country. Information influences and shapes the opinion of people; the selection and presentation of news is a means of orienting and educating people.

Practically all general programs, such as music, plays and other forms of entertainment have a potential educational significance in as much as they acquaint the listener or viewer with the culture of his time and age, though they may equally be debasing in their effect. Yet, it would be failing to use broadcasting as a precious national resource if no conscious, systematic endeavor were made to include adult education, as an integral part of regular programming.

1) Popularization of knowledge

Our age witnesses the breakdown of the monopoly of knowledge which was until recently held by certain social, economic or intellectual classes, and even by certain countries. In providing access to knowledge and familiarity with the results of scientific research to the public at large and to entire nations hitherto kept in ignorance, the broadcast media play a crucial role.

The age we live in is one of science and technology. In order that we may acquire an understanding of the world in which we live, it is necessary that scientific and technical knowledge be popularized. Broadcasting offers many opportunities to report and explain scientific achievements and experiments. Popular programs on science and current
affairs with news reports and documentaries can arouse intellectual curiosity which is necessary before new ideas are absorbed. Among scientific subjects which lend themselves to dissemination by radio, and particularly by television, one may, among others, mention the accomplishments in the application of science to agriculture and industry; the results of scientific research in biology, zoology and geology, which provide familiarity with the phenomena of plant, animal and mineral life, and enable people to cope better with tasks in rural conditions; new approaches in mathematics, from simple arithmetic to modern concepts; physics and chemistry whose achievements are changing the very environment of man and furnishing him with new materials and tools. Examples of science television programs around the world include brief lessons on math and physics in Czechoslovakia, biology and physics programs on the French network in Canada, a basic algebra course in Algeria, and programs on the general development of science prepared by the American Foundation for Continuing Education.

In the Humanities, our knowledge and approaches are likewise undergoing profound transformation, with which the general public must be acquainted so that it may keep abreast of the changing pace of society.

The political and social aspects of a developing country's own history are often less well known than the history of former colonial powers. But what seems to be particularly important for fostering a

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145 Brian Groombridge, op. cit., p. 63.
146 Ibid., pp. 31-32.
spirit of self-dependence and nationhood is a common awareness of the identity and continuity of a historical process. With archaeology, ethnology and anthropology expanding our knowledge of social conditions of the past and present, more and more program material becomes available to confront adult audiences with new historical findings.

The geography of developing countries, of their neighboring countries and of their continents, can be the subject of very attractive television programs, particularly if these depict not only the physical features of the countries but also the people who live there. The better documentary programs on people and places are particularly effective educationally because they entertain while they educate. They are also most appropriate for program exchange as they promote a spirit of mutual understanding and appreciation.

Human sciences particularly sociology, philosophy, and the history of philosophical and political ideas, offer innumerable topics for broadcasts and are indispensable in creating a spirit of citizenship and social responsibility. Carefully devised and presented programs on history, geography and the humanities can increase people's awareness, and impart an interest to their life.

2) Civic education

Familiarity with these advances in the Humanities is an essential base for civic education. Such education is vital in the process of forming national unity and building a world society, and in enabling the people to participate in public affairs actively and in an orderly manner. Through its documentaries, through news reports and through the presence in front of the microphone or camera of leaders in public life, broadcasting produces awareness and enhances understanding of
the political processes.

Civic education programmes on the functioning of government institutions such as parliament, ministries and the judiciary system, and of public services such as schools, postal and medical services, tend to create confidence and a spirit of national or community pride, and involve the individual in public affairs, persuading him to take an active part in them.

Thanks to the vividness of its presentation, particularly on television, broadcasting can disseminate rapidly and to a vast public new approaches and practices in health and nutrition. As women have an important place in society and its economy, their education is the key to improving conditions of home life and practices of homemaking. Here broadcasting, which is the only medium of communication to reach the intimacy of the home of a largely illiterate sector of the population, has an exceedingly important role to play. Programmes on health, hygiene, family planning, child welfare and the like should be specifically devised for the benefit of women. Broadcasting can also play a significant part in making women take their full share in community and national activity, as well as making them better fit to fill their roles of motherhood and homemakers.

One of the developments in the area of education of women, is the 1965-1966 UNESCO-Senegal pilot project at Dakar where a preliminary, and a follow-up, survey were made to assess the effectiveness of educational television in imparting vital health information for women and constructively changing their attitude and behavior. The project included regular weekly programs in the Wolof language for about 500 women in 10 television clubs throughout greater Dakar. The
women were questioned on causes and control of malaria, dysentery, typhoid, and tuberculosis, on dietary practices and on interests and problems. Among the major findings of the project were that such programs encourage expression of opinion and generate practical action; educational interests lean toward child care, housekeeping, and women's problems, effective mass media education requires discussion groups; and ETV heightens awareness of social problems and can be a potent factor in national development. Mention is made of the extensive use of listing groups for providing home education to women in Japan. In the United States, Howard states that women overwhelmingly prefer the mass media as vehicles to receive the information of home economics extension, based on a research study she conducted.

Experts participating in the meeting on radio and television in the service of education and development convened by UNESCO at Bangkok, Thailand, in May 1966 recommended that programs for women should aim at three principal objectives: first, to improve their home-life and increase their happiness and that of their families; second, to provide them with ample opportunities to acquire knowledge and information about local, national and international events and take their due place in community life; and third, to serve as a vehicle of entertainment and thus relieve the monotony and tedium of their comparatively secluded life.

While listening and viewing in the privacy of their homes has its

150 Brian Groombridge, op. cit., p. 92.
own importance for women, group listening provides an additional and worthwhile source of effective utilization of programs. Broadcasts directed to groups of listeners and viewers often lead to a useful sharing of experiences and views which, in turn, lead to construction action in various directions. Such broadcasts regularly received by groups frequently become trusted monitors who help wives and mothers to adapt themselves to the changes of society around them.

Radio and television are popular among the youth and unquestionably exercise considerable influence upon them. Rural youth must be mobilized not only for increased agricultural production but their energies must be channeled into other productive activities like social education and community welfare. Out-of-school programs have a special significance for this segment as most of them would have discontinued formal schooling. In cities there are large numbers of young people who are at that stage of life when, not having yet assumed a definite place in society, they remain unorganized and undirected with no useful avenue of expression for their energies. Moreover, the bulk of urban labor in the cities, both skilled and unskilled, has migrated from the villages. They have problems of adjustment in a new, often bewildering, environment. They have had little or no formal education and in the process of adjusting their traditional concepts and values to the needs of urban life, they need help.

Broadcast programs, on the one hand, may disseminate ideas, and concepts which add to the problems of the youth, separate the young from the culture of their parents, and produce harmful notions from a moral
or civic point of view. On the other hand, these media have particular value in opening the eyes of the youth to national and world affairs, and in assisting them to find their way both professionally and as citizens. The planning of broadcast service to these people has to be correlated with other welfare activities and with vocational education programs. Here again, group listening and viewing could be profitably utilized for motivation and action. How to develop the best programs for the youth while avoiding potentially harmful pitfalls is a major issue of concern to broadcasters, educators and parents alike.

3) Language teaching

Programs in adult education may not aim at teaching people how to speak, but they can well teach people how to speak with each other, i.e. teach them a common language. This is of particular importance in countries where large minorities do not speak the national language. India is a good example, where—using a botanical simile — Myron Weiner makes this observation

....India's social system can be likened to a fruit with the combined properties of a tangerine and an onion. Like a tangerine, India is divided into segments -- linguistic, regional, religious, and tribal. And like an onion, India is composed of a succession of layers -- castes and socio-economic classes, with the layers of each segment unconnected with the layers of other segments.

The segments and layers are first of all often linguistically divided. A dozen languages separate the major regions. Within each linguistic region there are vast dialect variations; indeed from village to village dialects are often mutually incomprehensible. And often within a single village, certainly within a town, different social layers may speak different languages and dialects. In a single locale, the speech of Hindus and Muslims and even untouchables and caste Hindus is
Trying to put the communication problem into perspective within India's larger problem, Weiner says effective communication is, of course, not a sole solution to India's problems, although it is a necessary component of programs for improving agricultural productivity, reconciling conflict among competing groups, and effectively implementing government policies. "On the capacity of the modern sector to communicate with— and convert — the traditional sectors rest India's hopes for economic growth and modernization," he says; "on the capacity of social groups to communicate successfully with — and understand — one another rest India's hopes for national integration." The central question, he believes is whether Indians will utilize their freedom to communicate and the growing effectiveness of their communicating merely to make each segment of society more solid and separate, or whether they will use it to open the flow of ideas across linguistic and social barriers so that Indians can learn from one another, and thereby "begin the process of perpetual discovery and innovation." This will be the ultimate measure of India's success with developmental communication.

An exciting experiment is taking place in Canada. This experiment is intent on helping people 'speak with each other' by putting VTR and film in their hands and starting communication flow that would enable them to express their ideas through images. All across Canada (often with the help of Challenge for Change/Societe Nouvelle), citizens

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154 Ibid., p. 190.
are picking up half-inch VTR cameras and learning to speak through them. Valuable as these tapes are as catalysts for community change, they seldom move beyond their original local purposes to become interesting to larger community. For this second purpose, the English side of Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle has tended to prefer film, provided it is in the hands of the right film-makers, working susceptibility with the people of community.

On the French side, however, Société Nouvelle has been spurred to take another look at the possibilities of video in creating a sense of the larger community. The result of this analysis has led to the establishment of the group/place/activity called Vidéographe. The project has been described as "one of the most significant experiments in a field that is still new to the people-at-large — the field of electronic communications." In the province of Quebec the experiment has been universal, bubbling first in the cities but reaching now to the farthest outposts of the province. Perhaps, more than anywhere else in Canada, the basis exists for the evolution of a single large community of interest in rediscovering and expressing the vitality — and the values — of the people. In tentative experiments in the mining region called abitibi, volunteers have been circulating tapes among centers 60 to 100 miles apart, editing on the move in their microbus. They find citizens of each center are keen to share in the experiences of these "neighbors". Cable is moving into the areas of "rural" Quebec and, increasingly, the people expect to have "their own channel" for community television. The possibility is rapidly developing for linking larger numbers of people through shared interests.
For Société Nouvelle people, what started as an exciting prospect has assumed an air of urgency. In their work with Québécois, they have encountered vigor, a human simplicity, and sense of play they find missing in the alienated cities. If there is a common missionary sense at Société Nouvelle, it seems to revolve around the conviction that this 'other half' of Quebec should make its voice heard in time to influence the priorities of a changing society before they become fixed at the level of government policy.

If VTR and community television are the medium and the channel for this voice to be heard in dialogue with others, there are other channels opening too. Vidéographe already has a mailing list of about 800 people directly involved with video in audio-visual centers, ciné clubs and social centers throughout the province. The trade unions are seriously considering a VTR network for their locals throughout Quebec. Can all these centers be linked and expanded, wonders Société Nouvelle, as a part of a popular communication network that extends from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Ottawa River — and the North? "Yes" is the conviction of Société Nouvelle.

Language courses on the radio have been conducted throughout the world with great success. It has been fully established that radio is a suitable tool for language teaching and language practice. Television, because of its visual component which presents sample situations with greater realism and enables students to watch the lip movements of the instructor, is an even more effective medium of language instruction than radio.

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There is quite a bit of interest in broadcast language education in different parts of the world. In Canada there are English television courses for French speakers and vice versa. Rovan notes that on Bavarian television there has been "undoubted success of the programs giving an introductory course in Italian." On Japanese television "language courses occupy a considerable portion of the educational program time and attract a large audience." Rowntree reports that in England there is an increasing use of radio for foreign language teaching accompanied by printed materials. Many developing countries have been experimenting with language teaching on radio and television, some utilizing listening or viewing groups.

Language instruction can well be combined with: literacy teaching; civic education; instruction in vocational skills; in other words, it may become "functional" language teaching.

156 Brian Groombridge, op. cit. pp. 29, 33.
158 Brian Groombridge, op. cit., p. 91.
CHAPTER III.
MAIN BARRIERS TO EFFECTIVE USES OF COMMUNICATION AS CHANGE-AGENT IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Recent experiments in planned change in the developing countries have brought about the critical significance of communications in the implementation of programs of economic development and technological change. The recognition of communication as a key factor in the process of directed change has been demonstrated by "a series of costly and avoidable failures," which have shown that "even well-drawn projects of modernization fail to register with the people and to produce the desired results unless they are supported by an imaginative, adequate, and effective communication program." This recognition has led to more systematic and organized efforts at the formulation of communication policies.

This vital linkage between communication and change is suggested by Schramm to be a touchstone of effective use of communication in support of national development. Schramm states:

Deciding what to communicate requires us to focus not so much on communication as on change. We are concerned with the psychological and social dynamics that will bring about the desired change in behavior. And this is perhaps the most important thing we can say about the problem of effectiveness: that the greater part of communication theory (like educational theory)

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1 In this study the terms change agent, agent of communication and change, communicator, technical worker and the like are used interchangeably to mean Rogers' definition of the change agent: "a professional who influences innovation decisions in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency." (Everett Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 169)

must necessarily be psychological and sociological, because it deals with the behavior of individuals and groups; and the greater part of planning for effective communication must consist of planning in social and psychological terms for the content of the message to be communicated.  

It is clear, therefore, that the dynamics that stimulate and facilitate change also stimulate and facilitate communication. All societies are constantly in a state of relative tension. Any society can be conceived as a stage for two kinds of forces: those that seek to promote change and those that strive to maintain the status quo. These forces are locked in a constant combat, the first trying to throw the latter off balance, to gain the ascendancy, and the second trying to prevent this from happening. Since a tendency to change is fundamental in culture, it is obvious that the forces that promote change will in the long run have the edge over those that strive for the maintenance of the status quo. The degree of ascendancy that change-promoting forces achieve, however, is not a constant, for the tempo of culture change varies with time. The relative stability of a culture or its susceptibility to change, therefore, reflects the degree of balance between the two forces.

The most successful guided development occurs when planners and specialists are aware of the struggle between the forces for change and the forces for conservatism and stability found in all cultures. Not only must the presence of these forces be recognized, but in a specific situation they must be defined and related one to another. The strength of the conservative forces must be checked or their results

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neutralized, while at the same time the change forces must be strengthened. This chapter deals with the common forces promoting the status quo and consequently acting as barriers to change and effective communication in developing societies.

Some barriers or change-inhibiting factors may be conceptualized in cultural terms: the fundamental natures, beliefs, and past experiences of the group, its conception of what is right and wrong, the nature of the articulation of the elements of the culture, and the basic integration of its parts. These barriers are "culture-based"; for the sake of simplicity they are called "cultural." Other barriers are located in the nature of the social structure of the group: the family type and its member relationships, the class and cast factors, the place of authority in familial and political units, the nature of factions, and so on. These barriers may be called "society-based," or simply "social." Still other barriers are more easily comprehended if phrased in psychological terms: individual and group motivations, communication problems, the nature of perception, and the characteristics of the learning process. These are "psychologically based," or "psychological barriers."

Cultural, social, and psychological barriers to change obviously exist in an economic setting. Economic factors seem to set the absolute limits to change. It often happens that people are reluctant to change their ways because of cultural and social and psychological factors. But equally as often, they are quite aware of the value of change and anxious to alter their traditional ways, but the economic sacrifice is too great. If an economic potential does not exist or cannot be built into a program of directed change, the most careful
attention to culture and society will be meaningless. One significant aspect of this economic potential is the new communication system functioning in the modern cities and which must be developed to reach into the traditional villages with change messages. But this development of modern media of communication is handicapped by barriers found in the economic life of society: finance, equipment and training of professional communicators. These barriers are "economy-based" or "economic barriers."

A. **Cultural Barriers**

Within the major categories of barriers to change and effective communication — cultural, social, psychological and economic — the illustrations and specific examples fall into subgroupings. The system of classification used in this and the following categories is the writer's effort to bring examples together in a sufficiently clear fashion so that the underlying themes will be obvious to the reader. For example, cultural barriers seem to fall easily into the subdivisions of "values, and attitudes", and "cultural structure."

1. **Values and attitudes**
   
a) **Tradition**

The positive attraction of the new and novel seems to be associated with industrial societies. In contrast, in most non-industrial parts of the world, novelty and change have less positive appeal. Rather, people in traditional societies are conditioned to view new things with skepticism and, if they are uncertain, not to be tempted. They live under the bow of custom and habit rather than of innovation.

In traditional societies, face-to-face relationships are
extremely important, as are the ties to family and clan. Men tend to be
bound together and to be valued by one another in terms of such intimate
connections rather than because of their ability to perform special
functional tasks. Rarely does the average person have dealings with
anyone he does not know quite well. Social, political and even
economic relations with strangers are seen as neither necessary nor
desirable. Hence human intercourse which, in modern societies, is
guided by functional considerations of economic benefit, political
advantage, and the like, is in traditional societies much more
influenced by codes of friendship, family and tribal loyalty, and
hierarchial status.

In peasant society, conservatism appears generally to be culturally
sanctioned. There is a tendency for people to assume that the status
of their children and grandchildren will be similar to that of their
parents and grandparents. The cultural life of those societies, and
the values they elevate generally form a coherent pattern, giving men
a reasonably orderly rationale for the relatively stable round of life
they face. They provide a set of relationships of men to one another
and to the world around them which give them a degree of security
in facing their appointed destiny within the traditional structure.

The Indian anthropologist, Dube, describing life in a small
village in his country, found the forces of conservatism to be enormous.
Persons having too many new and original ideas invoke the suspicion of
the group and invite criticism. In the same country Goswami and Roy

4 Max F. Millikan and Donald Blackmer (eds.) The Emerging Nations,
pp. 3-6.

5 S.C. Dube, Indian Village (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
note that because of ignorance and past exploitation, the villager is conservative, and "fights shy of anything new."

It is obvious that in societies where the criticisms against being tempted by novelty are strong, where adages and proverbs are cited to validate tradition, and where fear of censure scares the would-be innovator, a fertile ground for a program of social change does not exist until after a good deal of cultivation has been done. Change will come when people start making allowances for some non-traditional behavior, whether it is in the way they dress or the things they talk about.

b) Fatalism

Fatalism is the degree to which an individual feels a lack of ability to control his future. The attitude of fatalism is closely allied to the forces of tradition and constitutes a barrier of equal strength. Such attitude is widely reported as characteristic of traditional peoples. For example, Banfield found that 90 percent of the thematic apperception test stories told by his Italian respondents had themes of misfortune and calamity; only two or three of the 320 stories were positively happy in tone. Carstairs observes that the fatalistic orientation of his respondents was reflected in their pervasive uncertainty, a feeling that "nothing and nobody can be relied on, not even one's own self." Pals Borda reported his Colombian peasants had

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"an ethos of passivity—that quality of moving only when acted upon by an outside force, or of receiving or enduring with little or no reaction." The religious beliefs of his respondents were characterized by clear resignation: "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away." These spiritually fatalistic peasants were content with their relative distress.9

In industrial societies people have proved for themselves that a high degree of mastery over nature and social conditions is feasible. An adverse situation is not an insurmountable block, but rather a challenge to one's ingenuity. In industrial societies people have come to realize that almost anything may be achieved; at least, any reasonable plan is worth trying.

But in peasant nonindustrial societies there is a very low degree of mastery over nature and social environments. Peasants lack the knowledge, skills, and resources necessary to cope with phenomena such as floods, droughts and famine. These conditions are looked upon as a visitation from gods or evil spirits whom man can propitiate but not control. Under circumstances that condemn a farmer to a bare subsistence living and a comparatively short life span, it is not surprising that people have few illusions about the possibility of improving their lot. A fatalistic outlook, the assumption that whatever happens is the will of god, is perhaps the best adjustment the individual

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can make to an apparently hopeless situation.

Indeed, fatalistic attitudes may have been highly efficient and functional in the past as means of psychological adaptation to a harsh environment. But in today's era of planned change, these historically efficacious attitudes toward fate have been asserted to stand as barriers to modernization and impediments to the adoption of innovations. Analysts such as Lewis feel that fatalism derives from an authoritarian family structure which tends to produce passive and dependent children. Reichel-Dolmatoff and Reichel-Dolmatoff assert: "The villagers fatalistic outlook on life results in failure to see a relationship between work and one's economic condition. Having enough is thought to be almost entirely due to luck and is never believed to be brought about or furthered by personal initiative."

Just as fate is blamed for calamities and misfortunes by traditional people, so is it credited for success. Sariola found that "luck" was the most frequently provided response by Columbian peasants when they were asked the reasons for success in farming. A subsistence farmer has always found it difficult, through his struggles with the natural environment, to raise his standard of living. When he or one of his neighbors achieves progress, therefore, it is reasonable for him to attribute this success to supernatural intervention.

Fatalism has dysfunctional consequences for programs of directed change. Rogers states the argument of the proponents of the "fatalism as a barrier" school of thought as follows:

Peasants believe in the inevitability of happenings. They perceive they have little or no control over the events of their own lives. Believing they are powerless to control their future, they prefer to accept their lot rather than engage in behaviors to improve their level of living. The use of supernatural factors to explain frustrations and failures eventually leads to the establishment of extremely limited expectations, which in turn promotes a generally pessimistic mental stance toward new ideas. [Those proponents go on to argue that] the process of modernization itself can promote fatalism. Encouraged to want more than they can have or possibly get, peasants are frustrated by the difference between aspirations and actualities, and they are likely to develop a retreatist and fatalistic disposition toward change.\(^\text{15}\)

The concern of the agents of communication and change is how they can convince traditional people of the efficacy of self-help efforts when their clients believe that the determinant of their potential well-being is a supernatural fate; how they can identify and promote the factors that are likely to reduce fatalism and consequently increase the probability of innovation adoption. While the fatalistic orientation of traditionals historically may have arisen as a rationalization for their relatively deprived state, once imbued this fatalism serves dysfunctionally to discourage efforts at progress through self-help. Rao cogently notes that a "fatalistic tendency prevents people from being in a state of healthy discontent." If one perceives himself in

\(^{15}\) Everett Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 275.

\(^{16}\) Y.V. Lakshmana, "Communication and Development: A Study of Two Indian Villages" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota, 1963), p. 58.
control of his life situation, he can be motivated to ameliorate his life and improve his existence, but if he places himself in the hands of fate, he cannot be motivated to seek a higher living standard.

c) Cultural ethnocentricism

Sometimes it is surprising to discover that peoples of all cultures believe that basically their way of doing things is natural and superior. Primitive peoples do not mind acknowledging the superiority of a steel artifact over a stone one, and sometimes, the inferiority of a pottery vessel to an aluminum one. But these are inconsequential and marginal spheres of culture. All of us believe the essence of culture to be in what we do and think; our attitudes, social forms and religious beliefs. Doob notes that changes within people are of primary interest in the study of acculturation. He argues that only such changes are really significant "for changes in the material culture may be very superficial; an object from another society simply replaces a less efficient piece of apparatus in the traditional society without affecting appreciably the people or their way of life." The universal belief in the superiority of one's own culture is apparently a powerful source of stability. This is true of the European as of the African tribesman.

The anthropologist studies ethnocentricism in terms of what he calls "cultural relativism." By this he means that the values of all peoples are a function of their way of life and that they cannot be understood out of context. Relativists hold that it is wrong to

condemn the ways of others simply because they differ from those of the person who passes the judgement. According to the modern doctrine of cultural relativity, observes Doob, each society is more or less unique and hence must be judged uniquely. A society has come to acquire its unique attributes because it has developed and is now functioning in the midst of a pattern of a rather unique historical, geographical, and economic circumstances. The conditions under which people live clearly make them develop talents to cope with the problems of their existence. Those talents exercise a determining effect upon important aspects of their behavior. The kind of adults to which such behavior eventually leads affects the way in which they subsequently socialize their children. In short, people are shaped up by the conditions engulfing them; the diversity of which they as newborn infants were once capable has been severely limited by the force of circumstances; a central or modal tendency has had to emerge for them to survive.

Margaret Mead asserts that change in any one part of the culture, will be accompanied by changes in other parts, and that only by relating any planned detail of change to the central values of the culture is it possible to provide for the repercussions which will take place in other aspects of life. What Mead means by "cultural relativity" is "that practices and beliefs can and must be evaluated in context, in relation to the cultural whole." In the same vein, Hunt also states "that every culture must be judged by its own standards.

18 George Foster, op. cit., p. 69.
19 Doob, Becoming More Civilized, pp. 24-25.
20 Margaret Mead, op. cit., p. 10.
and that no bigoted westerners were entitled to offer arbitrary panaceas to the rest of the world."  

Change agents cannot introduce the tools and know-how of change in a certain part of the culture, while leaving other aspects of the local culture relatively unchanged. The difficulty with the application of the cultural relativism concept, often encountered by change agents, is their tendency to forget that what makes change acceptable is the way the specific practice or innovation fits into the total system. The total culture should be in harmony with the type of change structure to be developed. This does not mean that the change agents' ideas or innovations must be exact blueprints for the local culture, but it does imply that if this culture is to be changed in a certain part, the entire culture, will have to change in a direction consonant with the new variation trend. Hunt illustrates this point with an economic example:

If an agricultural nation is to be industrialized, the entire culture will be forced to change in direction in harmony with the new economic ethos. It demands the development of both social and personal attitudes able to cope with the opportunities and problems of mass production. This, in turn, implies that government, education, religion and family structure will encourage a social milieu favorable to industrial development. Such a milieu should promote the accumulation of capital, the development of labor force able to work with both skill and diligence and the stimulation of a group of entrepreneurs who will become aggressive promoters of business enterprise.

In this setting the change agent will have an important place, but his task will shift from the easy effort to understand local

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22 Ibid., p. 320.
institutions to the analysis of ways and means by which they become adapted to the needs of the new industrialism. His job will concentrate on disabusing the naivete which assumes that one element of society may be subjected to major change while leaving everything else practically static.

"Ethnocentrism is so deeply engrained in all of us," warns Foster, "that even when we are sensitive to the philosophy of cultural relativism we may easily fall victim to evaluating others in terms of our own views." 23 Doob, in his analysis of the conditions which promote comprehension of the communication among the audience, stresses the significance of diminished egocentricism and ethnocentrism on the part of both communicator and audience. "The empirical evidence," says Doob, "seems to be that patience on the part of either the communicator or the audience or both is likely to promote understanding and that patience in turn is cultivated by lessening the degree of egocentricism and ethnocentrism of either party." 24

d) Norms of dignity and modesty

Anthropologists have observed that an innate dignity in personal bearing and a pride in their way of life characterize the peoples among whom they work. This is a reflection of the ethnocentric position of most people regarding their cultures and of the strong belief about the behavior appropriate to recognized roles. Many well-designed change programs have run into trouble because culturally defined forms of pride and "face" which express these strong feelings about role

23 Foster, op. cit., p. 277.
have not been recognized. Fear of humiliation as a result of being cast in an appropriate role seems to be universal. But the determinants of propriety are determined by culture. The role of student in many highly developed countries for example, is one which the individual may occupy at anytime during his life without fear of criticism or ridicule. Such ideas as life-long learning and continuing education are deep-rooted in the cultures of those countries. On the other hand, much of the world schooling is linked with childhood. It is all right for youngsters to assume the role of student, but it is inappropriate for adults.

In India, where the community development program stresses literacy projects, Dube tells us that adults often quickly drop out of night classes, even though education and literacy are highly esteemed. "Since only children are supposed to attend schools," Dube points out, "the adult exposes himself to general public amusement when he starts to school with pencil and slate." For this reason literacy specialists repeatedly warn against "talking down" to the neo-literate adults — a blunder which, of course, should be guarded against in any teacher-student situation. The barriers of pride and fear of loss of face are not confined to primitive societies alone. Foster cites a study at Harvard University which revealed that, in spite of stiff language requirements for the Ph.D degree, many graduate students would not enroll in language courses, preferring the method of self-study which is clearly less efficient. They shunned such courses because "enrollment in an elementary course seemed degrading..."

26 Foster, op. cit., p. 71.
Fear of loss of face may threaten other development programs also. In parts of Mexico it has been difficult to persuade people to use a yellow maize which is nutritionally superior to the local white variety. The explanation is found in the locally accepted method of cooking. The tortilla is made by soaking hard maize grains in lye water, grinding a dough, patting out thin circular cakes, and baking them on a clay griddle. Tortillas made with white maize have a white color when cooked, unless too much lye has been added, which turns them yellow. In those Mexican villages, yellow tortillas resulting from the use of yellow maize were identified with careless cooking, and housewives did not wish to be stigmatized as incompetent or careless cooks.27

Like feelings about dignity and pride, the ideas as to what makes up modesty are indoctrinated in the members of all societies by their cultures. These culturally defined ideas differ markedly from one community to another. Frequently such ideas seem associated with dress and decorum in behavior. More often than not, modern dress is associated with covering of the sex organs, but this is by no means universal as many peoples take nudity or semi-nudity for granted. A Mexican village housewife is greatly disturbed "if a caller surprises her without her apron, even though she is wearing a skirt, and numerous petticoats." Similarly, older men of Mexican villages "are most uncomfortable if seen without a hat."28

In programs of directed culture change, ideas of modesty often constitute serious impediments to some kinds of programs. Medical and public health workers, for example, have encountered serious handicaps in their endeavors to reduce maternal and infant mortality

27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., p. 73.
due to the wide-spread ideas about female modesty and the proper relationship of a physician to a pregnant woman. In some Latin American and Moslem countries, as well as in several other regions, it is quite unheard of that a man other than a woman's husband should have the degree of intimacy with her required by a gynecological examination. Many women therefore prefer to avoid scientific prenatal care rather than to be examined by a male physician. Some people would rightly think that this difficulty could be surmounted by resorting to female physicians, but here again the problem is great.

For one thing, until recently women in most of the developing countries in which this resistance is found have not been permitted to study medicine. Secondly, female physicians are not always the answer. For example, on the island of Yap in Micronesia, Schneider points out how women are resistant to genital examination by a male physician, but they are even more so to examination by a female. Yap women consider all other women as potential rivals for men's attention and believe that their own genitals are their most powerful influence over men. To expose their source of power, they believe, is to weaken their rival position and to consequently threaten them with loss of masculine attention.

A successful agent of communication and change must see to it that part of his strategy of directed culture change consists of identifying such barriers and then seeking ways to weaken them or neutralize their effect.

e) Relative values

If the change agent has difficulty in putting his program across, he tends to assume that either the people are unusually stupid and can't see the obvious advantages of change, or that he has not been as skillful as he should be in presenting his case. In fact, people often understand the communicated message perfectly, but they have weighed the relative value to them of the alternate forms of behavior and have decided against the new program, or some part of it, however compelling the evidence may seem to someone with a different viewpoint.

The satisfactions of life are numerous and varied, and the rationality of change, although very important, is by no means the only determinant of value judgement. It is therefore not surprising that a technical assistance worker who recommends the adoption of a new technique in a country with whose culture he is only imperfectly familiar may value things differently from the valuations put on them by the natives. Misunderstandings of this sort are, however, not confined to persons belonging to different cultures. Sometimes the promoters of new techniques in the government of a less advanced country adopt a "modern" outlook which is not shared by their countrymen who cling to more traditional values and beliefs.

An excellent case in point is an incident reported by McKim Marriott from a village in the Ganges plain in India. The region about which Marriott tells is located some one hundred miles from Delhi and is devoid of industry. It is so heavily populated that people may be said to live under conditions in which further population growth

would call for the positive checks envisaged by Malthus. An increase in the production of food, possibly by means of higher-yielding seeds is, therefore, a prime necessity, deeply felt by all villagers.

Here is what Marriott says:

The native wheat seed, used universally in my village, produces only half the yield that the available improved seed will produce, given good conditions. The improved varieties are hardy ones, carefully selected and tested over many years. They are "available" in the sense of being present in nearly government seed stores. Peasants know about the stores and know about the seeds. Why then do they not rush to get and use the improved varieties? The grains are indeed big — so big and tough that the women cannot grind them well in the old stone flour mills. Dough made from the new flour is difficult to knead and hard to bake into good bread. The new bread, which is all a poor farmer has to eat, does not taste like the good old bread. ...31

This is a clear case in which the valuations of the Indian government and those of the Indian farmers in Marriott's village clash. In the system of values of this community, corn quality turned out to be more important than corn quantity; people were willing to sacrifice economic gain for something they esteemed, in this case traditional food characteristics. Hence an innovation may not be worthwhile, because in spite of its meeting an acknowledged need, its cost in detracting complementary satisfactions is too high.

This is not an isolated example. Eating habits are among the most emotionally-based of all activities, and unfamiliar taste often turns out to be a reason why new foods are rejected. Another quite similar case, in which the difference in taste and consistency of the flour was apparently the decisive factor is reported from New Mexico 31

Ibid., pp. 265-266.
by Apodaca. Here also a higher yielding hybrid of maize was rejected, because even those farmers who planted the hybrid corn repeatedly found that "after three years they had not become accustomed to the flavor or texture, and their wives were up in arms."

These examples are in fact special instances of a more general problem. The role of the agent of communication and change does not consist invariably in the transfer of the techniques developed in the more advanced countries to the less advanced countries of the world, but in the transfer of the technique of developing improved methods of production and administration. A higher-yielding seed developed locally, under local climatic and soil conditions, starting with locally available varieties of grain, may be more easily adapted to the needs of the people in a less advanced country than an imported type. The ultimate aim of communicating technical procedures in these cases might thus be regarded as being the transfer of techniques of seed improvement or techniques of tool development. Modern scientific and technological methods then become guides for analogous procedures engaged in locally in the less advanced countries by personnel recruited from the less advanced countries.

2. Culture structure

a) Logical incongruities of culture characteristics

Not all culture institutions or elements can be easily integrated. Between some there is a logical congruity, between others, a logical incongruity. When logical incongruity exists, change comes about with

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difficulty. Logical incongruity of culture elements is therefore seen as posing barriers to communication and change. For example, the Navaho Indians have resisted both Christianity and pagan nativistic movements because their religious beliefs are incompatible with those offered by the alternate forms. They were immune to the Ghost Dance movement of 1890 which taught the resurrection of the Indian dead. Hill explains that "For the Navaho with his almost psychotic fear of death, the dead and all connected with them, no greater cataclysm than the return of the departed or ghosts could be envisaged. In short, the Navaho were frightened out of their wits for fear the tenets of the movement were true." Reichard believes the Navaho abhorrence of death made it hard for them to comprehend Christianity which is based on the concept of death and resurrection.

In some instances agricultural extension programs in Buddhist countries have encountered problems in pest control. Schram points out that such an apparently simple matter as killing insect pests may bring a whole village on a resident because by adopting such a practice he violates a prohibition against taking life. To the agricultural expert, as Mead observes, "the large amount of time and human energy spent in ritual, magic, and other religious practices seems to be wasted....But to the native, they give him faith in his work, saving him from the anxieties which so often attend the work of the cultivator....[In many traditional cultures, agriculture] is a total

pattern of life rather than a means of earning a living....Religion and agriculture are not compartmentalized."

The religious prohibition against taking life in any form is logically incompatible with the direct approach to the pest problem through insecticides. Foster notes, however, that a convenient rationalization sometimes helps people overcome the dilemma posed by apparently logically incongruent goals. He recalls an example of "...Buddhist fishermen in southeast Asia [who] do a thriving business: they are doing the poor fish a favor by drying them out after their long soaking in water." Occasionally, a technical expert will achieve more by a reasonable rationalization than with a convincing, logical demonstration.

Rogers states that the potential adopter's perception of the compatibility of the innovation affects its rate of adoption. He points out that an innovation may be compatible not only with cultural values but also with previously adopted ideas. Compatibility of an innovation with a preceding idea that is evaluated unfavorably may retard its rate of adoption. Sibley also states 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."

b) Unanticipated consequences of planned change

Change does not take place in isolation. When a communicator induces

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36 Margaret Mead (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (New York: Mentor [for UNESCO], 1955), p. 188.
37 Foster, op. cit., p. 79.
38 The five characteristics of innovations utilized by Rogers are: relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, divisibility and communica-
39 Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, p.127.
change, he expects that it will produce secondary and tertiary changes over a wide area. Change is somewhat like throwing a small stone into a pond causing ever-widening circles until the impact loses its force. In the same way, the impact of an introduced trait will extend in widening circles until its impact shows in areas of culture remote from the area of contact. Contrarily, the scope of the introduced change depends on other changes that are taking place, or that can be made to take place, which will affect the reception of the innovation.

However desirable and logical an innovation may appear to the scientifically trained agent of communication and change, some of its secondary and tertiary consequences may look highly undesirable when viewed from the standpoint of the people affected. Most culture change involves a social cost, and apparent advantages must be weighed against possible disadvantages. One of the main tasks of the change agent, therefore, is to trace the possible consequences of a suggested change, to analyze the factors involved therein, and to try to predict what will happen. If he is knowledgeable about the culture and if he is familiar with the general processes of culture change, he should be in a position to foresee the reactions which can seriously affect the result of planned change. If these crucial points can be considered in planning, they can often be neutralized; if, however, they are ignored failure is likely to follow.

The following examples demonstrate how the value of the proposed innovations must be judged in broad perspective rather than in respect of a single goal.

The community development program in India has developed an
inexpensive smokeless pottery stove which maximizes the efficiency of fuel and draws smoke off through a chimney. Although it was sold at a very low cost to villagers, the smokeless stove has not been successfully adopted. In much of village India white ants infest the thatch roofs and if they are not suppressed they ruin a roof in a very short time. Because cooking is traditionally done over an open dung fire, the room fills with smoke which gradually filters through the thatch roof and accomplishes this end. If smoke is eliminated roofs must be replaced more frequently, and the expense is greater than villagers can afford. The problem of introducing the smokeless stove, therefore, does not lie in the villager's love of tradition, nor in his inability to appreciate the cooking advantages of the new stove, nor in the direct cost of the stove itself. He has simply added up the aggregate cost and found that the disadvantages of the new stove outweigh the advantages. The critical area of resistance, in this case has nothing to do with cooking. 41

The preceding example illustrates a significant point in the strategy of planned culture change. If the causes of resistance are analyzed, it may be found that a chain of innovations which tie together and reciprocally reinforce each other will make success possible, where simple innovations will fail. Apparently, the Indian villagers did not know before the introduction of the smokeless stove, that smoke helped preserve their roofs. They discovered it when smoke was eliminated. Their resistance will be markedly lowered once the roofs can be preserved by other methods. If, for example, a project of ant

41 Foster, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
spraying is coordinated with the demonstration of the smokeless stove, such double program should go a long way in dealing with the villagers' resistance.

Another example, from South America, illustrates how similar unforeseen consequences may result when the different implications of an innovation have not been accounted for. A yellow maize was introduced in Bolivia in 1951. The new maize had many apparent advantages and seemed to be an excellent device to improve the diet of people as well as animals. It proved very popular, but for reasons unanticipated by change agents. Its hardness, which is good from the standpoint of storage, makes it difficult to grind, and people are unwilling to spend the time and effort to carry it to commercial mills in towns. But it makes an excellent commercial alcohol which sells at high prices. Hence, a seemingly advantageous innovation has promoted alcoholism instead of improved diet.

In his discussion of change agent-client relationships, Rogers emphasizes that "the social consequences of innovations should be anticipated and prevented if undesirable." He points out, however, that many of the consequences of an innovation cannot be anticipated:

As part of the U.S. technical assistance program in one Middle East country, new crop varieties, fertilizers, and farm machinery were introduced. Food production increased considerably as a result of the program of change, but the resulting social consequences of the program were mainly unanticipated. Before the program was initiated there was a majority of low-income farmers in the country and a small number of elite farmers. The innovations, particularly farm machinery, were of special advantage to the larger farmers. While the peasants' incomes were raised slightly, the elite landowners' incomes were multiplied many

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42 Ibid., p. 85.
times. The income gap between the peasants and elite farmers was considerably widened, and the U.S. program was subject to much criticism in the Middle East country.\[^{43}\]

B. Social Barriers

In all societies time has sanctioned the social institutions that exist and has confirmed the ways in which these institutions and the individuals involved articulate with each other. The family and forms of kinship and formalized friendships are found in all groups. People have an idea how their community works, or should work, and they bring public opinion to support these norms. Authority exists within families, in the form of political structure, and in mutual relationships which may exist across caste and class lines. No matter what the village ideal of harmony may be, conflict exists in the form of factions, vested interests, and other competitions. Some social structures are stiff, others are more relaxed. The quality of rigidity of a given society has a significant effect on the facility and readiness with which change can be achieved.

In this section the evidence of barriers in social structure will be considered under the principal topics of group unity, conflict, positions of authority and rigidity of social structure.

1. Group unity

In traditional communities people hold to an ideal of how they ought to behave toward their fellows. This ideal is manifested in a strong sense of reciprocal obligation within the framework of family and friendship, a general inclination toward small group identification,

\[^{43}\] Everett Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, p. 282.
and a tendency to criticize anyone who deviates from these habitual norms.

a) Famillism, kinship and friendship

The subordination of individual goals to those of the family, familism, is, according to Rogers, one of the ten basic elements in the subculture of peasantry. Rogers tends to argue that mutual distrust of one's peasant associates leads to greater dependence on the members of one's own family; or perhaps strong kinship ties help the family to stand together against others outside the extended family group. Whatever the basis, the family plays a central role in almost all peasant societies.

Mead observes that to be a Latin American villager is, by definition, to belong to a familia. The considerable importance of the family as a reference group for peasants was also stressed by Lewis in his observation of Tepoztlan, A Mexican village: "Cooperation within the immediate family is essential, for without a family, the individual stands unprotected and isolated, a prey to every form of aggression, exploitation, and humiliation known in Tepoztlan." Brazini states: "The Italian family is a stronghold in a hostile land." Although individualism among peasants is a strong force in their personality, it is secondary to submission to the needs of the family. The coexistence of individualism with strong family bonds among

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44 The other nine are: (1) Mutual Trust in Interpersonal Relations (2) Perceived Limited Good (3) Dependence on and Hostility toward Government Authority (4) Lack of Innovativeness (5) Fatalism (6) Limited Aspirations (7) Lack of Deferred Gratification (8) Limited View of the World (9) Low Empathy.

45 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 30.

46 Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, p. 153.


Greek peasants is described by Mead: "Individualism is prized and rampant, yet there is no atomization. Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family." The subordination of the individual to the family is mirrored in the words of a typical Indian peasant: "Each of us is not thinking of his own self. No villager thinks of himself apart from his family. He rises or falls with it....Our families are our insurance."

In traditional societies, family and kinship ties provide the basic structure for most social and political units within the community. Men tend to be bound together and to be valued by one another in terms of such intimate connections rather than because of their ability to perform specific functional tasks. Human intercourse, which in modern societies would be guided by functional considerations of economic benefit, political advantage and the like, is in traditional societies much more influenced by family and tribal loyalty and codes of friendship.

Reciprocal behavior between members of an extended family or friends fulfills a number of functions. In times of food shortages, lack of money, life crises such as death, and in several other circumstances, economic, physical and spiritual support is made available. The reciprocal obligations of these ties provide a substitute for many of the activities of more highly developed state

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49 Mead, op. cit., p. 57.
51 Millikan and Blackmer, op. cit., p. 5.
forms such as social security and welfare, cooperative facilities, an
efficient police system, and the like. These reciprocal obligations,
however, which tend to be incompatible with the trend toward
individualization that characterizes urbanization and industrialization,
constitute one of the most serious restraints to change. Many cases
have been noted in which able individuals have turned down technical
and financial assistance that would have significantly increased
their productive capacity, and hence their value and contribution to
the development of their countries.

Foster tells of a fisheries expert's experience in Peru. The
Peruvian developmental unit to which he was attached was interested in
modernizing coastal fishing techniques by motorizing launches, increasing
the size of nets, and setting up a low-interest credit system. A
promising young fisherman living in a coast part was offered such
assistance. To the surprise of the members of the aid mission he did
not jump at the change, but asked time to deliberate it. The next
morning he declined because "...if he made more money it would simply
mean that he would have more relatives to take care of; it was
doubtful that he would be any better off, for he would have greatly
increased responsibilities."52

Individuals like the Peruvian fishermen are faced with a dilemma:
if they are to enjoy the fruits of their greater enterprise they must
be prepared to disregard many of the obligations expected of them by
their cultures, or they must expect to support an ever-increasing
number of idle relatives and friends with meager or no profit to
themselves. Frequently people solve this dilemma by continuing to

52 Foster, op. cit., p. 92.
accept the status quo.

Brown compared the common resistance to wage labor that he found characteristic of the people of American Samoa and of the Hehe people of Tanganyika territory in East Africa. In both groups a major cause was found to lie in the high value attached to the full performance of social and political obligations, the time-consuming nature of which rendered regular wage-earning labor impossible.

In Samoa, social and political obligations are expressed and emphasized by elaborate ceremonial, almost ritual. This takes time, both in preparation and actual performance. It also invokes a large display and distribution of wealth, both foodstuffs and less perishable products. This ceremonial life is highly valued by them both for the social values it expresses and as an end in itself, as something dignified and pleasant. It would be impossible for a people who spend most of their life working such as a European peasant or a plantation wage force.53

The Hehe have a less elaborate ceremonial sense, but a strong sentiment for social responsibility. They feel it is their duty to fulfill obligations to a large group of kindred at such times as weddings, funerals, planting and harvesting of crops, and sickness. In addition, everyone who is keen on being held in esteem, must help in the settlement of legal disputes, an act which in the African culture often takes much time. "It is obvious that their obligations to their kindred and to the community," Brown concludes, "would both suffer if the bulk of their time were consumed working for money."54

b) Primary-group relationships

Another reason why social change is complicated is that group

54 Ibid.
relationships must always be taken into account. It is individuals who must respond to communication and change, but these individuals live, work, and play in groups. Many of their most cherished beliefs and values are group norms — commonly held and mutually defended. Hence it is difficult for an individual to turn against a strong group norm, in that case either the entire group must change or he must search for a new group.  

A feeling of personal identification with small groups appears to be necessary for most people, to provide psychological security and satisfaction in their daily life. This is why it takes real courage to change or adopt an innovation when there is opposition within primary groups to the innovative change. "The pioneers who change," says Doob, "probably require more than initial courage if they are to remain changed: they must look to someone to supply the approbation and assistance which has been theirs in the old society, or else the loss of such support as well as the punishment they are likely to receive from those adhering to traditional ways may cause them to the revert to the old."  

The identification with primary groups may be expressed in the form of a large family, a circle of friends, a cooperative work group, a small village, or any one of several other forms. Because many of the group norms in traditional societies are unfavorable to change, it is seldom possible, in the process of modernization, to avoid some confrontations with these norms. The crucial question which often faces the agent of communication and change is how to confront such traditional groups

which greet his efforts with lack of interest and apathy. People will often forego comfort, convenience, and economic gain involved in innovation in return for more fun out of life. Here, of course, the change agent is dealing with values and value judgements which are not always rational in an economic sense.

In many of Latin America's villages women gather on a stream bank to wash clothes under conditions that are anything but comfortable. But the pleasures of working in the company of others and of conversation and joking compensate for hardship. The Latin American pattern is duplicated in other parts of the world. A modern-looking African village, for example, had been deserted "because the builders put running water into all the houses. The women rebelled because there was now taken away from them their only excuse for social contact with their own kind, at the village well."  

A similar and even more vivid story comes from the old university town of Coimbra in Portugal. The town lies along the north bank of the Rio Mondego, rising steeply several hundred feet to the university, which is located on a plateau. Here, the wealthy families are concentrated near the top, just beneath the university. In these homes clothing is washed by professional washerwomen. Two charges prevail: if the clothes are washed in the owner's laundry, a higher one, if the clothing is washed in the Rio Mondego, a lower charge. In the latter case, the woman goes down the hill with the clothes and in the evening she climbs the hill with the heavier load of wet wash. Yet, in spite of the added cost of time and effort, most washerwomen prefer to accept

lower pay in order to be able to pass a pleasant day in conversation with their friends, rather than to be alone for a day of hard work. 58

Problems of the type illustrated by washing habits indicate that the change agent often can think out a solution if he examines the problem in terms of the values of the recipient rather than of his own values. Then it becomes clear that it is the social factor, and not the beauty and charm of the river, that is important — that the planning of the change agent must be synonymous with good social planning.

The processes of primary-group dynamics are shown in a different context in Spicer's report about the "reluctant cotton pickers" where Japanese of American and Asiatic birth who had been resettled during the Second World War in the Colorado River Relocation Center were at first hostile but subsequently agreeable to the idea of working out of camp to save a local cotton crop. When the plan was first brought up, very few evacuees showed interest in it. Among the several reasons involved in the lack of interest, an important factor was found to lie in the fact that, to maintain an approximate equality of income for all the people of the relocation camp, it had been decided that wages would be deposited in a Community Trust Fund, for later payment as community leaders might decide. But it later became clear that the administrators of the Relocation Center and the Nisei leaders had overestimated the solidarity of a unit of nine thousand people. Some people thought the only solution lay in individual incentive in the form of wages paid directly to the cotton-pickers. The mystery was found to be in considering the block of barracks of about three hundred

58 Foster, op. cit., pp. 96-97.
individuals as the primary group unit. Individuals in several blocks proposed that the money earned go into a block trust fund to be spent on improvements in the mess hall, on recreation, and on other functions, with which there was a direct sense of identification. Upon trial this was found to be quite successful. More and more internees went out to pick cotton and a spirit of competition developed among blocks. "This case illustrates," says Spicer, "the strength of local group of neighborhood as a social unit focusing the interests and activities of its members. It demonstrates the greater strength of the local group over that collection of local groups which constituted a community." 59

Thus, no knowledge of the way an individual of a given make-up and capacity may be able to accept or reject change can ever be used alone. "Due weight" Mead asserts, "[should be given] to the nature of the culture of which he is apart, and his position in the particular social group within which he lives." (Italics mine)

2. Conflict

Peasant communities often hold and ideal self-image of village agreement and solidarity that does not actually exist. In fact, villagers are often suspicious of the motives of their fellows, they fear they will be surpassed by their associates, and they are reluctant to cooperate with others. Lewis' findings in a small Mexican village emphasize "the underlying individualism of Tepoztecan institutions and character, the lack of cooperation, the tensions between villages

within the municipio, the schisms within the village, and the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in interpersonal relations. Foster determined that among the Mexican peasants he observed, "So deep is the suspicion and mistrust of others, it is difficult for people to believe that no hidden meaning underlies even the most casual acts." Lopreato concluded that his data from a farm village in South Italy provided support for the view of the peasant as suspicious and noncooperative in his interpersonal relations with peers. Friedmann stated that the Italian peasant "is suspicious of everyone's motives and stays on the defensive in an almost pathological way." Bailey, observing Indian peasant behavior, notes the significance of the distrust syndrome: "Any peasant who adopts new ways and becomes rich, must have cheated, must have exploited his fellows...."

These fears, suspicious mistrusts are often reflected in factional disputes, in which a village divides into mutually opposed power blocks. In other situations, where a community is horizontally stratified economically and socially, some groups will wield special powers, perrogatives, and interests best served if a status quo is maintained. Conflict problems are here discussed under two headings:

a) Factionalism

Most of today's induced change is based on the assumption that

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groups of people, rather than a few people, or even a single person, will participate. Change programs, then, must be carried out in such manner that a significant number of people will want to participate and vocal opposition will be minimized. But since transitional societies often are afflicted with unusual degree of factionalism, this frequently means that if the people of one faction show interest in a new program, the people of another faction immediately stand against it, without trying to weigh its true merits. The hostility between factions and the extent to which people will go to humiliate their rivals is hard to believe.

Dube notes that this is a major problem in India. Village level workers with the most direct contact with villagers must develop friendship with the people they expect to influence. But the very success the worker achieves also endangers his work. According to village norms, friendly relations presume mutual obligations. Hospitality is always paid back in some way, and one's friends must be favored. When the village worker establishes friendship with a villager, he is identified with the villager's group or faction, and by implication he assumes the villager's hostility to rival groups and factions. If community development personnel associate too closely with one faction their plans will realize only partial success. In Dube's words:

The members of the friendly group would support the officials not because they are convinced about the utility or efficiency of the programs sponsored by them, but simply as their part in the obligations of friendship. On the other hand the members of the hostile group would feel it their duty to reject anything offered by officials identified with their
rivals, even if they saw merit in the program. 66

Another instance is from Viru, a village in Peru some 300 miles north of Lima. In 1947 the Peruvian government decided to drill several wells in order to supply the Viru valley farmers with water for household use and irrigation as well as for use in a sewage system. Although there was great need for water, particularly in the dry season, and although many of the valley dwellers had clamorously complained, about the meager water supply, the project had to be abandoned after only one well had been drilled, primarily because of lack of favorable response from the very people whom it was intended to benefit. One of the overriding reasons seems to have been "the fact that the first well had actually been drilled on the land of a large landowner against whom there was considerable hostility on the part of several other large and many small landowners." 67

Factionalism is not an Indian or a Peruvian monopoly; it appears to be universal. The same picture was found by R.N. Adams in Guatemala. There, a social worker in a nutritional research program, discovered shortly after going to work that the people in one section of a village resented her activities more than those in the other, and "as she made more friends in one barrio (a "barrio" is a neighborhood or a section of town), she became simultaneously less acceptable to the other." 68 Adams studied the social structure of

the village and found that the two barrios were different in customs, religion, economic level and the degree of progressiveness. This split was unconsciously aggravated by the presence of an outsider who accidentally made most of her friends in only one of the two halves of the village.

b) Vested interests

Many an innovation has been refused because its adoption threatened the power, prestige, or security of certain privileged groups or individuals. Large landlords, for example, sometimes feel that too much education for their tenants is undesirable, because it will stir up unrest and, perhaps, claims for land reform. Midwives often resent modern medical programs because they suspect the competition will be damaging to them. For the same reason, consumer cooperatives are resisted by merchants. These people usually wield power and status, and they can exploit them if they see it in their advantage to block change.

A phenomenon prevalent in some Middle Eastern countries, is the refusal by wealthy owners of investment funds to apply them in the modernization of their own enterprises, because they fear that modernization and the consequent increases in output will expose them to a series of uncertainties which they wish to avoid. These uncertainties are based on the fear that modernization may be accompanied by restructuring of social relations which will deteriorate the power positions held by large landowners or regional rulers. They are afraid that modernization, by requiring the simultaneous establishment of educational and other social services, will lead to a greater secularization of the popular masses, and hence make them less submissive
and more susceptible to political ideas threatening the privileges of the upper classes.

Means of dissemination of knowledge in traditional communities are few in comparison to those in urban centers, and rumor is a force to be reckoned with in determining action. Those who feel threatened by proposed changes often resort to the common technique of untrue rumor. Goswami and Roy tell about the gullibility of Indian villagers which, combined with their mistrust and suspiciousness, makes them an easy target for rumor mongers.

Vested interests such as the money-lender or the landlord may deliberately start fantastic rumors. Immediately the Bhadson Extension Project was announced, there were rumors that this was the first step to nationalization of land. When a census of persons was taken, there were rumors that anyone who gave his age as over sixty-five would be killed... These rumors made the task of extension workers hard at the beginning.

In his discussion of data-gathering methods in less developed nations, Rogers notes that local rumors are among the many and varied problems to which field interviewing is susceptible. "In one Latin American community" he says, "local rumors were spread that the researchers conducting the field interviews were really looking for farm children to send to a sausage factory." A rumor among Peruvian Indians blamed the change agents who were introducing improved potatoes for intending to fatten the local residents so that they could be boiled down for machinery oil. In other situations, however, rumors

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71 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 367.
72 Ibid, p. 125.
are not necessary. A feudal landlord can decide outright whether he wishes extension agents or health workers in his village or not. There is no room for individual decisions on the part of villagers once the landlord decides against such work. Sometimes, progressive landlords can be powerful forces in promoting change. But more often than not, they tend to throw their weight against change.

3. Positions of authority

The place where authority lies in a family, in a neighborhood group, or in a village; the manner in which this authority is manifest in decision making; and the processes whereby a group decides on a course of action or an individual is permitted to take steps he feels are desirable — all these factors will have much to do with the receptivity of a group to a suggested message or a proposed change. In the rural areas, much authority lies in the family, defined and vested by tradition. Other forms of authority are found in political structure.

a) The family

In many societies, the position of authority and traditional decision-making processes are evident in family structure. Public health personnel have repeatedly found that, even in small families, a patient often is not free to make decisions that are taken for granted in the more advanced countries.

Among the Navaho, Bailey points out how the decision to enter a hospital is made only after a family has met and discussed the matter: a woman and her husband alone are not free to exercise their authority
in this regard. The same situation has been reported by Margaret Clark who found that in the Spanish speaking Mexican enclave of Sal Si Puedes in San Jose, California, hospitalization is a serious decision which a family, not an individual, should make. Marriott tells about a similar instance in the Indian village in which he worked. A Brahman girl was ill with malaria. The father and father's brother begged the doctor for quinine, and were given a sufficient amount for a full course of treatment. Three days later, it had been discovered that none of it had been used. "An old widowed aunt who ruled the women of that family had voiced objections, and the whole matter of western treatment was dropped."

The practical implications of evidence of this nature are obvious. Agents of communication and change, in pressing definite courses of action which appear to involve only the individual, must in fact think of ways to communicate with and get the support of the people in whom authority is vested. Marriott shows how lines of power within the framework of families affect the use of medical treatment in an Indian village.

Whatever the treatment may be that is suggested by a specialist, it will be mediated and enforced, or perhaps modified or rejected, according to who is most influential in that particular family. The exploratory clinic in Kishan Garhi encountered this problem directly.

when courses of treatment were thoroughly "sold" to some members of a family but were later rejected by others who had controlling voices in the family. Since families in villages of Northern India frequently lack lines of authority that are obvious to nonmembers, and since the social worlds of men and women are sharply divided, authoritative communication by the medical specialist must aim to include all important family members of both sexes, if it is to be effective. 76

From the standpoint of the peoples described in the foregoing accounts, these modes of behavior are not irrational; they are reasonable and easy to understand. This is what makes them so difficult to encounter. Margaret Clark explains the conditions which lie under the pattern and reasons for group decisions concerning medical treatment. She points out that in sickness as well as other conditions of life, people belong to a group of relatives on whom they are dependent for security and support and to whom they are responsible for their behavior. "Medical care involved expenditure of time and energy by the patient's relatives and friends. Money for doctors and medicines comes from the common family purse; many of a sick person's duties are performed during the period of illness by other members of his social group." Hence illness is more than a biological upset; it is a possible economic and social crisis for a whole group of people. Under such conditions it is not surprising that symptoms must be presented to the group, described and examined, and consensus reached. "In other words, an individual is not socially defined as a sick person until his claim is 'validated' by his associates. Only when relatives and friends accept his condition as an illness can he claim exemption from the performance of his normal daily tasks." As illness has a direct

76 Ibid., p. 251.
bearing on an entire group, it is understandable that the group should be expected to participate fully in decisions that must be reached.

b) The Political structure

Obviously many kinds of social change constitute a menace to old social relationships and positions of authority. The extended family, for example, is threatened when the young men shift to industry or go to the city. Educated young men tend to be impatient with the traditional leaders. A money economy and technical skills present the people with occupational alternatives, and consequently a degree of self-determination they have not before enjoyed. As a result, new concentration of power, new leaders and new work groups pose a challenge to old leaders and old relationship patterns. A certain degree of social ferment is always connected with social and economic development. To the agent of communication and change, this practically means that, just as he must understand the cultural linkages, so also must he understand the social relationships and positions of authority, if he wants to speed and smooth social change in the culture.

In the simplest primitive groups, there is no political authority in the ordinary sense of the word. The simple duties of government are carried out through the family or clan. In peasant societies, on the other hand, we find institutions quite properly labeled "political," in which different types of authority, coupled with the right to make decisions, may be distinguished from authority vested in the families. The receptivity of a community to change is largely determined by the nature of these political systems and leadership patterns. "In the village there are many levels and specialized functions of

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77 Margaret Clark, op. cit., pp. 203-204.
78 Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, pp. 121-122.
leadership," says Schramm, "and to work efficiently in that culture these must be understood and utilized." The problem, Foster reasons, can be most simply stated by asking questions:

[How does the agent of communication and change] identify the leaders with whom he must work? Where does he find the people who have the formal or informal power, the prestige and influence, who will be instrumental in deciding whether work is to go forward? Are the obvious political leaders the best bet? What is the role of religious leaders? Are there informal leaders whose power can be known only after familiarity with the community? Is it best to work through established leaders, whatever their position, in spite of the fact that they are often conservative because of vested interests, or can new leaders be found or created?

No simple and clearcut answers to these questions exist. It is now realized that the nature of leadership patterns in a community is one of the most significant elements affecting cultural change, but what is now known about the subject, especially in less developed nations, leaves much to be desired. Dube points out, "There is very little scientific knowledge regarding the communication situation in the underdeveloped countries.... Nor is there much seminal role in the dissemination of ideas and adoption of new ideas." As more is learned about the nature of village opinion leadership, it will be possible to plan communication strategies more effectively.

It is axiomatic, however, that a change agent begins to work with leadership. The time and energy of the change agent are scarce

79 Ibid., p. 121.
resources. By concentrating his communication activities upon opinion leaders in a social system, he may increase the rate of diffusion of his innovations. Economy of effort is achieved because the time and resources spent on contacting opinion leaders is far less than if each member of the community he serves were to be reached. Essentially, the leader approach magnifies the change agent's efforts. He can communicate the innovation to a few influentials, and then let the word-of-mouth communication channels spread the new idea from there. Even such charismatic leaders and dedicated change agents as Christ and Lenin used disciples to increase and rally their followers to new doctrines.

Moreover, by enlisting the support of leaders, the change agent provides the auspices of local sponsorship and sanction for his ideas. Working through leaders lets directed change take on the appearance of spontaneous change, thus improving the credibility of the innovation and increasing its probability of adoption. In fact it may be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to stop an innovation's further spread, after the opinion leaders in a social system have adopted it.

Change agents sometimes mistake innovators for opinion leaders. They may be the same individuals, especially in villages with very modern norms, but often are not. The opinion leaders have a following, whereas the innovators are the first to adopt new ideas and may not have a following. When the change agent focuses his communication efforts on innovations, rather than opinion leaders, the results may help to increase awareness knowledge of the innovations, but they are unlikely to

Induce many clients to adopt because the innovator's behavior is not likely to induce the average client to follow the innovative example. An associated difficulty occurs when a change agent correctly identifies the opinion leaders in a system, but then carries on to focus so much of his attention on these few leaders that they may become too innovative in the eyes of their followers, or may be perceived as too friendly and overly-identified with the change agent. It should be emphasized, therefore, that there actually are three kinds of people involved in the change situation: the innovator, the opinion leader, and the change agent, and that each has a distinct role.

Some highly developed countries are so organized for activities of all types, with formal and informal, paid and volunteer leaders, that the peoples of these countries assume able and willing people are always available to do the job. In many societies, however, leadership, as an institution, is poorly developed and probably not suitable to direct group decisions that must be made in major change programs. An individual who volunteers his services for a new project will frequently be criticized rather than commended for his efforts; his fellows presume that he sees opportunity for personal advantage, at their expense. Modesty and inconspicuousness are the norms of good conduct in some societies; the one who shows interest in leadership is, under the most favorable conditions, blamed for bad manners, and hence subject to public condemnation. Hill highlighted the problem in a report from a community development program in southeastern Nigeria, where he found that "in the intensely democratic

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village society, leadership was lacking and even where the will for voluntary effort existed, there was uncertainty about how to set about making a start. 84

Dube illustrates the problem of the position of political authority in his analysis of a community development program in India. Change agents assumed that in a democratic country — such as India — persons elected to local offices by popular vote were the appropriate village leaders to work with, and therefore largely restricted their group discussions and individual connections to this circle and to other obviously important and respected individuals. These leaders were enthusiastic in their response, and successful work was highly expected.

The basic assumptions about leadership, however, were only partially reliable. These persons were leaders, but by no means the only leaders. They constituted a group with authority to mediate between the villagers and the outside world, but there were important spheres in the community life where they had little or no power. "The village looked to them for guidance in its general relationship with the urban areas and the officials; and their help was sought in legal matters, in contacting and influencing officials, and generally in facing problems that arise out of contact between the village and the outside world. They were not necessarily looked upon as leaders in agriculture, nor were they in any sense decision makers in many vital matters concerning the individual and his family." 85 As a matter of fact, although the villagers depended on them for certain


types of leadership, they, because of this very dependence, suspected them. Dube concludes that undue emphasis in working with traditional leaders was inferred by some villagers as an attempt on the government part to keep up the status quo, and thus uphold the domination of the wealthier people. "A closer study of group dynamics in village communities reveals several different levels of leadership, each with somewhat specialized functions." To be effective in his work, the agent of communication and change ought to know these several levels and the areas of influence of each. "An excellent village politician," asserts Dube, "is rarely a model farmer; the latter is generally an obscure and apolitical person who minds his own business." In adopting agricultural practices people are more likely to follow his example rather than that of the local politician."

In the same vein, Rogers discusses homophily as a barrier to communication flow. Homophily is defined as "the degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes." New ideas usually come to a village through higher status peasants who tend to have more exposure to the mass media and more cosmopolite relationships. The homophilic interaction patterns of the village cause new ideas to spread horizontally within the village to others of high status, and the innovation trickles down very slowly and indirectly to lower status villagers. Thus, homophily can act to slow down the rate of diffusion of ideas in a social system. The importance of homophily as a barrier to the downward flow of mass media messages is highlighted by a Lebanese villager, interviewed by Lerner: "Townspeople

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86 Ibid., p. 142.
87 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 233.
88 Ibid., p. 235.
do listen, but I don't know them. Rich people have radios [but] none around me have radios." The characteristics on which homophily is based may include not only income and social status, but also mass media exposure, farm size, literacy and so on.

To the agent of communication and change, the implication of the notion of homophily - as-a-barrier - to - idea - flow is that he should seek to work with several sets of opinion leaders scattered throughout the social structure. If the social system were characterized by extreme heterophily, a change agent would only need to focus his efforts on one or a few opinion leaders who are near the top in social status or innovativeness. But most peasant villages, notes Rogers, are, in fact, probably characterized by homophily. "Unfortunately, many change agents continue to use the heterophilic approach (of concentrating on only a few opinion leaders) in homophilic villages. They would achieve more successful results if they approached opinion leaders at each level in the social structure."  

4. Characteristics of the social structure

In much the same way that family structure may handicap change, some aspects of a social structure, and the associated values, seriously do so. In countries with a rigid caste organization cultural innovation is slow. The privileges associated with each group are watchfully guarded, and any attempts to encroach on them by members of lower groups are resented and frequently repelled. Members of certain different castes, for example, could not attend the same  

schools, eat together, or otherwise socialize. The kinds of physical labor one could do are strictly spelled out, and breaking of the rules is not condoned by members of one's caste or by members of castes that normally would do such labor. Where force is not present, the basic form of a society will greatly determine the types of innovations that will be adopted.

a) Caste and class barriers

A key problem in less developed countries is the lack of adequate communication between modernizing elites and the majority of the population — the rural people. Most less developed countries are controlled by a small group of elites who share little with the peasant masses. Little effective upward or down and communication takes place between these two groups. Too often the needs, the capabilities, and the aspirations of the rural people of the developing countries are not adequately communicated to their governments and thus are not reflected in the centrally designed development programs. Those who manage the development programs have little concern or understanding of the realities of rural life. The elite discuss and plan, but the rural people rarely participate in carrying out the development designs.

This gap between the elites and the masses is reflected in the content of the mass media in developing countries. Media messages are often of low interest and relevancy to villagers because of the strong urban orientation of the mass media. In Africa, for example, Hachten says that the media

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are concentrated in the cities. Daily newspapers (local and foreign), good reception of radio and television broadcasting, a variety of indoor movie houses, and magazines and books are readily available to literate Africans in government and commerce as well as foreigners in Lagos, Abidjan, Kinshasa, Accra, Cairo, Lusaka, Nairobi, Dakar, Rabat, and most other capitals. But these urban media users are but a small fraction of the total population in any African nation.

The pull of the cities and the concentration of the media there means rural areas are ineffectively served. In rather over-simplified terms, the two basic kinds of communications systems in Africa are the modern mass media serving the capital and some other urban areas, and the various traditional or oral communications systems serving rural or "bush" areas. 92

A basic problem facing the media in Africa as well as in all developing countries is how to extend the modern city concentrated media out to the hinterlands where traditional communications patterns still predominate. Agents of communication and change must know how their programs are functioning at the operational level in order for them to manage the programs efficiently. In other words, effective development programs need reliable data about the masses, and the collection of this data helps to bridge the class gap between the elite change agents and their peasant clientele.

In stratified societies and bureaucracies, people expect to obey or receive orders from those in superior positions of power or authority and, in turn, to give orders to those below them. This restricts the free interaction of ideas that is so valuable in many

change situations. Straus tells of a situation in Ceylon where the well-developed agricultural extension service has failed to meet its goals, partly at least, because of the rigidity of the country's hierarchial, authoritarian administrative system. Extension works downward from the top to the bottom, the department works mainly through drives to get farmers to grow various crops, and little effort is made to discover what the farmer feels he wants. The local extension worker finds himself in an almost untenable position. He is normally of higher caste than the farmers he serves, and therefore he (and the farmers) know of no mode of relation other than that established on subordinate-superordinate patterns. On the other hand the change agent, because he does a technical job in a society that puts high value on desk and literary work, occupies a low status in his own bureau. Even with the best technical training in the world, efficient operations are hard under such circumstances. 93

Dube tells of a similar experience from the Indian community development program, where, within the framework of the traditional "boss-subordinate" relationship, the higher officials were unable to perceive their role other than as that of inspecting officers. In theory, subordinates were expected to express their views freely, but in practice they knew it only infuriated their superiors. Because promotion depended on the goodwill of these officers, the subordinates found it worthwhile to follow a course of agreement and compliance. Communication, as a result, was largely one way, and subordinates

93 Murray A. Straus, "Cultural Factors in the Functioning of Agricultural Extension in Ceylon," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII (September, 1953), 249-256.
received and carried out orders without making the suggestions that, from experience, they surely were qualified to make.  

Role conflict, deriving from traditional caste patterns, may also hinder innovation. A worker of the community development program could convince villagers of the benefit of constructing compost pits outside the settlement. He had the cooperation of people, who both for hygienic and aesthetic reasons felt manure should be deposited outside the village, and they willingly dug a number of pits. But many of the pits were not utilized, even though the village council passed decisions making it obligatory for villagers to use the pits. The reason turned out to be that tradition imposes that women must clean the house and cattle-shed, depositing manure and trash privately on or near the property. Even women of the highest cast can do this, since they are not seen publicly, but it would be unseemly for them to be seen carrying such loads through the streets to compost pits on the outskirts of the village. No man would wish to do this job which is culturally defined as woman's work, and therefore the old unhygienic practice goes on.  

Change agents often experience role conflict because of their intermediary position between social systems with conflicting norms and aims. Despite the fact that the change agent is a member of a change agency and with the modernized beliefs and attitudes that attend development activities, he must also relate to his clientele, who are more traditional. When the norms and goals of the two systems are

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more at variance, the change agent is more apt to experience greater conflict. Over-identification with either system endangers his relationship with the other group. As a consequence of his position between two reference groups with conflicting norms "the change agent becomes a member of a third culture." 96

Another source of conflict for change agents is interagency and interagent competition. Change agents advancing similar kinds of programs in the same community are often competitors for clients' attention. Local representatives of such ministries as community development, public health, and agriculture all compete for the scarce resources of villagers. 97

b) Basic form of society

Two examples, from Samoa and India will illustrate this point. In Samoa, Brown describes how three churches have done serious missionary work. The church which has had most success is the Congregational. The Methodist and Catholic churches have achieved much less, despite the fact that the elaborate ceremonial of the latter church strongly appeals to tribal peoples. The most important factor in producing this situation, Brown believes, has been the similarity in sociopolitical structure between native Samoa and the Congregational church. Village autonomy has long been characteristic of Samoa; alliances and federalization occasionally come into being but they are seldom long-lived, and ultimately authority and power reside in each village. "The Congregational Church fitted into this organization because the individual church is autonomous. It lends itself to village separation

96 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 175.
97 Ibid.
and enables the Samoans to identify church and village as one....The more rigid central control of the Methodists has less appeal. As for the Catholics...its hierarchial organization is a serious handicap."

The example from India is cited from the field of irrigation. Reformers of Indian agriculture have long attempted to stimulate wider use of a mechanical irrigation device known as the Persian Wheel. This is a device for raising water from a dug well by means of an endless belt of pots on a rope, or more recently, steel buckets on a chain. Its gears are operated by a camel or an ox. It can raise about five times as much water in twenty-four hours as can an ordinary well which is operated by drawing up one leather bucketful of water at a time. A large number of wheels which had been installed by an agricultural reformer now lie unused and broken because of the serious problems of social organization, law and supernatural belief. The Persian Wheel is such a valuable and expensive investment, and has such power to affect a large plot of land that it requires cooperation among several peasant families to make its use profitable. The cooperating families who have adjacent fields must agree on terms of investment, and later on terms for the use of the water, for sharing the costs of repairs, and the like. The introduction of this new irrigation device meant the system of land tenure had to be reshaped, making the block of fields around each well rather than the lands surrounding a central residential site the unit of tax assessment. A new type of ownership of fractional shares in water rights along with rules for buying and selling, borrowing and renting water had to be worked out so that all

the scattered fields will be irrigated. Over and beyond these legal problems of controlling the well that has a Persian Wheel, there arise special social problems within the working group of people who will operate it. To return a real profit on the investment, wheels in many places have to be worked twenty-four hours a day. Someone has to sit up all night prodding the ox or camel around the towpath. And many Hindu villagers believe that the dark fields are populated by thieves, ancestral ghosts, and dangerous animals. To offset such fears, to provide for taking turns on the wheel, and to organize some control over use of the precious water, it was necessary for the farmers to split up their houses and build them right beside their wells. This splitting-up of houses conflicts sharply with the scheme of the village organization in that area where houses are crowded into the smallest possible space at one point in the center of the village's fields. Villagers looked to their old, fortress-like plan as offering them maximum security in a threatening world. The old forms of the villages discouraged the drastic rearrangement of dwellings that the new device would demand. If the Persian Wheels were to be introduced effectively, provision would have to be made for solving the problems of law, social structure, and belief that are directly involved.

C. Psychological Barriers

People's acceptance or rejection of new opportunities depends not only on the basic cultural articulation, on a favorable tendency of social relations, and on economic possibility, but also upon

psychological factors. How does the novel message appear to the individual? That is, how does he perceive it? Does he see it in the same light as the communicator who presents it to him? Since perception is largely determined by culture, people of different cultures often perceive the same phenomenon in different ways. What the change agent perceives as a definite and obvious advantage may be seen completely differently by the recipient. This is why effective communication is so important in programs of directed change. Communication means a lot more than perfecting a language and presenting ideas in simple and clear words; it means that new techniques and ideas must be presented verbally and visually and conceptually so that the recipient perceives the potential advantages in much the same manner as the change agent.

Faulty communication and differential perception may be barriers under conditions where the communicator and the communicatee have different expectations of the proper role behavior of the other. "When physician and patient meet in a cross-cultural setting," Foster points out, "lack of mutual understanding sometimes occurs because each, from previous experience in his own culture, expects a form of behavior from the other which in fact does not occur. Consequently, changes in health practices may be fewer than the physician hopes."

The problem of learning is also affected by perception and communication. Permanent change in an individual's behavior means learning and relearning. There is evidence that the difficulties accompanying learning of operations or ideas are not fully understood by change agents and that, in the absence of a set of favorable

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100 Foster, op. cit., p. 121.
conditions, acceptance of new ways will be much slower than expected. Under this heading the problem of psychologically based barriers to change is examined under three categories: differential perception, communication, and learning.

1. Differential perception
   a) The problem in general

   Many stories illustrating differing perception have been told from several parts of the world. Again and again, visual materials such as films and posters are reported to fail because they are not properly perceived by the audience at hand. Doob points out how even what appears to be universally acceptable cartoons can cause trouble. Some Congo soldiers during the Second World War, meeting Donald Duck for the first time, threw stones at the screen, because they thought they were being ridiculed. "Animals don't talk," they shouted; "whoever saw a duck in uniform?" Foster tells about a health officer who, upon landing on a Pacific island in the Second World War, felt that the presence of flies constituted a health problem that could be easily solved with the assistance of the natives. He asked the chief to assemble his people, to whom he delivered a lecture illustrating the dangers of fly-borne diseases with a foot-long model of the common house fly. He thought he had made his point until the chief responded: "We have flies here, too, but fortunately they are just little fellows," and he gestured with his hand to show their small size and, by implication, lack of threat to health. It seems health problems pose a particularly

101 Doob, Communication in Africa, p. 158.
102 Foster, op. cit., p. 122.
difficult perception problem, if we judge by the number of examples
that have been reported. Differential perception, however, has also
affected different development programs.

In an Indian village, for example, the agricultural extension agent
encountered difficulty in introducing improved seed to be used for new
purposes. There the farmers grew an inferior local variety of pea which
they used as animal fodder, but when the agent introduced a superior
edible variety, the people continued to perceive it as a fodder crop,
and, being unfamiliar with peas as food, they wondered why they
should spend more to buy a seed for a crop to be grown for animal
consumption. There was resistance to other vegetables as well. People
perceived vegetables as a delicacy, an ornamentation to their food, but
not as a necessary item. For reasons of prestige and novelty a few
people raised small plots of new vegetables, but due to their traditional
attitude toward them as food, little effort was made to extend this
cultivation.

Doob also relates how discrepancy between the communicator's
intention and the audience comprehension led to misunderstanding and
puzzlement among Africans. A mobile propaganda unit of the East
African Command during the Second World War toured Northern Rhodesia and
Nyasaland and noted that "nearly all Africans" were puzzled by a film
containing a short sequence in which the King of England inspected
naval, military and air detachments. They could scarcely believe that
they were seeing the same man, since in each instance he was shown
wearing the appropriate uniform of the service, and even a king they
knew could not change clothes so quickly.

103 Dube, "Cultural Factors in Rural Community Development," The
b) Perception of government role

The greater part of programs of planned change in the world today are executed by government agencies. Yet, in many areas, and especially among the rural groups, suspicion of the motives of government and its representatives is widespread. The demands of taxation, as well other forms of interference that come forth from cities have taught the villager that the less he has to do with government the better off he will be. Numerous investigators have commented upon the villagers' distrust of government people. For example, Dube notes that "the relations between the common village people and government officials are characterized by considerable distance, reserve, and distrust." Of Italian peasants, Levi said: "The State is more distant than heaven and far more of a scourge, because it is always against them... Their only defence... is resignation, the same gloomy resignation, alleviated by no hope of paradise, that bows their shoulders under the scourges of nature." In his account of the attitudes and beliefs of Indian villagers, Bailey reports: "One justifies cheating government agencies by saying that the officials concerned are cheating you. This perception is often so firm that even behavior which is patently not exploitative, but benevolent, is interpreted as a hypocritical cover for some as yet undisclosed interest: by definition, all horses are Trojan."

Since ancient times the presence of a government agent in a

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105 Dube, India's Changing Villages, p. 82.
village has meant bad luck. Attitudes stemming from the experience of centuries change slowly. Neisser illustrates this in connection with a community development and mass education program in Nigeria. In a number of villages where work was intensively started results were good, but when the campaign was expanded to more distant villages, she found that "it took several years for the people beyond these experimental villages to overcome their deep-seated suspicion that the government was 'playing a trick' on them and would take away all the new buildings sooner or later."  

A long history of exploitation at the hands of outsiders, says Rogers, has conditioned the villagers to view them with hostility. In villages in the process of modernizing, where the subsistence-style independence of the peasants is giving way to increasing control by town merchants and government officials, it is not surprising that villagers view these authorities with hostility and apprehension. In many parts of the world, the technical specialists' initial problem originates not only from the fact that he is likely to be a government official, but also from the simple fact that he is an outsider.

Berreman notes that in Sirkanda, a Himalaya village, unfamiliar things - be they persons or change programs - are regarded with suspicion. "To take a stranger's advice and change accepted practices would be foolhardy."  

Change specialists with their intense enthusiasm sometimes forget how strange they appear to villagers upon initial

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109 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 29.

connection, and how long it takes for people to feel certain that they are undergoing something new in human relations.

Distrust of the stranger and government agent is not limited to rural people of developing countries. It happens in urban societies that people engaged in non-governmental projects, market research or census for example, meet much resistance because they are perceived as government workers in disguise. Obviously, one of the main problems of a development program worker is to establish a role as friend and a helper in a society with traditionally none or few of such roles.

c) Perception of free goods and services

Free goods and services is another aspect of differential perception sometimes not fully appreciated. Technical agents in many aid programs have deemed it desirable, because of the poverty of the people, to offer goods and services free of charge. Such aid programs often met with negligible acceptance, the reason appearing to be that, more often than not, people perceive a gift as something without value. If something has value, their logic goes, no one would be so naive as to give it gratis; giving something for nothing, therefore, is not worth the trouble of collecting or using it. A token price placed upon a facility or service often cause people to accept what they would have otherwise rejected.

In a program to increase fruit production, the Colombian government gave the farmers of a certain province seedling orchard trees. Only few of the trees were planted, and many of the planted died because of negligence. The program was repeated the following year with a nominal price charged for each tree. The farmers perceived value in
trees and therefore felt they were worth caring for. In a new village health center in Guatemala, no charge was made for visits. The center had few clientele and suspicion of its purpose was high. A flat charge of twenty centavos was subsequently adopted for all patients. This act of giving value to the services of the center was very important in developing a high utilization of its facilities. Marriott also holds the opinion that payment for health services increases rather than diminishes their utilization. In an experimental health clinic in an Indian village where he worked it was attempted to present modern medicine in a favorable light. A high technical quality of services was maintained; diagnosis and dressings were given free; and medicine was given at costs way below market prices. Many villagers, nevertheless, were disappointed and distrustful when they knew how cheap and simple the physician's treatments were. It was concluded that modern medicine "might gain much and lose little if the asking prices of aspirin and bicarbonate of soda, for example, were adjusted upward to create an aura of quality that would engender confidence in the curative value of these useful products."  

These and many other examples suggest the wisdom of conferring value on goods and services by making nominal changes. Many Africans, notes Nida, have come to accord less prestige to a free gift than they do to something that must be purchased. Generally, one student of missions writes, the Bible is sold to Africans, though at a financial

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111 Foster, op. cit., p. 128.
112 Ibid., pp. 128-129.
loss: "The one who buys appreciates the Book immeasurably more than if it were given." Another advantage besides prestige is suggested for selling: the seller has "a wonderful opportunity," while conducting the transaction, "to speak extensively with his customers in order to persuade them of the importance of the Book and the need of the message."  

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d) Differential perception of role and purpose  

People usually learn the behavior appropriate to them and that they may expect from others in different situations. Differing perceptions of role behavior often cause difficulties in intercultural settings because the members of each group are faced with behavior which they do not expect or do not think to be appropriate to the setting, and hence they are not certain as to what may be expected of them. A classic example is that of the patient-physician meeting when the patient comes from a background in which the folk medical healer has depicted the dominant image of what to expect from a healer. Such healers usually differ from scientifically trained physicians in that they do not ask for a case history; they find out the cause of the complaint in some mystical or magical fashion; they work in a leisurely fashion; and they are thought of as friends who are not concerned with immediate payment. Because the healers' ability is perceived as a gift of superior forces, they are not expected to take financial advantage of somebody else's need. When the patient is well, however, he may give a present to the "supernatural" healer in appreciation of his services.

Patients with this image of the healer's role are often puzzled and perhaps offended, by the physician's questioning about the

\[115\] Foster, op. cit., pp. 130-131.
symptoms of the disease. This questioning is perceived to mean that the physician is not well trained or not very capable. If the folk healer, the patient's reasoning goes, does not need to ask questions, why should a physician who claims greater knowledge ask them? Moreover, the patient is inconvenienced because this new healer seems inclined to send him hastily, and perhaps, too, he has been offended by the request for immediate payment.

The physician, on the other hand, is used to seeing patients who realize that he is busy, who expect to be asked questions about their sickness, and who take for granted payment for services rendered. The physician is therefore perplexed by the behavior of the patient from a different cultural background and he may be irritated at his silent visitor. Culturally-determined behavioral expectations — the differential perception of roles — have produced an almost non-communicative situation. In an account of medical-mission practice among the Zulu, Anthony Barker describes this situation:

Real difficulties arise from the patients' conception of a correct approach to the doctor. In Europe it is accepted as the patient's duty to put his doctor in possession of any relevant facts about his symptoms, their intensity and duration, the history of any previous attacks of the same nature, and any other information which the doctor may require to guide his examination and arrive at a diagnosis. Among African patients such communicativeness is considered to be mere weakness, giving away far too much, and leaving no opportunity for the doctor to demonstrate his skill for which he is being paid. 116

In many instances, however, physicians have been so successful in selling the superiority of their techniques that, unconsciously,
they have created false perceptions in their patients' minds about the nature of modern medicine. In many parts of the world, the wonder-working hypodermic needle has come to be associated with good medical practice. Patients expect an injection from the physician, and if they don't receive it, they think that the physician is cheating them or that he is not competent. The prescription of other medicine does not meet their expectations for modern medicine. Africans in western Uganda, for example, are reported to have had such faith in injections; but for diseases not so treated they seldom accorded the skill of the modern physician higher value than that of their own medicine men. Medical outsiders, therefore, usually know that, unless they are coming to a region already acquainted with modern medicine practices, they must establish their own reputations as effective healers whose prescriptions should be heeded. Unfortunately, modern medicine obviously cannot always be successful. The unavoidable death of an African while undergoing treatment may be ascribed to the physician, who thus, from the African standpoint, proves his incompetence to receive patients in the future. "Here," Doob says, "is a very neat ethical medical dilemma." He feels that most physicians and nurses "proceed with Africans as if they were Europeans. They desperately try to help them even when the chances of succeeding are slim, and then, if they fail they explain, often to no avail, what has occurred." 117

One nurse in Ruanda has stated a solution to this problem which offensively departs from modern medical practice but which is immediately intelligible in terms of what can be achieved by effective communication and existing facilities in many parts of Africa:

Surgically we treat anything that comes along... anything in which we are pretty certain of achieving a satisfactory result....For example, if an old woman came in with carcinoma of the abdomen and begged us to operate on her, we would not do so if we thought she would die during the operation or soon after...News travels fast in Africa...and patients would immediately become superstitious and tell their friends to refuse operations. 118

In a somewhat different sense, differing perception of purpose or goals of programs between change agents, on the one hand, and recipient peoples, on the other, may impede change. There have been instances, when change agents felt that their work was proceeding smoothly and that their programs and objectives were understood and accepted by the people with whom they worked, and then people appeared to lose interest in following all the way through. Such instances often ensue from the expectation of recipient peoples for fewer or different services; when their minimum expectations are fulfilled they are quite content and see no need to ask for more.

From Haiti, Erasmus describes an illustrative experience. A group of small landowners were supplied with irrigation water on a block of about fifty acres. They harvested a much improved rice crop and were happy with the outcome. An attempt was then made to improve the land still further by contour leveling across property borders, but this was unsuccessful. "The owners, already satisfied with their increased production, could not see how leveling would result in sufficient further increase to justify the price they would be required to pay." 119 With minimum expectations satisfied, the landowners

118 Ibid.
perceived additional services unnecessary.

2. Communication problems

In the communication process, one simulates action in the form of symbols which are usually verbal, or visual, or a combination of the two. Another explains these symbols in conformity with culturally determined understanding of what they mean. When the two parties are in basic harmony as to the meaning of the symbols, successful communication occurs. The degree to which people share common language and culture determines the ease of their communication. People who speak the same language perceive the meaning of the sounds and sequence of the verbal symbols that make up the language in the same way, and consequently they are able to understand each other without difficulty. Visual symbols function in the same manner. Common gestures are communication devices which are reciprocally understood by members of the same culture. Members of different cultures may make use of the same or similar symbols, but usually the meanings that are ascribed to these symbols are different. Therefore, when members of one culture are exposed to the symbols of another culture, these symbols are either misinterpreted and thus result in faulty communication, or are not understood at all.

a) Language obstacles

Problems of verbal communication which exist between speakers of different languages are obvious to all. What is not always fully appreciated is that serious obstacles may exist between people who supposedly speak the same language, for in a large and complex society the total range of linguistic symbols and associated meanings is so great that no one person can master them all. As a result, the members
of subgroups within societies utilize specialized vocabularies and ways of expressing themselves which facilitate communication among themselves, but which are not fully understandable to nonmembers.

Some of the language problems facing the media in Asia and Africa are fantastic. India is the classic example, yet it is not unique in this respect. Most of the Asian countries have to deal with many languages, and "Africa is a veritable crazy quilt of languages." Nigeria, for example, has to broadcast to its own people in Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, English and eleven other local languages. Ghana must broadcast to its people in Akan, Hausa, Dagbani, Ga, Ewe, English and French.

Such linguistic diversity, says Hachten, is a reminder that the new African nations are still badly split along tribal lines. Most Africans retain their loyalties to these subgroups, often creating an impasse between tribe and nation, between tradition and change. Tribalism not only inhibits progress toward modern nationhood and industrialization but also makes the task of mass communication much more difficult.

Because language often means tribe, intertribal communication is difficult and many detribalized urban Africans rely, as do the mass media, on non-African languages. Most educated Africans communicate among themselves, and receive the bulk of mass media content in the European languages of the colonizers — English, French, and Portuguese.

Future government policy on media language usage, and more important, languages used in education will determine whether this reliance on French and English will continue. This is an extremely important question because of its implications for the future cultural
and social development of Africa. European languages do accentuate the cleavages between the elites and the masses as well as between the city and the rural areas. The heavy reliance by educated Africans on mass communications content of the nation from which their education originated can mean a kind of psychological dependence on foreign media. Leonard Doob cited an example of the prestige importance of European media:

Africans struggling to learn European ways of behaving bestow upon Western media special symbolic value. The present writer once spent a week traveling with a bright, ambitious African university student in an adjacent country. Each evening, he would insist on hearing the BBC summary of the news broadcast by a station in his home capital. We would interrupt a leisurely stroll by the sea along a magnificent promenade or, once, a reasonably important interview with an African informant, in order to return to our hotel rooms to hear that particular broadcast. Often as the signal would fade away from the transistor set, he would place his ear close to the speaker in order, presumably, to miss not a phrase. Through subtle and unsubtle questions the writer sought again and again to discover whether he retained any of the news. Not a trace of it was evident. He had not forgotten what he had heard, rather he had not really paid attention in the first place. He may have been attempting to impress the writer, but this possibility is not likely. To be in the presence of the sounds from the BBC at 7 p.m. was important to him. 122

Again, members of trades and professions within societies, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, electricians, all use specialized words, and expressions. It becomes so much second nature to speak in one's subdialect that it is easy to forget that these professional "shorthands" often are ineffective means of communication with people

122 Doob, Communication in Africa, p. 286.
who are not members of the group, even though they are members of the same culture and speak the same basic language. As a form of purposive communication jargon usually conveys information concisely and accurately to members of the group. In addition the existence of a distinctive vocabulary helps to strengthen people's loyalty: it reminds them of the group's existence and value, and it may "change a verbal communication from an impersonal into a personal medium." 123

Among the worst offenders with respect to poor communication are medical personnel. An illustrative case is that of a physician in a maternal-and-child-health clinic in a Spanish-speaking community in the United States who gave routine weaning instructions to a mother with limited knowledge of English: "Apply a tight pectoral binding and restrict your fluid intake." The physician was especially sympathetic to her Spanish-speaking patients and realized they presented special problems. Yet it had never occurred to her that her routine speech habits were actually a function of a highly specialized profession. In a similar occurrence in Mexico, the Mexican physician told the mother to nurse her child "every three hours." When the mother was later asked at what hours she would feed the child, she replied, "At six, seven, eight," and so on. The startled doctor repeated his instructions, but the mother still gave the same answer. Instructions in terms of time were meaningless to this woman. She had no clock, she was unable to tell time, and in her life experiences it had never been necessary to grasp the import of time as understood in hours. 124

123 Ibid., pp. 193-194.
The vocabulary of a language may have certain deficiencies: there are no words for particular objects, actions, or ideas. Undoubtedly, such deficiencies arise because the referents themselves are missing. It is easy enough to understand that languages of some developing countries lack the technical words employed by modern science and hence, until linguistic inventions occur or words are borrowed from languages of more advanced countries, speakers of those languages who would refer to scientific matters are handicapped by this deficiency. Less obvious is the fact that languages reflect people's mode of acquiring any kind of knowledge and hence may affect prevalent modes of communicating information about such knowledge. Each society, for example, has its own calendar and thus a method for charting the passing of time which its speakers simply must follow. In parts of some countries, people are said to be able always to indicate the season of a child's birth, but they cannot state the child's age with any precision. An outsider can estimate that age indirectly by the reply to specific questions: if he crawls, the child must be about one year old; if he has been weaned, about three; if he herds sheep, from eight to twelve. Instead of counting years, time may be linked to past events; something may have occurred either before or after "the boats of the air came." The deficiencies of a language, in short, affect not only the phrasing of communication within a certain language but also to some degree the readiness of people to respond to the referents symbolized by them.

The wide language variability within most less developed countries aggravates the degree of heterophily between change agent and client.

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Because he spoke a different Ibo dialect than his clients, an Ibo extension worker in Eastern Nigeria, employed only about 70 miles from his home village, was forced to communicate with his clients in pidgin English, which only a few of his clients fully understood. A village opinion leader can only help to bridge this heterophily gap if he is enough like the larger village audience that the change agent is attempting to reach.

b) Demonstration dangers

Visual symbols in the form of demonstrations, films, posters, and the like are important in developmental programs. This is partly due to the recognized limitations in linguistic communication. Yet there are dangers that the meaning of the visual symbols to the communicator will not be the meaning attached by the observers. In New Zealand a successful health education poster designed to encourage students to brush their teeth showed a whale jumping out of the water after a toothpaste tube. This poster was reproduced for use in Fiji and it elicited an immediate and overwhelming response: Fiji fishermen sent a rush call to New Zealand for large quantities of this wonderful new fish bait!

There is an essential need to localize the media — to be aware of local culture and symbol systems. Frequently visuals fail to convey the message because they are not adapted to the recipient audience. Norman Spurr tells how an educational picture produced in Nigeria and aiming to instruct mothers on how to bathe a baby offends women in

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126 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, pp. 182-183.
127 Poster, op. cit., p. 138.
Uganda: a child, they say, should not be shown naked, and his head must be washed first, not last.

Allan Holmberg, the chief experimenter of Cornell University's Hacienda Vicos Peruvian project, makes this observation:

Many isolated villagers 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, and it misunderstood any features that were not completely realistic. When lice were depicted as larger than life, the conclusion was that they were an entirely different species of animal.

In programs of directed culture change a skillful demonstration is one of the most effective communication techniques. In agricultural work, for example, the extension agent will ask that he be lent a patch of land which will be cultivated in a manner regarded to be superior to traditional ways and in which improved seed will be utilized. If the work is established on careful research, and if the agent is cognizant of the proper steps, the demonstration patch should produce a greater yield than adjacent farms cultivated with the old methods. Or the agent may ask permission to fertilize a part of a field so that the results may be compared with the unfertilized area. But if demonstration and other techniques are not skillfully accomplished they may actually reverse the progress of programs, thereby constituting barriers to subsequent change. What viewers perceive is what actually happens and not what ought to happen.

The great need for workers in change programs frequently led to the recruitment of imperfectly trained people to do work for which they were not yet fully prepared. In one development block the state of Bihar, the workers in the malaria eradication program sprayed all the houses with DDT. This was a well-intentioned step, but its timing was inopportune. Spraying was done early in October, and soon after, according to local custom, the houses were whitewashed for the Deepavali festival. In the process the efficacy of DDT was substantially lost. Naturally the experiment did not succeed in eradicating mosquitoes from the houses. In an area in West Pakistan a number of people vaccinated against smallpox subsequently died of the illness; investigation disclosed that the vaccine had lost its potency because of lack of refrigeration. Vaccinators who came the following year found their undertaking almost hopeless. In India there were cases in which improved seed had not been thoroughly tested for the local area. Local soil and climatic conditions turned out to be sufficiently different from those of the experimental station that the "improved" seed proved to be inferior to the local variety. Here again the agricultural extension agent subsequently found farmers to be skeptical of his assertion that he could help them increase crop yields.

3. Learning problems

As early as the latter part of the nineteenth century, Gabriel Tarde said: "Our problem is to learn why, given one hundred different innovations conceived of at the same time -- innovations in the form of words, in mythological ideas, in industrial processes, etc. -- ten

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131 Foster, op. cit., p. 140.
will spread abroad while ninety will be forgotten." The adoption of new ideas and techniques means that people must learn (and often "unlearn"). The academic ancestry of sociological research on the adoption process can be traced from the learning theories of psychologists.

Learning is defined by psychologists as the relatively enduring change in the response to stimulus. The heart of one important school of learning theory, the behaviorist, is the stimulus - response relationship. A stimulus is interpreted and causes a response in the individual. Continued reinforcement of this response by later stimuli leads to a more or less permanent change in the individual's behavior; this is learning.

The process by which innovations are adopted by individuals is essentially a limited example of how any type of learning takes place. In the adoption process, various stimuli about the innovation reach the individual from communication sources. Each ensuing communication about the innovation cumulates until the individual responds to these communications, and eventually adopts or rejects the innovation. Learning, of course, is not limited to the classroom but it takes place throughout the span of life. "Thus, the process by which a fourth grader learns to multiply is generally similar to that of the medical doctor learning about a new drug or a school superintendent adopting a new educational idea." 

The psychology of learning has been well studied and described in recent years, but an awareness of the complexity of the process has

133 Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, pp. 76-77.
not always been translated into action in developmental programs. On one level, Dube pointed out how Indian village level workers have complained because they believed they were inadequately trained for some of the tasks assigned them. Tasks which seem perfectly simple to one who has mastered them may appear very difficult, and perhaps not worth trying, to those who have not had opportunity to master them. From a field work in the Mexican village of Tzintzuntzan, Foster cites two examples which illustrate the importance of a combination of learning circumstances favoring the acquisition of new techniques.

The local tax collector, an outsider, brought the first bicycle to the village. His assistant, a local young man, had as one duty tending the gasoline pump that supplied water for the village. The pump was about a mile away from the village, on a good road. The daily round trip by foot meant an hour or more; by bicycle it could be covered in fifteen minutes. The young man quickly learned to ride the tax collector's bicycle and saved money to buy his own.

In a second case a local housewife adopted the use of a simple home press that greatly speeds tortilla-making, an operation that in many Mexican homes requires two or three hours daily. Her niece had visited her for some months, bringing her press from a distant town, and taught the aunt the techniques. The aunt was happy and soon acquired her own press.

In the two instances, the same combination of circumstances was present. First, there was the continuing presence of a teacher, over a number of days, to provide instruction at the moment it was desired:

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learning was not based on a hurried demonstration or two. Second, both learners had the opportunity to try the innovation, to practice on it without investing money. Their new interest did not threaten the basic security of their families or divert funds to untested objects. Third, each had the opportunity to convince himself of the utility of the innovation before making a financial investment. They didn't have to make their payments on hear-say, but only after they had tried and seen the results. Fourth, the cost of the innovations was in both cases within the resources of the learners. If any of these conditions had been absent, it is much less likely that the innovations would have been adopted.

One supposes that this, or a similar combination of favorable circumstances, will be found in many cases of successful mastery of new techniques, and to the extent that such circumstances can be brought about, innovation will be promoted. Eugene Wilkening described the adoption of an innovation as "...a process composed of learning, deciding, and acting over a period of time. The adoption of a specific practice is not the result of a single decision to act but of a series of actions and thought decisions." Wilkening proceeded to list four adoption stages: (1) awareness, (2) obtaining information, (3) conviction and trial, and (4) adoption. While there is no complete agreement as to the number of stages in the adoption process, there is general consensus on the existence of stages, and that adoption is seldom an "impulse" decision. Copp and others utilized five stages in their

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135 Foster, op. cit., pp. 141-142.
136 Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, p. 80.
investigation. Emery and Oeser utilized a three-stage process. Lavidge and Steiner postulated six stages; and Rogers utilized five stages: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption.

D. Economic Barriers

Effective uses of communication in national development postulate the availability of developed mass media, and "the basic requirement for developing the mass media at the rate at which they can make their greatest contribution to national development requires a serious and substantial financial commitment." The need for technology and training is essentially part of a general economic situation. Mass communications are very much limited and circumscribed by the economic context in which they operate, and the level of economic development in a country determines whether the mass media spread. "The general rule" says Hachten, "is that mass media spread in a direct relationship with the rising level of industrial capacity."

Broadcast material is, after all, a commodity that must be produced, distributed, and consumed like other commodities. There must be the "capacity to produce" the physical plants, the equipment (transmitters, amplifiers, television and radio sets, etc.), and the trained personnel. There must be the "capacity to consume," which in simple terms can mean individuals must have the cash and motivation necessary to be media users.


140 Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, p. 81.


142 Hachten, Muffled Drums p. 123.
Throughout the developing world, Schramm observes that "the mass media are underfinanced and underdeveloped and therefore are not contributing what they might contribute if fully and adequately used." Most African nations are seriously handicapped in efforts to develop their own media of mass communication because they lack industrial capacity, local entrepreneurial capital, and 'cash customers.'

In this section, I shall focus on the barriers in the economic structure under the principal headings of financing the broadcast media, providing equipment and training.

1) Finance

Financing mass media growth in the developing countries is a costly venture. UNESCO has estimated the cost of expanding mass communication facilities in the developing countries during the next twenty years at 3.4 billion dollars. Any such projection into the future must be highly approximate. Nevertheless, this estimate, by an organization which is in a position to take a broad view of needs and means, gives an idea of the general order of the costs involved.

A general problem facing the broadcast media in the developing countries is finding supporting revenue. The usual developed countries' device of raising it by license fees is subject to serious limitations. For one thing, the administrative machinery required to collect fees is rarely available; for another, transistorized sets are frequently smuggled in and sold on the black market. This, coupled with the most important limitation of small number of set owners in many

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143 Schramm, loc. cit.
145 Schramm, op. cit., pp. 204-205.
developing countries, has made it very difficult to collect either one-time or periodic fees.

Per capita income must rise to the point where the average person can afford the media. Either the individual or his government must be able to pay the "price of admission." The native of the developing country often suffers from "poverty, poor health, inadequate shelter, low productivity, illiteracy, and a short life expectancy [which] all go together." Poverty and overcrowding, combined, are a potent force making for malnutrition and disease, and increased susceptibility to further disease, sapping vitality and ultimately life. Low productivity and short life expectations together yield further unfortunate consequences: because close to half the newborn children will die during adolescence, "a substantial share of the low national income is used for children who never attain the productive years of adulthood. Correspondingly, the average working life of those who do attain the productive ages is curtailed by high death rates."

Richard Garver illustrates how, economically, life in rural Korea has an immediate impact on communications:

Even if a farm family is literate, the cost of receiving communication is an item that must compete with other basic daily needs. A month's subscription to a newspaper on Cheju-do is 400 hwan (31 cents). Batteries for a radio, giving twelve to fifteen hours' playing time, cost 800 hwan. Some Cheju-do natives have received battery-operated radios from relatives in Japan. Otherwise, the purchase of a radio involves 35,000 hwan.

Garver adds:

One can only hypothesize that poor health has some effect in hindering communication. It seems

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reasonable to believe that an individual who chronically is in some stage of ill health tends to be immersed in his own problems and sufferings and less likely to take interest in the world about him. If this is true, then health standards in Korea certainly are factors to be reckoned with in communication efforts. 147

Commercial broadcasting is usually officially discouraged in many developing countries; most governments consider broadcasting an educational and informational medium of too great a potential and too serious in purpose to be given over to commercial exploitation. However, some government-run broadcasting stations have recently started to carry commercials to help defray expenses. Essentially, the usual financial support for broadcasting comes from three sources: some license fees, a little commercial advertising, and large direct subsidies from the government.

The size of the bill of expanding broadcasting facilities to reach the more remote areas, of increasing programming in the indigenous languages, and of improving internal coverage and programming to take advantage of the broadcast media's potential to mobilize public opinion, is not the only stumbling block in developing the communication systems of the new nations. Also, there is the difficult management questions accompanying the investment: the need to allocate wisely in the face of acute competition for meager resources, the need to economically manage resources so as to get the most out of mutual support (such as education and mass media), the need to schedule and time the rates of growth so that a given investment will be most productive and least counterproductive (such as creating literates at a rate at which a society can efficiently assimilate them). These

are significant questions.

In its attempt to invest sufficient amounts in mass communication, a developing nation is inclined to decide its media investments on the basis of a definite return in economic development. For several reasons, however, it is unlikely that such a cost-benefit ratio can be arrived at. A better-informed citizenry, for example, is one product which is obviously a target of national development and to which national information is meant to contribute. While it is conceivable that one might identify and put a financial value on increased agricultural production ensuing from agricultural information, it is by no means possible to set a monetary value on increasing interest in national policy or a greater awareness of nation-ness. Again, while it is possible to put a financial cost on the contribution of an information campaign to an increase in national savings, no monetary value can be put on the contribution of communication to the formation and exercising of leadership.

When one also considers the relation of investments and growth rates in different sections of society, he finds a very widespread interaction. Accelerating the growth of mass communication leads to the increase of some of these other rates, which in turn lead to the faster growth of mass communication. The growth of education, for example, would aid the growth of mass communication, but the growth of mass communication would also aid the growth of education, and none of these strands of development could go appreciably faster than the others. The rates of growth interact. An abrupt wave of literates or school graduates may not be incorporatable by the economy, and will create a
discontented and unproductive part of the population. On the other hand, too few of those literates or school graduates will retard the economy and slow up the growth of industry. The problem, therefore, is not merely to get all the associated sections of society growing, in order that each one may conduce to the growth of the others; it is also to guide and connect their rates and schedules of growth.

Thus, if a developing country wants to accelerate the growth of its mass communication, it must concern itself simultaneously with the growth rates of such associated elements as literacy, education and the like, as well as industry and agriculture; and the resources that can profitably be invested in the growth of mass media will be limited to some degree by the growth of these related elements. Also, this means that to sort out the precise contribution of the mass media to these interactions would be very hard to do.

Developing countries need a ratio rather than an absolute figure. And in this respect, unfortunately, few developing countries have to worry that their investment in mass communication will exceed their investments in other segments of society. When development priorities are decided on communication slips way down in the list. "National development planners have tended to neglect the potential of mass media, "even though these communication channels may well be one of the sharpest tools in the developer's kit." Pool has pointed out that mass media development is seldom regarded as significant in priority compared with steel mills, power dams, and other conspicuous indicators of development. He comments in this way on the financial support of

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149 Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 99.
one outstanding national radio:

The practice in India is typical of the priorities. There are two radios per 1,000 persons in India. The First Five Year Plan allocated two-tenths of one percent of outlays to developing of broadcasting. It allocated 1/4 times as much as that to posts and telegraphy. It allocated about 60 times as much to education. But that was only the Plan. Across the board, actual outlays for the five years slipped 15 percent below the Plan, but outlays for broadcasting were allowed to fall short by 45 percent, leaving actual outlays at somewhat over one-tenth of one percent of the total. In the Second Five Year Plan, development of broadcasting was given no greater role, being again allowed two-tenths of one percent of outlays. In the Third Plan it is cut down to one-tenth of one percent.

The willingness of countries faced by foreign exchange shortages to ration newsprint or impose severe excise taxes, tariffs, and quotas on radio and TV sets, and even to exclude TV entirely for fiscal reasons, attests to the fact that few non-Communist countries have assigned to the development of the mass media the same significance they have to steel mills, roads, railroads, and dams. 150

Speeding-up the development of mass communications requires, therefore, that a nation be willing to make a serious investment in media growth, an investment that is in some rational and equitable proportion to other related investments. If nations could rise above the idea of competition for funds — which understandably results from the funds going to different ministries, and the greater political conspicuousness of some investments than others — and substitute for it the idea of cooperation for outcomes, substantial progress could be made. This means a given investment in education will benefit from a

given related investment in educational media. A certain investment in health or agriculture needs a certain related investment in informational media. And in like manner through the list of various development activities to which mass communication contributes. It should be noted, however, that if a developing nation will demonstrate its willingness and serious commitment to the implementation of a thoughtful set of priorities for communication and to the support of these under pressure, then the possibility is much greater that it can get loans, technical assistance, or other bilateral agreements to help in the development of communication it needs for national development. Let it be emphasized again, that the basic requirement is that the developing country must be ready to commit itself to a suitable degree at the outset.

2. Equipment and materials

A shortage of mass communication equipment and materials is experienced in all developing countries. The traditional communication networks in these countries are still strong; and the modern media of mass communication are poorly developed. "To the poor," Dube notes, "the wireless continues to remain a remote and unobtainable luxury. Community listening sets are few, and the number of those who can take advantage of them is of necessity small." As for television, Dube points out that it is "beyond the financial capacity of most of these societies; its use is largely symbolic. It is often an ostentatious mark of modernization, and is intended more to impress the outside world than to communicate."¹⁵¹ Thus, the use of these principal media of mass communication is confined largely to the elite. Consequently,

other media of communication, limited in reach and penetration, have to be pressed into service to put across innovations to the masses. Even these efforts in most developing countries involve equipment which needs cost in producing communications. Critical cost of equipment is usually associated with the modern mass media, "but when more than the human voice or a gesture is employed as a basic medium, some kind of capital investment is necessary, even if it means only skinning a cow to make a drum." 152

To most of the developing countries radio and television receivers are too scarce and too expensive; raw film stock and film equipment such as cameras and projectors are in short supply and manufactured in relatively few developing countries; broadcasting equipment such as transmitters, recording machines and so forth are typically in short supply and few of the developing countries manufacture such equipment. In Africa, for example, Doob notes that

...almost every single piece of equipment demanded by the mass media must be imported... Likewise the electricity needed for those media is almost always expensive both in absolute and relative terms, because most African countries are just beginning to develop their natural sources of power. 153

Many developing countries urgently require expanded infrastructure to support a modern system of mass communications. They lack sufficient roads and railroads, telephone lines, and telegraph and teletype facilities that provide essential underpinning for electronic as well as print communications. The post-independence telecommunications

153 Ibid., p. 151.
systems in new nations are still oriented toward ex-colonial powers. Hachten observes that "until recently the prospects of providing a really African system of telecommunications with adequate intracontinental communications were not promising because of the great expense involved."\textsuperscript{154}

It must be noted, however, that the development of communications satellites has made the outlook much brighter. They offer prospects of communication systems "which will leapfrog a century of slow, costly telecommunications development."\textsuperscript{155} In highly developed countries, the advent of communications satellites is basically an evolutionary development building onto and extending the present system. In developing countries, however, communications satellites may well revolutionize communications, making possible regional or continental systems where none existed before.

Satellites have importance for much more than mass media, but for the broadcast media they mean that news service reports, news photos, radio programs, and television programs (including live color telecasts from all over the globe) can easily be communicated to nearly inaccessible places. The satellite systems naturally cannot function without earth stations; the building of stations in the developing countries, therefore, will determine the pace at which they benefit from satellite communications. Once earth stations are installed and financially justified by traffic with the outside world, they will be available for communication among developing countries at a small additional cost. In this way, satellites can eventually link all parts

\textsuperscript{154} Hachten, \textit{Muffled Drums}, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
of such continents as Asia, Africa and Latin America, economically and efficiently, over difficult terrain which in many places discourages the installation of conventional systems. The full implications of the hope from communications satellites, however, are difficult to foresee, but the prospects for widened and more effective communication in the developing countries are indeed impressive.

Though not as dramatic as satellites, other innovations in media technology promise to expand communications systems in the developing countries. To meet the shortage of mass communication equipment and materials in those countries, Schramm suggests two solutions. One is to manufacture the goods within the country. The other is to ease the import restrictions — tariffs and quotas — so as to increase the flow from other countries.

For most developing countries the long-term solution will certainly be to establish industries to manufacture the equipment. In many cases this is an attractive possibility. In the case of radio, for example, most industrial development plans, include an electronic industry, toward which the making of radio equipment would be a good start. The stage is set for the manufacture of the very low-cost but rugged receiver. A design has been made and UNESCO tries to get it manufactured. The transistor has greatly reduced the necessary size of sets, the amount of current needed, and the frequency of maintenance. Hence, if the capital and skills are made available or can be imported into the country, radio manufacture becomes an attractive industry.

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156 Schramm, op. cit., p. 223.
Help and advice are accessible from international organizations for those countries that want to start making their own communication equipment. The International Telecommunication Union and the International Labor Organization, for example, are qualified to consult on electronic communication equipment. In many cases, advice can be also obtained through bilateral agreements or from the industries themselves in countries where they are well advanced.

So much for the long-term solution. For the short term, a developing country can facilitate the import of the mass media equipment it needs. In some countries, national cooperatives can purchase larger amounts of newsprint and stabilize the supply to the small user. Regional cooperatives or even regional centers of manufacturing could conceivably increase the supply of broadcasting equipment, receivers, and film stock. But even such plans, Schramm observes, "will benefit from a review of import restrictions." 157

A developing country should not retrace all the steps whereby a certain technology has been developed; it is possible to start with whatever stage of technology meets its requirements. There is no need, for example, to manufacture, first, crystal receiving sets when cheaper and more efficient facilities have been developed. In the field of media technology there have been a number of recent developments that are of great potential significance to developing countries. Among these is the transistor radio that already has had a great impact on radio broadcasting.

In terms of human lives, one of the most revolutionary inventions in the age of communications is the transistor radio....

157 Ibid., pp. 223-224.
In much the same way as the printing press opened up vast new possibilities to 15th century Europe, the transistor is letting in the world to hundreds of millions still isolated from the 20th century by geography, poverty, and exploitation. On the grassy Tanzanian plain a stately Masai herdsman strides behind his scrawny cattle, a lion-killing spear in one hand and a country-music blaring Japanese transistor in the other.

The introduction of a cheap, transistorized television receiver will probably have a similarly dramatic impact on television broadcasting. Videotape recording makes it possible to record and exchange television programs more easily among developing countries' stations not yet capable of producing much of their own programming. Transmission requires equipment or energy to extend the range of communication in space or time. A radio or television transmitter, though versatile enough to transmit almost every human sound or gesture, can be expected to reach only a specified area that is a function of the power provided by its transmitter. Radio broadcasting will be strengthened, too, as more AM and FM transmitting facilities are operating. Frequency modulation (FM) broadcasting, which for 60 miles or so, is relatively free of interference and excellent in transmission quality, recommends itself for use in the tropics, for schools, and for services in which music is very important. Nigeria, for example, "has been installing an FM system to supplement its short wave and AM transmitting facilities."

A significant result of such improved AM and FM reception, Hachten points out, is that it "will make the Africans much less dependent on

foreign broadcasting which must use short wave because of the great
distances involved." 159

When a developing country considers these and other new
developments and decides what kind of equipment to import or to manu-
facture, expert advice and a thorough investigation of available
equipment will pay off. But it is illogical to import or manufacture
the newest in the communication equipment without preparing to service
it adequately. An excellent solution which a number of developing
countries have opted for is the establishment of a technical institute.
It should be emphasized, however, that "regional cooperation in such
technical centers, as well as in the manufacturing or buying of
equipment, holds promise." 160

3) Training

The technical inadequacies of developing countries' mass media
are many, and yet the lack of trained personnel to man the mass
media may be the most critical shortage of all, because only trained
communicators themselves can improve the offerings of mass communication.
Any effort to improve facilities, therefore, must also be concerned
with personnel. A 1962 UNESCO meeting of African information specialists
in Paris called training the "indispensable first step in establishing
new information media and services and developing existing media." 161
The need to give a high priority to the training of mass communicators
who can competently handle the mass media in the efforts of national
development is clearly explicated in Dube's description of the

159 Nachtan, Muffled Drums, p. 129.
160 Schramm, op. cit., p. 225.
161 UNESCO, Reports and Papers on Mass Communication No. 37, p. 34.
communication situation in the developing countries. Dube says:

There is very little scientific knowledge regarding the communication situation in the underdeveloped countries. Traditional channels of communication in these societies have not been clearly identified, nor is there much scientific information on the "opinion leaders" who have a seminal role in the dissemination of ideas and adoption of new practices. Even in respect to the mass media, little is known about their penetration and influence. Other experiments in mass communication are largely hit-and-run, trial-and-error ventures. Modern communication research is still in its infancy; lack of encouragement, recognition, and financial support have prevented it from gaining strength and momentum. The consequences of this refusal to make the necessary inputs in scientific communication research are obvious: formulators of communication policy have to continue to grope in the dark. Unavailability of technical personnel to undertake such studies complicates the situation still further. In most of these countries, there is no backlog of experience on the mechanics and strategy of change-producing communication. A body of specialists who can innovatively handle communication media in the tasks of nation building is yet to emerge. 162

Trained persons are therefore needed in a great variety of communication fields — information and development field officers, program and production personnel, teachers of mass media and information service personnel, broadcast and film engineers, maintenance personnel, technicians, and others. "This need is almost as universal in the developing countries as the need for capital, and the supply of trained persons usually runs far behind the provision of channels." 163

Any nation wants to train its communication personnel in the end, but it may be a long time before many developing countries have a

162 Dube, "A Note on Communication in Economic Development" in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm (eds.), Communication and Change in the Developing Countries, pp. 95-96.
163 Schramm, op. cit., p. 217.
sufficient supply of mass media training institutions, such as institutes for film and broadcasting training, technical schools for broadcast and film engineers and technicians, and perhaps centers for advanced training and research in mass communication. A nation that already has, for example, one or more radio stations, can do some training in its present studios, and can fall back upon experienced supervisors from those established operations. But suppose it decides to introduce television. When television was to be introduced in Jordan, several production persons were sent abroad for training, and a few foreign experts were brought in to supervise program production for the first year, and to help train the program and production workers who were not sent abroad. In some cases, new nations, such as Abu Dhabi in the Arabian Gulf, have contracted with suppliers to furnish them television stations as "going concerns" — that is, with facilities built and operating, and personnel trained. Whatever the procedure followed, it will be possible for a developing country to make use of outside help in some aspects of its training program, even while it is getting ready to assume ultimate responsibility for that training.

a) On-the-job training

It is a world-wide practice that the majority of all communication personnel are trained on the job. The techniques of the craft of broadcasting are acquired on the principle of 'learning by doing.' Future broadcast technicians with some knowledge of electricity go to work for a radio station or repair center, begin with simple jobs and proceed to more difficult ones, pay attention to how more experienced technicians solve problems, acquire experience, and in the end either
prove their ability to do the job or try something else. Schramm points out certain difficulties associated with this traditional type of training:

[One is that the more experienced workers usually have little time for teaching the younger ones. Furthermore, in this kind of training the standard is set by the present operation — there is no very good way to raise the standard of newspapering or broadcasting above the level of the present supervisors, who themselves probably came up through the same kind of school of experience and therefore were restricted by the level of their supervisors. And on-the-job training tends to encourage a fairly low educational average in the communication profession. 164

Several variations of the on-the-job training have evolved in an effort to do something about these objections. One is the "cadet" training system which is used as a means to combine practical training with formal education. A broadcasting station selects a young man, puts him to work on a minor job, then sends him to school or college part time. Over a three or four year period he can both learn his craft and get solid education.

Another variation is the professional seminar for communication personnel which brings in a number of producers or newsmen or engineers to talk over their problems for a short period of time, with each other and with leaders in the profession. "Refresher training at periods throughout [the communicators'] career is highly important and to be encouraged in whatever context. Short courses and seminars on new technical developments, research findings, programme techniques, or on specialized subjects such as science, medicine or

164 Ibid., pp. 218-219.
agriculture, will greatly enrich the [communicators'] store of knowledge and experience."

In still another variation of on-the-job training, experts are invited to developing countries to advise mass communicators on their problems. Also, there is correspondence study where communicators take correspondence courses at universities or institutions of higher learning.

b) Training in schools

There is an ever-increasing tendency in the developed countries to conduct training in the schools of mass communication. This tendency is based on the belief that the essence of an enlightened and forward-looking profession is to have educated, ethically responsible members in it. Hence, if the most essential craft training can be coupled with a broad course of college or university study, this would seem to be the basis for truly professional education. Besides skill training, the major part of the student's time is devoted to subjects that will help him carry out his professional duties in the future with understanding of the world he lives in.

One of the criticisms of university training in mass communication, however, has been that it was "too academic and unrelated to the real needs of the industry." This objection has, to a large extent, been surmounted by close relationships between the universities and media professions, the latter frequently providing advisory committees to the communication schools. A considerable amount of practical work is included in the programs of the better schools, through laboratories or 'workshops,' through students' publications or university

radio and television stations or by means of internships in local media enterprises.

Developing countries need well-trained personnel in several important fields of communication. Radio and television program and production personnel, journalists, film production personnel and book-publishing editors need a sound combination of broad education and skills training, although, obviously, the skills they need are not quite the same. The engineers and technicians who are going to operate the radio and television stations and film studios and maintain the equipment need specialized training, as do the printers who are going to operate the composing and press rooms of the developing nation.

In addition to all these, almost any developing country will have a large number of general information personnel whose responsibilities are for the information which keeps the development program going, and who may be assigned field tasks or campaigns planning. An important function of a mass communication center or school, therefore, is to provide communication training for people who are not full-time professionals but may be on the fringe of the information field. In a developing country, a great many specialists — in education, health, agriculture, for example — need the help of the information media in the course of their work. They need to know something of the means they wish to employ, and how they can be utilized effectively. In point of fact, "training in communication, its principles and field applications should be a basic part of the training of public information officers, extension officers in all technical fields, and workers in

166 Ibid., p. 9.
167 Schramm, op. cit., p. 220.
social and community development." A school or centre of mass communication is a resource which may well provide this specialized experience and instruction, as well as overall training in mass communication techniques.

The training of general information personnel — along with full-time professional communicators — is especially significant in light of Dube's observation that "communication policies and programs of the developing countries, in most cases, are not sufficiently comprehensive." Dube elaborates:

Undirectional flow of communication from the planner and the agent of change to the rural masses is perhaps the best organized; little conscious effort, it appears, is made to take account of communicational inadequacies in other spheres. A feedback mechanism, communicating from the masses to the planner, is not so well developed. Problems of intra- and inter-agency communication, within the main developmental agency and with and within subsidiary agencies, are largely neglected. Problems of communication between the planner and the political decision-maker, between the general administrator and the technical expert, and between the planners and development administrators at different levels have at best been only vaguely identified. Communication between the planning sector and the research sector, where the two exist, is rarely smooth and effective. The position in respect of communication between the administrative and the research sectors is also the same. Proper channels of horizontal and vertical communication between new political and administrative institutions, created specially for the efficient implementation of the development programs, do not appear to have been provided.

Such a state of affairs obviously calls for training that will give forethought to those problems and will correctly anticipate

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168 UNESCO, op. cit., p. 10.
169 Dube, "A Note on Communication in Economic Development" in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm (eds.), Communication and Change in Developing Countries, p. 94.
possible blocks of communication caused by misunderstanding, suspicion and distrust.

A special advantage of information training in a university or higher institute context is the opportunity and encouragement it offers to undertake research. "Communication research is not just an academic exercise. Research provides a principal source of knowledge about the audiences of information programmes, it can test the effectiveness of such programmes and provide guidance for the planning and content of an information campaign. It provides the 'feedback' from the audience without which the media enterprise or information service is working in the dark. Mass communication research and efficient use of media for development go hand in hand."\textsuperscript{170}

Ideally, one might say that a developing country needs a group of schools of mass media training. An inventory of training needs and facilities is needed, however, before a country can project training needs some years ahead. A developing country, according to Schramm, has to make four decisions in the process:

First, what training can be done with the country's present facilities.

Second, where it must ask for assistance from outside "in priming the pump," that is necessary help before it can start some of its own training programs. If, for example, a country does not have television, it will probably have to send some of its own people abroad for training, or borrow experts from other countries for training. If it does not have a technical division in its mass

\textsuperscript{170}UNESCO, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
communication institute, and wants to start one, it may have to send some of its people to a technical institute abroad or borrow technical specialists temporarily from abroad. If it wants to improve its on-the-job training, it can send some of its people to an international seminar on such a topic. For these and other purposes, it can send some of its practicing professionals to see how training is carried on, and how the media are managed, in other countries.

Training abroad, however, has its pros and cons. On the one hand, it has the obvious advantage of providing the models of highly developed media systems. A variety of experts is readily available for instruction or consultation. Established schools and curricula can be utilized and media enterprises are available for internships. For the communicator himself, just the travel alone—the experience of living and working abroad and what he learns about the problems of the greater world—provides a useful background for a career in the mass media.

But it is also argued, on the other hand, that what he sees and learns abroad is so unlike that he will practice at home, that it is of little help. The communicator from a developing country, it is said, needs to know the conditions and problems of his own region, not of the advanced regions of the world. Some contend that "extended stays abroad make students unhappy with things at home and hence unable to work effectively."172

There is growing consensus that the best place to train beginning communicators is in their home country where they will work. Often

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171 Schramm, op. cit., p. 221.
172 Hachten, Muffled Drums, pp. 138-139.
local conditions, lack of educational facilities, and the dearth of qualified teachers make this difficult, if not impossible. But when it can be done, conditions then are more realistic; the trainee learns and practices what he needs to know on the job, and he is more likely to stay in his job afterward.  

Assistance in such "pump-priming" activities as the aforementioned, however, is relatively easy to get. Training fellowships, travel grants, and the loan of experts are available in large numbers bilaterally, or from international organizations like UNESCO. Practical considerations, nevertheless, impose severe limitations on the utilization of foreign expertise in the formulation and implementation of communication policies. "While helping an underdeveloped country in its battle for modernization, it is feared that the foreign expert may simultaneously engage in a battle, on behalf of his own country, for the mind of the country he is assisting." Dube goes on to point out that "this aspect of the problem may be exaggerated, but underdeveloped countries are extremely sensitive on this score and their suspicion is not entirely unfounded." Even such an organization as UNESCO which enjoys, through its international status, the advantage of being politically neutral, did not at times escape criticism. "Fairly or unfairly," says Hachten, "some short-term training programs both in and out of Africa have become identified with efforts to influence African journalists toward either East or West in the Cold War." Likewise, "even the scrupulously nonpolitical and professionally oriented IPI [International Press Institute] courses

173 Ibid., p. 139.
174 Dube, op. cit., p. 97.
175 Hachten, op. cit., p. 134.
have not escaped such criticism."

The third decision to be made by the developing country is what additional national training resources it needs, and where it might get help in establishing them. Here again, a country can hope for assistance in establishing its own training institutions. Experts are frequently made available to help in the planning for a school or institute. In many instances, teachers have been loaned for the early years. Technical assistance of one kind or another is often available.

The fourth and final decision is where the developing country can benefit from regional cooperation which is a promising avenue for meeting some of the needs for communication training. Regional training seminars can be more easily financed. UNESCO has loaned its support and encouragement to the establishment of mass communication training centers within the framework of universities. Such institutions can be firmly based within a national higher education program, and be designed primarily to meet a national need. In some cases, however, because of the scarcity of training facilities, training institutes can be established in one country, with the understanding that they will open their doors, at least initially, to students from neighboring countries also. UNESCO, through the award of fellowships and other means within its capacity, gives maximum assistance to such regional institutes. Admittedly, this sort of arrangement poses some difficulties. Language, for one thing, may get in the way. Cultural

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176 Ibid.
177 Schramm, loc. cit.
178 Ibid.,
differences, for another, may make it hard for a single curriculum to serve all students. Ultimately, each country will want to carry on its own training program. Until this time comes, however, a regional training facility remains better than none. The exchange of teachers and professional personnel is another facet of useful regional cooperation. A country which is more advanced than others in certain training communication areas or in certain training activities, can become a place for observation, provide some training opportunities, and send its own teachers or more experienced professionals to help others.

Hachten suggests that regional courses, such as at UNESCO centers, are well suited for intermediate training. Foreign travel or short-term courses abroad should be reserved for the senior and experienced communicators most likely to benefit from the experience. Extended education abroad should be made available only for the unusual and talented student who cannot obtain needed knowledge or skills at home. "But the advanced student" he cautions, "should have a specific position waiting for him when he returns home — a job he has been trained abroad to fill."

Professional associations

Elevating the standard of training of mass media personnel is bound to have a enormous effect on the kind of information that flows through a communication system. Professional organizations can, by the same token, have a significant influence on handling of information. These organizations are usually "the custodians of professional

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180 Schramm, op. cit., p. 222.
181 Hachten, op. cit., p. 139.
standards of conduct, and often they are the continuing force behind professional improvement." Often they have given a substantial aid to in-service training. It is imperative, therefore, that a developing nation, building its media of mass communication, should seriously consider whether it should not also give support to the formation of strong and energetic associations of broadcasters, journalists, film makers, communication engineers and so forth.

In the face of the imposing series of barriers to change analyzed in the foregoing discussion, one may well wonder how advances can be made. Part of the answer was presented in discussing these barriers: search for ways to neutralize or get around them or select areas for initial work where they are weak. The strategy of planned change, however, involves not only identification and neutralization of barriers, but also the identification and utilization of a series of positive factors — likewise cultural, social, psychological and economic — which constantly oppose the forces of conservatism and which may be thought of as stimulants to change. When in a particular society stimulants are scarce and poorly developed, the culture remains static; when they are abundant and strong, change comes about readily. Jackson, speaking of community development, states the situation vividly:

When a village is faced with suggestion of change, there exists a balance of forces. On one side of the scales are those forces which are against change — conservatism, apathy, fear and the like; on the other side are the forces for change — dissatisfaction with existing conditions, village pride, and so on. Successful community development consists largely of choosing those projects where the balance is almost even, and then trying to

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182 Schramm, loc. cit.
lighten the forces against change or to increase the factors making for change. 183 (Italics mine)

This process of choosing the project, lightening the anti-change forces, and increasing the pro-change factors, calls for a well-trained agent of communication and change. The provision of such training is essential not only to the effective operation of information enterprises but also to the improvement of standards which would enable the mass media to play their full role in programs of economic and social development.
PART II

A FUNCTIONAL PLAN FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF BROADCASTER IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (JORDAN)

In light of the foregoing analysis, a functional plan for the training of broadcasters and of various users of the broadcast media as channels for information and education is called for. It should be remembered, however, that such a plan is a flexible pattern that ought not be copied rigidly. Every developing country should make allowances to the social, political and economic factors that affect the multifarious aspects of its own trainings plan.

The proposed Jordanian Broadcasting Institute, therefore, should serve as a model which facilitates the grounds for broadcast training plans in other countries. This requires an analytical and descriptive study of the country involved. Hence, the following chapter will deal with the Jordanian aspects of life that are closely associated with the designing of a functional training plan. The next chapter will deal with the plan itself.
Present day Jordan, once part of the Turkish Empire, came into being in the aftermath of World War I, and was enlarged after the Arab-Israeli hostilities of 1948 and the subsequent annexation of what had been preserved of Arab Palestine on the West Bank of the Jordan River in 1950. Situated in Southwest Asia, the country occupies a central position with respect to its immediate Middle East neighbors since it stretches across virtually all the Asian approaches to the narrow land bridge between Asia and Africa formed by the Isthmus of Suez.

The June war of 1967 resulted in the occupation of all of West Bank of Jordan by Israeli forces. A cease-fire line temporarily became Jordan's western border. The boundaries between Jordan and neighboring Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia do not have the special significance of the western border. They are not the subject of contested territorial claims and they have not materially hampered the nomadic people in their movements. By the time political boundaries were drawn across the deserts around Transjordan after World War I, practically all the nomadic tribes of the country had been established for some time in wandering territories lying wholly within the confines of the new state. To take care of the few cases where it had been traditional for tribal peoples to move back and forth across the country's borders, agreements with neighboring countries recognized a principle of freedom of grazing and provided for a confirmation of migratory practices, subject to certain regulations.

The country has eight administrative governorates. Five governorates
are in the East Bank: Irbid, Al Asimah (the Capital), Al Balqa, Al Karak and Ma’an; and three are in the West Bank: Nabulus, Al Quds (Jerusalem), and Al Khalil (Hebron).

Fig. 9. Jordan administrative governorates and main communication routes
For many years all of the extensive eastern desert region constituted a separate administrative subdivision under a special Desert Administration. Early in 1967 an end was put to this arrangement and responsibility for the desert region was divided among the adjacent governorates of Irbid, Al Asimah, Al Karak, and Ma'an by extending their respective boundaries due east to the Saudi Arabian border. Aside from differences stemming from their geographical location, there is no special differentiation, ethnic or otherwise, in the division of the country into administrative areas. Each governorate is centered on one of the country's main towns, most of which for many years have been the political and economic hubs of the areas around them.

A. Population and Ethnic Groups

The deserts of Jordan, Syria, the northern part of Saudi Arabia, and the north eastern projection of Iraq form a geographic, and to a large extent an ethnic, continuum. The people of Jordan, whether town dwellers, villagers, or nomads, are, with the exception of small and comparatively recently arrived minorities, members of one or another of the closely related Arab groupings inhabiting the general area.¹

The population of Jordan, including the occupied West Bank was estimated in the mid-1970's at 2,309,000. The annual population growth rate of 3.4 percent is high by international standards.² Following the 1967 War, refugees from the West Bank, as well as from the areas in Gaza, Sinaï, and southwestern Syria, entered the East Bank. In addition to the 494,000 refugees registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in east Jordan, as of mid-1968 some

246,000 displaced persons had been registered.

Two major trends in population redistribution have taken place in Jordan since independence in 1946: urbanization of villagers and settling of nomads. There has been a large migration of rural peoples into urban centers such as Amman, Az Zarqa, Aqaba, and Jerusalem. The trend towards urbanization has created housing problems and critical under-employment in the urban areas. A higher degree of settling on the part of the nomads has also occurred due to the government's encouragement of the nomadic tribes to settle permanently or temporarily in villages bordering the desert.

The basic division of the territory of Jordan into arid wastelands and fertile northwestern area which enjoys some rainfall and access to the Jordan River system is reflected in a corresponding division of the population into the nomads and the settled. The nomads live in the desert, the settled people in the cultivated land. The true desert, with less than four inches of rainfall annually, is the home of the camel-nomads; the steppe-belt, in general, is the abode of the sheep- and goat-nomads. The settled population falls into two quite different groups, a rural and an urban.

About 90% of the population is concentrated in less than 15 percent of the land area. This area extends north and westward from Amman to the Balqa and Ajlun districts, and comprises most of the West Bank. Centers of urban population on the West Bank include Jerusalem.

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Ramallah, Nabulus, Jenin, Tul Karm, Bethlehem and Hebron. The population density, estimated at over 40 inhabitants per square mile for the country as a whole, increases to nearly 800 per square mile in the heavily populated northwestern sector. In a ratio of population to cropped area, Jordan is "one of the most densely settled of the agrarian countries."  

In the East Bank region, a line of division roughly separates the population between the bedouin nomads east of the old Hejaz railway and the settled inhabitants west of the railway. The population is also divided into Qays in the north and Yaman in the south. The nomads of the north include Beni Sakhr, Sirhan, Beni Khalid, Issa, and Sleet; and of the South Howeitat, Manaiyoun and Hajaya. The largest tribe, Rwaila, is not indigenous to the country; grazing its camels in Saudi Arabia in winter, it travels through Jordan in search of summer pastures in Syria. The two most important tribes are the Beni Sakhr and the Howeitat.

Statistically, about 44 percent of the population is fully urban, a little more than 50 percent is rural, and less than 6 percent is nomadic or semi-nomadic. The government also enumerates as citizens some 65,000 Jordanians living abroad, mainly in other Arab countries such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Arabian Gulf Emirates, but also in such foreign countries as West Germany, Brazil and the United States. These emigrants are primarily from the Palestinian sector, and they normally send money home to relatives in Jordan.

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5 Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, p. 306.  
The great majority of the population belongs to the Arab-Semitic subdivision of the Caucasian race. They are mostly Moslems of the Sunni branch. Christian Arabs are settled around Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Amman, As Salt, including semi-settled tribes who total about 100,000. The largest group is Greek Orthodox, numbering about 50,000; the rest are made up of Greek Catholics, Latins and Protestants of various denominations. As a result of the growth of the national consciousness in the population, the differences which in the past have separated the Christian Arab minority in Transjordan and Palestine from the Moslem Arab majority no more exist. The same trend is discernible among the numerically small ethnic groups which cluster around certain towns and villages since they have arrived in Jordan before World War I. The government neither recognizes nor discriminates against ethnic minorities. Population figures for each ethnic group are undeterminable because the government, by not recognizing the existence of minority groups, does not enumerate them in population studies.

About 12,000 Circassians constitute the largest ethnic minority in Jordan. In 1862, advancing Russian armies, seeking to extend Czarist influence, forced this group of Sunni Moslems from its homeland in Caucasus and into the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan of Turkey granted the Circassians land in Syria and Transjordan in 1877. They were settled in the vicinity of Amman and at Al Qunaytra (now in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights). Circassian communities are now established in

9 Patai, op. cit., p. 16.
Wadi al Sir, Jarash, Naur, and Suwaylih. Until 1967, close contacts were maintained between the Circassian groups in Jordan and Syria, and intermarriage was frequent.

The Chechens, another Circassian tribal group, adhere to the Shii rather than the Sunni branch of Islam. They came to Jordan about the same time as their Sunni compatriots, whom they closely resemble in occupational preferences and physical type. Today the Chechens are few in number and are settled in the area around Amman.

Another ethnic minority includes a group of Samaritan Jews. Located primarily in the city of Nabulus in the West Bank, the Samaritans worship on Mount Gerizim. "In 1948 they refused to leave Arab Palestine, claiming that they would be better treated there than in Israel."

Other ethnic groups include small communities of Armenians, Greeks (primarily adherents to the Greek Orthodox Church), European missionaries and diplomatic personnel, Kurds, Bahais (a sect which split off from the Shiite Islamic branch) who arrived from Iran about 1910 and founded the village of Adasiya in the north Jordan Valley, and Druzes (members of a sect which originally derived from the Ismaili branch of Islam) from Southern Syria.

B. Language

Arabic is both the official language of Jordan and the popular language of its people. It is a rich and rhythmic Semitic language which today, and for centuries, has enchanted its listeners through poetry, speech, and song. Unlike Semitic languages that disappeared

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10 Harris, op. cit., pp. 30-31.
long ago, such as Phoenician and Aramaic, Arabic survives today as the mother tongue of more than 150 million people in a vast area stretching from Iraq and the Arabian westward to Morocco. As the language of the Koran, Islam's sacred book, Arabic is also the holy tongue of enormous non-Arab Moslem populations living in Africa, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, and other areas throughout the world.

Arabic constitutes not one language but several languages in one. Throughout the Arab region it exists in three main forms. The ancient classical Arabic is a standardized synthesis of the language of pre-Islamic Arabian poetry and the spoken dialect and the spoken dialect of the seventh century Hejaz. Modern literary Arabic is an evolved form of the classical language and is closely related to it. The colloquial spoken language differs markedly from literary Arabic in grammar, structure and vocabulary, and itself comprises a large variety of sometimes mutually unintelligible dialects.

Each one of the three main forms has its own characteristics and uses in Jordan. As the language of the Koran, ancient classical Arabic is considered as the epitome and standard of all linguistic excellence and beauty. The preservation of classical prose and poetical works has greatly helped keep this form alive and cherished. Today's writers and poets tend to imitate the classical language in their works, and speakers who can intersperse their language with quotations from the Koran and verses from classical poetry command admiration. Despite the fact that classical language is studied in classes on Arabic literature and grammar, real proficiency is achieved by only a relatively small number of scholars and European Arabists. Harris states that "much is made of the difficulties of learning Arabic: the colloquial
is considered 'very difficult for foreigners,' while classical Arabic poses extreme difficulties to foreigners and native speakers alike. Speakers of Indo-European languages have considerable trouble with Arabic grammar."

Modern literary Arabic, which has evolved from the classical form, is the vehicle of virtually all written communication in the country. It is used not only in books, periodicals, newspapers, and official records, but also for such things as personal letters, movie subtitles, and street signs. The occasions on which this literary form of Arabic is employed in spoken communication are limited but very significant, for they include most radio and television broadcasts, political debates, public speeches, and university lectures. Literary form is also employed in discussing scholarly or technical subjects when the language of the colloquial dialects would not suffice or be in place.

Throughout the Middle East, modern Arabic is comparatively uniform, but variations between the literary and spoken languages create a definite communication problem in Jordan and other Arabic-speaking countries where relatively low literacy rates prevail. "No Arab child grows up speaking literary Arabic. Instead, he studies in school much as an American child learns poetic form and the language of Shakespeare. Persons without formal education not only lack the ability to read and write the written language, but often experience considerable difficulty in understanding fully what is said over the radio, in the press, in public speeches, and in other presentations.

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12 Harris, op. cit., p. 31.
where the literary language is employed." Patai also comments on the difficulty of the educational task because of the differences between the literary and the colloquial language. "While learning to read and to write," he observes, "the child must at the same time learn what amounts to a new language." 14

The third form of Arabic, the colloquial, is the exclusive language of conversation, no matter how serious and formal. "Today court proceedings are in colloquial Arabic, although the records of the proceedings are written in classical Arabic." 15 Colloquial Arabic is the spoken language of movies and of folk poetry and ballads transmitted orally from one generation to another. Very seldom does the colloquial language appear in written form, and the rare cases encountered in cartoon captions, journalism, poetry or plays usually originate not in Jordan but in Egypt, Lebanon or Syria. "In general colloquial is spoken, rarely written; classical is usually written, less frequently spoken." 16

The colloquial language varies from country to country and region to region in the Middle East, and differences between dialects are sometimes so great as to prevent communication. These differences, according to Patai, are determined by two factors — geographic and sociological:

Geographically, one finds that the more distant the two localities whose dialects are compared, the greater the differences between the dialects. This rule holds good on a continental basis as well as on a national one.

14 Patai, op. cit., p. 256.
15 Harris, op. cit., p. 33.
16 Ibid., p. 31.
That is to say, the Jordanian dialects differ more from the Moroccan than from the Syrian idioms. Within Jordan herself, the local colloquial dialects of two neighboring towns show greater similarities than those of two distant towns. Sociologically, it is a peculiarity of Arabic dialects, that each of the three major ecological groups found in most Arab countries has a characteristic dialect (or group of dialects) of its own. Thus the colloquial language of the Jordanian Bedouins differ more from that of the Jordanian villagers or townspeople than from that of the Syrian or Saudi Arabian Bedouins. All these Bedouin dialects form a relative unity which is more closely related to the ancient classical Arabic than the dialects of the sedentary population. Again, the dialects of the villagers show marked contrasts to those of the townspeople. 17

In Jordan, the colloquial language is characterized by a diversity of dialects, conforming to a comparatively high standard of Arabic and none so different from the others as to preclude intelligibility or prohibit communication among Jordanians. Existing variations in the spoken language defy any rigid system of classification, but the dialects of the country do correspond roughly to its three ecological groups of bedouins, villagers, and city dwellers.

The bedouin dialect belongs primarily to the nomads of the eastern and southern deserts. Although vowel sounds in all of the colloquial dialects show a marked deviation from the literary Arabic, the pronunciation of consonants in the bedouin dialect conforms essentially to the written language in all but a few cases. One such exception is the substitution of "ch" (as in chair) for the "k" of the classical language and the city dialect, so that the colloquial jelf (how?) of the city dweller becomes jef in the bedouin vernacular. Like his urban and village compatriots, the bedouin's vocabulary mirrors in a special

17 Patai, op. cit., p. 255.
way his mode of life.

The village dialect is the spoken language of the majority of the population including the rural West Bank population and the dwellers of the northern East Bank. In pronunciation, this dialect is nearly identical to that of the bedouin, including the substitution of "ch" for the classical "k", but in structure, idiom and basic vocabulary, it differs remarkably from the language of the nomads. On the basis of minor variations in pronunciation and vocabulary, the spoken language of village people around Jerusalem and northward in the central West Bank may be distinguished from that of other village dialects and characterized as being somewhat further removed from the bedouin dialect.

The Jordanian city dwellers' dialect which differs greatly from the other dialects of the country in pronunciation, "is native and general only in Jerusalem, though most of its characteristics are found also in Janin and Hebron, as well as among the Palestinian refugees in Amman. This dialect, which may be termed Jerusalem Arabic, is more closely related to the spoken language of Lebanon and southwestern Syria than it is to the colloquial tongue of the villages and rural areas in its own immediate vicinity."\(^{18}\)

In a society characterized by such ethnic and religious divisions as Palestinian - Transjordanian, townsman — bedouin, Christian - Moslem, and Arab- Circassian, a common Arabic language is a significant element that constitutes a potential impetus toward social integration and the development of a national consciousness. This common language, however, is also a primary bond linking people to an Arab nationalism that

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extends across existing political boundaries. Many Arab writers and theorists view language, in the absence of political unity, as the chief agent which provides the contemporary basis of a wider Arab nationalism.

Arabic serves as a common social bond in Jordan and between Jordan and the Arabic-speaking world. The barriers to communication sometimes presented by the language are diminishing under the multiple impact of expanding education, increasing mobility and the widespread use of mass communications media, and a language common to all is gradually evolving. Radio, the chief medium of spoken literary Arabic, has played a significant role in familiarizing the population with the spoken literary language and in reducing the gap between literary Arabic and the spoken dialects. This gap is in fact considerably less today than it was about fifty years ago.

The increasing mobility between urban and rural areas, coupled with the dispersion of displaced Palestinians over the most inhabited regions of the country, is serving to acquaint individual population groups dialects other than their own to make dialectal differences less of a barrier to communication, and to render the language of ordinary conversation more adaptable and flexible. A person may find it possible, while conversing with compatriots outside his own dialect area, to avoid localisms in favor of better-known terms within his own dialect, or to draw a portion of his vocabulary from a dialect which carries more prestige than his own. Educated young men from a small village, for example, tend to employ their local dialect in its pure form only when communicating with family, close friends, or uneducated people. On other occasions they carefully avoid localisms and seek as much as
give rise to different social value systems.

1. The tribe

The bedouin tribe is organized like an army, with consecutively larger subdivisions, each encompassing a number of smaller groups. The smallest and most basic of these units is the extended family. An extended family can be made up of grandfather, father and son, and their wives and children, and may include a relatively large number of people. Given the value placed on having many sons, the family may grow to a fairly large size. Each family has its patriarch who is its representative in tribal affairs.

The next largest segment of the social structure is the "hamula," a group through which several related extended families can trace their descent to a common ancestor. The hamula provides protection for members of the extended families which are united under its system. Little stratification exists within these groups; members who are of the same generation refer to each other as "brother" or "cousin" and there are terms used to describe the relationship between those of different generations. It is important to note that no distinctions are customarily made except between generations. A young man, therefore, would call a person of the older generation "my father" or "my uncle," but the term could be applied to any one of that generation.

There is another unit at this level called the "khamsah" which means the "group of five." A man's Khamsah embraces all his patrilineal kin who are within five generations of relationship. There is some variation in the application of the rule, but the principle of five generations seems generally accepted. The Khamsah functions as the group which provides retribution and protection in cases of conflicts,
Fig. 10. Tribal subdivisions
Leadership in the tribe is usually vested by right in the heads of certain families. On the hamula level, the "shaykh" or head of the hamula will be designated from one of the constituent families. The same process operates in the choice of the head of the fakhddh, i.e., the leader is the one who is the head of a particular hamula and is chosen according to hereditary right. This system prevails at successive levels all the way up to the chief of the tribe.

The chieftain of the tribe is usually assisted by a "majlis" or tribal council consisting of the heads of families and representatives of subdivisions within the tribe. The chieftain's position of leadership is primarily dependent on his ability to deal with people. Most decisions are made by consensus, and if the chief cannot make his voice prevail, his position becomes merely that of chairman of the meeting. In point of fact, the chief was rarely more than a first among equals.

The chieftain does have some power outside the majlis. He rules exclusively on water rights, certifies marriage and divorces, and represents the tribe to outside bodies such as other tribes, villages or the national government.

Although the office of chieftain is vested by right in a particular family, considerable latitude is allowed as to who will be chosen from that family. The choice actually belongs to the whole tribe, because it will be the consensus of the tribe, expressed informally, which will

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22 Patai, op. cit., p. 173.
25 Lewis, loc. cit.
determine who of the local leaders will become the new chief.

The bedouins are aware of the two other groupings, the village and the town, and have dealings with the inhabitants of both. Bedouin relations with the village emerge from the process of sedentarization and the need for goods and supplies not available in the desert. Their relations with the city emerge from the periodic need to trade, and the fact that bedouin participation in the army creates contacts with the urban sector of society.

Between the camel nomad and the village there is a group of tribes which can be called transitional or intermediate types. These tribes combine possession of camels with ownership of sheep and sometimes even land. Other combinations are also to be found. Some of the shepherding tribes are more like bedouins; others more like villagers.

Since the villagers and the nomads have similar sets of values, certain attitudes are shared by both. These attitudes form the basis for the bedouin's desire to become sedentary and the villagers' acceptance of the nomads. On the one hand, the villager has great regard for the bedouin because bedouin values are considered ideal. Hospitality, honor, independence, physical prowess, respect for elders and leaders, respect for individual rights, the principle of mutual aid and disinterested help and community loyalty are some of the more widely known values of bedouin society. On the other hand, although the bedouin dislikes being held firmly in one place, the security and comfort of village life is appealing, as is the opportunity to make profit and attain status among the villagers.

The nomads, thus influenced, go through several stages: sheep nomadism, forced by economic conditions; closer relations with the
villages due to sheep grazing habits; acquisition of land as a sideline and the beginning of profit-making; realization that more profits will accrue from decreasing migration and spending more time on the land; possession of crop surpluses and the need for year-round storage and security; defensive alliance with the village and the beginnings of intermarriage.

In addition, other factors work to convince the bedouin to shift to a more sedentary way of life. Nomadic life is breaking down because of the growing dependence on the town for goods not available elsewhere. This process is reinforced by government efforts to entice the bedouin to settle in villages.

There are factors, however, which still function to keep the bedouin nomadic. The most important factor is the bedouin status system. There are two major groups of people to the bedouin: "ruhhal," referring to the nomads, and "hadar," referring to sedentary people. The camel nomad ranks himself at the peak of the ruhhal, claiming the right to be named Arab.

2. The village

Village life, reaching back into prehistoric times, may be well older in the area than the more spectacular bedouin nomadism. The impact of Islam in the seventh century A.D., however, gave added importance to the village, since the mosque and the religious school are Islamic institutions which require a stable sedentary population in order to function. The resistant patterns of village life are pressed upon the nomad when he becomes sedentarized and they are injected into the

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26 Harris, op. cit., p. 47.
urban setting with the increasing flow of villagers to the towns.

The Jordanian village shares its basic characteristics with thousands of others dotting the arc of cultivable land extending through Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. Beyond the broadest generalizations, however, the details of the village pattern vary and in Jordan certain specific factors further influence the picture of village life.

The Jordanian village is an agricultural unit and within the village the land use system reflects the social structure and stratification system. There are three types of land ownership in the Jordanian village. Land may be "miri" which is owned by the state, and leased to individuals, it may be "mulk" or freehold land which is the absolute property of its owner, or it may be "mushaa" which is under community ownership. Community-owned land was the most commonly found type in the last century, and village social structure is still reflected in this type of ownership.

Mushaa tenure system operates much like a large corporation. Individual households own shares in land but have no permanent rights of ownership in particular plots. The location of the land used by a household changes with every distribution. Land is allocated yearly by a local landowners' council on the basis of how much it is expected to produce, rather than on the basis of area. Ideally, each family receives an equal share of land (in terms of its expected output). Often however, the more powerful and prestigious owners of large shares of land are able to influence the landowners' council and acquire better

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28 Harris, op. cit., p. 59.
29 Ibid.
and more adjacent property. The owner of a small share of land may end up with his portion scattered in small parcels in such a way that he may not be able to realize maximum yield.

Due to the fact that relatives do not necessarily live near one another, social arrangements emerge which are based on the neighborhood rather than the kin group. Those individuals owning scattered parcels of land find it necessary to cooperate in working the land, and in some circumstances to share production means. One result of the mushaa system is to develop this on the basis of residence and land use and to reduce effectiveness of the kin ties. Antoun notes that "the practice of mashaa not only forbade the alienation of land outside the village but imposed a certain type of agricultural regime: village-wide cooperation in the coordination of planting, protection of fields, and the consecutive harvesting of crops and pasturing of animals."

The mushaa system also operates to provide social and economic power to the large landholder. The more land one owns the more he is in a position to influence local decisions in the community council. In some villages the council is in fact controlled by the possessors of the largest shares.

There is an increasing trend to convert these community holdings to freehold land, and this trend toward private ownership is reinforced by the government policy to distribute land among the bedouins. Because the land, whether freehold or community-owned has been permanently allocated on the basis of the traditional system, the social

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33 Antoun, loc. cit.
structure is being maintained.

Baytin is a village on the West Bank that reflects the common social organization related to the ownership of freehold land and sharecropping. There are four social classes in Baytin. The first class is composed of a small wealthy group of landowners. Upper class landowners do not farm their own land. Instead, they practice sharecropping, allowing other villagers to cultivate their fields in return for a share of the crop. This wealthy group includes government workers who have held important positions, returned immigrants, and those who have had college education.

The second social class is also composed almost wholly of people who are not directly engaged in agriculture. It includes shopkeepers, successful craftsmen, and school teachers. Compared to the mass of villagers this group is also well-off financially. The teachers are employed outside the village but consider themselves residents and live in the village on weekends and vacations. While the villager's income is not enough to maintain a style of life adequate for living in town, it is enough, however, to acquire symbols which confer prestige within it. This is why many retired teachers, soldiers, government employees and laborers, whose occupations "have drawn them out of their village for long periods, return to take their place in the traditional cycle of advancement by marrying village girls, becoming fathers of sons, and sitting in the guest houses as respected elders and arbitrators... economic opportunities outside of the village are not so great as to allow them to move out of it on a permanent basis, but they are enough to allow accumulation of prestige within it."36

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36 Antoun, op. cit., p. 7.
The third and by far the largest class is composed of the small independent farmers. These "fellahin" rarely earn enough from their own land to satisfy their needs; often they sharecrop the land of others or hire themselves out as laborers for modest wages to interested people in the village or outside it.

The fourth and final social class contains the landless. With the exception of the local shepherd most members of this group are dependent on charity for their existence. \(^{37}\)

The social arrangements of the Jordanian village are also affected by the sharecropping system. There are various types of sharecropping, but the principle involved gives a share of the crop to the farmer commensurate with the amount of financial support the landowner gives him. If the landowner supplies all the means of production and in addition sustains the sharecropper up to the harvest time, the sharecropper's portion of the harvest is relatively small. If all what the sharecropper gets is the use of the land from the owner, his portion is relatively large. Generally, the more the landowner supplies, the more the farmer is committed to him. This commitment may be reflected in supporting the landowner in village politics. Another arrangement, clientship, operates in cases when the sharecropper is destitute. The landowner or patron provides all the necessities of life for the client and the client becomes very close to being an indentured servant. The client who lives with the landowner is expected to fulfill more than farm labor obligations. His association is nevertheless voluntary; the client may break his agreement at any time.

Almost all sharecropping arrangements take place between superior and subordinate and imply something more than a simple economic

\(^{37}\) Lutfiyya, op. cit., p. 34.
arrangement. Long-term associations of the clientship type have been known to develop into a sort of quasi-kinship, with social ties developing near to kinship.

Besides the peasant—landowner and the sharecropper there is usually a small group of absentee landlords who own land in the village. These normally possess large amounts of land and can afford to live in the city having their land sharecropped. A second type of absentee lord emerges in villages which are relatively close to an industrial center. This is the owner of a small plot or of widely-scattered plots who cannot work his land profitably. He finds it more profitable to rent his land to a neighbor and work in the town. Commuting to the town, the small landowner may in time introduce some of the more modern aspects of urban life into the village.

The village of Baytin has another group of people who may be bringing in new ideas. Baytin is physically divided into three sectors or "haras" each harboring a group of people who tend to be related and generally in the same social and economic class. One of the three quarters is composed of people who have relatives living outside Jordan. Residents of this quarter receive financial assistance from abroad and use this money in the purchase of land. The social pattern of this section is marked off by a tendency to live in nuclear families (father, mother and children) as opposed to the larger extended families found in the other two quarters. This quarter is also characterized by an emphasis on education, especially abroad.

While the common denominator in the first sector is based upon

economic and social factors rather than on family relationships, the other two sectors are fundamentally, based on family relationships and are on an inferior economic level. In one of these two live the landless; the shepherds and sharecroppers and the unemployed. In the other live the remainder of the population. The inhabitants of these two quarters still practice polygamy and live in extended kin groups.39

Thus Baytin is divided into two social groupings; one is more modern, richer, better educated and less traditional, and may be considered the elite of the village. The mass of the people does not have such characteristics and is viewed as being on a different level socially.

Each hamula of the village elects a "mukhtar" whose job is to act as mediator between the hamula and the central government. He is the notary for the members of his hamula and deals with all official business between the villagers and the state.

Despite the two-level stratification of the village, there are people who are not easily classified as members of either group. These are the people, such as shopkeepers and craftsmen who have been able to achieve economic status and security. In economic terms they fit into the upper class, but they do not have the other characteristics which define the elite group.

"The Jordan mobility profile," states Lerner, "deviates from all regularities owing to the Palestinian refugees, whose 'mobility' was in fact a forced migration after the 1948 war." As a result of this

40 Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, p. 95.
mobility some changes have taken place in the village. Traditionally
Arab villagers have had one or more guest houses (madafa), which took
care of overnight visitors, acted as public meeting places, and served
"as much an arena of ethics as a court of justice [where]...the elders
in the guest house treat cases involving serious breaches of ethical
norms, e.g., disrespect of elders, in which the ultimate sanction of
the village — ostracism — can be effective." These guest houses
were sponsored by members of different hamulas. With the opening
up of village life, the guest houses in many a Jordanian village
were converted into coffee shops in which people had to pay for their
drinks. In the past the madafa served to reinforce the hamula
structure, and when the madafas were converted into shops this reinforce-
ment was lost.

The Jordanian fellah’s values, Qutub notes, are the outcome of four
deeply ingrained themes: (1) his devotion to his land, (2) his immersion
in the kinship groups, (3) his adherence to his religion, and (4) his
cohesive relationship to his community. Change is accepted by the villager
to the degree that it does not interfere with his identification. "And
yet his identification itself is changing as a result of subtle cultural
and social changes, economic conditions, and the establishment of
industrialization. The villagers is a mobile link between the less
developed, nomadic tribes, and the highly developed system of modern
organization." (Italics mine)

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41 Antoun, op. cit., p. 8.
42 Lutfiyya, op. cit., p. 22.
43 Ishaq Y. Qutub, "Social Change in Rural Jordan," Middle East
The town's primary functions are related to those institutions which must be centralized. Political administrations, military organization, educational, economic and religious institutions, all require some kind of centralization so as to function efficiently. Institutional factors, however, are not the primary reason for the existence of towns in Jordan, although larger cities are beginning to become centers of industrial, economic and cultural development.

The traditional Jordanian town is constituted of the leisure classes, people who are wealthy and influential, and the large number of people who provide services to them. A main type of town resident is the absentee landlord, whose land is worked by peasant sharecroppers and managed by foremen. Together with civil, military, and religious leaders, these landlords form the upper class of the Jordanian town. Indices of upper class membership are "birth...power and leadership. Wealth has always been a criterion for the upper class, since its members are usually the landlords." 44

The town's second level includes merchants, artisans, and shopkeepers who render their services to it. These are also well off financially but are not regarded among the upper level of society. A professional class has recently been developing: lawyers, doctors, engineers, and teachers, who do not belong to the traditional occupational structure. They form an intermediate economic level in the town and characterize a rising middle class. It would be erroneous, however, to judge class status in a Jordanian town in simple economic terms.

The two-level division into upper and lower class, patron and client, is one that is rooted in centuries of tradition. The whole concept of the Middle Eastern town is in fact an ancient one, and these ancient class divisions persist. Although economic status may be a key factor, related to it still are values of family prestige, wealth, and power which are not easily attained. Hence, this group of professionals does not yet have the correlates of high status. In the traditional view, it is not in the interests of the existing power structure to accept the new professionals as a separate elite group. Those who do have professional training, family prestige and economic status are associated with the town's upper class; those who do not have these correlates of status are relegated to the upper part of the lower class.

It must be pointed out, however, that, in general, the foregoing model refers to the "old towns" which have not been undergoing any serious pressures of change. Other characteristics of their social organization resemble those attached to the village and bedouin. Families are extended and made up of lineages in which principles of patrilineality and family loyalty are adhered to. Protection and support are supplied by the lineage, and there still exist some inclinations of lineage responsibility for the action of members.

In some parts of Jordan, the so-called "new towns," traditional forms are losing force, and new patterns are developing. The influx of refugees to the cities, the relative rise in status provided by opportunities to study and work in nonagricultural areas, and the breakup of extended family ties have helped sustain this change.  

There is no middle class in traditional Jordanian society. Arab society in general, Tannous points out, has for centuries been characterized by a "sharp segmentation into two strata of extremes, with a deep and wide gap in between." The social gap between the two extremes expanded under the influence of the initial impact of Westernization.

"The West has tended to widen the social gulf between rich and poor in the Middle East by dangling in the faces of the poor conveniences and luxuries of which they had never before heard and which they now cannot have, while giving the rich new and expensive tastes, and the need for more and more income."  

The stratification system in the villages and towns of Jordan has two levels with no place for an intermediate group inbetween. There are indications, however, that in contrast to the system still prevailing in the towns, a middle class is brought into being among the professional and white collar groups in the larger cities. It is derived from the following sources: (1) The well-to-do villagers who could afford to provide their children with a good education, (2) the lower class who profited from free education services, and (3) the upper class whose children prepared for professional careers. Patai points out however, that the latter "still belong to the upper or elite class." This middle class has members in government white-collar jobs, in the clerical and technical divisions of the army, in education.

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46 Afif Tannous, "Dilemma of the Elite in Arab Society," Human Organization, XIV (Fall, 1955), 11-15.
and in the professions. Because this group differs from the traditional majority in that its members work for their wages, it is sometimes called the "salaried middle class." 50

Members of this salaried group have occupational specializations which are not derived from the traditional framework and which are necessary for the running of a modern state. Through professional training, this new middle class has acquired power and now uses its control over the administrative and social services of the state, thus leading the quest for the status, power, and prosperity. Halpern writes:

In the Middle East, this salaried new middle class assumes a far more important role than the local property-owning middle class. Although the latter is about as numerous as that portion of the new middle class which is actually employed, it has far less power than the salaried group. Neither in capital, organization, nor skills do the merchants and middlemen control anything comparable to that power which can be mustered by the machinery of the state and hence utilized by the new salaried class. 52.

A phenomenon affecting the stability of the Jordanian middle class, Qutub observes, "is the exodus of professional and skilled personnel to neighboring Arab countries such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Libya and others." He adds:

The oil-producing countries pay higher salaries with which Jordan cannot compete. The high salaries and social prestige outside Jordan are an attraction for professionals, especially those

51 In Halpern's analysis, the term "new middle class" excludes the property-owning middle class. However, it includes both those who are now drawing salaries and a far larger group—a "would-be new middle class" which resembles this class in every respect except that it is unemployed. 52 Halpern, op. cit., pp. 53-54.
from the intelligentsia among the refugees. Nevertheless, the members of the middle class constitute the largest proportion of entrepreneurs in the industrial and commercial centers in Jordan. These people have gained experience under the mandatory Government, or have had some western education and training. The members of the middle class are being absorbed in the developing industries and various economic institutions in rural areas as well as in the urban centres. 53

The foregoing analysis of the living patterns in the bedouin encampment, the village and the town and city, reflects the degree to which urbanization has influenced each of these segments of the population. As there is no one inclusive living pattern, it does not follow that there is one monolithic system of social principles for all the people.

The majority of the people, however, who are Arabs and who practice the Islamic faith, share social attitudes inherent in the general Arab-Islamic value system. The urbanized residents of major cities, the Christians, and the Circassians, while maintaining their own social value systems, share specific values and attitudes with the Arab-Islamic system. Values, such as the emphasis on the family, and the desire to attain status through wealth and numerous male offspring, are evident in varying gradations in most sectors of society.

There are contrasts between the different modes of life in nomadic camp, village and town. Underlying the subsistence patterns for each segment of the society, however, is a core of values directly related to the traditional Arab-Islamic way of living, but which can be expressed in the developmental framework. The more tradition-minded

camel nomads tend to retain the ancient bedouin value system most tenaciously, and variations away from that system begin to appear as the population becomes more sedentary and urban.

The traditional Arab value scheme, as expressed in the culture of the camel nomads, highly esteems freedom, independence, bravery, honor, protection of the weak, and vengefulness. These values form a set that is related to the nature of the traditional bedouin society. A complementary set of values seems to represent the more peaceful aspects of bedouin life: leisure, forgiveness, generosity, hospitality, and familism. Held in equal esteem, but from a negative viewpoint, are values related to the bedouin desire to avoid losing face or being dishonored in any way.

Village life, particularly in the more rural villages, has been markedly influenced by the camel nomads' values. Familism is most rigorously retained in the village. Other values such as freedom and independence are either expressed differently from the nomad, or are held less firmly.

The rural village and, to higher degree, the bedouin camp, most nearly represent what is often called the traditional value system. The system's inherent values have evolved from the Arab--Islamic culture which is prevalent in the Middle East. Tradition holds a strong position as a regulator of individual and group actions. "Good" and "bad" acts are so defined in the light of the traditional norm. Thus, an act is good if it is in accord with custom; if not, it is bad. In the absence of a specific traditional norm, one's behavior is expected

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to be guided by the spirit of tradition in general.

In light of this orientation, the observer can, without much difficulty, explain the reasons behind certain habits found in this society. There is a permanent desire to get back to "the good old days." Innovators are always the targets of shame and ridicule. Invariably there is an outright rejection of anything new that seems to conflict with tradition. There is always a deep respect for the aged, and a heavy dependence upon proverbs and sayings in every-day conversation.

In cities, towns, and in the villages in close contact with the towns, a rather different and modified system is emerging. There the Arab-Islamic value system, which has been influenced by extraneous European forces, functions through Arab and European social institutions. In Amman, Jerusalem, Nabulus, and the other urban centres, Western values, such as the emphasis placed on the individual are beginning to take hold. The social values of many urbanites are different from those of the rural village residents.

There is a gradual transition in outlook from more traditional in the bedouin tribe to more modernized in the urban centres. Between these two extremes there are various degrees of traditional and modern values. The transition is more noticeable in the town. Not only is a different outlook evident, but it is also obvious that there is no single value orientation in the town. The nomadic tribe and the rural village have relative homogeneity in their cultural composition, in the town and city such homogeneity does not exist.

55 Hamady, op. cit., p. 152.
There are people in the urban areas who have recently arrived from the village and whose orientation and outlook are close to the traditional citizen. Among the arrivals of refugees who have settled in East Bank towns there is a sophisticated intelligentsia, a developing middle class, and other groups which are more educated in the Western value system and who may tend to reject the traditional system as primitive. There is also a large section of intermediates, people who retain parts of the traditional set of values and adjust them to more modern urban living. This adjustment is bringing about new interpretations of the original values to the extent that the values may be in some cases completely changed. This does not mean that social behavior in such cases is contrary to basic social values, but that some values may be redefined as a result of social changes.

Freedom, independence, and leisure are examples for which varying interpretations are employed. Freedom, for the nomad, traditionally means the ability to do as he pleases, to move where and when he wants without hindrance from any authority. Individualism was always an essential characteristic of the bedouin, which was accentuated by the harsh climate of the desert. This distinguishing quality drove him into living in isolation and created in him a keen appreciation for freedom. He had a love for freedom and independence that had a meaning different from what we understand by it now. Hamady says:

> It was a kind that did not derive from a principle nor from a definition of human rights. It was not a preconceived idea that was wanted, defined, and then obtained. Theirs was a matter-of-fact freedom whose origin was the

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open space. It was therefore not an acquired right but a property available to anyone. There was no one that had an interest in prohibiting or limiting it. Yet it must be emphasized that the freedom of the early Arabs was restricted to the various tribes and not to the individual members themselves. It was the kin group that had the freedom to make the decisions for its members and to manage their affairs and destinies. 59

The bedouin is not free, therefore, from the restrictions imposed upon him by his family or from those that are part of the social order. His freedom lies in doing anything that the social order allows. In this broad sense, the value of freedom is similar for all sectors of the society, that is, doing anything that the social order permits. It is in the specific goal or expression of the value, however, that all three sectors differ. Likewise, leisure is defined as the ability to be free of the hard and exhausting labor of the fellah and to find time to carry out one's necessary tasks.

The fellah also longs for freedom, but interprets it differently. Freedom to him is possessing enough land to be economically independent and not dependent upon others in the village for work and patronage. What the fellah wants is to be able to be his own master and to control his own property. Freedom for most villagers does not involve reducing the need to toll; the ever-present necessities of subsistence agriculture restrict their visions of leisure.

In the town, independence, freedom and leisure are interpreted differently from both the nomad's and the villager's views. The more conservative segments of the town apply the traditional meaning of collective independence for the family. Among the more modernized residents of the town, freedom and independence assume a personal

59 Hamady, op. cit., pp. 97-98.
meaning. Individuals want to be free to assert themselves beyond the confinements of the family. The yearning for and ability to form new friendships and associations outside the family is an expression of this value. Augmented political awareness as a consequence of greater access to information media, projects the search for this modern form of freedom into feelings of nationalism. The ability to be anonymous in a crowd, not to be constrained, by the values and norms of the family, is another freedom much sought among city and town dwellers. These "anomies" arise, Rieseman tells us, as by-products "of the attempt to create inner-direction and other-direction...Types brought up under a familial regime of tradition-direction may later find themselves misfits in a society by then dependent on inner direction; likewise; the rise of other-direction may drive inner-directed as well as tradition-directed types into anomie." Leisure also acquires a new meaning for the more modernized residents of the town. Mass media, especially television, radio, and motion pictures, occupy more of the leisure time of city residents to the extent that planned public entertainment is regarded as a social necessity.

A significant difference between leisure time activities in Jordan and other Arab countries can be noticed. People may be equally interested in spending their leisure time attending to the media, but a much less obvious tendency for them to participate in leisure time activity with members of the opposite sex still continues. In the more westernized countries of Egypt and Lebanon, there is an increasing tendency toward social contact between the sexes, but Jordan lingers in

this regard. The indication is that the still-existing dependence on certain traditional values, such as the separation of sexes in public, can be found even in the more westernized sections of the population.

Generosity, hospitality, and the related practice of protection of the weak persist to be practiced in all segments of the society, towns and cities, as well as in villages and bedouin camps. There are differences, however, in the social values of the different sectors of society. These differences do not lie in the categorization of values, but in the manner each value is interpreted by the people of each segment of the Jordanian population.

D. Education

Educational institutions consist of public, private, and Palestine refugee schools. Public education is centralized and directed by the government through the Ministry of Education. Curriculum, licenses, teaching certificates and other educational procedures are all administered from the capital, Amman.

Public or government schools are financed and supervised by the Ministries of Education, Defense, Social Welfare, Agriculture, Health, and Religious Affairs. Private schools are maintained by Moslems, Christians or foreign agencies. Refugee schools are operated jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).

There were about 500,000 pupils in the early 1960's. Schools

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under the Ministry of Education had most of the students, followed by UNRWA and national private schools in that order. In 1966-67 academic year the student-teacher ratio was 34 to 1. Schools operated by ministries other than the Ministry of Education registered the lowest student-teacher ratio (24 to 1) and UNRWA schools the highest (38 to 1).

The Ministry of Education directly manages public schools, licenses private schools and approves the appointments of all teachers. It plans curricula, approves textbooks, and conducts public examinations. The Ministry is represented in each of the country's seven districts by an inspector who is director of education for the district. All principals of government schools are responsible to the inspector who visits and evaluates schools and teachers and advises on curricula and administrative matters. Attendance at public elementary schools is free; secondary schools charge each student a nominal fee of two Jordanian Dinars annually.

Jordan receives foreign assistance for education. UNRWA spends approximately $8 million annually for construction and operating costs. The Jordanian Government gets from UNRWA $7 for each refugee student in government primary schools and $40 for each in secondary schools. In 1959, UNESCO provided $55,000 worth of assistance in the form of specialists, educational advisers and school buildings especially agricultural schools and teachers' colleges.

The educational pattern in public schools consists of an elementary cycle of six grades, an intermediate — or preparatory cycle of three

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64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., p. 99.
grades and an upper secondary cycle of three grades. Examinations are required upon completion of each cycle. Nine years of schooling is legally compulsory, which means that every Jordanian child receives compulsory education from the age of six through the age of fifteen. This law, however, is not always enforced. The school year from October to the end of May is divided into three terms.

Private schools, national and foreign, must teach Arabic, history, geography and civics. Many private schools offer the kindergarten or preprimary training not available in the public school system. English is taught each year beginning in kindergarten (in public schools English is taught in the fifth grade). The Minister of Education draws the general curriculum policy after consulting different educational groups, including the Supreme Educational Council, a purely advisory body constituted of eminent Jordanian educators.

The Education and Training Division of UNRWA assumes the responsibility for educating the children of refugees. The head of the Division is administratively responsible to the Director - General of UNESCO. Most of the administrators and teachers of the division are refugees. The school system for refugees, well-established by the 1960's, underwent a great strain as a consequence of the June 1967 War which brought more refugees with their children to the East Bank and disrupted activities in the West Bank territory.

In addition to academic instruction, UNRWA, with help from UNESCO and a number of foreign governmental and private agencies, runs a

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number of adult training centers in Jordan. The Kalandia Center near Jerusalem and the Wadi Seer Center near Amman offer blacksmithing, auto mechanics, electricity, radio and television repair and other vocational preparation for men. In refugee camps, social workers instruct women in reading skills, child care, handicrafts, first aid and cooking, and offer training in building skills and simple carpentry to men not qualified to attend formal vocational courses at training centers.

In order to train manpower for the nation's economic priorities and also relieve unemployment among upper secondary school graduates, the government supports vocational, agricultural and commercial schools. "Like other Middle Easterners," notes Harris, "Jordanians tend to look upon manual work with disdain and aversion." Conscious of this problem, the government "is trying to give education a more practical orientation." 67

Schools are geographically situated where needs exist; thus, industrial schools are usually in towns in need for semi-skilled workers. Agricultural schools are located near villages in which farming is the main source of income. In 1966-67 Jordan's 15 industrial schools registered 208 teachers and 2,199 students, including females for the first time. One fourth of these students attend government schools, and the remainder attend UNRWA and private schools. The Amman Industrial School sponsored by the Ministry of Education for upper secondary level borders, offers general secondary subjects, geometrical and technical drawing, industrial accounting and technology. First-year students train in the summer at local factories. An optional fourth

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67 Harris, op. cit., p. 195.
year of study prepares the student to become a technical teacher at primary and intermediate schools.

Around 69 secondary schools in small towns and villages offer agricultural courses. In Al Karak district, the El-Rubbah Agricultural School offers three years of training with an optional fourth year. The Al-Jubayhah Agricultural College near Amman, a semi-university college run by the Ministry of Agriculture, plans to develop into a full 4-year university-college offering a bachelor of science degree in agriculture.

Commercial courses, including bookkeeping, commercial correspondence, and general commercial knowledge, are available in about 43 secondary schools. Seven girls' schools teach Arabic and English typing. Three specifically commercial schools in Amman, Irbid, and Al Karak combine business education with some general subjects. A typical two-year curriculum includes accounting, bookkeeping, business management, Arabic and English typing, correspondence and some general secondary subjects. UNRWA sponsors commercial schools in Nablus, Al Khalil (Hebron) and Ramallah.

Supplementing the vocational, agricultural and commercial schools are three government institutions which train students for nursing, midwifery, and child care.

As in most developing countries, higher education in Jordan is growing in response to the state's immediate needs. Teacher training schools were the first institutions of higher learning. There are seven teacher training institutions in Jordan — five supervised and

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operated by the government and two by UNRWA. In-service correspondence courses are available to teachers already in the field. To meet the increasing need for higher education, the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Supreme Council of Education founded the University of Jordan in September 1962. The campus, comprising 150 acres six miles northwest of Amman, is governed by a board of ten trustees responsible for providing funds, approving the university budget, setting up new facilities and deciding tuition fees.

The Faculty of Arts was the first to be established and includes the following sections: Arabic language and literature; English language and literature; history and archaeology; geography; philosophy and sociology; and pedagogy and psychology. The study course lasts four years. The Faculty has 52 on its staff and nearly 800 students, one third of whom are females.

The Faculty of Sciences was founded in 1965, and has four sections: mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology. It opened with 166 students, and the number has steadily increased.

The Faculty of Commerce was established in the same year, and consists of four sections: economics, business administration, accounting, and political science and business administration. This Faculty started with 228 students, and has also made a rapid progress ever since.

In 1967, in addition to the students at the University of Jordan, an estimated 5,000 young people were attending higher learning institutions in the United Arab Republic, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, the Federal

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70 Randall, op. cit., p. 226.
Republic of Germany and other countries. American colleges and universities registered 825 Jordanians, including 70 women, in 1966-67. Analysis of academic status revealed 560 undergraduates, 116 Master of Arts candidates, 89 doctoral candidates and 53 graduates pursuing professional or unspecified degrees. Primary interest centers on engineering, the physical and life sciences, but students seek degrees in a wide variety of fields. Over half of the students finance their own education in the United States.

The large number of students seeking higher education abroad reflects the lack of adequate opportunities for study and research in Jordan's growing but still underdeveloped higher educational system. Qubain commends the manner in which the University of Jordan had been established and the planning that accompanies its gradual but stable growth:

The establishment of a university including a college of arts, rather than being a college of arts by itself, probably stems from the desire to avoid the numerous problems which other Arab countries, such as Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, experienced in developing their respective university systems. In these countries, many of the existing university colleges started as separate institutions and developed their own traditions. The respective governments had considerable difficulty combining them into a university structure and, to this day, as a result of their separate origins, there is a great lack of coordination and cooperation among the university colleges. Jordan apparently wants to bypass these administrative and organizational problems by providing a university structure, and a central administration from the very beginning. As new colleges develop, they can be incorporated

E. Communication

Communication - both interpersonal and mass - takes place in a context that is appropriately Jordanian. To understand communication patterns in Jordan, we shall first take a look at the factors affecting personal and social communication, and then move to discuss the modern media of mass communication.

1. Personal and social communication

a) Postal and telecommunications facilities

All postal and telecommunications facilities in Jordan are owned by the government and operated through the Ministry of Communications, Post, Telegraphs, and Telephones. Prior to the war of June 1967 postal services were available in all areas of the country, and a nation-wide telephone and telegraph system was serving scores of Jordanian cities, towns, and villages.

The government has undertaken a program of telecommunications modernization and improvement which is designed to meet a growing backlog of demand for services and to provide communication facilities essential to the commercial and industrial expansion called for in the development plans. The improvement project includes a training program for the Ministry of Communications employees, as well as a study reorganizing the Ministry by separating telecommunications activities, both administratively and financially, from postal operations.

The post offices are the main points of contact between the Ministry of Communications and the public. These offices do not only

\[72\] Qubain, op. cit., pp. 298-299.
perform basic postal services such as selling stamps and money orders and sending mail, but also serve as business offices for the telecommunications system, taking care of such matters as telegraph deliveries, telephone billings, subscriber relations, and general maintenance of telecommunications facilities. In smaller communities where the volume of mail does not justify founding a post office, simple post services are carried out by postal agencies which are usually operated under government contract by small shopkeepers who continue to run their own business as well.

Mail service is widely used as a channel of communication by the literate population. Jordanians sent over 20 million letters and cards through the mails in 1966, for example, compared with only 4.5 million in 1953 and 9 million in 1963. About half of the pieces mailed in 1966 (over 10 million) were distributed outside the national territory. Jordanians received some 6 million letters from abroad during the same year. All official mail service between the East and West Banks ceased with the war of June 1967.

The growth of telegraph traffic in the country in recent years has far exceeded official projections. Plans for improvement of telegraph facilities included thousands of additional main lines and extensions, the installation of telex exchanges in Amman, Irbid, Aqaba, Jerusalem, and Nablus, and the establishment of international telex services via Rome and London, and the conversion of Morse telegraph facilities into teleprinter services. As in the case of postal services, telegraph connections between the East and West Banks were

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disrupted by the June 1967 war. West Bank telegraph improvements have also been interrupted in the aftermath of the war.

The telephone network consists of 31,000 telephones connected to a major exchange at Amman, relatively large exchanges at Jerusalem and Irbid, and a number of smaller and principally manual exchanges in other areas throughout the country. Before the 1967 War, connections between many cities, towns, and villages were available, but almost all calls outside local exchange areas encountered considerable delays. There were 1.4 telephones per 100 inhabitants in 1970 compared to a higher pre-war average of 1.6 in 1966.

The telecommunication improvement program is in large measure designed to overcome deficiencies which characterized the telephone system in the mid-1960's. In addition to substantial delays in intra-city and overseas calls, these deficiencies included a backlog of thousands of requests for new telephone service and a waiting period of several years to have requested telephones installed. Despite the interruption which the June 1967 war has caused in the West Bank telephone improvements, it has been decided to proceed with East Bank projects, since postponement would result in an even greater backlog of demand for telephone service and would seriously hamper commercial and industrial activities in the country. The telecommunications modernization program has culminated in the establishment of an earth station for satellite communications which went into operation in the earlier part of 1972.

75 United Nations, loc. cit.
b) Informal channels of communication

In a society where a relatively high percentage of the population is illiterate and has limited regular access to modern telecommunications facilities, informal channels of communication through word of mouth and direct personal encounter acquire more than ordinary significance. Outside cities and towns, oral communication continues to predominate, stimulated in the desert by encounters between migrating tribes and in the villages by the popularity of such gathering places as coffeehouses, the mosque courtyard, the village square, and even the local cemetery. The traveling merchant is usually the source of news from the city, and the literate villager informs other villagers of newspaper content. In the coffee houses, men discuss politics or listen to the radio, especially in the event of a political crisis or government speech. Political discussions are not restricted to men, but they are of more concern to men than to the women who hold conversations in homes, at the market, or in the local cemetery, a popular meeting place. Age, education, and group membership, determined by family, religion, or residence, mark off opinion leaders. Outsiders are inquired for information but their opinion is rarely accepted.

Even the mass media, a potential integrating force between geographic regions and socio-economic strata of the society, penetrate to their wider audiences in the villages and desert through such informal oral channels as peddlers, travelers, and self-styled "translators" of the literary language employed in newspapers and broadcasting. Local opinion-leaders such as the Mukhtars, the chief spokesmen for their villages, create favorable atmosphere to progress because they "often
have radios, and thus they bring news and the stimulus created by news to the villagers."  

The importance of informal communication is augmented by attitudes of suspicion and derision on the part of some traditional elements toward mechanical communication devices and the printed word. Among illiterate tribesmen and villagers, for example, books and other printed materials characteristically enjoy little credibility and carry far less weight in confirming opinions than do traditional sayings and proverbs, bequeathed from generation to generation and accepted uncritically as embodiments of truth and fact. Since ancient times, the fellah's wisdom "has crystallized into pithy sayings and proverbs which are ready coin for all the different circumstances of his life and absolve him from individual thinking."  

Hocking notes that the "nomad [or] farmer...has not sold the integrity of his soul to books; he is not lost without them; he has no duty to them; his mind distills wisdom and poetry in its native speech, for its depth are living. The selected mental goods of a lifetime are ready to his tongue, his hearing, his action." 

c) Social patterns and institutions affecting communication

To the degree that social institutions, patterns and values keep their traditional character, so too does personal and social communication. Among the elements which condition communication in the traditional system are ethnocentricism, a greater liking for custom over innovation, equating wisdom with old age, and the continuing strength of tribal and

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familial social controls. Many nomadic tribes and outlying villages still have little contact with or interest in outside groups, for example, and such traditional elites as tribal chieftains and village elders retain much of their historic influence as opinion leaders. The views of outsiders may be listened to with interest, but their opinions are seldom accepted, and the most trusted sources of information in the traditional system remain relatives, respected elders, and close friends.

The continuing strength of traditionalism in many parts of the country notwithstanding, modern institutions and changing social patterns are reducing the barriers between the country's geographic groups, softening down social controls, and promoting personal and social communication in the process. Symbolic of these modernizing and integrating trends are the country's cities and larger towns, whose populations form an amalgam of elements with diverse origins, elite groups, and economic strata, attracted to the urban centers by economic, social, and educational aspirations and opportunities.

Also in the cities and towns, women have assumed an active role in the social communication process. During the 1950's, no women's organizations existed on the East Bank. By 1960, however, some 30 women's organizations based in urban areas on both sides of the Jordan River were utilizing the press, radio, group discussions, lectures, and other channels of communication to promote "their functions [which] vary from providing charity, relief, and child care centers, to the initiation of social projects in the promotion of education, sanitation, and the principles and ideals of citizenship."

79 Qutub, "The Rise of the Middle Class," Middle East Forum, XXXVII (December, 1961), 43.
Mobility patterns, molded largely by economic factors, political considerations, and rising social expectations, do much to foster communication and social change. The presence of large numbers of displaced Palestinians in Amman and other East Bank towns provides the most striking illustration of how geographic mobility has promoted contact among diverse Jordanian population groups. The interaction of the Palestinians and Transjordanians, after the amalgamation of the two countries, brought about many improvements in the economic and social situation. The Palestinians have educational skills and training in professions and all vocations, excelling the standards of the East Bank. They "infused the strong Jordanian community with modern knowledge and skill."

The process of bedouin sedenterization, now well under way, constitutes a second major example of how geographic mobility augments social communication. In many areas of the country, for example, bedouins lead a nomadic life during the winter and spring, but settle during the summer months in villages, where many become landowners and get involved in farming.

The contacts of the bedouin with urban areas have also increased substantially, and many nomads who have become sedentary have settled in larger towns and cities rather than in rural agricultural areas. Communication between sedentary populations and those who continue to lead a nomadic existence is stimulated by the bazaar and marketplace, to which the bedouin frequently goes to get clothing, tent cloth and

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81 Ibid., p. 339.
other materials that he previously produced himself.

A final illustration of how geographic mobility fosters communication between traditional and modernizing elements is the villager or nomad who spends some time in urban areas of Jordan or in a foreign country, and then returns to his native village or tribe with social attitudes and values which are no longer in accord with the dictates of the prevailing traditional culture. Among those who return to challenge traditional elites, beliefs, and modes of life are students, army conscripts, and persons whom lucrative employment in urban areas or foreign countries has enabled to acquire land, promoted social status, and a certain independence from traditional social controls.

Among the country's important integrative institutions is the army, which markedly led to bringing tribal groups and villagers into the mainstream of the country's life. The bedouins' social life is being affected "by the fact that so many of the young men serve in the Jordan army and become accustomed to housing and an urban life. When they return to the tribe they think in terms of the life they have led in the army."\(^3\) Despite the fact that nomadic and semi-nomadic groups have few representatives in the civil service and play little in local government, for example, their important role in the armed forces fosters contact with sedentary and modernizing population groups, supplies opportunities for formal education, and serves as the channel through which many bedouin officers ascend to position of leadership at the national level.\(^4\) Military service, for the young village


\(^4\) Bromage, loc. cit.
recruit, may provide his first opportunity to travel beyond his native community, and the monthly salary he usually gets sometimes exceeds the income of even the wealthy farmers in his home village.

The expansion of central government services and regulations into desert and rural areas, resulting in the presence of teachers, administrators, and other officials in formerly isolated communities, constitutes another major communication channel between desert, rural, and urban regions in Jordan. It must be noted, however, that such communication continues to be impeded by the suspicion and distrust which many tribesmen and villagers feel to these "outsiders." Among many villagers, distrust and fear of the government are not uncommon, and suspicion of government motives may lead to withholding of accurate information from census employees and other administrative officials.

Also indicative of the continuing communication problem between modernizing outsiders and traditional elements are village attitudes toward teachers assigned by the government to rural areas. "The teacher is highly respected in the village and often asked to sit in on village meetings, and he is consulted on various local issues." Evidence also exists, however, that the teacher is still regarded as an outsider in many rural areas. Antoun reports on a teacher in the isolated East Bank village of Kafr al Ma, for example, who found himself excluded from village counsels and relations when he did not fulfill village expectations that testing and grading would be implemented according to traditional criteria of personal ties and friendship, rather

86 Qutub, loc. cit.
than rationalized objective standards. As an outsider living in the village, the villagers at that point regarded the teacher "in' the village but not 'of' it." 87

2. Mass communication

Before 1948, the area known as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan had no newspapers, television, or cinema theatres. In late 1968, with a population of over two million in the West and East Banks, Jordan had a television station, five radio transmitters, 70,000 radio receivers, six daily and weekly newspapers, and 54 cinemas in the two regions. This development aside, traditional values, inadequate nationwide facilities, and a declining, but nonetheless high, illiteracy rate of 54 percent have restrained the rise and effect of mass communications. Still lagging behind other Middle Eastern countries in cinemas and publications, Jordan's progress nevertheless has been considerable and the country relies on mass communications to inseminate values of modernity in its population. 88

Radio and television, both government-controlled, are the most highly developed and appealing mass media in Jordan, followed by the cinema and press. Television was established in 1968; the number of sets is estimated at 56,000 and broadcasting hours greatly expanded over the past few years.

a) Press

The first two newspapers in Jordan appeared in 1949, having been transferred to Jerusalem from Jaffa by Palestinians. Falastin

87 Antoun, op. cit., p. 9.
(Palestine), the oldest Jordanian daily, was founded in Jaffa in 1911. The second newspaper was ad-Difa'a (Defense), founded in Jaffa in 1933. Sympathetic to the Palestinian viewpoint like Falastin, ad-Difa'a attained the largest circulation (7000) among Jordan's four dailies prior to 1967. At that time the four daily newspapers were Falastin, ad-Difa'a, al-Jihad (Holy War), published in Jerusalem, and al-Urdunn (Jordan), published in Amman.

With the coming of the Palestinian newspapers, edited by irredentists, political journalism acquired a new role. The Jerusalem-based newspapers, edited and read by Palestinian and West Bank residents, tended to reflect the Palestine situation. Editorials criticized conservatism and sympathized with Arab nationalism. The government expressed concern for higher journalistic standards and newspapers were accused of putting financial security above those standards. This led to the abolition of almost all newspapers as a result of the March 1967 press code. When the government invalidated licenses on March 12, newspapers ceased publication for about six weeks. The government then announced the formation of two new publishing companies and one daily newspaper in each of Amman and Jerusalem. Prior to the press code, Jerusalem had three Arabic dailies (ad-Difa'a, Falastin, and al-Jihad), and Amman one (al-Manar).

According to the press code stipulations, a newspaper was to publish at least eight pages daily, subscribe to at least two news agencies, and present its editor's name for the consideration of the government in order to get a publishing license. The government would

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90 Patai, op. cit., p. 271.
91 Ibid.
92 Area Handbook of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, loc. cit.
possess one-fourth of two new publishing companies, each given the right to publish one English daily in Jerusalem, in addition to a weekly and one monthly. Finally, correspondents and press were subject to censure.

After the press code announcement, three new dailies appeared. Al-Quds (Jerusalem), a combination of ad-Difa'a and al-Jihad. The editors of the merged newspapers remained, but the government got possession of 25 percent interest in the publisher and provided additional editors. Two other papers, Falastin and al-Manar (Lighthouse), merged to become ad-Dustour (Constitution), published from Amman. As with Al-Quds the government possesses 25 percent interest in the new Jordanian Press and Publishing Company, and the former editors of Falastin and al-Manar were associated with the new publication. In 1968, they worked, however, under a government-appointed editor.

An English language daily, Palestine News, first appeared in Jerusalem on April 21, 1967. Published by the Jordanian Press and Publishing Company, it was dedicated to the Palestine cause and further served as a tourist guide. After the June 1967 war both Al-Quds and Palestine News discontinued publication. The postwar Parliament and Cabinet defeated the press code which before was only an executive order, on December 5, 1967. It never, then, actually became law, yet the objectives and suggestions of the government continue to be unofficially enforced.

Following the events of 1967 there were two dailies in the country, ad-Difa'a and ad-Dustour. The former was the only newspaper that

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was publishing before the press code. It resumed publication after a brief merger with the defunct Al-Quds. Both ad-Difa'a published by an independent company, and ad-Dustour published by the Jordanian Press and Publishing Company appeared in Amman. In 1970 ad-Difa'a ceased publication, and new government-sponsored daily ar-Rai (Opinion) appeared in 1972 in Amman.

In addition to the two current dailies, weekly newspapers supplement news with features and background information; they carry more papers and pictures than the dailies. The government publication al-Jaridah ar-Rasmiyah (Official Gazette), is the oldest weekly and had the largest circulation. It usually contains laws, government regulations and official news. Other weekly newspapers include Amman al-Massa (Amman Evening) and Akbar al-Usbu' (Weekly News).

The Jordanian Press Agency was established in January 1965, to disseminate daily bulletins covering the Jordanian scene. Maintained by the Ministry of Information, the agency has no correspondents outside the Arab world. The press depends on several other news agencies, all of which have local representatives in the country. Among the principal news sources are the Middle East News Agency (MENA), originating from Cairo and distributor of Reuters News Service in the Arab world; United Press International; Associated Press; Agence France Presse, Tass, and foreign broadcasts. The eight-page regulation of March 1967 is followed by the dailies. The newspapers, appearing six days a week, are seven columns in width and carry few advertisements. The press covers mostly local news and events in the Arab world, with limited

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94 Patai, op. cit., p. 272.
focus on international affairs.

After broadcasting and cinema, the press is third in mass appeal, due to illiteracy and poor circulation. Lerner, in his book, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, studied the impact of the highly visible changes centered in the urban areas of Jordan, in an attempt to find how these changes enter into the lives of Jordanians of different type and station. To deal with this question he sorted respondents according to the four principal locales: desert, village, town, city. The four groups were constituted as follows: 26 desert bedouins, 12 village farmers, 55 town enterprisers, 29 city elite. The groups differed consistently on the four indices of his basic typology — urbanization, literacy, media participation, empathy — which together represent the degree of modernity in a person's style of life.

The desert bedouins were, naturally, a group lacking all the characteristics of modernity (aside from one literate). The village farmers, with little or no education, were smallholders working their own parcels of land. (Lerner pointed out that this small group, with only 12 members, placed itself consistently between bedouins and enterprisers on all tests of modernization.) The town enterprisers are middle-class business people, almost half with high school education. The elite comprises the college-educated upper-middle and upper classes.

Strikingly large and regular differences of attitude and outlook exist between these four groups. Lerner dealt with these by way of

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their communication behavior and presented some comparative data to clarify the scope of differences between them. As the bedouins are illiterate and the elite are college-educated, there is obviously a wide gap between their levels of information about the world. The other two groups place themselves with remarkable consistency between these extremes. When asked to tell the interviewer the last news item they had heard, their responses distributed as shown in Table 5.

### TABLE 5

**RECALL OF NEWS ITEMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bedouins</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Enterprisers</th>
<th>Elite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family or Local News</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National News</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International News</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Family and local news, which preempts the attention of most bedouins, drops sharply among rurals and declines to insignificance among enterprisers and elite. Conversely, international news, non-existent among bedouins, composes nine out of ten items recalled by the elite.

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Interest in news is related, Lemer observed, to the media availability. "How people get their news conditions what news they get." Respondents came to know the news items they had recalled through the channels shown in Table 6.

**TABLE 6**

**SOURCES OF RECALLED NEWS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Bedouins</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Enterprisers</th>
<th>Elite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word of Mouth</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures illustrate the historic transfer from oral to media networks. Word-of-mouth is the sole channel of bedouin news, which is made up mainly of family or local items. Media use increases directly as one climbs the social scale, and with the range of news interest expands. The newspaper shows a steady increase in use, while radio shows a characteristic decline (relative to newspapers) among the elite. These differences in source of recalled items were confirmed as general differences in media exposure by responses (shown in Table 7) to this set of questions: Do you listen to the radio? Read the newspaper? Attend the cinema? Do you hear foreign broadcasts?"

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97 Ibid.
98 Ibid., p. 316.
### TABLE 7

**EXPOSURE TO MEDIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bedouins</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Enterprisers</th>
<th>Elite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listen to Radio</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read Newspaper</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend Cinema</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hear Foreign Broadcasts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Media exposure increased consistently with rising rank in the social structure.

To the bedouin, reading newspapers "connotes politics and the evils of urban government." Said one: "Those who read are politicians and trouble seekers. If you don't read you are far away from trouble and the government." Another characteristically responded: "We don't have prime ministers and nobody rules us like these girlish city folk. We rule ourselves...The effendis who read are all hypocrites. They all want to be politicians. We want to live peacefully and away from politics." To some, however, newspapers are also rejected because they lack utility for the bedouin. For example:

> It writes nothing for us; only for the townspeople...papers don't write what we want. [What do we want?] We want God's mercy and a good crop this year. I will not lose if I don't read a paper, because papers don't write for us. I can't read or write, yet I don't regret...

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99 Ibid., p. 320.
it, because I don't like to read papers. They are uninteresting to me...Papers don't put things about our life here in the camp. [How do you know that?] The last time my cousin, who is in the army and knows how to read, read me one and it had no news about us.... Those who read papers do so because it writes about their affairs and they have to read in order to know. 100

While the bedouins consider newspapers useless, the elite consider them not merely useful but essential:

In general they are a necessity in life. Every educated man should read at least one newspaper daily. Papers are the best means of communication for conveying a nation's ideas and movements in any part of the world to another part. Newspapers are necessary for the community. Every one of us like and should know about his neighbors and up till now the newspaper is the best way that can give us all this. 101

Farmers read newspapers but occasionally reject them as lies. According to one respondent:

Papers are nonsense. They are big lies....I gain very much by not reading them. I will not have a chance to know what lies are found in the papers. Those who read the paper are government employees and merchants. Other people use it for wrapping, or they just look at pictures if there are any. 102

Many villagers reject newspapers on principle, because print brings them into contact with the larger society. Newspapers connote government, which in turn evokes the villager's suspicion and anxiety about taxes and conscription and land records. In the southern area's tribal-organized villages, notes Qutub, "practically all the villages'
inhabitants are illiterate, therefore newspapers are not read. In fact, newspapers are regarded with hostility because of their association with government, urbanization and other outside interference."

Newspapers' penetration does not extend to a mass audience, "but this is balanced by the quality of readers...[those] who patronize the press are frequently liberal, Arab nationalist...[and] are the opinion molders."  

b) Broadcasting

Jordan had no broadcasting service until toward the end of April 1948, when the Jordanian Broadcasting Service, under government auspices started in Ramallah, nine miles to the north of Jerusalem. The Ramallah transmitter, built by the British Mandate Authority in Palestine, in 1937, for studios in Jerusalem, was acquired by Jordan during the upheavals which shook the administrative institutions in Palestine on the abrogation of the Mandate. Temporary studios were installed in Ramallah and later moved to the broadcasting headquarters in Jerusalem. Transmission from the Jerusalem-Ramallah station was carried on a 20-kilowatt medium wave transmitter. In 1954 a short wave was operated for the first time from Amman to join the medium wave during transmission hours from the Jerusalem-Ramallah station. On September 1, 1956, the Broadcasting Service of Amman was inaugurated to transmit programmes on one medium and one short wave transmitters. A second short wave was added later. On March 1, 1959, the present modernized station was inaugurated.

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Radio communication has been continually improved with technical assistance from the International Telecommunications Union. Amman currently has two 100 kilowatt medium-wave transmitters and four short-wave transmitters (two 100 KW, one 5 KW, and one 3KW.)

The number of licensed radio receivers in Jordan has grown from 2000 (5 per 1000 inhabitants) before 1948 to 14,000 in 1956 (10 per 1,000 inhabitants,) to 64,000 in 1960 (38 per 1000 inhabitants) and 150,000 in 1970 (65 per 1000 inhabitants). Receivers are more abundantly found in urban areas where residents tend to have a more modern outlook and are more likely to own a radio and to listen habitually.

Jordan radio is currently broadcasting over 150 hours each week in Arabic, including international broadcasts to the Near East, Europe and the Western Hemisphere. English is broadcast 7 hours and 10 minutes daily within Jordan and to Europe and North America; a short-wave Spanish-Arabic program is beamed two hours daily to South America. Amman radio also transmits a daily 30-minute broadcast in Hebrew which was begun in June 1968. Broadcasts in Arabic are received from various Arab countries, France, Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, Eastern European countries and the People's Republic of China.

Jordanian radio programs provide music, cultural broadcasts, news, editorial comment, Koranic readings, religious services, official speeches and interviews, women's and children's programs, agricultural information, and drama. Programs beamed outside Jordan are primarily musical, interspersed with news broadcasts. Within Jordan, the news

and weather are presented in both Arabic and English.

What do the different groups like to hear on radio?

TABLE 8

FAVORITE RADIO PROGRAMS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bedouins</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Enterprisers</th>
<th>Elite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koran</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Music</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Music</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* From: Lerner, Daniel; The Passing of Traditional Society, p. 317.

Few bedouins listen to the radio. "To people who have barely heard of the mass media," says Lerner, "the notion that these modern contrivances might be introduced into the tribe is regarded with horror. Such innovations are beyond their understanding..." Many of Lerner's bedouin respondents, therefore, hastened to dissociate themselves from the innovative strangeness of radio:

There must be something bad about this that [allows you to] listen to voices in the air.

Radio? By God if I see one I will destroy it. This is from the devil. [What do you miss by not listening?] You are mocking me. Why did you ask me that? You know I hate a radio and it is evil. 109

Among farmers, middle-class proprietors, and the elite, both music and news programs are popular. Fewer elite, who rely on newspapers, favor news broadcasts compared to the other two groups. In contrast to farmers and enterprisers, however, the elite particularly enjoy listening to Western music. The differences summarized in Table 8 as well as in the previous three tables, express in statistical frequencies the bare bones of profound group contrasts in lifestyles.

Outside urban areas preferences range from Arabic music to Koranic readings and local crop and market news. Levels of education and literacy in rural areas, as well as an interest primarily in local affairs, hinder rural understanding of larger issues. Some farmers, moreover, cannot understand the modern terms which have been incorporated into the literary Arabic language. The conservative attitudes among the rural people added to the previous factors, reduce the radio's effect as a means of mass communication. Nevertheless, the broadcast system has the best equipment and largest budget among the mass media. Few broadcasters, however, have any professional training beyond the 'on-the-job level,' and even this type of training is sporadically, and in most cases abruptly and ineffectively, planned.

Because of illiteracy only the radio reaches the majority of rural inhabitants. Radio is the most expedient method of providing news, entertainment and agricultural information programs. While rural residents are generally interested in local affairs programming rather than in larger national and international affairs, town enterprisers, in contrast, 'feel that they 'belong' in the larger world
as participants, and consider it important to "know what is going on.""

One respondent feels the obligation to know; another stresses the enjoyment of knowing.

...I find myself interested to follow such [world] news very closely. It doesn't affect me directly, but I am indirectly affected, for if they have an effect on the country's situation then I will be affected in the same manner.

The world is getting so near together that one enjoys knowing things from here and there. 110

A similar contrast exists between rural residents and the elite.

Radio, more than any other medium, gave this elite immediate "access upon demand to the larger world with which they identify":

Radio? Wonderful... A school in its own. Takes one all round the world in one sitting. Radio is very essential. No one can stay without hearing a radio once or twice a day.

Radio is a necessity in life because during this age of speed one must know everything as soon as it takes place, otherwise he is outdated. 111

In September 1966, the government announced plans for a television service with two transmitters, one in Amman and one in Jerusalem. Programs were to be prepared in Amman and fed by micro-wave link to Jerusalem for retransmission. Under an agreement of March 1968, West Germany was training personnel in program production techniques and providing technical experts as well as equipment. Studio equipment was obtained from Marconi, a British company, and technical assistance was provided by RTV, an American organization, BBC, ORTF (L'Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française), and CETO (Centre for Educational Television Overseas). Some employees were sent to these institutions on traineeships and attachments; the bulk of training, however, was done

110 Ibid., p. 342.
111 Ibid., p. 346.
on-the-job. Although training conditions in television are better than those in radio, the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the need for professionally trained personnel in broadcasting leave much to be desired.

Test broadcasts started in February 1968, and the government-sponsored Jordan Television Corporation was officially inaugurated on April 27, 1968. Previously, Jordanians watched television broadcasts from Damascus and Cairo. In February 1968, before the service began, the country already had 10,000 television sets. Because of a rapid increase in viewing, the current number of sets in use is estimated at 56,000.

Television covers the entire Jordanian territory as well as the occupied territory and parts of Syria and Lebanon on its main channel. To provide viewers with a choice and to separate foreign programs from the general Arabic program, a second channel was inaugurated in 1972. Television broadcasts daily from 18:00 to about midnight, except Fridays when broadcasts start earlier. Educational programs for schools, produced in collaboration with the Division of Educational Television in the Ministry of Education, are broadcast Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays from 06:30 to 08:30 in the morning and from 13:30 to 14:00 in the afternoon.

The production facilities available to Jordan television have made it possible for a good part of the programs to be produced locally. The programs consist of news and current affairs, educational and general cultural programs, programs attributed to special sectors such

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114 Ibid.
as farmers, children, and women, and the rest is dedicated to sports, outside broadcasts, variety and foreign material. Television is financed over the government budget, but it now derives sizeable revenues from license fees, advertising and program sales abroad.

c) Film

In 1970 there were 33 film theatres in Jordan (excluding the West Bank). Annual attendance was estimated at 2 million persons or 0.9 attendance per person.

The number of film theatres grew from 17 in 1951 (with a seating capacity of 6 per 1,000 persons) to 24 in 1953 and 51 in 1966, almost equally divided between the West and East Banks. Attendance figures rose at an annual rate of 13.5 percent, although Jordan remained behind other countries in the Middle East in the number of theaters and per capita seating capacity.

Production of documentaries and short films was the responsibility of the Department of Photography and Cinema until late 1970 when this department was incorporated into the Jordan Television Authority. Otherwise the country has meager facilities for movie production. Of the approximately 800 films imported in 1967, 45 to 50 percent came from the United States, 30 percent from Egypt, 15 percent from the United Kingdom, and the rest from Italy, France and Turkey. Non-Arabic films are subtitled and obtained from Cairo and Beirut. An annual, week-long film festival from communist countries is sponsored by the Soviet Embassy. In addition, films are frequently shown by the British Council and the United States Information Service.

\[\text{116 The Area Handbook for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, p. 211.}\]
\[\text{117 Ibid.}\]
Conservative, rural families generally disapprove of movies as shown in Table 7 which revealed that of those interviewed no bedouin, 25 percent of farmers, 58 percent of businessmen, and 83 percent of the urban elite attended the movies. Farmers feared the possible effects of movies upon the young people. One rich old farmer combined this fear with a frank interest in the forbidden delights for himself:

[Do you remember any film which attracted your attention?] Yes, that of Hajer Hamdi. She was very enticing and fascinating to such an extent that I felt very much excited. Films are very detrimental to young and unmarried people, especially young girls. It is really a shame for a girl to see such films because she will try to find somebody with whom she will be able to try the experience. Movies are good for persons like me...I can spend a very nice time. I feel that I have seen something about which I can tell my friends.

Cinema is rejected by farmers for different reasons. Religious scruples are involved here by the injunction against image-making which fosters anxiety about deviation from traditional moral standards:

I only hear of the movies. All those who go there are devils because it is magic against the laws of religion. Movies are detrimental and spoiling for the conduct in general of the people...people who don't go are far wiser and better off. They cling to their old customs and habits. They never have any tendency to change their present situation.

Bedouins regard the cinema as a useless outlet for townspeople, who represent the urbanism and civilization:

We Beduin don't need the cinema...Those who go are not real men. They are useless and have lost all value of morals. Movies spoil men...Those who go get a very

118 Supra, p. 269.
120 Ibid.
bad character and are no more men. But if
you don't go you are a man in all senses of
the word.

By God our hair tents to us are better
than a kingly castle. What care we for your
movies?

Those who go [to the cinema] are town
people and all of them are bad. 121

Movies, however, have broken down traditional family loyalties
among students and urban workers. To these, the mass media are an
indispensable instrument of modern civilization, serving a personal
need. Among these respondents, resistance to the movies on traditional
grounds disappeared and their function in modern living was stressed:

Movies are the best means of showing
a nation's culture and art through a tangible
and visible way.
It can be very good, useful, psychologically
and morally.
They are necessary for life. 122

The cinema has also spread knowledge of other countries and
greater awareness of the outside world is considered prestigious within
urban communities. A wealthy young architect summed up these views
with a tribute to movies as purveyors of insight, as teachers of the
modern style:

Movies are the best means of communicating
a people's culture and civilization to the other
parts of the world. It is a mirror of a country's
advance of life...Movies are one of the modern
means of entertainment which is quite indispensable
as a part of our daily life. I couldn't imagine
how flat life would be without the movies. It has
become very essential that everybody should go to
movies and learn many things about the secrets of
life. One usually pays much money to learn a new
thing about life. In the movies such a lesson costs
very cheaply. 123

121 Ibid., 319-320.
122 Ibid., p. 345.
123 Ibid.
CHAPTER V

A PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BROADCASTING INSTITUTE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF JORDAN TO ASSUME THE FUNCTIONS OF AN ARAB REGIONAL INSTITUTE FOR BROADCAST TRAINING

The subject of training of Arab broadcasters was high on the agenda of the Arab States Broadcasting Union during its third plenary session held in Amman in February, 1970. It was the concerted opinion of Arab broadcasters that the most desirable objectives can best be served by training in a broadcasting school in the broadcaster's home country. Financial and other difficulties, however, made it difficult for many Arab countries to conduct such institutions, while those who conducted them have not been able to furnish out of their budgets the fully equipped facilities required, the necessary number of training staff and adequate funds to meet operating costs. As there is no reason to expect any significant change in this situation in the near future, it was the consensus of the various delegates that the establishment of a regional broadcasting institute appears to offer the most logical and the only practical solution.

1 For the purpose of this plan broadcasting refers to radio, television, and film. The plan envisions the Broadcasting Institute developing into an Institute of Mass Communication comprising all mass media at later stages.

2 In his capacity as Director-General for Radio and Television, the writer represented the Government of Abu Dhabi in the second, third and fourth plenary sessions of the Union held in Cairo, Amman, and Baghdad respectively, and was directly involved in the discussions of the training issue.
The UNESCO-sponsored Seminar on Training Methods in Mass Communication in the Arab States held in Cairo, 19-30 March 1966 agreed that training of personnel was a priority need to improve and expand the media and the information services. This training should not only be in the techniques of the profession but also cover problems of ethics and responsibility, as well as provide broad general education. It should cater for personnel of all media and for those in government information services.

The seminar went on to spell out the communication needs of Arab States in terms of the facilities for training of mass communication personnel which were not at the desired level in most of the Arab States, although there were some significant exceptions in a few of the countries represented. At the professional level, as well as at the University level, the need for adequate training facilities through short-term and long-term programmes was keenly felt and noted.

The seminar also agreed that training should, in the first instance, be conducted locally, and help was needed in some countries to establish training institutions and to staff them with visiting professors. However, an understanding of Arab culture was necessary for fully effective teaching.

Moreover, participants in the seminar considered that cooperation between Arab States and coordination of efforts should be encouraged, and exchanges arranged of information, experts and professors between countries in the region.

And finally, the seminar felt

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4 The countries represented were Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, United Arab Republic, Yemen.
5 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, loc.cit.
6 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, op. cit., p. 3.
7 Ibid.
...that training facilities should be available on a regional basis to serve all Arab countries. It was agreed that primary responsibility for the financing of such a [regional] centre should be undertaken by the states concerned, with such additional assistance as UNESCO or other organizations might be able to offer. Participants expressed the view that cooperative action should be taken on the regional level, within the framework of the Arab League or on the initiative of a professional association or a university in the region....

Fully acknowledging the need for training, the seminar felt that three major aims of all training programs were: (1) to provide a sense of social responsibility and ethical professional conduct, (2) to provide wide general background knowledge, and (3) to develop technical skills.

From the foregoing considerations, and in accordance with these terms of reference, it is clear that special care should be exercised in establishing the curricula and training programs of broadcasting schools in the Arab context. Complete and balanced training of the kind outlined above can best be provided in a structure that is part of a university if courses of sufficiently high quality are to be provided without creating exorbitant expenses. Within a university, it would be easier to provide scope for linking courses available in the social sciences and humanities and apprenticeship of broadcast techniques in one dynamic whole which, linked with practical exercises and adequate exposure to outside influences, would go a long way towards providing the broadcaster with a sound basis for practicing his career. Such a university-incorporated institute would be essential to ensure that students of broadcast communications would have access.

8 Ibid., p. 11.
9 Ibid., p. 3.
to good professional training and a broad-based education.

The plan proposed by the writer is, therefore, based upon the following premises:

1) That a comprehensive centre for study and training in the techniques and utilization of broadcast media (and later of all mass media) should not be founded in isolation but should be an integral part of a university structure.

2) That this centre should be envisaged, built and conducted to serve the needs of Jordan and of other countries of the Arab region.

3) That the training standard should, with good facilities and accommodation, provide a compelling alternative to some of the present training programs made available outside the Arab cultural milieu.

4) That facilities provided should take into consideration the operating conditions and facilities of the broadcast media found in Jordan and other Arab countries today and at the same time and to a reasonable extent anticipate the changes and development of the broadcast media in the Arab region. The centre should be large enough and of sufficient scope to provide a meaningful contribution to those Arab broadcast media organizations expressing desire to make use of it.

5) That the standards of architecture, building, equipment should reflect an economical approach yet, it should make an attractive and effective contribution to the University of Jordan.

With regard to the longer term action envisaged, this plan presents proposals for the development of the Broadcasting Institute on the basis of which technical assistance agreements between the University and bilateral and international agencies could be made. In this respect it will be important to get commitment of interest as
early as possible so that realistic planning of the physical and human resources which will eventually comprise the regional institute can take place in cooperation between the University, international agencies and the bilateral technical assistance programs.

A. Proposed Functions of a Broadcasting Institute within the University of Jordan

Within the developing countries of the Arab region there is an established relationship between the levels of development of the communication media and the economic development of the country. Communication is a most significant factor in social development and educational planning: it is a means of establishing a cultural identity. Thus within the Arab region the study of communication as an academic discipline at the University level is being viewed as an important new field which has real meaning in the economic and social context of national development. To make effective means of the media as an instrument of development, the agent of communication and change "should understand the principles of communication and how national development takes place. He should know the social structure and values of the community he serves; how people learn and are motivated to act, how to get information through to the various levels of readers, listeners or viewers." All this forms part of the educational background of a well qualified communicator, and "it is a basis on which to build the technical skills which are indispensable to his profession."

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Any university institute should, of necessity, be a centre for both teaching and research: a Broadcasting Institute must provide the tutorial guidance, the study programs, the encouragement of "inquiry," which can best help in forming communicators who have a broad knowledge and understanding of the world and the skills to communicate their understanding. Within the context of the newer universities of Jordan and other Arab countries, however, where the manpower needs are not only for "academics" but also practicing "technicians" it is important to consider the role of the university as including one of training in addition to the teaching and study of disciplines.

Within a modern and developing university structure, increased student enrollment and growing pressures resulting from advances in all spheres of science and technology necessitate the application of "new media" to the teaching within universities and to the changing extramural functions of the university. "Learning Resources, Production and Utilization Centers" are being developed in many universities to help faculties and schools in the production of modern teaching materials and the recording of research data. In many cases the tools of the learning resources center are the same as those of the "mass media."

Thus it is suggested that the functions of a Broadcasting Institute should comprise the following:

1. Training in broadcast communication skills and techniques

The lack of trained men and women at all levels of broadcast media production is fully realized by broadcasters in many Arab
countries as the main reason that the broadcast media have failed to achieve the cultural and educational goals conceived for them. Training efforts are constantly falling further behind ever growing requirements.

The assistance which has previously been provided by various foreign mass media organizations in the form of training abroad has often lacked the essential ingredient of the indigenous Arab cultural context. To meet the basic demand for staff, to provide the cultural milieu essential to artistic development and to foster the educational use of broadcast media, a comprehensive regionally-based broadcasting training centre is essential.

Thus it is proposed that the Broadcasting Institute of the University of Jordan should be developed, and the possibilities of obtaining sufficient international and bilateral technical assistance should be explored for the acquisition of the equipment, teaching and technical staff etc., which would enable it to assume the functions of a regional training center for the Arab countries.

2. Communication studies

In addition to the training function of the Institute it is important that it become an academic centre for specialization in communication studies. To this end it is recommended that the Institute should offer courses both at Degree and Diploma level to students wishing to prepare themselves for entry into the various fields of Broadcast Communication. Teaching and study of communication should include all the relevant cross-disciplines of sociology, psychology, development economics, research methodology, communication and information theories, languages and linguistics, media and
methods, etc.

Such a Degree course should be designed in association with other faculties and schools which would, in practice, have to assume a great deal of the teaching load for many of the subject areas. The Broadcasting Institute should not duplicate staff or facilities which are already available in other schools.

However, the Broadcasting Institute could itself contribute much to the Degree courses of other faculties by designing credit courses which would be of assistance to their students. For example, students of the School of Education could benefit from study of educational technology; and the students of the Faculty of Arts could benefit from study of various aspects of communication, and from the cross-fertilisation of inter-disciplinary courses. When schools of Medicine and Engineering are established, their students could benefit from such courses as Medical Communication and Telecommunications respectively.

It is recommended that the Broadcasting Institute, in addition to the four-year Degree course for internal students, offer a one-year Diploma course, especially tailored to suit the needs of practicing broadcasters who had no previous university background. Those mature students from the professional ranks of the broadcast media are thus offered both opportunity for academic study and further skills training.

It is also recommended that, when the staffing and facilities of the Institute permit, the Broadcasting Institute in cooperation with the School of Education should institute a post-graduate Diploma course in Educational Technology.
3. Research

An important advantage of communication training in a university context is the opportunity and encouragement it offers to undertake research. Communication research is not just an academic exercise. Research provides a principal source of knowledge about the audiences of broadcast programs, it can test the effectiveness of such programs and provide guidance for the planning, and content of a broadcast campaign. It provides the 'feedback' from the audiences without which broadcasting is working in the dark. "Communication research and efficient use of media for development go hand in hand."\(^{11}\)

Communication is a vast subject and consequently opens up many different avenues of research. The Broadcasting Institute in Amman should encourage both empirical research into communication phenomena and "action" research as part of the evaluation of broadcast programs within the Jordanian and Arab setting.

Broadcasting organizations in the Arab region generally have little feedback or evaluation of audience reaction to programming. Too much is presumed; not enough known and proven. It is possible that research fellows at the Institute might be able to assist the broadcaster by their studies of men, materials, media, and methods through scientific research methodologies.

The Cairo Seminar on Training Methods in Mass Communication in the Arab States noted that

> While it may not be possible or necessary to give each trainee a full course in research methods, especially in short-term

\(^{11}\) Ibid., pp. 9-10.
programmes, it would nevertheless help if the fundamentals of research were explained in simple terms and the results of past research conveyed to him by specialists in the field. In long-term programmes, however, research should be included as one of the important components of a training course.

The seminar also noted that arrangements for the exchange of research information should be made, "and the possibility should be examined of a university in the area acting as a clearing house for the dissemination of research findings in the Arab region."\(^{13}\)

It is possible that the Broadcasting Institute of the University of Jordan might act as the suggested clearing house. It is also possible that a useful association between the Institute and a Communication Research Centre of an overseas university such as The Ohio State University might be established. By such a twinning an interchange of research staff between the Universities might be set up.

4. Learning Resources, Production and Utilization Center

There is a widespread need for the provision of a coordinated communication service in most academic institutions. Valuable pioneer work has been accomplished in some medical schools through the provision of centralized "Media Centers" or "Learning Resources Centers." Their example has been imitated by a number of universities and colleges. It is proven that given the "service" approach and adequate facilities, learning resources centers can improve teaching and strengthen communication throughout the higher education field.

The functions of a Learning Resources and Utilization Center can

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\(^{12}\) UNESCO, Seminar on Training Methods in Mass Communication in the Arab States, pp. 6-7.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 7.
be stated briefly as follows:

a) Production of a variety of learning aides from graphs and
diagrams to demonstrations and lectures on closed circuit television.
b) Storage and retrieval of teaching aid material.
c) Presentation of material as help to teaching staff.
d) Information, consultation, instruction in the use of
communication media in higher education.
e) Extra-mural production and distribution responsibilities.
f) Recording of research data by means of audio-visual materials
and equipment.

In many cases, the facilities recommended for the Broadcast Insti-
tute are those which are needed for a comprehensive Learning Resources,
Production and Utilization Center for a university. Thus it is
further recommended that the Institute should develop this service to
the university. If this is to be added to the responsibilities of
the Institute, however, it must be remembered that additional local
staff will be needed to carry out production tasks as well as the
teaching and training which is the Institute's primary work.

B. Proposed Curricula for the Institute

To fulfill its functions, the Institute will provide courses for
the two main systems of broadcast training. First, short-term training
programs which could have one or more of several goals: training for
those about to enter the profession; training after a few years of
active broadcasting; refresher courses or seminars in specialized
fields; training of personnel in various government information
services. The advantages of this type of training are:
1) It places emphasis on practical training, which is an essential requirement.

2) It provides immediate manpower for the media, in areas where the demand for staff is high and the supply of trained personnel limited.

3) It tests the suitability of the trainee at an early stage.

4) It trains only people who had already found work in the profession, and avoids wastage of training.

Second, long-term training programs which will be mainly aimed at providing, at the university level, the education required to practice the profession of broadcasting in modern Arab society. The advantages of this type of full-time pre-service training are:

1) It provides a broader basic education in subjects which are essential for a well-qualified broadcasters.

2) Broadcasters, on recruitment, are more mature and responsible.

3) The standing of broadcasting as a profession is enhanced.

1. Curricula for short-term and specialized training

The regional function of the Broadcasting Institute will be realized in the main by the provision of shorter training courses in specific fields of broadcast media production and utilization. The need for trained Arab radio and television personnel is extensive and pressing throughout the region, especially in those countries which lack a long tradition in broadcasting and have been compelled to expand their information media and services rapidly with inadequately

14 Ibid., p. 3.
15 Ibid., p. 4.
trained personnel. Here the need for short-term training is urgent. Experts and government representatives from these Arab countries emphasized the priority need of training broadcasters for the rapidly expanding information services.

Although conditions vary from country to country the requirements generally are for personnel capable of making better and fuller use of the broadcast media for information, for education, and for cultural development. The operation of a broadcast media training centre, although anticipating future requirements, must be planned to meet the immediate needs in the shortest possible time. Thus the courses offered must be so designed as to upgrade operational skills, to promote more effective use of the broadcast media, to enhance artistic integrity and "craftsmanship," to provide a new leadership for the media as tools of national development in the Arab region.

With respect to some specific training courses the objectives can be stated more succinctly below. It should be pointed out that these outlines of subject matter content are based upon a feedback of present training needs in the Arab broadcasting services, as reflected in the discussions of the Arab States Broadcasting Union as well as in the writer's direct experience of the broadcasting situation in such countries as Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi. Obviously these needs will change in the future and if the training courses are to be fully effective they too will have to change in accordance with the needs. Some feedback-evaluation system linking the Institute with the national broadcast media organizations of the Arab countries can ensure that the training provided by the Institute continues to supply a realistic answer to national needs.
a) Advanced radio production

For radio producers and production assistants who have had two or more years experience and who have proven technical competence and imagination; to refine and cultivate their techniques and by example and actual practice to develop attractive and effective ways in which radio can be used for informational, education and cultural objectives:

Contents:

(1) The Studio: microphone techniques, use of tape, special effects, music, sound effects, etc.

(2) The portable tape: interviewing, sound pick-ups, editing, etc.

(3) Performers: auditioning, casting, rehearsal, development of the artists, etc.

(4) Utilization: educational programs, forum programs, documentary, drama and music programs, etc.

(5) The Audience: assessment, feedback, evaluation, audience research techniques.

(6) Program administration: production procedures, personnel relations, administrative procedures, etc.

(7) The writer: selecting, re-writing, editing, developing the radio writer.

(8) Broadcasting philosophy: ethics, standards, responsibilities, professional development, copyright, etc.

(9) Announcer-operator: operation of one man disc tape and announce studio.

(10) The spoken word: microphone technique, Arabic language for broadcasting (language laboratory course) etc.
b) Advanced radio technical operations

For operators and technicians of at least two or more years' experience who have demonstrated competence; to furnish further depth in their technical know-how, practice in the latest techniques of technical control and to prepare them for positions in technical management.

Contents:

1. Master control: maintenance of standards, streamlined procedures, etc.

2. Audio tape: theory of tape, control of tape standards, maintenance, editing, dubbing, etc.


4. Audio-control: set up, disc cueing and care, reverberation, music, pick up, board control.

5. Transmitters: control and theory.


7. Technical administration: personnel relations, flow of information, reporting, standards control and improvement.

8. Network operations: cue controls and links.

9. F.M. and multiplexing: theory and application; the newest developments in radio broadcasting.

10. The expert technician: his role in modern radio.

c) Television production

For men who may have acquired previous operational experience in radio or television; to provide a thorough background in production techniques, both "live" tape and film, to instill a "visual sense," and the idea of organized program planning; to make them competent
in the functions of floor (studio) managers (directors), production assistants and camera directors and, with those who display exceptional talent, producer-directors.

Contents:

(1) How television works: a brief technical analysis.
(2) The television crew: the function of each position.
(3) Picturization: the use of pictures to tell a story.
(4) Television terminology: the language of the medium.
(5) Still photography: elementary theory of lenses, film and film processing, practical photography, the picture story, composition, handling a still camera.
(6) Studio command and cuing: the producer and the studio director's role and their means of communication.
(7) The studio clock and the stopwatch: timing.
(8) Graphics: their use and limitations.
(9) The interview: interview technique and set-up.
(10) Camera editing: cutting, dissolving and effects.
(11) Television design and staging: communicating with the designer, staging, props, the floor plan.
(12) Studio practice: regular, daily exercises.
(13) Telecine and VTR: use and cuing.
(14) Film in television: production techniques and slides.
(15) The TV mobile: survey, planning, execution.
(16) The writer and performer: care and feeding of both.
(17) Educational television: why and how.
(18) Production planning: schedules, formats, plan ahead.
(19) Cultural television: its meaning and purpose.
d) Television technical operations

For young men who have some knowledge of electronics; to provide a basic understanding of electronics and theories of radio propagation and optics, to furnish practical experience with the operation of all audio, video, recording and lighting apparatus including camera, video control and switching, audio control, tape and disc operations, VTR operations, lighting instruments and controls, remote broadcast set-ups, microwave operation, telecine and master control and technical procedures. To produce men capable of manning and understanding the function of TV apparatus. (There is no intention in this course to provide for the training of men competent in TV maintenance.)

Contents:

(1) How television works: a brief technical analysis.
(2) The television crew: the function of each position.
(3) Electricity and electronics: fundamentals.
(4) Audio: microphones, the console, pick ups, care of equipment, tape recorders and turn-table operation and care.
(5) Video: camera line up, video control, switching, special effects.
(6) Optics: theory and application, lenses.
(7) The camera: vidicon and image-orthicon; line up and operation.
(8) Lighting: the dimmer-board, fixtures, lighting theory and practice.
(9) Master control: operations.
(10) Telecine: projectors and vidicon operation.
(11) Studio preparation: the technical crew prepares.
(12) VTR recording: theory and operation.
(13) The TV mobile: rigging, equipment handling, the set up and striking, the microwave link.
(14) The technician and the producer: the technician's role and his relationship with the production crew.
(15) The receiver: line up and testing, simple maintenance.
(16) Transmitters and links: basic theory and operation.

The above training course outlines are included as illustrations. Similar structures can be completed for the other training courses eventually provided by the Broadcasting Institute. These should, in addition to the aforementioned, include such courses as the following:

1) Television and film design and staging
2) Short subject film and newsfilm production
3) Radio and TV news
4) Public Relations and Public Information
5) Educational Technology.

It is recommended that these training courses should be of three or six months' duration depending upon the complexity of the content. It is suggested, for example, that such courses as advanced radio technical operations, television production, television technical operations and educational technology should be of six months. Whereas courses like radio and television news, television and film design and staging, short subject film and newsfilm production, public relations and public information, and advanced radio production, of three months' duration. The courses should fit into the university
term structure for ease of management. Each course should be directed
to students at specific levels of experience and be mainly practical
in content. Those courses requiring more supervised laboratory
practice must therefore accept smaller groups.

It is recommended that successful students completing these courses
should be awarded a Certificate of Studies of the Broadcasting
Institute of the University of Jordan. Therefore, course plans for
all such courses will have to be submitted to the Council of the
University for approval.

In addition to the training courses, refresher training at periods
throughout the broadcaster's career is highly important and to be
encouraged by the Institute. Seminars and short courses on new
technical developments, program techniques, or on specialized subjects
such as agriculture, science, family planning or medicine, will greatly
enrich the broadcaster's store of knowledge and experience. Supplementary
training of this type is a continuous need for the well qualified
experienced broadcaster, as well as for the junior who has lacked the
opportunity of formal professional training. The introduction of
even improved training systems will not do away with the need for
further education at intervals throughout the life of any professional.

Thus the Broadcasting Institute of the University of Jordan
should concern itself not only with the technical broadcast media
but with the whole communication process. It should become the
center around which specialized training programs are built. Its
facilities and staff should be at the disposal of local professional
groups or international bodies which might wish to cooperate in
arranging week-end seminars, or special vacation courses.

Another most important function of the Broadcasting Institute, both as a national and a regional training center, would be the provision of communication training to the many and various users of the broadcast media as channels for information and education as part of instructional systems. In the Arab countries a great many specialists — in education, agriculture, social work, health, for example — need the help of the broadcast media in the course of their work. They need to know something of the means they wish to employ, and how they can be effectively used. In fact, training in communication, its principles and field applications should be a basic part of the training of public information officers, extension officers in all technical fields, and workers in social and community development. The Institute will be a source which will provide this specialized experience and instruction, as well as overall training in broadcast communication techniques.

A category of information personnel who should not be overlooked in the Institute's program of training are the part-time correspondents who frequently form the backbone of news services in the Arab countries. Scattered throughout the rural areas, they are often both source and channel of news and information. Training in communication and in basic news-writing techniques could be undertaken in short seminars designed for their special needs.

An instructional systems controlled by continuing feedback and evaluation is a network which has no beginning or end. However, two key points, where people normally outside the broadcast media organization, are crucially involved are:
1) The point where educational material is prepared prior to production and transmission, such as the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Community Development, Health, etc.

2) The point at which the active learning process takes place such as the class, the forum discussion group, the village meeting, etc.

Thus the courses for "users" should be of two distinct types:

1) Courses for teachers, monitors, "animateurs," extension agents in the use of the broadcast media for organized instruction, as discussion catalysts, fitting them for their new roles in the more modern systems.

2) Courses for people in all the ministries, government departments and agencies responsible for the initiation of informational, educational, instructional and extension materials which are to be channeled through the broadcast media.

It is probable that the "in-service" training of broadcasters and broadcast media "users" referred to above could best be arranged during vacation periods of the university. This would facilitate the release of such people as teachers from their classroom duties to undertake such training, and enable the courses to be organized as part of a continuing education program to which the university should commit itself. The writer recognizes that, in a period of rapid change, continuing education for all communicators becomes a necessity. Accordingly, a paradigm is developed for the planning of in-service training programs for them. The paradigm is portrayed in Figure 11. on the next page.
Fig. 11. Planning, conducting, and evaluating in-service training programs for broadcasters and broadcast media users.

* The in-service training program may take one or a combination of the following types: course meeting, seminar, workshop, internship, conference, broadcasts, retreat, encounter groups, guided self-analysis etc. The experiences involved in those program types are also varied and may take one or a combination of the following: read, listen, view, discuss, observe, produce, demonstrate, construct aids, develop program materials, visit, interpret data, direct, confer, etc.
This paradigm shows the steps involved in planning, conducting, and evaluating in-service training programs. In-service training should grow out of an analysis of the needs in the communication situation or environment; i.e. the needs in the communication system as well as the professional needs of individual communicators. The information to be considered in this analysis is represented by the box labeled environment. The paradigm portrays the passage of time by movement from left to right. Thus, as each cycle of in-service training programs is completed, the environment will have changed; that is, the needs for in-service training will vary from environment 1 to environment 2. It is recognized that several in-service training programs will be underway concurrently; this is not portrayed in the paradigm for purposes of simplicity.

The general goals are identified from an analysis of the environment information. These general goals would probably indicate the general area for in-service training, such as subject field, and the general group of participants. The specific goals identify behavioral results for specific participants or groups of participants. At the stage of program development, a determination is made as to the content of the program, resources to be used, and processes to be followed. The importance of relating program to environment, and general goals, as well as to specific goals, is recognized.

The results of an in-service training program are the changed behaviors of trainees or participants. An attempt should be made to study these behaviors. Further, trainees or participants should be provided with continuing assistance in utilizing what they have learned through follow-up activities.
The placement of evaluation and research in the center of the paradigm is to suggest that these activities can take place at each step in the sequence. The double arrows represent that data collected at various stages are used to influence decisions at other stages.

2. Curricula for long-term programs

The university curriculum should not only teach the future broadcaster the crafts and techniques of the broadcast media work, but also give him a broad understanding of the world and of society, so as to enable him to exercise independent judgement and deal with the problems that life presented him. The major part of the degree curriculum would include such credit courses as psychology, economics, philological subjects (language, linguistics, literature), history, geography, political science, sociology, law and ethics, public administration, research methodology, communication and creative writing. Most of these courses are available within existing departments of the university. Subjects such as these might well be studied exclusively during the first two years of the four-year course.

The third year curriculum could then comprise basic professional courses common to all branches of communication and information. The final year could provide courses to enable specialization in broadcasting and national development. Practical work should occupy an important place in this study program by means of exercises undertaken in training studios and workshops and through cooperation with broadcast media organizations. During his course of study the student should do practical work (at least six months) on radio and television stations. The best system is to arrange for this practical work during the summer vacation as from the second year of study. The Seminar on
Training Methods in Mass Communication in the Arab States emphasized "the importance of practical training in mass communication media as part of the course of studies" and recommended that mass communication education in Arab countries be fostered by "establishing closer connexions between universities and the communication media" and "maintaining closer ties between universities and professional organizations [of mass communicators.]"\textsuperscript{16} The Seminar noted that universities should prepare students for mass communication, rather than train them as mass communicators.\textsuperscript{17}

Apart from attendance at lectures and practical work on radio and television stations, the curriculum of the Broadcasting Institute should include independent theoretical and research work done by students during each year of studies, including a research paper for a degree in the final year.

The curricula for long-term programs would thus provide the student with a broad background and appreciation of his own cultural environment, the sociological, psychological, economic and political patterns of his country, so that in the performance of his own duties, he could play his full role as a professional as well as a citizen. This he would be able to do if he had a full knowledge not only of the process of communication, but also of the process of development itself, of social change and of cultural growth. Training programs should provide him with this essential background so that he could use his technical knowledge with pride as an instrument of development.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 9.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 4.
The suggested curriculum of four years' training in the theory and practice of broadcast communication and related sciences, as set out below, leads to the degree of Bachelor of Mass Communication (Broadcasting):

1st Year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Training (Hs/Week)</th>
<th>Practical Training (Hs/Week)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic literature and language</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language and literature</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics/Statistics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject of National Interest</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compulsory textbook reading in the disciplines mentioned.

2d Year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Training (Hs/Week)</th>
<th>Practical Training (Hs/Week)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Literature and Language</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language and Literature</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Modern Arab World</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology I</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychology I</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Economy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Mass Media in the Arab World</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure and Function of the Mass Media of Communication in Modern Society</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Classical Mass Communication Studies I</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Research Techniques I 2  
Subject of National Interest 1  
Interest 20

Compulsory textbook reading in the disciplines mentioned.

### Third Year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Training (Hrs/Week)</th>
<th>Practical Training (Hrs/Week)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sociology II</td>
<td>Workshop in Broadcasting 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychology II</td>
<td>Techniques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theories of Mass Media and</td>
<td>Tutorials in Public Relations and Advertising Techniques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their Development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Language as a Vehicle of Communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elements of Broadcasting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techniques</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information, Propaganda and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Opinion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Classical</td>
<td>Seminar on Critical Analysis of Actual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Communication Studies II</td>
<td>Radio and Television Emissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elements of Public Relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Advertising Techniques</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Techniques II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject of National Interest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compulsory textbook reading in the disciplines mentioned.

### 4th Year:

<table>
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<th>Theoretical Training (Hrs/Week)</th>
<th>Practical Training (Hrs/Week)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Respective Role of</td>
<td>Specialization in One of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Communication and</td>
<td>the Practical Training Fields of Broadcasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Communication</td>
<td>Training in Research and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Development Campaigns</td>
<td>Preparation of a 50-page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Classical Studies</td>
<td>Paper on a Special Problem or a Creative 30-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pertaining to the Problem</td>
<td>minute Radio, Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Mass Media and National</td>
<td>or Film Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>(Bachelor - &quot;Thesis&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Theories and the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Mass Media and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programmed Instruction to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve Learning Processes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Specialization in one of the Branches of Broadcasting (Radio, Television, Film)
International and Regional Organizations
Subject of National Interest

Compulsory textbook reading in the disciplines mentioned.

The University will award its degree to successful students completing these courses and thus the Council of the University will approve the content and standards of the courses before they are offered by the Broadcasting Institute.

The one-year diploma course will be organized by the Institute with active participation by staff of other schools and faculties of the University and regular assistance from a number of associate lecturers who are the "professionals" in broadcasting as well as in various branches of mass communication. Students successfully completing this course will be awarded the University diploma. Hence the Council of the University will approve the content and standards of the diploma course before it is offered by the Institute.

C. Building, Equipping and Staffing the Institute

If the Broadcasting Institute is to develop to an extent where it can assume the functions of a regional training center it is imperative that it be housed in adequate buildings and be provided with high quality practical facilities for training, teaching, and research. Without such accommodation the Institution cannot hope to develop further.

1. Buildings

The schedule of accommodation for the Broadcasting Institute will
be based on the assumptions that:

a) The Institute will have a regional training function.

b) The Institute must offer facilities which are equal to those offered for training abroad.

c) The Institute will have a central service function within the University of Jordan.

d) The Institute will eventually have to provide accommodation for the following categories of students and staff at any one time:

1) Training Courses
2) Diploma Courses (1 year)
3) Degree Courses (4 years)
4) Teaching Staff
5) Research Staff
6) Production Staff

Detailed design studies of accommodation for the Institute will have to be made before definite technical assistance projects can be arranged between the University of Jordan and the various bilateral and international agencies. However, the suggestions put forward below for housing (and then equipping) the Institute are general in nature and can only be estimated as approximations to what should be the minimum required if the Institute is to fulfill its role as a training center which can compete with the training resources available outside the Arab region.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Approximate Area (square feet)</th>
<th>Height (feet)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a) Television</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Large studio</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Small studio</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Control room for (1) with separate audio and video</td>
<td>500 Total</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Control room for (2) with separate audio and video</td>
<td>500 Total</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Master control with observation to (3) and (4)</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Production classroom with observation to (3) and (4)</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Telecine room</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) V.T.R. room</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) V.T.R. storage vault</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) Equipment stores</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Props stores</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) Design studio classroom</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13) Design workshop</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14) Staff offices</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b) Technical operations</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Radio/TV maintenance room</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Electronic equipment stores</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) V.T.R. mobile unit garage</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Approximate Area (square feet)</td>
<td>Height (feet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Offices</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Radio production</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Radio studio</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Control room for (1)</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Radio master control, transmitter, links, etc., with student observation to (2)</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Radio production classroom with observation to (1) and (2)</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Record library with student listening booths</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Tape editing room</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Tape store</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Equipment store</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Offices</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Film and photography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Photo-effects and film animation studio</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Camera store</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Film/photo classroom</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Film vault for raw stock</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Film vault for completed film and stock shots</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Camera loading darkroom</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Chemical preparation room</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Film processing demonstration room</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Stills photographic negative darkroom with teaching space</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) Printing darkroom</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Finishing room</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Approximate Area (square feet)</td>
<td>Height (feet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) Film library and editing room</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13) Projection/dubbing studio</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14) Offices</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e) Educational technology

| (1) Multi-media lecture room                     | 1200                          | 12            |
| (2) Projection room                              | 500                           | 9             |
| (3) Listening center                             | 600                           | 9             |
| (4) Demonstration classroom                      | 600                           | 9             |
| (5) Multi-media lab for AV production            | 500                           | 9             |
| (6) Equipment store                              | 200                           | 9             |
| (7) Materials store                              | 100                           | 9             |
| (8) Offices                                      | 400                           | 9             |

f) Administration and General

| (1) Staff offices                                 | 800                           | 9             |
| (2) Registry                                     | 500                           | 9             |
| (3) Typing pool                                  | 600                           | 9             |
| (4) Senior staff common room                     | 450                           | 9             |
| (5) Junior staff common room                     | 450                           | 9             |
| (6) Reference library                            | 700                           | 9             |
| (7) Student common/reading room                  | 700                           | 9             |
| (8) Air conditioning plant rooms                 | 10% of total                  | 9             |
| (9) Admittance, servicing, rest-rooms, etc.      | 1200                          | 9             |

Naturally, many assumptions have to be made as to the interior fittings, equipment and specialized services that will be required.
The buildings would form part of an already developed site with main services and access roads within a reasonable distance. The accommodation would principally be housed in a single building or in a close-knit complex without attenuated circulation links.

2. Equipment

Approximations to the minimum required equipment necessary to implement the project and develop the Institute to assume its full functions in training, teaching, research and the provision of a central learning resources service are suggested below:

a) Television production equipment

(1) Large studio: four image orthicon cameras; pedestal and tripod/dolley mounts; video monitors; mike boom and floor manager intercom system; flood, spot and effects lighting equipment; dimmer control and switching; mike giraffe mountings with dollies; condenser, dynamic and neck microphones; audio monitors; cyclorama tracks with drapes, cables and connections; etc.

(2) Small studio: two vidicon cameras, light pedestal mount; tripod/dolley mounts; video monitors; audio monitors; small giraffe microphone boom with microphones; intercom to boom, cameras, floor manager and studio; flood, spot, effects lighting equipment, switching, dimming; cyclorama drape track and drapes; etc.

(3) Control room for I.O. studio: production console; video mixer, picture and waveform monitor; camera monitors, preview monitor, master monitor, off-air monitor/receiver; remote control for telecine; full intercom to all facilities; audio mixer; disc reproducers; tape reproducer with remote start-cue-stop; monitor speaker; etc.
(4) Control room for vidicon studio: console; video mixer; camera monitors, preview monitor, actual output monitor; audio mixer; disc and tape reproduction; etc.

(5) Master control: SPG's (Sync Pulse Generators) and CCU's (Camera Control Units) for I.O. cameras; camera monitors; waveform monitors; VDA's (Video Distribution Amplifiers); test signal generators; power supplies; video/audio patching and switching; SPG's and CCU's for vidicon cameras; master monitors; off-air monitors; intercom to studios, control rooms, V.T.R., telecine, etc.; video and audio distribution and patching to classrooms, common rooms; etc.

(6) Production class room: video monitor; audio monitor with switching to program sources or to intercom chains.

(7) Telecine room: vidicon camera; multiplexer; 16 mm. optical/magnetic sound projectors; double banked 35 mm. slide projector; picture and waveform monitor; video control; audio and video program monitors; intercom to control rooms and master control; film rewind bench; etc.

(8) VTR room: console record/playback video tape recorder, with cue track; electronic editing, picture and waveform monitors; intercom and engineering lines; video and audio program monitors.

(9) Maintenance tools and test equipment.

(10) Design studio classroom: drawing tables and stools; drawing instruments; model studios for design work; full range design supplies; 35 mm. slide projector; etc.

(11) Design workshop: planer; various saws; electric drill; various blades kits; complete sets hand tools; spray painting compressor;
spray guns; staging dollies; rigging ropes; hardware and tools for staging; parallels; flats; canvas; etc.

(12) Master control: 100 watt transmitter and antenna; microwave link terminations (to mobile unit and Jordan Television studio).

(13) Mobile unit: vidicon and I.O. camera chains; portable VTR; video switching and audio mixing equipment; video monitors; microwave unit; VHF communications unit; pneumatic mast; film cameras; diesel generator; auxiliary lighting, power reels and camera cables, cable drums, etc., chassis size and installation to allow for adequate training space.

b) Radio equipment

(1) Radio studio equipment complete with microphones, patching, switching and mixing facilities; reverberation input facility; turn tables and tape input facilities; broadcast quality full track record/reproducers, with patching to classrooms and studio for playback; talkback and intercom circuits.

(2) Broadcast quality portable AC/DC stereo tape recorders; portable mono tape recorders; equalizers; tape splicers; head degausers; bulk erasers; tape storage racks and tape editing benches.

(3) Sound effects library (disc); complete mood music library (disc and tape); turntables and tape recorder/reproducers for transfers and library listening; patching facility to earphones for students listening booths.

(4) Master control facility including one kilo-watt F.M. transmitter, tower and antenna for limited broadcast and for VHF link to mobile van, also to include TV antenna and microwave dish.
(5) Mobile van complete with VHF link, mixer, microphones, parabolic reflectors and broadcast quality recorders.

c) Film production equipment

(1) Arriflex B.L. type film cameras (16mm) complete with zoom lenses and 400 ft. magazines, cases, batteries, etc.; Bell and Howell 70 type cameras complete with lenses, etc.

(2) Tripods, dollies, meters, etc.

(3) Nagra 1/4" tape recorder with equalizer, microphones, etc.

(4) Magnasync type 16 mm. tape recorder with selsyn and interlock motors.

(5) Complete set still dark room equipment including enlargers, washers, drying cabinets, dishes, glazers, etc.

(6) Still cameras - 35 mm. SLR and 4x5 press types

(7) Steinbeck or flat-bed type 16 mm. film editors, optical/magnetic sound; hot splicers; editing benches, etc.

(8) 16 mm. sound (opt./mag.) projectors, one with selsyn/interlock motor.

(9) Film processing equipment 16 mm. for negative and reversal; printer; densitometer.

(10) Portable film lighting equipment

(11) Audio mixing console; dubbing unit

(12) Animation stand with 16 mm. camera, time-lapse motors, etc.

(13) Landrover type film van, fitted with racks, cable drums, generator, etc.

d) Educational technology equipment

(1) Listening laboratory with complete master control and monitor
facilities.

(2) Equipment for multi-media classroom, to include film, multiple-slide, CCTV, overhead projectors, audio channels, rear projection screens, etc.

(3) Other teaching machines and student study equipment not included in previous sections.

3. Staffing

It is assumed that external assistance would be required by the University of Jordan in the provision of senior staff in the initial stages of the development program of the Broadcasting Institute. Thus the personnel requirements will be met from three separate sources:

a) Staff from other University of Jordan Departments contributing to Institute courses.

b) University appointment of local (Jordanians and Arab countries nationals) staff to the Institute.

c) Technical assistance personnel

Staff costs would comprise the main part of the recurrent expenditure of the Institute. To ensure that the money is well spent, it would be imperative that the staff is heavily engaged in the provision of courses for adequate numbers of students and in the production of educational materials as part of the control service to the University.

It is expected that the staff would also be able to engage in research projects of their own choice as an integral part of their work within the Institute. These arrangements should be reflected in staff contracts to avoid misunderstanding.

In addition to staff costs, the main items of the recurrent
operating expenses of the Institute would be teaching and practice materials and supplies of spares for electronic equipment. Annual supplies would include the following items: VTR tapes and head replacements, film stock and chemicals; radio and television spares; paint, canvas and design materials; lighting spares; mechanical spares; lumber and mouldings; audio tapes and records; photographic materials; printing materials; books and publications; stationery, etc. Provisions in the budget should also be made for the replacement of all equipment at a regular rate as well as for repairs and maintenance.

It is expected that the annual operating expenses of the Institute would be recovered by the University from course fees charged to students, research contracts and donations. Students attending regional training courses should be assisted by bilateral and international fellowships and other study grants made available by their countries of origin.

D. Technical Assistance

An institute able to undertake the varied functions of a regional center for broadcast training, study and research must be a relatively costly undertaking. It is only feasible if technical assistance is forthcoming from both bilateral and international sources. The University of Jordan, unaided, could not assume the total burden of capital and recurrent expense, nor could Jordan at the moment supply the technical expertise necessary to staff an Institute such as is proposed.

A modern university in the Arab region is however the obvious place for such a center. The "School" structure of the University of Jordan is most suitable for the establishment of a Broadcasting Institute which cannot be conceived in isolation from other studies in the humanities,
It is assumed by this plan that the building, equipping and operation of a training center on the scale proposed is not within the financial scope of the Government of Jordan, at this time. It is therefore also assumed and recommended that the center should be built on a bilateral and multilateral technical aid basis and operated with technical assistance experts from the contributing country or countries, along with UNESCO cooperation. As the center is conceived as a permanent establishment it is assumed and recommended that a University of Jordan staff will eventually take full command of the center's operation and maintenance.

It is recommended that the Broadcasting Institute should be an integral part of the University of Jordan, assisted by both bilateral and international agencies to serve not only the training needs of broadcasting organizations in Jordan but also to provide training courses for all those Arab countries wishing to send students for study of broadcast media.

It is recommended that the Institute within one building complex should accommodate the following sub-departments:

1) Radio production

2) Broadcasting technical operations (in association with the Faculty of Engineering)

3) Television production

4) Film media

5) Instructional media, educational technology, media utilization (in association with the School of Education).
It is recommended that bilateral agencies could undertake to assist the University of Jordan by taking responsibility for the setting up, equipping, staffing, etc., on a technical assistance basis, of one or more sub-departments each as a self-contained yet cooperative sub-project within the whole project called the Broadcasting Institute.

It is proposed that UNESCO would be able to best assist the Institute by:

1) The provision of a "regional advisor" who, together with the Dean of the Institute, would be responsible for the coordination of the regional aspects of the training programs.

2) The provision each year of a sufficient number of UNESCO fellowships to enable students from the Arab region to study at the Institute.

3) The provision, during the middle years of the project offer a number of fellowships to enable local staff to undertake study travel outside Jordan.

It is recommended that the building necessary to house the Institute should be considered a single entity which can ultimately house all the sub-projects. This building will be a permanent asset to and development of the campus of the University of Jordan. Thus the capital construction costs thereof should probably be the responsibility of the University of Jordan and the Jordanian Government as their main capital contribution to the Institute. It is emphasized that the Broadcasting Institute would become the main national training center for the broadcast media as well as being an important center serving the Arab region. Without a building in which to house them, the other proposed sub-projects would be almost impossible to undertake.

As a first step towards the development of the Institute, it is
recommended that the University of Jordan, through the channels of the Government of Jordan, should request from the technical assistance departments of the possible contributing countries, the service of their short term consultants to undertake, together with the University, the Jordanian Government, and a UNESCO representative, a joint consultant mission. This group of national and international consultants should together produce a final design study for the Broadcasting Institute (on the assumption that it will later develop into the Institute of Mass Communication) on which technical assistance requests and agreements could be based.

E. Proposed Statutes of the Broadcasting Institute

The suggestions put forward below deal with the statutes of the proposed Institute. They should be considered as a draft to be discussed and finally approved by a commission embracing representatives of all groups interested in the creation of the Institute. This would go far towards resolving present problems, and would discourage the creation of competing institutions, offering also the soundest basis for the establishment of the Institute by determining its structure and functions according to the general consensus of opinion. The following organizations, institutions or groups should be represented on the Commission:

The University of Jordan (Vice-Rector and delegates from the present three faculties: Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Science, and Faculty of Economics and Commerce); the Ministry of Pedagogy and Education; the Ministry of Culture and Information; the Jordanian Broadcasting Service; the Jordan Television Authority;
news agencies; film production and distribution companies; professional associations of mass communicators; advertising and public relations agencies; students.

The Institute will be legally founded by a formal decision of the University Council. Thus, the University Council will be in a position to set up the proposed Commission in order to formulate the definitive statutes of the Institute for submission to the university authorities for final approval and ratification. The University Council could then formally establish the Institute and appoint the dean, the directors and the teaching staff.

_Draft Statutes of the Broadcasting Institute of the University of Jordan:

Article I (Preamble)

1. In view of the growing importance of the mass media of communication in political, economic and cultural life, the council of the University of Jordan decides to establish a special, independent training and research institute in the field of broadcast communication as a first step toward the establishment of an institute of mass communication.

2. "The Broadcasting Institute, University of Jordan" is to be governed by the University Council, under the direction of a Dean.

Article II (Aims of the Institute)

1. To provide in-service training for broadcasters and broadcast media users.

2. To provide full-time training and research facilities in the field of broadcast communication, in both the practical and theoretical
aspects of this discipline, with a view to training specialist.

3. To provide a coordinated communication service for the University.

**Article III (The Sections of the Institute)**

In pursuit of the objectives set forth in Article II, the Institute will be divided into the following sections:

- Short-term training
- Long-term training
- Research and Documentation
- Learning Resources, Production and Utilization

**Article IV (Teaching Staff)**

1. The teaching staff will be composed of: professors; assistant professors; visiting professors; lecturers, tutors (for technical training).

2. They will be nominated by the University Council on the proposal of the Dean.

3. A number of the teaching staff, especially for practical training, will be recruited from the following organizations, institutions or groups as "assistant professors," "lecturers" or "tutors:"

The Ministry of Culture and Information; the Jordanian Broadcasting Service; the Jordan Television Authority; news agencies; film production and distribution companies; professional associations of mass communicators; advertising and public relations agencies.

This is intended to ensure the necessary coordination of theoretical and practical training and also collaboration between the University and the mass media.

**Article V (The Dean of the Institute)**

1. The Dean will be nominated by the University Council and thus
automatically becomes a member of the University Council.
2. His candidacy is proposed by an ad hoc commission. (This commission might be identical with the commission proposed earlier).
3. He is chairman of the Institute’s Council and represents the Institute in all university and extra-university negotiations.
4. He has the right of arbitration in case of internal conflicts.
5. He casts the deciding vote when there is a tie vote in the council.
6. He proposes candidates for the teaching staff to the University Council, for nomination by that body.
7. He also proposes candidates for the direction of the short-term and long-term training sections, the research and documentation and the central communication service sections, for nomination by the University Council.
8. The directors of the sections mentioned must be members of the teaching staff.
9. The Dean is responsible for the administration of the Institute as well as for its publications.

Article VI (The Council of the Institute)
1. The Council is composed of: the Dean and the Directors of the short-term and long-term training sections, of the research and documentation and learning resources, production and utilization sections. The Council is the administrative body of the Institute.
2. The following organizations, institutions or groups must be represented on the Institute’s Council by at least two members:
The Ministry of Culture and Information; the Jordanian Broadcasting Service; the Jordan Television Authority; news agencies; film
production and distribution companies; professional associations of mass communicators; advertising and public relations agencies.

3. The Dean is empowered to invite additional representatives of the organizations, institutions and groups mentioned and also student delegates to participate in the discussions of the Institute's Council, but without the right to vote.

4. The Council of the Institute is in charge of:

Financial administration; nomination of administrative personnel; designing the research program; purchase of technical equipment; all aspects of library and documentation work; establishing and maintaining contacts with practitioners in the broadcast media and with broadcast communication training and research institutes abroad.

The Council also specifies the entrance requirements, lengths of studies, curricula, fees, and requirements for obtaining degrees, diplomas and certificates, submitting its proposals through the Dean to the University Council for final approval.

The Council also selects visiting professors, submitting its proposals through the Dean to the University Council, which is responsible for actually issuing the invitations.

The Council also takes charge of the fellowship program of the Institute and assists graduates to find suitable employment.

Article VII (Research and Documentation Section)

The research and documentation section will design, supervise and evaluate research projects for students of the fourth year.

After approval by the Council of the Institute, this section is authorized to accept research projects sponsored by extra-university authorities, e.g. government institutions.
Any profits accruing from these projects must be reinvested in supporting students' projects and contributing to the requisition of additional documentation material and technical equipment.

The research and documentation section is in charge of building up and maintaining the Institute's library, its collection of scientific reviews, microfilms and photostats, and other kinds of documents (unpublished conference reports and papers, training programs of other communication training institutes, etc.)

Article VIII (Publications)

The Institute will publish a periodical review of its activities to inform the public concerning research results and papers of general interest written by members of the Institute.

This periodical review will be edited by a publications officer who will serve as director of University publications under the jurisdiction of the Dean of the Institute. Moreover, the Institute will also deal with the publication, in book, film and other media forms, of research projects of members of the Institute. Copyright will be held by the Institute.

Article IX (Selection of Students)

Applicants for university degrees should sit an admission examination unless they have the following requirements:

A secondary school certificate; working knowledge of English.

Entrance examinations should not be the only form of selection; they must be supplemented by periodic evaluation during the course of studies and by final examinations.

In the selection of students tests should aim at measuring such
factors as the ability to tackle new situations and to grasp the meaning of raw facts. Selection should also take into consideration the sense of social responsibility a prospective candidate shows.

Scholastic standards are not to be considered essential pre-requisites for admission to short-term courses. The aim of selection of trainees is to discover those who are naturally gifted and have the aptitude for the broadcasting profession.

Any committee in charge of selection should include professional broadcasters as well as members of the teaching staff.

**Article X (Administration)**

In order to free professors and students from administrative duties and enable them to concentrate entirely on problems of theoretical and practical training and on scientific research, the administration will perform all administrative functions, including:

1. Exchange of information between the various sections of the Institute and also between the Institute and external authorities.
2. Financial administration and acquisition of equipment.
3. Establishing time table for lectures, practical training hours and examinations, etc.
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

The introduction of radio broadcasting in developing countries is now virtually completed. The past two decades have carried with them developments which have rapidly brought the nations of developing countries a keen awareness of the potentialities of the medium. This and other factors, sometimes political, have led to vast expansions in radio broadcasting and have also led to the introduction of television. In many developing countries today, local radio coverage has reached the 100% mark, while in others it is speedily approaching that mark; and in the face of formidable problems the number of television stations in developing countries rises each year. This, however, is wholly meaningless unless the employment of all that hardware is geared towards the finding of solutions to the developing countries' numerous problems. They must be harnessed to play a valiant role in the long and wearisome battle against illiteracy, disease, poverty and ignorance.

With today's many technical aid programs available to developing countries, it is relatively easy to acquire broadcast equipment, but the active and fruitful use of that equipment, if it is to render its optimum contribution to development, can only be the responsibility of the developing nation itself. The future success of broadcasting in developing countries will depend upon the ability of their peoples to meet this responsibility. This will require improved professional training.

It is accepted that the most desirable training objectives can best be accomplished by training in a communications school in the
broadcaster's own home-country. However, financial and other difficulties have not made it feasible for many developing countries to operate such institutions, while those who have operated them have not been able to provide, out of their individual budgets, the fully equipped facilities required, the complete complement of training staff, and adequate funds to meet operating costs; and there is no reason to expect significant changes in this situation in the near future. The proposal for the establishment of regional training centers therefore appears to provide the most logical and practical solution. In some areas, the considerable numbers of personnel currently in need of training, and the requirements of the future, clearly point to the need for more than a single regional training center, as well as the necessity to provide assistance for broadcasting training schools currently in operation and those being planned.

It must be stressed that regardless of how well-equipped, or how well staffed, any developing country's mass communication training institute or school might be, or how generously endowed it might be with the means of meeting operating costs, it can by no means be expected to fulfill the country's needs unless courses offered are specially designed and planned to meet its special and peculiar circumstances and to prepare the broadcaster for his heavy educational and general development commitments. The training must necessarily promote a close and total involvement of the broadcaster and his skills with the social and cultural patterns of his society.

The training problems facing communications in developing countries are colossal and can only be surmounted by the early implementation of comprehensive and well planned training efforts. Such efforts must
be designed to take into consideration two sets of factors: (1) factors which are directly related to current broadcasting training in developing countries, and (2) factors which are not directly connected with current training programs but which seriously undermine training efforts by minimizing any benefits which broadcasting organizations and their countries might reap from such training programs.

Based upon discussions of these factors, the following corrective suggestions and recommendations are presented for the consideration of broadcasting authorities in developing countries, and for the guidance of those who will have responsibility for the planning of future broadcast training in those countries.

A. Direct Factors

1. Recruitment

Current recruitment practices in many broadcasting systems in developing countries carry in them an element capable of condemning their training schemes to failure even before they start. It is the adherence to civil service procedures and standards. The same yardstick for recruiting beginners for such departments as Public Works, Customs, or Agriculture Departments is applied to recruits for Broadcasting. In the beginning, when broadcasting was usually either part of, or came directly under, departments of information, this practice was accepted as the natural development. Today, however, even in those places where this arrangement still prevails, broadcasters agree that it is obsolete and unsuitable. The more disturbing situation, obviously, is where the broadcasting organization is no longer part of the civil service but continues to bind itself to civil service recruitment procedures. In a field as specialized and as dependent upon talent as broadcasting,
one cannot afford to rely too heavily upon certificates which, in most cases, only show that a certain level of academic discipline has been attained and certain examinations passed. At present applicants holding the school certificate are in most cases automatically given priority over colleagues who might have failed or perhaps never taken the examination. There is too little attention paid to talent, aptitude and interests. The obvious result of this approach is that there are in developing countries' broadcasting today too many who have no other qualification except a certain educational level and who are only in broadcasting because they were searching for respectable and secure careers. Experience has proven that although many such employees understand all the principles of broadcasting and are in many cases reliable and hardworking, they do not necessarily become good broadcasters. What such officers lack is the special affinity and loyalty to broadcasting upon which creativity in the medium greatly depends. It makes little difference to them whether they are in Broadcasting or in the Customs Department and will have no hesitation about transferring at any time for a slightly higher salary. These are men and women meant for Civil Service careers and can never conceive broadcasting as a profession.

It might be argued that while these views may have some merit in recruitment for production they do not apply when recruiting for engineering, but one only has to visit a few stations in some developing countries, and see the amount of faulty equipment lying around to begin to reconsider his views. Many recruits with very good academic standing in such subjects as physics, mathematics, enter broadcasting
and successfully complete all types of engineering training and pass various examinations. Some go as high as to procure university equivalent qualifications, but few become good maintenance engineers. On the other hand one finds on the staff of some stations a few technicians or "engineers" who never finished secondary school or did not pass final examinations, but are, today, among the best mainenance people on their stations. Any potential technicians who might just happen to fail their final school examinations in arts and letters should not be rejected out of hand in favor of a certificate-holder who might have neither the mechanical aptitude nor any particular liking for broadcasting or for the general field of electronics. The class of efficient artisans and technicians in developing countries must be expanded if engineering standards are to rise. This cannot be accomplished within the present system which tends to produce academically qualified technicians and engineers who are either not capable of maintaining equipment or are so white-collar conscious that they object to performing direct manual tasks.

The secondary school or the baccalaureate degree appears to be the most suitable level for recruitment into the beginning grades but the certificate should not be allowed to become the fetish it seems to be in some organizations. The emphasis should be placed on talent and not on academic excellence. Hence:

**RECOMMENDATION A. 1.**

Broadcasting organizations in developing countries should be encouraged to introduce more flexibility into their recruitment processes. This should not be construed to mean a lowering of entry requirements. Present standards in many developing countries are suitable but possession of certificates should not be mandatory. The emphasis should be on talent, creative ability, and an aptitude for broadcasting.
2. On-the-job training

Procuring any degree of effectiveness from any training program necessarily demands the following prior conditions:

1) There must be adequate instruction and supervision.
2) Training equipment and supplies must be available.
3) There should be machinery for assessing progress.
4) There must be adequate time devoted to the training process.

Unfortunately, rarely have on-the-job training programs been known to meet these requirements adequately. The acute general shortage of trained broadcasting personnel puts such a heavy demand on staff capable of conducting and supervising such training, that in most cases instruction tends to be limited to a level which is just enough to enable the trainee to take some of the work-load off the employee to whom he is attached for training, and the so-called on-the-job instructor is so busy with his workaday responsibilities that any further instruction follows extremely slowly if at all. In the meantime the availability of this additional junior trainee, coupled with the constant need for persons who can run errands and undertake menial assignments, offers temptations which are usually difficult to resist. It must also be pointed out that in situations of such acute staff shortage, one often finds a number of personnel who know barely enough to perform the minimal duties required of their positions. A number of heads of broadcasting organizations do admit that they have large numbers of unqualified staff whom they must retain for various reasons (often unrelated to broadcasting standards). Attempting on-the-job training under some of these circumstances certainly indicates the inefficacy of such training.

Mainly for financial reasons, there is also a shortage of
equipment in most broadcasting organizations of developing countries. One cannot hope for effective training when the few pieces of available equipment are constantly needed for on-air service. Trainees must be able to use equipment for various practice exercises which must be done over and over again if any skill is to be developed. A trainee-announcer, for example, should have his reading exercises recorded and played back. A vision-mixer trainee should be able to spend hours at the switcher practicing techniques employed in getting various effects. It should be possible for a trainee at the transmitter to tune a transmitter several times as an exercise. An infinite number of examples could be cited. Not many broadcasting organizations have sufficient equipment and facilities to meet the needs of the daily operations of the service and also supply this training demand.

Next comes the problem of assessing a trainee's performance. Training can only proceed from point to point if progress made can be measured. Regardless of their many weaknesses, the common instruments available for conducting such measurement are tests — written, oral, or practical. Many broadcasting organizations in developing countries admit they are unable to organize such tests. There is either no established procedure, time, equipment or the staff to handle this. All that these organizations can therefore afford is to attach the trainee to a section for a specified period and, at the expiry of that period, he is moved either to a new area of training or assigned operational duties. One can only take a chance.

Any training program worth its name needs to be organized. There must be clearly stated objectives. The level of experience achieved at the end of the training must be evaluated and the trainee's relative
position at the end of the training period should be identified. This is only possible where there is the time, personnel, know-how and a system. Few broadcasting organizations in developing countries can provide these. On-the-job training in developing countries' broadcasting can yield the desired results only when the necessary conditions required for optimum effectiveness are provided and when it ceases to be an unplanned apprenticeship program where the trainee is just thrown in and left to swim or drown. Hence:

RECOMMENDATION A. 2.

On-the-job broadcast training in developing countries is useful and should be continued. However, its many shortcomings must be thoroughly understood by broadcasting organizations. It is most useful if it is utilized only as a familiarization course and not as a complete training course by itself. It is recommended that it should not last more than six months and should commence directly after recruitment, and be followed by formal training in a broadcasting institute or school.

3. Non-suitability of overseas training programs

Most senior personnel of broadcasting organizations in developing countries today are products of overseas training. They were mostly trained either in broadcast schools abroad or have been on one or more training attachments. If present standards of broadcasting in developing countries can be used as a criterion, then little more would need to be said to prove that although some benefit has accrued from all these foreign training schemes, they have on the whole not produced the desired results.

With the exception of a few foreign training programs tailored for broadcasters from a particular country or region or designed to train specifically for a certain field, foreign organizations training
broadcasters from developing countries do not specialize. They offer general training for broadcasters from many different parts of the world and must necessarily gear their training program to diverse needs. This naturally calls for a broad approach which is vaguely aimed at all of the participating countries but which really seldom meets the specific requirements of any individual station.

For the most effective training program, courses must be conducted in an environment which comes as close as possible to situations and circumstances in the trainee's home-land and instructors must be completely familiar with the economic and social problems of the student's country. This situation is very seldom realized when training is provided abroad.

In many developing countries, attachment to foreign broadcasting organizations is the most popular type of foreign training undertaken by broadcasters. This is simply because it is the one which is most available. While not all broadcasting organizations have training schools almost all can offer attachment courses. The offering of such attachments has been viewed by many countries as a prestige item. It is a rather simple and inexpensive means whereby advanced countries can give aid to developing countries. It definitely looks good on the credit side of the aid ledger, but in most cases the benefits derived by the recipient country do not justify the time spent on the attachment. Usually broadcasters going on attachments either find themselves spending long periods learning a foreign language or returning home after a tour of almost mute observation.

This is not to suggest that attachments are completely undesirable; they can be useful if they are limited to only senior and very
experienced officers and kept at a minimum duration. Most attachments, especially those designed for junior staff, tend in their present form to give officers a vacation and return them home confused while their organizations suffer by losing their services during the attachment period. Many a broadcasting executive remarked wittily that he cannot afford sending his competent employees on worthless long attachments because he needs them to keep the station going. They do, however, welcome offers for attachments because they provide them an opportunity of keeping some of their burdensome employees out of the way!

This discussion on overseas training should not be mistaken as an unqualified condemnation of overseas training. Overseas training has its advantages. Broadcasting is a field which thrives upon inspiration and innovations for its artistic development. No broadcaster can function in isolation and hope to be able to keep abreast of all developments in the field. It is imperative at some point in his career for the broadcaster in a developing country to be exposed to other systems where technical, production and administrative standards are generally higher if he is to have a target. The broadcaster who studies abroad has, in most cases, an opportunity for such an exposure. He is also offered an excellent chance to broaden his outlook and enhance his background. Many potentially valuable opportunities are presented by overseas training, but organizations taking advantage of such opportunities should be aware of the problems involved. Hence:

RECOMMENDATION A. 3.

a) As much as possible, training in foreign broadcasting schools should be limited to advanced level or specialist courses designed
for the experienced broadcaster who is already fully aware of the working conditions within his own country. It presents an opportunity for him to broaden his outlook and at the same time acquire specialist training which is at the time not easily available in his own country or region.

b) Attachment courses abroad should be limited to experienced senior members of staff and should not exceed three months. Efforts should be made to secure such opportunities.

c) During his training abroad, it would be desirable if the trainee visited several countries rather than one to obtain a broader picture.

4. Training in local broadcasting training schools

Although it is the consensus that the operating of local broadcasting training schools will bring about a greater contribution towards the solution of staff training problems than any other single effort, nowhere does there appear to be an expectation of an end to all staff problems with the introduction of a training school.

Most organizations are unable to operate their own schools primarily because of lack of funds. Others cite the lack of qualified training staff, and still others feel that their present personnel needs cannot justify the creation of a full scale training school. There are also those who feel that they can operate schools on certain scales and are doing so. Although these schools are yielding some results, they are afflicted with numerous problems varying in magnitude from organization to organization and hindering the realization of maximum benefit.

Most schools operating in the developing countries are incapable of providing full facilities for training. The difference from one school to another is only one of degree. The effort of a certain school
is therefore limited to what can be provided with available facilities and maintenance capacity. Even the best equipped schools are occasionally reduced to chalk-and-blackboard instruction, at times when more practical work would be extremely valuable.

In other schools there is the shortage of instructors and classrooms. Arrangements made with public institutions as has been done by some broadcasting services make it possible for such institutions to carry some of the load. This system has the added advantage of providing the student with practical broadcast training required and simultaneously offering him the opportunity of acquiring the paper qualifications recognized in his country. A number of broadcasters in the developing countries feel that training designed to help a student pass government examinations is of rather limited value to the broadcasting technician unless it is supplemented with courses designed to fill in the gaps and increase the relevance of the training to the needs of developing countries' broadcasting. The broadcasting school coupled with public school arrangement makes a contribution in this direction.

The shortage of school staff is not limited to the smaller schools. In some of the larger schools, for example, technical trainees operate equipment on production exercises. A moment's reflection will show that this is not desirable, from an instructional point of view, for either technical or production trainees. However, the shortage of trained personnel makes this arrangement inevitable.

Most organizations operating these schools are aware of the problems of their schools. At the same time they speak with pride of the numbers they have trained and how many more are going to be trained. Seldom is there an indication of frustration or despair. Everywhere
there is mention of plans to expand the school or improve upon it. Training schools do not claim standards of excellence; however, there is a considerable degree of satisfaction with results, in view of the varied limitations under which schools are run. The future offers hopes for expansion and improvement, and an expectation of repeatedly improving training results. However, these hopes are almost invariably based upon the expectation of technical assistance. Hence:

**RECOMMENDATION A. 4.**

As much as possible, broadcasting organizations in developing countries should be encouraged to arrange basic formal in-school training locally. Equipment in such schools should be comparable in sophistication to facilities usually provided for broadcast purposes.

5. The occasional special course

The occasional special course has been organized by a number of stations in developing countries usually as a refresher experience. The experience of these stations indicates that courses have been most effective when they have been conducted within the framework of a regular training school where facilities are available exclusively for training and where it is feasible to have the course organized by a member of the school's staff, regardless of who delivers lectures and supervises exercises. Many stations in developing countries have not been able to organize such courses due to the lack of both facilities and staff. Others have been able to arrange courses using visiting lecturers who have been made available through technical assistance. Stations which have succeeded in arranging such courses in the past have never failed to point out that perhaps the biggest
advantage of this system is that while a station can only send one or two on a particular attachment abroad a visiting training officer can train many more. Hence:

RECOMMENDATION A. 5.

Occasional special courses, workshops and seminars should be considered as necessary regular features of broadcast training schemes. The training of a broadcaster should be envisaged as an on-going process—as continuing education.

6. The need for specialist training

Great concern has been expressed in many developing countries over what has been described as the flooding of the field with mediocre personnel. Recent post-colonial policies, coupled with the fast expansions, have in most emerging countries led to accelerated recruitment and training programs which have satisfied the immediate need of getting nationals "who can do the job" into numerous posts. Many organizations admit that this has been accomplished at the expense of standards and general efficiency. Standards have either become static or have fallen, and the more sophisticated broadcasting organizations struggle to raise standards while keeping up at the same time with expansion programs. There are trained men and women who are doing the work, but the question is: how well is the job being done and at what level of efficiency? Most of the young men and women in emerging countries' broadcasting know generally what their jobs are about, but lack the deeper appreciation of the fine characteristics of the medium. In most advanced broadcasting organizations where high standards are maintained the beginner has the opportunity of attaining this desired high level of expertise through years of experience,
but in the emerging countries' broadcasting where standards are already generally low and there can be no waiting for years of experience, a concerted effort must be made to elevate standards through training. Courses which have been available to the emerging country's broadcaster so far have been general courses on various levels, but what is also needed now, is the provision of courses designed to assist the experienced broadcaster in specializing in his own specific area. It is convenient, and, in fact, desirable at small beginning stations to insist upon training which is non-specialized to allow for flexibility in staff deployment, but many developing countries' broadcasting organizations have long passed the "small" stage and must now be moving towards professionalism in their product. What they need are courses which will supply them with experts in maintenance; in the preparation and presentation of programs on agriculture, health and social work; and in instructional broadcasting. They need experts in VTR maintenance, audio tape editing and dubbing, and television lighting. Several other areas could be added to this list. Hence:

RECOMMENDATION A. 6.

Any regional broadcast training center in developing countries should make provision for occasional courses specifically designed to meet the growing need for specialists in developing countries' broadcasting. In this respect broadcasting organizations should be approached on a regular basis, perhaps annually, in an attempt to develop the closest possible coordination between the scheduling of specialist courses and the needs.

7. Lack of adequate direction in utilization

Justification for the developing countries' broadcasting effort is directed to and is based on its use in the solution of their
numerous educational, social, political and general development problems. The broadcaster must necessarily be familiar with the use of radio and television in schools and be knowledgeable about the experiments which have been conducted in the use of television for teaching science subjects. The broadcaster must know the techniques and systems employed in the use of television for teaching adults to read and write, and be familiar with the problems he should anticipate in the teaching of adults. He must familiarize himself with radio, film and television farm forums, and be acquainted with details and results of farm forum projects which have been conducted in different parts of the world. These are but a few examples.

Seldom do the courses currently available to broadcasters in developing countries cover these areas. Most broadcasters therefore tend to expend much time and effort on programs that bear a close resemblance to programs they have heard or watched before. In many instances, unfortunately, this leads to the filling of the air with mediocre programs of doubtful value in terms of the proclaimed objectives of developing countries' broadcasting. The few mature broadcasters who might come to grips with their countries' development problems are left to grope in the dark in a desperate attempt to find ways of utilizing the medium in the search for solutions to these problems, without being aware of the abundance of experience which already exists in this field. The very few who might have heard of farm forum projects elsewhere see them as laboratory experiments conducted "some place out there." They are not adequately guided to be able to consider the direct application of such schemes or the employment of
adaptations towards the solution of indigenous problems.

The introduction of these items on new developing countries' training programs is not expected to be easy, but they must certainly figure in any training scheme designed to meet the requirements of broadcasting in these countries. Opportunities must be afforded prospective training officers on such schemes to familiarize themselves thoroughly with the many activities and experiments in these and several other areas, if the hazard of importing foreign training schemes is to be avoided.

The capability of broadcasting to assume a major role in development programs in the third world has been effectively established. However, very limited assistance is given today by broadcasting organizations to their countries' development programs. There is an absence of adequate rapport and a lack of the total involvement required if the broadcasting organization is to be able to offer the departments concerned full support in the planning and implementation of social welfare and development projects.

What is needed in order to establish this relationship is a complete understanding of the objectives and plans of the agencies charged with the responsibility of planning and carrying out development projects. It will therefore be necessary while in training, for the broadcaster to be availed of as much exposure as possible to the activities of these departments and the problems they are trying to solve. Wherever comparable situations can be found, approaches developed by other broadcasting organizations must be studied. Hence:

RECOMMENDATION A. 7.

Broadcast training programs in developing countries should not be confined to the teaching
of techniques and the use of equipment but should emphasize the utilization of the media in the fields of education, agriculture, social welfare and community development as well. Every effort should be directed toward familiarizing the trainee with pertinent experiments which have been conducted in different parts of the world, and stressing the necessity of using broadcasting to provide support for development projects.

B. Indirect Factors

1. Deployment of training staff

Broadcasting organizations in developing countries proudly speak of the numbers of trained personnel they have on staff. The statistics they show of how many employees attended one or another overseas broadcast training school, and the numbers who have been on various attachments can, on face value, appear impressive and encouraging. A look at the positions held by the majority of these trained personnel and the actual jobs they perform at their stations, however, present a deplorable picture. In some cases these officers have been chosen for overseas training not necessarily because they needed that particular training but because the training opportunity became available and they were chosen because of considerations of seniority and the status attached to overseas training. In other instances the structures of broadcasting organizations are such that certain trained and deserving employees can be promoted only to so-called supervisory positions which transfer them to administrative desks where soon they become specialists in the civil service type of work and become almost entirely detached from the actual work of broadcasting. Paradoxically, by the virtue of their being trained, they end up being promoted out
of the jobs for which they are trained! It is not surprising to hear of a trained maintenance technician at a certain station who works exclusively on duty rosters while defective pieces of equipment lay on the bench; or of a television cameraman at another station, recognized by his own organization to be first class, who is charged with a non-camera duty that carries a prestigious title, while productions suffered with cameras in the hands of beginners. Such situations can be encountered at almost every radio or television station in developing countries.

No broadcasting organizations can hope for benefits from training programs which are looked upon as rewards for seniority, nor can they expect to succeed in their efforts to achieve decent standards while trained staff are assigned duties other than those for which they are trained. Unless this situation is corrected, training programs will continue to be largely a waste of time and effort. Hence:

RECOMMENDATION B. 1.

The acceptance of overseas training awards and the selection of candidates for such awards should be dictated by the organization's needs and not by the availability of training opportunities or the desirability of foreign travel. After training, employees should be assigned duties directly related to the training acquired.

2. Promotions

Senior level posts are generally filled either by promotion from within the broadcasting organizations or by transfer from other government departments. Whether appointment to these posts is by promotion or transfer, the main criterion governing selection is usually seniority.

Theoretically, provision is made in the service code or in the
broadcasting organization's staff regulations for out-of-line promotions for outstanding personnel. Yet protective measures built into the regulations for the purpose of upholding civil service tenure provisions, make supersession almost impossible. Moreover, in many cases although the broadcasting organization might originate a recommendation for promotion, the organization itself enjoys no authority to promote. The promoting authority resides in the civil service which is too tenacious to be convinced with any arguments for promotion based upon talent and ability. The result is that in most broadcasting organizations in developing countries, seniority figures out as the main, if not the only, criterion for promotion.

Supervision and the execution of tasks requiring the best of talent and skill therefore often fall in the hands of non-creative and inefficient senior personnel. The broadcasting organization is thus deprived of the opportunity of putting out its best while the development of young talent is stifled. Junior staff become fretfully discontented and sooner or later lose interest in their work while the older "dead wood" above them continue to be left there because they cannot be superseded.

If broadcasting organizations in developing countries expect any returns for their training endeavors it will be absolutely necessary to ensure that promotion machineries give young and vigorous talent the recognition they deserve. Hence:

**RECOMMENDATION B. 2.**

Broadcasting organizations should be encouraged to recognize and foster the development of young talent by adopting ability as the principal criterion for promotion and proportionately attenuating the importance
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currently ascribed to seniority.

3. The shortage of maintenance technicians

In developing countries, most broadcasting technicians trained for maintenance successfully survive a series of courses they are expected to take, but very few become good maintenance technicians.

One reason advanced for this situation is that because of the lack of adequate exposure to machinery during their youth, many, while they are in training, have considerable difficulty linking theory with actual practice. They therefore tend to concentrate on the theory which they know is required for passing the examinations and insufficient attention is paid to practical applications. In some cases this process of divorcing practice from theory actually begins in secondary schools where science laboratories are poorly equipped and students are forced to merely study the text. When studying electronics, such students tend to consider the acquisition of the theory and workshop-experience as two separate and only vaguely related activities. The combination of the two usually takes place only after several years of actual experience on the job. In the meantime the organization suffers from lack of adequate maintenance, and faulty units are replaced instead of being repaired. This, of course, is an expense which few developing countries can afford.

The acquisition of electronic theory should be viewed by trainees as only a means of acquiring maintenance skills. They should be encouraged to repair radio and television sets, record players, tape recorders and other electronic and electrical appliances. Instead of forbidding the repair of such appliances at the school as is the current practice in many institutions, systems should be established for accepting such outside jobs officially, and making nominal charges
to cover spare parts and other costs. In order to avoid dissatisfied customers, however, such systems should provide for flexibility allowing for failures in the learning process.

There must be a heavy dependence upon practical demonstrations, and the necessity to pass written examinations should be proportionately less heavily emphasized than at present. Hence:

**RECOMMENDATION B. 3.**

Courses designed for the training of maintenance technicians should be conducted in schools which are fully equipped, and emphasis during all training should be on the practical.

4. Inadequacy of backgrounds

It is the consensus that a beginner's chances of developing into a good program man are directly proportional to the expanse of his background and his energy and ability.

Environmental conditions in most developing countries are such that by the time the school certificate level is attained, many young men and women have rather limited backgrounds regardless of their levels of academic merit. In most cases backgrounds remain for many years under-developed for a variety of reasons. Broadcasting recruits in this category who go into programs easily acquire the necessary mastery of the techniques and skills of production but are limited in their ability to develop broadcast programs of any depth. It must be pointed out however, that this is not a situation confined to secondary school learners only; it is not uncommon even among the relatively few university graduates in developing countries' broadcasting, and in developed countries too, to different degrees.
This state of affairs is largely responsible for the difficulty faced by many of the third world's broadcasting organizations in developing program personnel capable of producing deep and thought-provoking programs. Therefore, any program courses designed for broadcasters in developing countries should be planned with this general deficiency in mind. Close attention should be exerted to ensure that courses do not become mere technique teaching systems. Both the curricular and extracurricular activities of the training center should be designed to generate a new awareness in trainees and provoke their interests in the world around them. Group discussions, film shows and participation in community activities should be encouraged. In this regard it will be essential in selecting the instructors to attach special significance to interests, hobbies and past occupations of candidates. Hence:

**RECOMMENDATION B. 4.**

Training programs should introduce broadcasters to as many new subjects as possible and stimulate their interest in the world around them in order to broaden trainees' backgrounds.

5. The convenience of "reverse attachments"

Sporadically, attachments in reverse have been organized in some of the developing countries' broadcasting organizations. "Reverse attachment," as it may be appropriately called, involves an experienced staff member of an advanced broadcasting organization going on a short term attachment to a developing country's broadcasting organization. The officer either goes into a staff position or is attached to a counterpart with whom he works during the attachment.
Normally, a suitable officer on such attachment will devote the first few weeks to studying the systems, procedures and problems of the organization to which he is attached. He then embarks on the active portion of his attachment, starting to hold regular assignments as a staff member would. As he gets occupied in the operations he makes suggestions, based upon his own experiences, that may lead to reaching solutions to problems and overall improvement of operations.

This particular type of attachment makes it possible for the visiting officer to get a first hand appreciation of the problems he is to help solve. Proposals made for a solution are therefore usually more reliable, and more practical in nature. Such attachment also holds the great advantage of providing a channel for importing fresh ideas from time to time into various sections of the organization.

Because of the present rather wide differences in standards it is hard to arrange direct staff exchanges between developing countries' broadcasting organizations and organizations in advanced countries. The reverse attachment is the closest possibility and should be encouraged as a move towards eventual direct staff exchange.

No broadcasting organization is known to provide this type of assistance as a regular feature of its operations. The BBC, for example, operated such a scheme as part of its training activities; it sent a number of television officers to Jordan Television in the early stages of its development. The general objective of these experts was to undertake functions and conduct training, only up to that time when local staff had been available to take over efficiently. There
are foreign broadcast experts currently attached to broadcasting organizations in a number of developing countries. Hence:

**RECOMMENDATION B. 5.**

The use of "reverse attachment" as a means of elevating standards and introducing new ideas into developing countries' broadcasting should be encouraged.

6. The need for research and evaluation

Many broadcasting organizations in developing countries have for years been operating in the dark and continue to do so today. Substantial funds and effort are expended on enormous numbers of program hours broadcast week after week and the traffic continues to flow "one way" only. In some countries special radio and television programs are transmitted to various specific groups within the community, without even the fulfillment of the most basic requirement of ascertaining whether or not the programs are being utilized or whether they are being understood. Programs are broadcast to schools without even obtaining any form of feedback. From time to time new programs are introduced and kept on the air, in some cases for years, without any possibility of the broadcasting station ever checking the success or failure in terms of its objectives. A few broadcasting organizations in developing countries operate audience research departments which normally send out questionnaires to listening or viewing panels, and use the responses to such questionnaires for deciding upon the popularity of programs, and for conducting other simple studies, but the majority of developing countries' broadcasting organizations do not engage in research of any kind.
If any radio or television program is to serve any useful purpose, the objectives of the program must be succinctly defined, and a system must be set up for continually subjecting the program to thorough testing and evaluation. Reliable and accurate information must always be available about the audience’s opinions, tastes, and reactions, which can be used as guidelines by producers and program directors. A popularity poll does not necessarily indicate program effectiveness in terms of its objectives.

The lack of activity in this area is most commonly traced back to the non-availability of qualified personnel. This is understandable when one considers the general shortage of highly educated personnel in developing countries and the fact that research of this nature demands the services of measurement specialists and others trained in the academics of research. This type of training cannot be offered in broadcast training schools. Besides, very few people entering the field of broadcasting in developing countries today possess the academic background considered to be a pre-requisite for such work. To get such personnel therefore requires a dependence upon universities and higher training institutes.

The most desirable background for research assignments in broadcasting is a university education with adequate training in mass communication. This includes sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, statisticians, and experts in test and measurement construction and evaluation. Until recently, very few universities in developing countries offered courses in the field of mass communication, but fortunately a noticeable progress has now been made. Graduates of
the burgeoning institutes of broadcasting and mass communication and university graduates with a background in mass communication will not only help in meeting the need for broadcast researchers, but will also provide desperately needed graduates for other departments in broadcasting organizations. It must be pointed out in this connection that the undertakings of mass communication institutes and universities offering courses in mass communication are not free from obstructions; they are plagued with problems of finance, staff and lack of facilities. It will be necessary for developing countries' broadcasting organizations and international organizations interested in the mass media to uphold and sustain the efforts of these institutes and universities and encourage others to consider the introduction of courses in mass communications. Hence:

**RECOMMENDATION B. 6.**

a) The vital role of research as an on-going, integral aspect of broadcasting should be emphasized both in broadcast training and in practice.

b) Broadcasting organizations in developing countries should be urged to sponsor students for training in communication and other behavioral sciences, testing, and measurement and statistical analyses, in national and regional institutions of higher learning, and generally to support the mass communication activities of these institutions.

c) International organizations interested in the mass media should investigate problems facing developing countries' mass communication institutes and departments in the few universities which operate such programs, and offer assistance toward the solution of these problems. All necessary help should be extended to other institutions of higher learning in developing countries to encourage them to offer mass communication courses.
7. General inefficiency and irresponsibility

Many broadcasting executives in developing countries are dissatisfied with the general level of efficiency in their operations. A widespread complaint is the difficulty encountered in impressing upon staff the need for absolute efficiency and a keen sense of responsibility. Time and time again, examples are cited of directors who schedule rehearsals and fail to show up themselves. Complaints are made about producers not planning their programs sufficiently in advance. Instances are mentioned of television cameramen disappearing from the studios before air time. Stories are told of announcers reporting for morning duty directly from a previous night's party. The list is almost inexhaustible.

Some degree of irresponsibility will understandably be found in any broadcasting organization in any part of the world; but the excessive concern shown by broadcasting executives in developing countries stems from a conviction that they are at present faced with a more than average share.

Some have ascribed this situation to inadequate training, some trace it to the general level of efficiency in the society, while others see it originating in the civil service system which tends to condone inefficiency. Whatever the source might be, it is today one of the biggest problems which must be solved if the attainment of any respectable standards is to be hoped for. It should be dealt with in a training situation by instilling in trainees, through practice, the need for complete efficiency and an appreciation of broadcasting as a profession and not just another civil service job. Where it is
evident that a trainee is unfit it should be possible to send him away. It must be a basic responsibility of every training center to sift out misfits. It is bound to be a more satisfactory approach than paying several years' salary for a low standard of operation and a demoralizing effect on staff. Hence, finally:

**RECOMMENDATION B. 7.**

a) Any broadcast training center should be operated not merely as a school, but as a professional broadcasting station with the usual clockwork expertise appropriately demanded of all recognized stations. Professionalism should be the guiding factor in the setting up of disciplinary standards and in the execution of practical exercises. The center must have radio and television stations (at least closed-circuit) to be operated by trainees in regular broadcast method.

b) Broadcasting organizations must keep trainees on probationary periods lasting up to at least six months past the date of completion of training.

c) The tendency of some civil services to retain all staff once they are engaged should be discontinued in broadcasting. Discharge and the possibility of transfer to non-strictly-creative government departments should be pondered.

In conclusion, mass communications are both an agent and an index of social change. Mass communications can help accelerate the process of social change by more efficiently disseminating essential information and involving more of the public in the tasks of nation-building and participation in the modern world. The mass media can help bridge the wide rifts that separate the modern persons in developing countries' cities from the many traditional peoples living in villages or leading nomadic lives, virtually cut off from the urban population by the almost
insurmountable barriers of language, ethnicity and profound cultural differences.

As developing countries modernize, their media of mass communication will grow and flourish. But no one can belittle the enormity and the complexity of the problems encountered. Poverty, lack of economic potential, illiteracy, political instability, linguistic and ethnic fragmentation, and other factors can and do combine to retard and confound the process. Yet the trend is clear: developing countries are moving, however differentially and irregularly, from traditional communication systems to modern media systems of communication. The oral point-to-point or person-to-person methods of traditional social organizations are giving way to and combining with mediated communication. The direction is definitely one way: from traditional to modern communication. Developing countries have opted for the modern world, and mass communications will accelerate and facilitate the transition and are themselves a product of the process. But it is not an easy nor a regular process.

The essential part of the broadcaster's responsibility in the development process consists of communicating innovation. The broadcaster in developing countries is constantly trying to make a change. He is dealing with people whom he desires to do something for the first time. He is dealing with workers who have no experience with the job, with farmers whom he wishes to change their basic practices, with people who rely on folk wisdom when he wants them to learn to solve problems, with a country that is used to living in the past and present, although its policy is to live in the future. Innovation, therefore,
calls on him to play a "middleman" role — to be able to perform
in both traditional and modern cultures, to be able to transmit modern
culture and technology to people who have grown up in traditional
values and beliefs. Obviously, people who are skillful in these roles
are scarce resources in many developing countries.

The challenge to the developing societies is, therefore, to
increase and upgrade these scarce resources so as to be able to
contribute to innovative development. Successfully meeting this
challenge largely depends upon whether the developing societies choose
to unbind the civil service constraints upon their efficient and
well-trained broadcasters, so as to release their great input of energy,
ingenuity, and initiative and enable them to function as creative
professionals and prime agents of development; or choose to sanction
those constraints which will perpetrate inefficiency, mediocrity, and
irresponsibility. The challenge to communication, which already has
taught so many of the peoples of the developing countries to want, is
now to teach them to get. In other words, just as skillfully as it has
raised their aspirations, it must strive to raise their achievements by
teaching them new skills, empathy and participation. Finally, if
communication is to succeed in handling the "want:get" ratio, developing
societies must give their communication institutions support commensurate
with the magnitude and significance of this task.
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