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Communication Policies and Planning
in Latin America
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This Working Paper by L. R. Beltrán covers most of the issues on the Agenda. It links theoretical exposition with illustrations of communication problems in Latin America. Priorities for policy action are suggested and proposals made on how to translate principles into operations. Major contradictions, obstacles and likely clashes of ideologies and other interests in the arena of policy planning for development are identified. Urgent themes for applied research and steps to improve the basis of facts and figures are also outlined. The papers calls for discussion as its purpose.

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NATIONAL COMMUNICATION POLICIES
IN LATIN AMERICA

I. Definition and Nature of National Communication Policies

1. Policy means a set of positive as well as negative prescriptions for social behaviour with regard to given phenomena, issues or processes.

2. Policies are established by social entities - public or private - having the power to implement their prescriptions among their respective constituencies. There are at least three levels at which policies are being formulated : professional, institutional and national. For instance : an association of physicians may have a policy on medical care ; the Chamber of Commerce of a country may take a policy line on foreign imports ; and a Government may have an educational policy embracing the whole system of private and public schools and universities in the country.

3. Because they usually affect large sections of the population, government policies tend to be better known than institutional or professional ones. Most governments do have policies for : (a) wages and prices ; (b) taxation and credit ; (c) welfare and insurance ; (d) exports and imports ; (e) foreign affairs and national security ; (f) land tenure and use ; (g) industrial development ; (h) housing and urban planning ; and (i) formal education, among others. It is thus through policies - public and/or private - that the main social, economic, political and cultural activities of a country become oriented and regulated.

4. Policies do differ, among other things, in their degree of formalization and their duration. Some are made explicit through public statements. This may range,

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in the case of Government policies, from a presidential speech to the country's Constitution, with laws, decrees and specialized regulations in between. In the case of institutional policies, if they are explicit, declarations and regulations will ordinarily contain the policies. And, in the case of professional policies, by-laws and codes are the usual policy manifestation instruments. Policies may also exist - and, in fact, they often do - only in an implicit manner. They may be meant to prevail for years, allowing for some changes from time to time, or they may just be short-term.

5. Often, policies of different entities in a country fail to show adequate articulation among each other. And not infrequently some come into conflict with others. The policies of workers unions, for instance, are normally opposite to those of the employers. Or governmental policies may be in contrast to those of entities representing private interests.

In democratic societies, a national policy can result from reconciling different professional, institutional and governmental interests on a given subject. Such a national policy will normally need to be formulated in explicit terms.

6. As communication is crucial for the very existence of society, countries do also have communication policies, for instance those referring to allocation of radio frequencies and television channels, to protection of copy rights, and to punishment of slander and libel. Other policies may be less visible, i.e. those dealing with press censorship or those relative to manufacturing, importation and distribution of newsprint.

7. Just as in the case of other policies, those pertinent to communication can be explicit, in different degrees, or implicit only. They can also be devised for several years or shorter periods. They are formulated by both

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private and public entities, at local, regional and national levels.

8. Communication policies are quite often only partial ; that is, they refer just to a part of the communication system, normally to a given medium. In Latin America, policies for the various media are rarely integrated. Similarly, due to antagonism of interests, there tends to be little articulation between the policies of various media owners and those of media professionals. And some or all of them may, in turn, not be fully compatible with those postulated by the Government.

More notorious yet is the lack of coherence of most of such policies with respect to the Government's policies and plans for national development.

9. Hence, a national communication policy can be seen as sufficiently integrated, explicit and durable set of partial policies organized into a consistent body of behavioural principles and norms for a country's communication activities or processes. Such national policies do hardly exist yet in many countries of the world, including the highly developed ones. For those which are less developed, however, the absence of national communication policies is more serious because communication needs to be organized to speed up development.

II. Chief Roles of Policies

10. Policies are normative instruments, tools for encouraging the choice and frequency of some behaviour and discouraging the appearance or frequency of some other. They spell out the "do" (or "good") signals as well as the "don't" (or "bad") ones. Thus they are agents of socialization and social control (without which no society exists) for various segments of the population.

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11. There are different degrees of positive or negative stimulation through policies. They may just encourage some behaviour, or what is more, support it, or even reward it. Similarly, policies may inhibit, prohibit, or even punish certain activities. Positive stimulation aims at socializing people into the desired behaviour and negative stimulation exerts social control so as to avoid the occurrence of unwanted behaviour. By combining the two "social engineering" approaches, policies attempt to obtain a relatively stable pattern of conduct.

12. Since what is "desirable" and what is "undesirable" behaviour is subjective, one partial policy may be at loggerheads with another partial policy on the same matter. An overall national policy is then mandatory to harmonize contrasting norms and integrate them into a blended viable pattern of behaviour acceptable to most.

13. Since the militancy of conflicting interests makes compromise usually difficult to be attained, the establishment and implementation of a national policy require persuasion, arbitration, coordination and even coercion powers that, in general, only the Government possesses. For instance, a mass media owners' policy may postulate that mass education is for the government and not for the private mass communication institutions to care about. Professional associations within the media and in the educational system, on the other hand, may advocate that the media should participate in mass education. The Government may then include in a national policy a set of norms for shared responsibilities of public and private entities.

14. Or it may be a newspaper's policy to play up crime news and this may be deemed desirable by media owners

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and operators in view of business considerations. The government, however, considering the detrimental effects such editorial policy may have on society, might stand rather for a policy of restraint. The government could then suggest to the newspaper to alter its crime news approach by either rewarding it in various ways for doing so, or by sanctioning it by legal means until the paper modifies its conduct in the service of public interest.

15. Or a government may have a policy against advertising on radio but broadcast institutions may oppose it on grounds of financial need. In reverse, private enterprises may regard it legitimate to produce and distribute sex films and pornographic literature but the government may prohibit this to protect the morality of youth.

16. At times, policy and reality fail to fit. For instance, while free and compulsory education of all children in primary-school age may be a policy postulate of governments, countries such as those of Latin America rarely have a school capacity commensurate with population growth. Or, in the sphere of communication, free and equal access to mass media programmes for the whole population may be a policy postulate inscribed even in a country's Constitution but, in practice, only a minority of that population - as it appears to be the case in most Latin American countries - will be able to enjoy such access.

III. Policy Components

17. Adequate knowledge of the communication system and processes within it is indispensable in order to define well the desired behaviour patterns when formulating the pertinent principles and norms, which can also be called the components of national communication policy.

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They are addressed to the key aspects of the system, based on an understanding of its structure and functions and of the various processes taking place within the system.

Knowing the System

18. Assuming that in every Latin American country an overall communication system in fact exists, it can be said to have, as a rule, two large subsystems: the inter-personal (face-to-face) subsystem and the impersonal (mass) subsystem.^{1/} In some countries, there exists also a third section in the form of a mixed subsystem made up of organized combinations of the former two.
19. Within the impersonal subsystem, newspapers and radio stations are the most widespread media.

Within the interpersonal subsystem, a myriad of unstructured as well as highly organized exchanges are taking place. Types of organized activity within the subsystem are agricultural extension services or community development field units. But the services of a traveling salesman or of a parish priest belong here as well.

Within the mixed subsystem, outstanding examples are radio-school links and rural training schemes such as farm forums which have been adopted in many Latin American countries, starting in Colombia more than twenty years ago.

^{1/} A true "system" is said to exist when, in addition to having definite limits as well as input and output connections with the environment, the sections composing it influence each other. This is not always the case in all countries. In fact, in many of them the two major subsystems do not appear yet sufficiently linked.

20. Whatever scheme of analysis they may choose, those responsible for promoting national communication policies cannot propose sensible norms without being properly acquainted with the country's overall communication system. It is by knowing it reasonably well in its structure and functions and by identifying its weak and strong points that they can outline appropriate blueprints for its operation, including improvement and growth.

Observing the Process

21. Knowing the system is hardly separable from perceiving the process. Although precise and comprehensive observation of the process is of course a long-term research proposition, the communication policy maker must have at least a quick general perception of it so that he can aptly formulate norms for conduct.
22. The necessity of having such knowledge is so self-evident that it should suffice to say here that the question to be answered by the observer is : Who is attempting to communicate which messages, with which purposes, to whom, by which means or media, to which recipients, and with which apparent effects ?
The observation scheme implied in that question calls attention to how the system actually performs as people communicate with each other.
23. This or other frameworks for observation can be used by policy-makers but whatever they opt for to observe, they should not lose track of the complexity and fragility of the total process when considering norms for orienting some desired direction.
24. The nature of the communication system and process deemed desirable by the policy must evolve from the identification of people's communication needs,

aspirations and resources if communication is to be democratic. All too often, mainly the needs of minorities controlling the system seem to be served whereas powerless majorities fail to have their needs taken into account. It is clearly the duty of the Government to correct through national policy formulation and implementation such situations in the direction of equality.

Entities to be oriented

25. Policies are addressed at orienting collective rather than individual behaviour. The rules are to be followed by social entities, by relatively formal groupings of individuals engaged in communication. In most societies these entities are numerous - within the interpersonal communication subsystem - to such an extent that it is often difficult to identify the key entities. It is obviously easier to identify interpersonal media entities such as rural school centers or civic local associations than the roles in given communication processes of sports clubs, peasant cooperatives or, even more so, informal local community cliques or Sunday farmfairs.

26. Within the impersonal communication subsystem, identification poses no problem. Visible specialization and a high level of formalization provide easy clues for classification. It is well known that by the term mass media are meant impersonal communication institutions within the domain of press, radio, television and cinema. Subsidiary vehicles such as books, phonograph records, tapes (reel or cassette) and photographic projectable transparencies tend to constitute these days mass media themselves. They are, however, also instrumental to interpersonal group communication.

27. In a similar manner, there are certain well known communication services which actually have a massive

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reach, by aggregation, but which basically are intended to facilitate interpersonal communication of a non face-to-face nature. This is clearly the case of entities specialized in the use of telephone, telegraph and radio-communication (both professional and amateur).

28. Policy formulation requires careful identification of all existing types of such entities and detection of those which are likely to be more instrumental in effecting behaviour according to the norms. To put it that way, policies do have specific audiences and, as all good communicators, those who formulate policies must know well the social groups to which their normative messages will be chiefly addressed.

IV Policy Priorities in Latin America

29. One possible approach to classifying communication in action suggests the following basic categories: planning, production, distribution, utilization and evaluation of messages, with production and distribution being far more amenable to policy formulation than the others. That is understandable for, even at the mass level of communication, message perception and consumption remain an individual process that falls outside the scope of policies. But there are factors which deserve consideration, e.g. the question of media availability, the distribution of communication means, of media access and the effective use made of what is being offered.
30. Information for Latin America, for instance, indicates that while mass media availability is relatively high - especially for radio - the distribution of media is asymmetric. Urban minorities are served as well as anywhere in developed countries. Rural majorities, instead, have minimal access and their opportunity for interpersonal communication, within the rural domain, is not all that ample either.
31. Due to insufficient attention to factors as those just underlined, the communication system of Latin America tends to be defective. As a result, the communication process tends not to be functional for many national purposes such as those geared towards development. In the absence of adequate policies that include proper consideration of some audiences' characteristics, much communication energy is wasted or misused in several areas. For instance, appreciable sums of money are spent in many of the region's countries in producing and distributing agricultural education publications

which are not understood by the rural population. Or large amounts of money are invested in building physical infrastructures for social communication without equivalent financial inputs being made on soft-ware.

32. Similar defects can be found in the operation of bodies concerned with communication training and research, or those specialized in facilitating knowledge-exchange through library and documentation. With a few possible exceptions in a limited number of countries, policies appear not to be yet in existence for orienting the behaviour of those types of institutions in Latin America.
33. For instance, the case is not uncommon of a sizable accumulation of knowledge - stored in libraries and documentation centres - not supplemented by an adequate distribution mechanism. Also, the growth of communication training institutions appears to be erratic; while there are very few training centres for radio, television and motion picture production in Latin America, schools of journalism are sometimes abundant to a point beyond the market's ability to absorb their graduates. This is in clear contrast to the fact that broadcasting institutions are increasing more rapidly than print-media. Research-conducting entities are yet few and weak, with some of them engaging at times in the investigation of one single topic to the exclusion of no less important other ones. For instance, while there are probably over 30 studies on the diffusion of agricultural innovations, there are virtually no studies on the effects of radio messages on children, or on the values being propagated by foreign-originated television programmes, or on the ownership pattern of advertising firms.
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Yet, lacking policies, a country cannot expect to organize the communication system in a more appropriate manner.

34. A large area of communication behaviour - mostly of an interpersonal nature - has remained so far almost totally outside the interest of Latin American communication researchers, policy makers and planners. It is the area of organizational or managerial communication, especially in governmental institutions. One of the most serious setbacks in the region's public administration system seems to result from defective communication. All too often government agencies fail to communicate adequately internally and externally. That is, communication among employees within a given agency is usually as poor as communication among agencies and between agencies and the public. Old and bureaucratic structures and lack of perception of the problems seem to explain partially why, both vertically and horizontally and at various levels in each case, the government structure suffers from communication gaps which obviously hinder the effectiveness of the whole machinery.

Would a policy for that kind of communication behaviour not also be desirable?

35. There are some specialized communication activities which deserve attention by policy makers. For instance, those of public relations, advertising, public opinion polls and propaganda. The former two are handled by commercial entities and the latter two may be handled by such firms as well as by government agencies.

36. Many private firms conduct research upon which they base their operations. Policies are however lacking in Latin America on access to the information thus obtained for purposes other than selling products.
37. A few studies have started to document advertising activity in some Latin American countries. Some of those studies contend that many advertisers are at least partially responsible for inducing the mass media institutions to: (a) promote an irrational buying behaviour pattern in the population in imitation of the big consumer societies; (b) to play up irrelevant or trivial materials over those which could be more significant to the people; (c) to discourage social change efforts and foster status quo; (d) to facilitate adoption of alien versus national values; and (e) to secure social conformity by inducing evasion from reality.

Very few governments of Latin America have so far established policies in relation to the behaviour of the advertising firms said to be doing such things.

38. Another specialized communication activity so far outside the realm of policy in most Latin American countries is that of international news agencies. Research demonstrates that news flow in Latin America is in non-Latin American hands. News from the world to Latin America, from Latin America to the world and even among the Latin American countries are produced and distributed mostly by Associated Press and United Press International, while European agencies, usually dependent on their governments, share a very small proportion of the flow. Latin American news agencies - the two or three that exist - handle a minimal percentage of the news traffic.

What are the implications of such situation? Is the behaviour of the foreign news handling entities congruent with national interests? Does it reflect accurately the Latin American reality? If the answers were negative, why should there not be policies to exert legitimate influence over these activities?

39. Another area yet of high relevance for policy is that of mass media ownership. Although empirical information is less than satisfactory, there are reliable indications pointing to patterns of concentration at several levels. At the national level, in close to a third of the region's countries, oligopolies have been detected in press, radio, television and motion picture industry. There are individuals or family concerns in those countries which own, for instance, 15, 20 or more radio stations, 2 or 3 television stations, several newspapers as well as magazines. At the regional level, there are firms which tend to dominate the production and distribution - at least by areas - of entertainment magazines (comics, romance, fashion, crime, sex). There are also television production and distribution firms which command a large proportion of television content in several countries and are normally associated with extra-regional communication consortia. The same could be said about the major advertising firms in the region which are subsidiaries of large advertising corporations of the United States.

Can the Latin American countries afford to let those operations continue without any guidance and control?

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40. Something similar can be said of ultra-modern and cross-national communication technology now coming into the region, such as satellites. As all innovations, these are desirable or undesirable depending on use. Satellites can overcome to a great extent many of today's restrictions and difficulties in reaching the large and disperse population of Latin American countries. They can greatly facilitate mass education for development and can help to make the region a full member of the world's society and culture. But they can, of course, also be used to serve purposes that may conflict with the nations' values, needs and interests, and even with their sovereignty and security.

Therefore, would it not be a matter of urgency for those countries to formulate policies pertinent to the use of such attractive but perhaps double-edged communication facilities?

41. Certain key relationships in the communication system and process are of paramount importance for policy formulation too. One, most evident, is that prevailing between those who own the mass media entities and and those who run them, the entrepreneurs and the operators. As it has been said already, each group tends to have policies in defense of their interests and thus conflict between them naturally occurs.

Another relationship of importance is that between owners and operators and the government, which may allow freedom to a degree close to impunity or act almost dictatorially, but in any case often erratically.

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Of similar importance are the relations between mass media entities and the public and those among the different media institutions.

In the absence of overall national policies tending to rationalize all those relationships, the country's communication system cannot become a truly integrated one and, thus, the process of communication cannot be optimized in the service of general interest.

42. The list and examples given so far are far from exhaustive but may facilitate further discussion, evaluation and detailed propositions by the experts.

V. Plurality of Concepts and Ideologies

43. In recent years, the traditional concept of communication has become subject to debate, and not at least in Latin America

The best known traditional concept regards communication as a process of transmission of experiences (cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural) from one or more persons to another person or persons. Normally associated with it the notion has prevailed that persuasion is the main, if not the only, purpose of communication.

44. Critics condemn this approach on technical and ideological grounds. They claim that the mechanical notion of transmission can hardly apply to human reality where nothing is really transferred from one mind to the other but where signals from one person may be received and interpreted by another only if the receiver is familiar with the code.

They also argue that persuasion is but one of people's purposes when communicating with each other. Even more, the critics contend that the traditional concept of communication implies an autocratic view of human exchange in which one-way communication prevails with the recipient remaining a passive and subdued object of a persuasive actor monologue.

45. It is being proposed, alternatively, that communication be understood as a process of social interaction through a balanced exchange of experiences in which human beings engage with manyfold purposes.

The proponents of this different perception stress that it implies the predominance of dialogue over monologue aiming at achieving horizontal communication based on an equitable distribution of opportunities for all persons to send as well as receive messages and thus be influenced as well as being influential.

46. Although conciliation is hopefully possible, it is inevitable that for the time being, the two concepts are clearly different, opposing each other. Ideologies are undoubtedly behind concepts and policies and, consequently, national communication policies will be based on these ideologies prevailing in the respective countries.

As partial communication policies are likely to stem from diverse ideologies, overall communication policies will most likely imply an ideological compromise. A central feature of that compromise will have to be some sort of plausible composite concept of communication.

47. In a country where, in general, a strict liberal-capitalistic ideology prevails, one central policy postulate will be highly visible: unrestricted freedom for private enterprises to engage in communication business without state control; in addition, state-owned and operated communication institutions will be either very few, and rather weak, or none.

In a country where, in general, a strict socialist ideology prevails, the opposite postulate will be central to the policy: no private ownership and operation of key communication institutions, which are in the hands of the state.

In a country which is eclectic about ideologies or is attempting to blend capitalism and socialism, some intermediate postulate will be characteristic. Whatever the stance, national communication policies will necessarily reflect - overtly or not - the prevailing ideological pattern.

48. No attempt will be made here, of course, at classifying the Latin American countries according to the three ideological categories just mentioned. However, it is worth stressing that in most of these countries there has been for long a strong movement towards granting the vast majority of the population access to economic, political and cultural power. Wider social participation is a clear postulate in most government programmes. And, if the postulate is to be implemented, communication policies will have to include provisions for turning communication from being one more privilege that minorities enjoy into a cultural good to be enjoyed by all.

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49. Directly linked to that, policy formulators will have to ensure that communication is not solely vertical and unilateral. For, without democratizing the communication system, the expanded social participation that many governments are seeking as a measure of equality appears unattainable.

VI. Towards Policies in Service of Development

50. Data for more than 70 countries indicate that the general development of a nation is directly associated with the growth and improvement of its communication system and process. The more developed a country is, the more developed its communication system will be, and in turn, a country at a low level of development will tend to have an elementary communication system. Quantitative and qualitative improvements in education, health, industry, etc. tend to be supported by similar improvements in the structure and functions of the communication system and vice versa.

These tendencies hold also for Latin America.

51. The problem for less developed countries is, however, that the demonstrated correlation does not necessarily and automatically imply that their needs are being satisfied. These countries have yet a long way to go to activate the communication element of the pair so that it may operate as a motor for development.

52. Other questions relate to the kind of development they face and the contents of the evolving communication system.

For instance, if development is basically understood as material growth and economic advancement measurable in terms of production and consumption, then an appreciable number of Latin American countries are now approaching significant levels of development.

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But how is such progress distributed? Does it enhance social justice, diminish social distance, or grant the immense number of helpless people better means for expressing their views and preferences in public affairs, and do people experience more freedom and respect? Or could it be, rather, that material advancement and economic growth are essentially bolstering the privileges of powerful minorities which are not inclined to yield to pressures for social change?

Just as in the case of the concept of communication, then, policy-makers must have some clear ideas about the preferred kind of development for their countries when judging the contribution of communication in that process.

53. In many Latin American countries, the last decade has seen movements towards revision of the classical materialistic model of national development which was copied from the developed countries of the world, whether capitalistic or socialist. The model does not seem to be working to the satisfaction of many even in the highly developed countries. Disfavored social minorities and an alienated youth are expressing discontent with the vision of life that the development model of those nations implies. Some Latin Americans have, indeed, started to question many of the features of the classical model and appear to be searching for a more human and democratic one.

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54. If a classical materialistic model is the preferred one, then probably the kind of communication system and processes now prevailing in Latin America are in line with that kind of development. The mass media are contributing to foster more production and are bombarding the people's minds persuading them to consume more and more. Development, it would appear, is being equated almost exclusively with having more things, with making and using more goods and services. This is being attempted regardless what the Latin American people can afford and regardless on whether, by following suit, they will become better humans - free, dignified and creative - or whether they may loose on these basic terms.
55. If, on the contrary, a new model of development is adopted in which economic growth and physical well-being are seen only as instruments towards attaining the highest possible standards of human dignity, freedom, and creativity in a truly equal and democratic kind of society, then the role of the present communication system in Latin America is likely to be judged differently, i.e. as dysfunctional - either by indifference or by flat antagonism - to such kind of development.
56. It follows that postulates about the roles of communication in a nation's development need to be validated by a clear conceptualization of "development" itself, just as a clear conceptualization of "communication" is indispensable. Thus policy-makers - particularly when confronted with a lack of neat ideological congruence in the official definitions of their country's development - may have, once again, to struggle for conceptual
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compromise before they can set norms for the communication system to make it compatible with the intended development process.

57. At this point, they are most likely to be faced with an entirely new challenge: that of expressing policies not only through the standard normative instruments (rules, regulations, laws, declarations, etc.) but also through communication plans specifically designed to fit within broader development plans. At present, the case is rare of a Latin American country having a national communication policy geared to the overall development policy and translated into communication plans incorporated in a plan for national development.
58. But why should there be in the first place such things as national communication policies and developmental communication plans? Is not communication something that everybody does and, hence, does not require much of a special organization? And, development being something people do, is it not obvious that they will of course communicate to be able to do it?
59. If communication was something everybody did always efficiently and if people would always communicate successfully in order to develop, then in fact there might be little need for organized policies and plans. But it requires only minimal effort from any observer to find out that - on the contrary - people communicate inefficiently much of the time and often fail to communicate altogether. This is natural since communication is a process unavoidably fraught

with numerous dangers of break-down or collapse at each and every point of the process which hosts it. That process is no less complex than human beings themselves are and it hinges on so many variables - of which only a few can be controlled by those attempting to communicate - that to fail to communicate well is more likely to be the rule than the exception.

60. Therefore, even at the most elementary level of human interaction, communication needs to be organized if it is to be not only successful but efficient; that is, effective at a rational energy expenditure cost. And when it has to be organized to serve an overwhelming and global task such as that of attaining a nation's development, it has to be organized to a degree and in a manner which apparently has hardly been fully perceived yet in Latin America.
61. A policy is the broad intellectual root without which no organization can be optimally fruitful. And plans are no less than concrete policy expression applied to guide specific sets of behaviour in given frameworks of space, time and resources. Both are badly needed to facilitate, support and accelerate Latin America's development.
62. The region counts now on an experience of developmental planning of more than 20 years. Assisted by several international agencies, the Latin American governments have trained cadres of excellent development strategists and planners who practice in National Planning Boards or even Planning Ministries. Not accidentally perhaps, economists and engineers have been the professionals predominating

in those teams. Given that the developmental models prevailing in the region have, so far, placed heavy emphasis on economic and physical variables, this situation is understandable.

Two decades of those efforts, however, seem to have taught many people in the region - including some leading economists of development - that the model is far from ideal and that the planning of the non-economic and non-physical aspects of development requires as much attention as the others, if not more. Time and again, development projects well conceived from the physical and economic viewpoints and even well financed and manned, have either fallen short of reaching their goals or have failed altogether.

63. One major lesson emerging from failure has been that the human dimension had been taken for granted if not ignored altogether. In fact, planners are learning that influencing the behaviour of human beings is a far more difficult task than manipulating water, soil, plants, or animals.

To be sure there shall never be a thing such as "human programming" or "social engineering" in a strict and total sense, because human beings are not easily and completely amenable either to observation or to manipulation. To conclude from it, however, that efficient yet democratic planning of social conduct is impossible, would be mistaken. Social conduct - history would tell us - can be planned and, up to a point, cannot be left unplanned if a country is to become truly developed.

64. The questions then are how to organize people's behaviour in the direction of social change without hurting their values and threatening their rights; how to alert, stimulate, guide, activate, and integrate them without treating them as objects or figures?

Answers for questions as those are much in demand. As they are given they tend to lean heavily on the contribution of communication.

65. Communication media - especially those which can reach many people - are expected not only to inform and motivate but also to assist in education. Development requires accelerated learning of numerous and diverse principles, attitudes and skills. This demand usually reaches a degree that cannot be easily satisfied by private mass media alone. The government has its role to play.

In school instruction through television significant efforts have been made by many of the Latin American governments, but something similar remains to be done in many other areas of importance.

66. It is due in part to the lack of coordinating policies and plans that the communication system of many a Latin American country seems to be growing away from developmental equilibrium. For instance, urban radio facilities are growing fast while rural community newspapers remain rare. Many of the mushrooming radio stations hardly reach beyond the urban perimeter or do not in the case of the largest cities, cover it all. But no matter how limited the scope and how low the

quality of ~~the~~ ; radio seems to be good business and continues to grow while other urban communication industries such as film production just creep along.

67. Should such evolution be left alone or should policies and plans try to step in? Can a country's limited communication energies be used arbitrarily without harming development prospects? On the other hand, if government intervention on the matter is desirable, how far can it go without stifling private initiative?
68. Communication planning has, no doubt, numerous levels. At the lower ones, Latin America has accumulated already some experiences. For instance, a few agricultural agencies in Argentina, Chile and Peru have been able to formulate preliminary blue-prints for communication plans in support of the development plans of the rural sector. These are valuable beginnings but need to be optimized by fostering improvement at a higher level: that of rural development policies themselves, which seem not to be sufficiently advanced yet due, perhaps, in part to much too frequent variations of approach. In turn, integration of well conceived and durable rural development policies with overall development policies needs to be achieved urgently.
69. One country that is clearly pioneering towards a national policy for developmental communication is Colombia, not by accident the seat of this meeting of experts. Private and even high-level government groups have been remarkably active, in the last

two years or so, discussing the need for such policy, accumulating data useful for it and starting to figure out how to design it. This is a promising endeavour, potentially useful beyond Colombia's frontiers.

70. There are no formal and cohesive answers yet. But since they need to be found, the present expert meeting which assembles manifold Latin American experience, talent and preoccupation has been called by UNESCO. How to conceive a national communication policy to be translated into communication plans which in turn are tied into those for development in general — that is the question.

VII. Procedures for the formulation of national policies

71. A government convinced of the need for a national communication policy fitted to its overall development policy must decide on the kind of organization required for policy formulation. Organizational possibilities abound and no single blueprint is likely to fit all national situations in Latin America. But some basic general format that includes alternatives for adaptation to each country's preferences can nevertheless be drawn up. Whatever the arrangement selected by each, high level government institutions will have to play a leading role in the endeavor, for central authority is required if integration and conciliation of opposing view points are to be obtained.
- Who formulates policy ?
72. All private and public entities already active in policies will have to be involved in the attempt at building a broad and all-embracing communication policy for the nation. As mentioned previously, these entities are numerous and they often tend to pursue policies independently from each other. (e.g. media institutions, associations of media owners, professional associations of communicators, different ministries).
73. Thus a first organizational step in the process of policy formulation could be to prepare a detailed list of who is presently pursuing which communication policies in the government and outside. The list can be turned, by classificatory analysis, into a nomenclature, a more refined identification instrument useful for many purposes.
74. But policies, if democratic, cannot be solely designed by those who run the media institutions and the

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government agencies concerned with them. The public itself ought to be given a chance to contribute. As this, however, involves - in principle - everybody, the next step in policy formulation might be to devise methods for selecting representative civic groupings - not linked to the communication profession or business - whose opinions are likely to reflect the views of the population. This is not an easy task.

Mechanisms for Policy Formulation

75. Assuming that all pertinent institutions have been identified and called in to participate in the exercise through a given number of their members, which is the most effective way to put them to work?
76. A panel of Consultants in Communication Research convened by Unesco has suggested that one way could be the establishment of a National Communication Policy Council, an autonomous body to be charged with the responsibility*. If this is considered a viable approach, a number of questions arise. Namely :
- How many members should it have to be both representative and effective ?
 - How should the council's leadership structure be ?
 - Will the council hold authority to ensure the application of the policy or will it only formulate it and then deliver it to the government for implementation ?

Instruments for Policy Formulation

77. The body in charge of formulating the national communication policy will have to establish criteria for the selection of policy instruments. At least two considerations are likely to be paramount : the scope envisaged and the degree of compliance expected.

* For details see "Proposals for an International Programme of Communication Research", UNESCO, COM/ID/20 (10 Sept. 1971) and "Report of the Meeting of Experts on Communication Policies and Planning", UNESCO, COM/ID/24 (1 December 1972).

78. On scope, it is understood that a national policy will attempt to integrate all partial policies. Its aim is the most ample possible scope.
79. On degree of compliance sought for, is the national policy devised to secure conformity with whatever norms have been agreed upon ? That is, will it not only suggest but secure a certain performance, by positive and negative motivation ? If so, the kind of central instrument required is to enforce the rules. The most formal one would be a General Communication Law which would set the basic rules for each of the main areas composed by the policy and would be detailed further through Specific Regulations for each of those areas.
80. Although many Latin American countries already have, for instance, General Education Laws outlining their broad educational policies, hardly any of them has yet a General Communication Law. As mentioned before, most of them have only special laws broadly regulating the most notorious media institutions ; for instance, Radio and Television Laws or, perhaps less frequently, Press Laws.
81. The more specific components of a joint national policy will probably be formulated in less formal and less mandatory ways but, if they are to be truly integrated, their norms could not be at a marked variance with those of the general laws.
82. Again, a basic step would be a good descriptive and comparative nomenclature of policy-formulation instruments. What should be the main elements of description and the parameters for comparison ?

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Policy Options

83. If policy formulation is performed in a democratic manner, it is bound to be faced with some crucial choices, such as these:
- How to reconcile the right to information freedom with the right to privacy?
 - How to accommodate the political or financial interests of private communication institutions with public interests and with non-profit communication activities?
 - How to combine the mass media entertainment function with the educational function required by development plans?
 - How to avoid the manipulation of people by private or public mass media of communication?
 - To which extent should the media foster innovation or seek to preserve tradition?
 - To which extent should the media help to integrate different subcultures in a country versus preserving distinctive identities?
 - How to protect and promote national values, sovereignty and security through communication and at the same to incorporate each nation, through communication technology today available, as a member of world society?
 - Where do the rights of the State in controlling private communication end and where do private rights of communication end themselves?
 - How to reach a balance between uniformity of messages, usually a by-product of concentration of media ownership, and message diversity, more easily attainable through dispersion in media ownership?
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- To which extent and under which conditions are foreign inputs in the communication system to be permitted?
- What can nations do, individually or in regional groupings, to defend themselves against undesirable communication operations affecting their territories but beyond their control?
- What should governments and private communication institutions do in order to assure the people, particularly rural people, full access to the communication system?
- Can communication become horizontal and dialogic within a social structure remaining vertical?

84. Numerous further questions will assail the mind of those in charge of formulating national communication policies. As there are no ready answers, they will have to struggle through the ideological structures of their nation, and hearing all sides, unavoidably engage in a delicate and complex but crucial exercise at compromising and harmonizing. All will never be pleased with the product, to be sure. But, as long as most may, their efforts will not be deemed illusory and they will have met the challenge.

VIII. Implementation of national communication policies

85. The best formulated national communication policy cannot be effective unless its implementation is properly organized. Thus another fundamental task of the central body in charge of the policy is to devise the mechanics of putting it into practice.

That task is likely to involve basically the following phases : divulcation and promotion, application, control and evaluation, and revision and adjustment.

86. It is evidently most desirable that the national communication policy be given the widest possible divulcation and promotion. This may occur at a general audience level as well as at the level of special groups so as to make sure that all those to be affected by the policy are reached promptly and properly.

What should the main avenues for diffusion be ?

The informational and promotional procedures will have variations from country to country but it would be desirable for the present meeting of experts to suggest basic lines for the task that can be used as starting points in each country.

Application

87. This phase will involve numerous instances and forms, with each of the private and public institutions concerned carrying responsibility at varying degrees. In many cases spontaneous compliance with the norms can be expected. But, in others, doubts may arise at the time of implementation or diverse interpretations may enter the scene. In such situations, negotiations, clarifications and arbitrations will have to be carried out, by that organ holding overall authority for the application of the national policy. The more concrete and detailed the policy is, the less problems of this order may arise. But, since perfect prescription is not possible, perhaps some formal mechanism should be

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permanently available to pronounce itself with authority where required.

Control and Evaluation

88. There is no certainty about the degree and manner to which the national policy is applied unless there exists some permanent control and evaluation mechanism concerned with questions as the following :
Which areas of the policy seem to lend themselves to easier and wider application and why ? Which, on the other hand, seem to be major obstacles for proper implementation ? Is the desired set of behaviour being resisted by many ? Are the norms being circumvented by some ? Or are those norms not clear or losing validity in view of significant changes in the situation ?

89. Evaluation questions go beyond simple verification of compliance. They seek to analyse the actual effects - positive or negative - of the policy in terms of behavioural consequences. While the control function is likely to do little more than systematic and continuous information gathering, the evaluation function will be expected to produce judgement about the policy on a scientific basis.

Revision and Adjustment

90. Both control and evaluation are justifiable only if the policy is not considered a sort of holy gospel. The purpose behind control and evaluation is to revise and adjust the policy as often and as substantially as deemed convenient.

91. Also, sensitivity to innovation is desirable as a country's communication system progresses. The rhythm of development produces by itself new communication needs which may alter the communication process

and thus require fresh prescription. For instance, a country may incorporate into its communication system national tele-education facilities after having established its overall communication policy. The policy will then certainly need adjustments.

IX. Policy Related Research

92. Research is one of the major communication activities that requires to be oriented by a national policy. What kind of research will be needed in order to benefit policy?

Educational, scientific and cultural policies are being formulated these days on the basis of whatever pertinent research may exist and on the basis of additional short-term research seeking information which is yet unavailable but happens to be indispensable. Perceptive probability analysis of essential realities by experienced people and enlightened intuition will, of necessity, have to substitute for completeness of scientific information.

93. In Latin America, there has been over the last twenty years or so a considerable growth of the social sciences. This, however, has not always been accompanied by developing an adequate institutional infra-structure for research. For instance, many universities have schools of sociology but only a few of them provide their students with practical training in the application of scientific methods.

In general, the necessity of research in the social sciences in the service of national development is barely starting to be perceived these days. Some years will probably go by before the activity becomes well established and understood.

In particular, if communication taken as a social science is yet an infant in most countries of the world, it is a newly-born creature in Latin America. Full-time communication researchers are very few yet and tend to be concentrated in a few countries.

94. Research is needed before the policy comes into existence, during its implementation, and after it. In terms of degree of sophistication, the research needed for the first stage will probably be of an elementary nature compared with the research likely to be required for the third stage.
95. It has been proposed in this paper that knowledge of the communication system and process is indispensable in order to be able to formulate the policy. Those terms being much too ample, however, the question for the experts is to suggest what kind of research is required now. What elements of the system have priority? Which aspects of the process need to be better known first? Which of the numerous possible variables are to be selected for prompt exploration? What about relationships within the system, the process, and between them?
96. An elementary first step toward understanding the system would seem to be the elaboration of an inventory of media institutions; as mentioned earlier this tool can be built rather rapidly, but is only useful if going beyond non-analytical "warehouse" enumeration.
97. Another basic step may be to summarize, articulate and interpret all existing studies - local or

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otherwise - that contain information of direct interest to policy. Should this be done by each country or - given that both studies and researchers are few and that results can be partially generalized to several countries in the region - would it be preferable to launch at once a regional effort?

98. Simple research could also attempt to identify and describe and perhaps broadly analyze, in each country, the existing partial policies for communication. Inventories of the types of norms prevailing and the kinds of instruments mostly used could be drawn up rather easily.
99. The need for research activities accompanying the various implementation phases of policies has been stressed above.
100. Would it be desirable and possible to advise on the use of certain research methods in preference over others? Who is to conduct such research in the service of policy? Which kinds of institutions should assume the main technical and financial responsibilities involved in the inquiry?

Those are some of the issues on which the experts are expected to provide guidance.