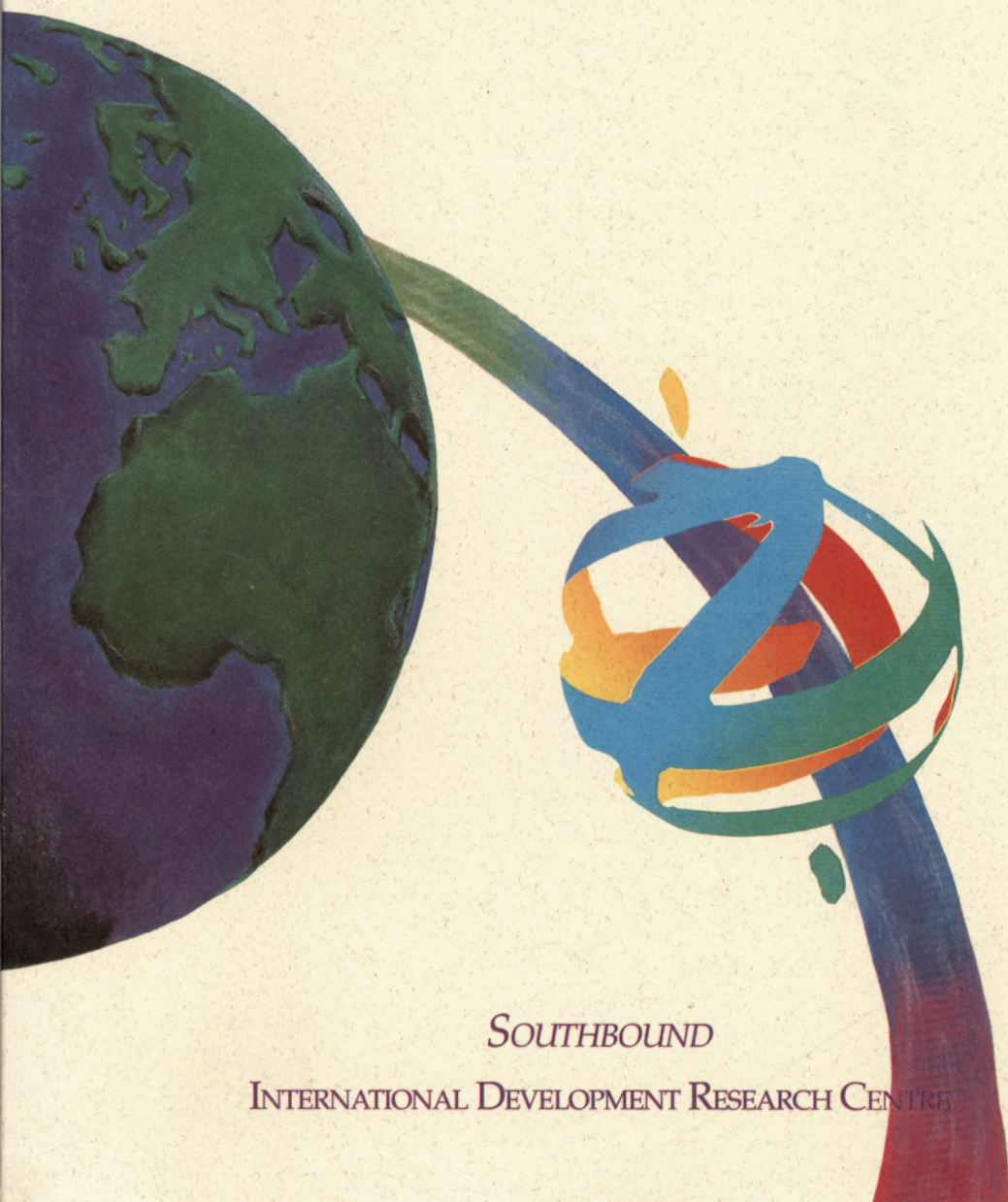


Cultural Expression in the Global Village

EDITORS : DAVID NOSTBAKKEN & CHARLES MORROW



SOUTHBOUND

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

*Cultural Expression in the
Global Village*

Cultural Expression in the Global Village

EDITORS: DAVID NOSTBAKKEN & CHARLES MORROW

SOUTHBOUND
PENANG

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE
OTTAWA • CAIRO • DAKAR • JOHANNESBURG • MONTEVIDEO
NAIROBI • NEW DELHI • SINGAPORE

Copyright © Southbound Sdn. Bhd. and
International Development Research Centre, 1993
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system,
or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the publishers.

Published in Malaysia by
SOUTHBOUND
Sdn. Bhd.
9 College Square
10250 Penang
Malaysia.
ISBN 983-9054-04-X

Published in Canada by
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE
P.O. Box 8500
Ottawa
Ontario K1G 3H9
Canada.
ISBN 0-88936-702-7

Printed by Jutaprint
Penang, Malaysia.

Typeset by
TYPOGRAPHICS
in 10.5/16 pt.
Palatino

Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia
Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Cultural expression in the global village / editors

David Nostbakken & Charles Morrow.

ISBN 983-9054-04-X

1. Communication, International — Congresses
2. Communication — Congresses. 3. Communication
Developing countries — Congresses. 4. Television
broadcasting — Congresses. 5. Communication in
economic development — Congresses.
6. Communication and culture — Congresses.
I. Nostbakken, David. II. Morrow, Charles.
III International Development Research Centre. 384

Contents

i	Foreword <i>Alain Gourd</i>
iii	Acknowledgments
1	Introduction <i>David Nostbakken</i>
7	Historical Perspective
9	Communication For Development In Latin America: A Forty-Year Appraisal <i>Luis Ramiro Beltrán S.</i>
32	Latin America: Peculiarities, Problems, and Proposals <i>Rafael Roncagliolo</i>
39	An African Perspective <i>Paul A.V. Ansah</i>
58	Communications for Development, Democracy, National Independence, and Economic Growth <i>Jacques Habib Sy</i>
80	Asian Self-Expression and the Global Village <i>Vijay Menon</i>
89	Historical Perspective — Discussion
99	Correcting the Imbalance
101	Development Communications: An Alternative to What? <i>Michael Laflin</i>
110	Some Positive Experiences <i>Reinhard Keune</i>
115	Asian Development Communications in the 1990s <i>Saik-Yoon Chin</i>
141	Development Communications: The Sky is the Limit <i>Anita Anand</i>
146	Namibian Experience <i>Nahum Gorelick</i>
151	Perspectives of an Independent Producer <i>Patricia Castaño</i>
158	The Future of Broadcasting <i>Tom McPhail</i>
164	Correcting the Imbalance — Discussion
172	Conclusions
174	A Global Broadcast Service (WETV)
179	Participants

Foreword

The Annual Conferences of the International Institute of Communications have become a leading world forum for reflection on the role of modern communications in social, cultural, and economic development. Their importance has been enhanced in recent years by pre-conference symposia that have permitted participants to examine critical issues in depth.

This proved to be a timely combination in 1992, for the overall theme of the Annual Conference, which brought together 500 world leaders in communications in Montreal, was Globalization and Nationalism. The choice of this topic reflected the deep concern of many about the role played by modern communications in two overarching trends at the end of the 20th century: the globalization of the world economy and its culture; and the rise of nationalism, with its sometimes tragic consequences. The communications and information revolution has clearly fuelled the pace of globalization. But as a number of participants remarked, the most surprising consequence has been the parallel resurgence of nationalist sentiments, a heightened value for tradition, and a deep concern for the protection of cultural identity.

Cultural Self-Expression in a Global Village was the title chosen for the 1992 Pre-Conference Symposium. The 60 communication specialists from South and North concluded that societies whose people are deprived of the right to cultural self-expression become losers in an increasingly competitive world: when imagination and creativity are stifled, social and economic systems become rigidly unproductive and are unable to cope with the pace of change common to the modern world. They warned that, when monopolized by the few, the mass media can be a repressive influence rather than being a positive force in the evolution of societies.

The participants suggested innovative ways to redress the balance in access to the means of communication, particularly television. This led to the formulation of a proposal by the International Development Research Centre for a

Global Access Television Service that would offer the means of cultural expression to many voices now deprived of such access.

As President of the International Institute of Communications, I would like to thank the sponsors of the Montreal Pre-Conference, the International Development Research Centre, the Canadian International Development Agency, and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, for supporting this important meeting. It has created a worldwide network of professional communicators dedicated to finding practical ways and means of ensuring that the miracles of modern global communications serve the needs of all of the people of the world.

Alain Gourd

President

International Institute of Communications

Acknowledgments

Special thanks are owed to: the International Institute of Communications for providing the opportunity for this Pre-Conference; to the National Film Board of Canada for collaborating in a parallel roundtable on Women in the Media; and to those who provided financial support, notably the International Development Research Centre, the Canadian International Development Agency, and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. The Pre-Conference Steering Group consisted of, in addition to the editors, Alain Ambrosi, Rafael Roncagliolo, Carol Joy, Nahum Gorelick, Roger Dumelie, and Jacques Habib Sy. The organizers wish to thank the IDRC Secretariat, notably Seema Akhtar, Lyse Lavictoire, Angie Anton, and Ali Afshari for their dedicated assistance. Special thanks to Michael Graham for his detailed editing of all Conference papers, and to Robert Anderson and his students at Simon Fraser University for their editing of the discussion sections.

INTRODUCTION

The conference underlying this anthology was organized to deal with the growing need to find new and innovative ways of gaining wider access to one of the most powerful technologies of our time — television. Underlying this need is the recognition that self-expression is required for all forms of social and cultural development. In changing times, the nature of self-expression must be readressed, particularly as it relates to new technologies and new global imperatives. Mere months prior to the conference in Montreal, the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro reinforced the importance of new thinking in the use of modern tools of communications. *Agenda 21*, the document that emerged from the Rio Conference stated it very clearly:

"...countries, in cooperation with the scientific community, should establish ways of employing modern communication technologies for effective public outreach".

This conference was organized by a few individuals with a vision of a global television service that could harness the power of this extraordinary medium to help save our planet. A vision of a global television service that would provide balanced access for programming originating in the South as well as the North. A vision of a global television service that would liberate a diversity of expression on issues of sustainable development and the environment. This subject was dealt with directly in some sessions of the Montreal Pre-Conference. It was also dealt with at an ensuing conference of the International Institute of Communications, where a variety of options for global television services were explored in front of representatives of communications industries worldwide. Following these two conferences and during the preparation of this publication, the vision became reality in part through the approval by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of a new initiative to establish an international partnership for the creation of a global access television service. A number of partners

now have enlisted in this cause and their collective vision is described in detail in "A Global Broadcast Service (WETV)".

The planning for what has come to be called WETV was inspired by the reflections of a remarkable group of communication professionals, teachers, and development workers who attended the Pre-Conference to the 1992 Conference of the International Institute of Communications. They debated and analyzed the entire sweep of communications and its relationship over the last 40 years to social and economic development in the Third World. But the underlying thread of the discussion dealt with television and its mythical power, which has enthralled, puzzled, and occasionally enraged our society over the past four decades.

Self-Expression — A Basic Human Right

Self-expression by individuals and the societies from which they spring is vital to growth and development. The sharing of information through formal and informal means builds knowledge, empowers people, and induces institutions to act.

The Annenburg School of Communications, after several decades of sifting and sorting the role and impact of a wide range of media, has described television as the "hidden curriculum" because of its enormous penetration and its capacity to engage audiences worldwide. Neil Postman, an influential educational practitioner and theoretician in the United States, wrote about television in the 1970s and argued that television was not the "hidden curriculum", but rather "the curriculum", and that educational institutions were taking second seat. He along with others, including Marshall McLuhan, reviewed how most people, particularly the young, learn and form their beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviour through relations with this medium.

Looking at our children, we can see this analysis spring to life. No one today can dispute that the broadcast media are pervasive and profoundly engaging. All elements of society are involved, from children and their parents to senior policy-makers and politicians. Whether you live in the South or the North, the influence of this medium transcends — and to some extent — destroys cultural boundaries.

Part of the appeal of television is its entertainment value. It is a testimony to the power of the medium that entertainment, which is highly culture specific, travels well through the images and sounds of the small screen. But even entertainment — couched in foreign cultural forms — is a means of knowledge building, and it is certainly a source of enormous social influence, for good or for evil. It is curious that the very popular appeal of television causes its importance as a cultural and educational influence to be discounted by traditional educators, development agencies, and institutions concerned with social science research and policy.

Cultural Industries — Part of the Problem?

The struggle around the concept of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) is recalled vividly by Luis Beltran. Cultural imperialism was a rallying cry of its advocates. They were concerned that the lack of communication infrastructure in the developing countries provided no means of cultural expression and no way for Southern views to be transmitted to the dominant North. Leaving aside the ideological overlay that doomed the debate, no one can dispute that the vigorous and productive cultural industries of the North are part of the problem.

The industries of the mass media — in the South and the North — are widening the North-South gap for three reasons:

1. the underdevelopment of communication infrastructure in the South;
2. the reactionary and oppressive use of media by repressive governments of the South; and
3. the domination by the Northern cultural industries, which leaves little room for indigenous cultural self-expression or the sharing of information supportive of development.

A fourth cause may be added: the relative disinterest of the development community in these issues, which reflects the fact that they often discount television as only an entertainment medium.

The reality is that many Southern societies, particularly in Africa and South America, have leap-frogged literacy to a sort of postliterate age in which much information and knowledge is conveyed through mass com-

munications. Increasingly, their television and even radio fare is dominated by Northern-influenced dramatic entertainment and music and by what might be called propaganda — creations of their own governments and private-sector elites pursuing their own self-interests.

These societies have virtually no vehicles or mechanisms for access to these media by any but this elite of business and government. Courageous ventures in alternative communications have been launched (for example, Rafael Roncagliolo of IPAL and Anita Anand of the Women's Feature Service). But these alternative forms of popular communication remain for the most part marginalized. For the mass of the population, there is little cultural participation or social reflection. Without the life-giving zest of cultural expression, there can be little cultural, social, or perhaps even economic development in an equitable or sustainable fashion.

New Opportunities Through Exploding Technology

If democratization of access to information and knowledge is the way of the future, then the media are the key to breaking down social and political barriers to change. Through the media (if properly handled) we can bring about a fundamental shift in people's perceptions and behaviours. This cultural change will crystallize and support the public and political resolve required to build a sustainable future for this planet.

Instruments of mass communications can be harnessed for positive, ethically sound, and supportive expression — in the South as well as in the North. They need not be exploitive or frivolous. They need not be forms of cultural or social manipulation or repression. Today as never before, global issues need to be globally understood. The findings of the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED), for example, must be understood and acted on in the North and the South; not just by institutions of learning, science, and research but by every global citizen!

Many solutions might be suggested to resolve these complex problems. However, rapid advances in satellite television technology now offer options that were inconceivable a few years ago. The technology of global communications is here. It is being exploited on a world scale by CNN, the

BBC World Service, and by aggressive regional satellite systems. Digital video compression and new digital technologies have resulted in: affordable satellite transponder access; and elegant digital production, emission, and receiving equipment that obviates the monolith studios and bureaucracies that put broadcasting out of reach for all but large commercial and public interests in the past. We are in a period of new opportunities for access and expression. Will the advances of technology in communications again escape social control, as they have so often in the past? New thinking, and planning, is required in the North and the South.

A scope of vision beyond the ordinary is called for. For 20 years, the United Nations system has made tentative forays into the field of "development communication" to seek ways to provide a voice for the marginalized and the disenfranchised, or to build the extremely fragile communications infrastructure of the South. Some viable, sustainable structures have been constructed. The Television Trust for the Environment is a remarkable London-based organization devoted to raising global awareness on environmental issues through world-class television productions. Although numerous experiments have been tried, they have not achieved their ambitious goals. The fault lay in part in a lack of entrepreneurial and business skills, a failure to bring in private sector partners, and — more recently — a poor appreciation of the full potential of advances in satellite and digital technology.

Past efforts to build national television systems, or news agencies, were often based in government departments or public agencies that were influenced more by political ends than by the business of operating a practical enterprise that met basic, local, regional, and global needs. Increased investment in these sectors is greatly needed, but there are other options.

One potential solution is a global broadcast service; however, there are questions to be answered.

1. How can we interest the Northern telecommunications and broadcast industries in the problems and opportunities of the South?
2. Is it possible to enlist paying partners in such a service (e.g., the United

Nations system, development agencies, and private industry)?

3. Will Southern broadcast networks participate? Or, do they see satellite-delivered systems as only a threat to their monopoly?

4. Can we find ways to encourage and support Southern independent producers to create television programming that depicts the richness and reality of their environment and is of a quality to crack mainstream Northern television?

Canada is well placed to help answer some of these questions. Through regulation and government policy, through the apt use of technology, and through imaginative private-sector investments, Canada has done much to ensure cultural self-expression within a developing nation with a small population. Here, self-expression is a right, but also an obligation.

This Pre-Conference occurred at a crucial time. The end of the Cold War, the collapse of Soviet communism, and the widespread movement toward democracy and economic reform present an enormous opportunity. A new form of human-centred development could emerge, one that offers our children a sustainable future in which the earth's finite resources will be shared more equally and protected as never before through new forms of global cooperation.

As the world population increases, and the Earth becomes smaller and more congested with development both good and bad, new space is needed for the expression of our diverse natures, cultures, and aspirations. As we recognize the importance of biological diversity, as called for in *Agenda 21*, we must also recognize the global imperative of cultural diversity. Where do we find the space for this? It is in the minds of people that the future will be decided. The elaborate plans devised by world leaders to chart a safe course into the next century depend on widespread public awareness of the issues and a commitment to change.

David Nostbakken, PhD

Executive Director

International Broadcast Development

International Development Research Centre

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Communication For Development In Latin America: A Forty-Year Appraisal¹

Luis Ramiro Beltrán S.

Three major conceptualizations of the relationship between social communication and national development have prevailed in Latin America: development communication; development support communication; and alternative communication for democratic development.

Development communication is, in essence, the notion that mass media are capable of creating a public atmosphere favourable to change, which is assumed indispensable for modernizing traditional societies through technological advancement and economic growth. Development support communication is the notion that planned and organized communication — massive or not — is a key instrument for the accomplishment of the practical goals of specific development-seeking institutions and projects.

Alternative communication for democratic development is the notion that, by expanding and balancing people's access to, and participation in, the communication process — at both mass-media and interpersonal grassroots levels — development should secure, in addition to material gains, social justice, freedom for all, and the majority's rule.

There may, of course, be other conceptualizations of the communication-development relationship. Nevertheless, these three are pervasive in the pertinent literature and correspond well to practice.

Differences do exist between them, and using them indistinctly can cause undesirable confusion. However, for convenience, all three will be subsumed

1. Also presented as keynote speech at IV Roundtable on Development Communication, Instituto para America Latina, Lima, Peru, 23-26 February 1993.

into the broader label of "communication for development". This is not equivalent to a single all-enhancing definition, but is necessary to facilitate discussion.

What has been the record of communication for development in Latin America? Has this region made significant contributions to it? For almost 45 years, Latin America has been remarkably active, imaginative, and productive in using communication in the service of development. It started practising communication for development long before any theories were proposed.

Radio for Peasants

Two of the most significant and long-lasting experiences with communication for development started in 1948 in Colombia and Bolivia.

In Colombia, a parish priest, Joaquin Salcedo, established a rudimentary broadcasting station for peasants in an Andean village. Radio Sutatenza had the modest purposes of expanding Catholic indoctrination and helping reduce illiteracy in its immediate sphere of influence. In a few years, however, this individual initiative evolved to become *Accion Cultural Popular* (ACPO), one of the largest, most complex, and highly influential multimedia institutions of nonformal distance education for rural development in the world.

ACPO's "radiophonic school" strategy — group listening and discussion of special programs assisted by a local trainer and print materials — was soon adopted by equivalent organizations in most countries of the region. Supported by the government, and later substantially subsidized by foreign aid, ACPO-Radio Sutatenza constituted the first successful case of institutionalized development support communication in Latin America.

Workers' Radio

In Bolivia, mining workers' unions established a number of radio stations through contributions from their meagre salaries and rapidly learned to operate the stations by themselves. In spite of having elementary transmission equipment and a short range, the stations allowed these workers — mostly former autochthonous peasants — to become protagonists of mass communication. Until then, they had been passive receivers of messages from big city

commercial or official stations, which ignored their existence except for condemning them when they went on strike. Now, they were key participants in a process of revolution that was to make the vote universal, conduct land reform, and nationalize the tin extracting industry, from which the country earned much of its livelihood.

Within such a climate of overall social transformation for democratization, the new broadcasters did their job in a truly participatory fashion. They gave their audience almost unrestricted access by taking their microphones to streets, markets, schools, sports fields, and the interior of the mines themselves. They let the people speak out, express their needs and views, and criticize not only the government officers but the union leaders themselves. Their stations also served as community gathering places for all grassroots organizations to discuss matters of public interest, especially in times of emergencies. Such times were not infrequent because the politically militant unions were constantly repressed through military aggression, which on occasions seized, or even blew up, some of the stations and jailed or exiled their operators.

Self-financed, non-partisan, self-managed, advertising-free, and effectively practising democracy in communication, the Bolivian miners unknowingly established themselves as the precursors of alternative communication for development about a decade before the theoretical bases for it were proposed.

Agricultural Extension and Audiovisual Education

Early in the 1950s, the United States established a program of technical and financial assistance to national development in Latin America that placed emphasis on agriculture, education, and health. Along with the program came the application of the communication expertise gained during World War II. The application followed two main lines — agricultural information and audiovisual education. There was still no formal theory behind this endeavour but it clearly constituted the practice of what later was to be called development support communication. Through bilateral services operating in the countries, international activities held within the region, and training in the United States itself, hundreds of Latin Americans learned how to apply principles and techniques of social communication to national development demands. They

shared this knowledge with thousands of development agency employees, especially agricultural extension agents and primary school teachers.

The Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences (IICA), an affiliate of the Organization of American States, played a leading role in the rural communication aspect of this movement. Its Costa Rica headquarters became, as of the mid-1950s, a centre of excellence and a source of adapted training materials. FAO contributed substantially to efforts to build modern farming systems based on nonformal education, which was meant to include mass media. For education, the United States Agency for International Development built and ran sophisticated audiovisual centres and helped many other countries establish their own.

Private institutions, such as the Rockefeller, Kellogg, and Ford Foundations, also made significant contributions, with the latter paying some special attention to family planning communication. UNESCO supported the Latin American Institute for Educational Cinema (ILCE) and the Regional Center for Fundamental Education (CREFAL), which both provided training for the production of audiovisual aids for educational purposes.

Mass Media do not Reach the Mass?

The 1960s opened with the publication by UNESCO of an inventory of mass media availability in the developing countries. The differences with the developed nations were so huge that, in 1962, the United Nations General Assembly recommended that member states include in their plans for economic growth, resources to significantly expand and improve communication for development. The study gave room to think that the mass media hardly reached the masses in Latin America because access was restricted mostly to urban upper-strata minorities.

The Creed of Development Communication

Sponsored by UNESCO, the Director of Communication Research at Stanford University, Wilbur Schramm, published a book in 1964 that was to become the universal bible of communication for development. It embraced the concerns of both development communication and development support communica-

tion. Together with Daniel Lerner's research on "the passing of traditional society", and contributions of other scholars such as Lucien Pye and Ithiel De Sola Pool, the Schramm book articulated the theoretical bases for the uses of social communication in the service of development.

Through these fundamental works, the belief was spread across the world that the mass media could assist Third World countries to do in decades what the Western world had done in centuries: move from backward traditionalism into prosperous modernity. Without much delay, this creed was wholeheartedly embraced by a number of Latin American specialists in communication for development. Their faith in the excellence of mass media as agents of change was bolstered when Everett Rogers' "Theory of Diffusion of Innovations" arrived at the end of the decade. Several of those specialists appeared to perceive their trade as a sort of highly efficient "social engineering" that was endowed with close to magical powers to persuade the underdeveloped masses to become modern.

Development Support Communication Expands

This enthusiastic position was shared by international development funding agencies and led to the inception of hundreds of projects involving millions of dollars in the 1960s and 1970s. Funded by United States and European sources, as well as by the United Nations, most projects pertained to agriculture, education, health, and population.

Through the creative work of Manuel Calvelo, the FAO established in Chile, and later in Peru, a pioneering experience in the use of video for nonformal peasant education about land reform. UNESCO-UNDP supported the Ministries of Education of the Andean countries to design and cost a very ambitious project to use satellite-transported television programs to massively spread and improve their in-school and distance education programs. USAID provided substantive support to a complex experiment to use television as a tool for far-reaching educational reform in El Salvador, and helped Nicaragua improve the quality of mathematics teaching by using interactive radio. Later, USAID applied this strategy to other educational needs in the Dominican Republic. The German Adenauer Foundation supported the establishment of a Latin Ameri-

can Association for University Television (ALATU) in Lima. Mexico used television for high school training. Colombia applied television to primary level education and to teacher upgrading, but used radio for high school. USAID also supported several projects that used radio for health and nutrition programs, especially in Honduras, Costa Rica, Colombia, and Brazil. In Costa Rica, the Ford Foundation, allied with the International Planned Parenthood Federation, helped establish and operate CIACOP, a regional centre to train family planning communication specialists. IICA sought to apply communication to land reform and to university agricultural training programs.

Regional Training and Early Research

A new regional communication institution was born in Ecuador to address training and research in journalism. CIESPAL, an Ecuadorian initiative lead by Jorge Fernández, was assisted by UNESCO, the Organization of American States, the West German Ebert Foundation, and Holland's Radio Nederland International. CIESPAL became the region's best-known communication centre and embraced the cause of communication for development.

In 1963, a pioneer of communication research in the region, Antonio Pasquali, published an insightful book in Venezuela that criticized commercial mass communication in Latin America and recommended reforms that would contribute to democratic national development. By the end of the decade, some doubts were expressed that communication would bring about development. For the most part, however, communication specialists did not seem to perceive the problems of trying to apply a general theory originated abroad to the realities of their countries.

Development Fails

The decade of the 1970s was one of failure in development and confrontation in communications. Latin America was a part of both. The oil crisis that shook the developed nations had grave consequences for this part of the world, and showed the fragility of its development strategies and its structural vulnerability. By the middle of the decade, growth rates collapsed and foreign debt started to grow quickly. By 1978, about 40% of the families in the region had fallen into levels of critical poverty.

The blind application of the imported model had led to this disastrous situation. No benefit for the majorities was obtained from 20 years of attempts and millions of dollars spent. These people were still plagued by low salaries (if not increased unemployment), high prices, and acute inflation. The minorities grew richer while the masses crowded into cities flooded with migrants expelled from the countryside by misery.

Understandably, this development model came under heavy and open criticism in Latin America. The perceptions advanced in the previous decade by the "dependency theory" came to the foreground. The terms of international trade exchange were such that Latin American countries were increasingly selling their raw materials at low prices while buying expensive manufactured goods. The resulting deficits were covered by further foreign debts at growing interest rates and shorter repayment periods.

Needed: Another Development

Because this situation of imbalance affected most of the Third World, a proposal for "another development" was submitted to the United Nations General Assembly in 1975 by a group sponsored by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. A Latin American economist, Juan Somavía, made an important contribution to this proposal. The model proposed a development based on: the satisfaction of needs of the majorities; endogenous and self-reliant approaches; and harmony with the environment.

In 1976, a team of development scholars coordinated by Amílcar Herrera, hosted by Argentina's Fundación Bariloche, and supported by the International Development Research Centre, proposed a "Latin American World Model". This model claimed that there were no insurmountable limits to growth and that production should be determined by social needs, not by profit motives. Property, private or public, as a means for concentrating power and privilege, would no longer exist, and management would be truly democratic and decentralized. The material feasibility of this conceptual model was demonstrated using a mathematical model built with pertinent world data. But, the ultimate test of its viability, noted the proponents, would be to eliminate power concentration at the national and international levels.

The gross failure of the classic development model was soon acknowledged

everywhere — not only by economists and development planners, but also by some of the very proponents of the old paradigm, such as Everett Rogers. There was now ample recognition that without major structural changes securing equity — within nations and between nations — genuine, democratic, and widespread development was impossible.

Toward Democratic Communication Models

The classic model of communication — the Aristotelian formula of Lasswell — also came under scrutiny. A Brazilian Catholic pedagogue, Paulo Freire, who was in exile in Chile, started the diffusion of his daring new ideas about education. Condemning traditional education as manipulatory of human beings for the perpetuation of the status quo, he proposed a "pedagogy of the oppressed" for self-discovery through free dialogue and "conscientization" addressed at emancipation and democracy.

Added to the critiques advanced by Antonio Pasquali, Freire's thinking inspired the revision of the classic communication model. Frank Gerace, an American working in Bolivia and Peru, was the first to suggest a model of "horizontal communication". Juan Diaz Bordenave, Joao Bosco Pinto, and Francisco Gutierrez were also among the early proponents of creative applications of Freire's ideas about education to communication. Others joined the search, especially Chilean journalist Fernando Reyes Matta, who proposed a participatory model for "alternative communication".

These new ideas soon reached the United States, where the main theoreticians of communication for development, Wilbur Schramm, Daniel Lerner, and Everett Rogers, came to acknowledge them and even share them. Meanwhile, however, the practice of development support communication apparently went ahead with little change — as if the theoretical reformulations had not affected it. In contrast, the practice of alternative communication for democratic development was sustained and enriched throughout the 1970s by efforts in many parts of the region.

The Practice of Alternative Communication

In Uruguay, Mario Kaplun designed and tested a new strategy: rural cassette

forums, a simple and low-cost procedure for dialogue at a distance among members of peasant cooperatives.

Michel Azcueta, and others, built a whole system of remarkable grassroots communications in a huge Lima slum populated by migrant native peasants. Villa El Salvador was based on elementary technologies that were used with imagination, and in conjunction with an active community organization.

In Brazil, dozens of small, rustic newspapers came to constitute what was called "prensa nanica" (midget press), the only vehicle for expressing the people's opposition to the violent military dictatorships that oppressed them.

Throughout the region, but especially in Mexico, The Dominican Republic, Honduras, Peru, and Ecuador, people's radio was expanded and improved. In Ecuador, a Catholic priest led small, isolated Indian communities to participate in broadcasting by recording news messages and brief programs in their own villages and sending them to a central station. In Bolivia, peasants rented the early morning hours of commercial broadcast stations in the capital city, and in Aymara, undertook an unusual and pioneering exercise of alternative democratic communication based on the private initiative of "mini entrepreneurs". For very low rates, they provided through radio (along with news and entertainment) the equivalent to the postal, telegraph, and telephone services that were not available to them in the countryside. Furthermore, these broadcasters established an association of communicators in native languages and persuaded the Catholic University to upgrade their skills through a 2-year diploma course. Field volunteers were also trained as "people's reporters". Cuba refined the strategy it had developed in the previous decade. Radio broadcasts were combined with thousands of volunteers organized in small teaching "brigades" to conduct mass mobilization campaigns for education and health.

Mexico, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador turned to mass media for distance education of school children, provincial teachers, and university students. The Mexican government built a special television network to support rural development. Brazil established the region's largest network of educational television channels. Attempts were made in Mexico to use the very popular "telenovela" (soap opera) to stimulate family planning

and to teach health care and nutrition. In Chile, the organization of the Movement of the New Latin American Cinema was formalized in a convention attended by leading directors of famous critical and documentary films such as Glauber Rocha (Brazil), Fernando Solanas (Argentina), and Jorge Sanjinés (Bolivia). Several of these experiences began to reflect the quest for democratic communication.

Institution Building

Another important activity of the 1970s was the establishment of some region-wide organizations of communication professionals. One was the Latin American Association of Radio Schools (ALER), which came to coordinate and support some 40 pertinent organizations in 15 countries. Another was the Latin American Federation of Journalists (FELAP), which claimed to embrace thousands of newspaper workers across the region. A third, much smaller but no less significant organization, was the Latin American Association of Communication Researchers (ALAIIC). All three joined the struggle for democratic communication and development.

A few new institutions also appeared. The Latin American Institute for the Study of Transnationals (ILET) began to play a leading role in the critical analysis of international communications affecting the region. ILET was established in Mexico by Juan Somavía, a key proponent of "another development", and Fernando Reyes Matta, a leading theoretician of "alternative communication".

Near the end of the 1970s, professionals working in several institutions — especially in Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, and Argentina — began a new area of activity: education, production, and research on mass media messages, mainly television.

Science Aids Protest

During the mid-1980s, communication research grew quickly and changed its orientation in line with the trend toward democratization. Among the early contributors to this movement were Eliseo Veron and Hector Schmucler in Argentina, Patricio Biedma and Armand Mattelart in Chile, and Oswaldo

Capriles, Luis Aníbal Gomez, Eleazar Diaz Rangel, Eduardo Santoro, and Elizabeth Safar in Venezuela, and José Marques de Melo in Brazil. Mattelart, a Belgian residing in Santiago in the days of Allende, was to become the most prolific and influential communication writer of the period.

Much of the literature that was produced centred on verifying the strong dependence of the region on international information, and on denouncing internal cultural domination channelled through the privately owned and commercially oriented mass media. The situation so disfavoured the lower strata of society that it was regarded by researchers as one of virtual non-communication for the masses, especially those people in rural areas.

A few studies criticized the very conduct of inquiry — its basic assumptions, objectives, and methods. Other studies criticized communication legislation and, going beyond traditional studies on press censorship, proposed new definitions for information freedom and a broader set of communication rights in line with the drive for democratization.

Perhaps for the first time in the history of the social sciences, European and North American professional journals started publishing articles on communication by Latin American authors. International organizations, such as UNESCO, and worldwide associations, such as AIERI (IMCR), also began to include Latin American researchers and practitioners in their memberships and activities and even to hold some of their meetings in the countries of the region.

Conflict Around a Dream: Policies

The most resounding and controversial activity in the 1980s proved to be the movement to establish national communication policies that would bring a measure of rationality to national communication systems, which were dominated by private, commercial activity.

At the international level, UNESCO held a meeting of Latin American experts in Bogota in 1974. This meeting was the basis for a future intergovernmental meeting on national communications policies. These experts recommended that the policies should include provisions to stimulate access to mass media messages and to increase and improve use of these messages for educational and cultural programs. The meeting criticized the private sector,

but it did not suggest its elimination or propose its substitution with state media monopolies. Nevertheless, the international associations of media owners and directors took the recommendations as a grave threat to press freedom and private enterprise. Therefore, they launched an intense international campaign to discredit the movement and discourage the holding of the inter-ministerial gathering.

UNESCO overcame many barriers and held the meeting in 1976 in Costa Rica. Under harsh attacks from the mass media, the high level government representatives discussed the situation in detail and signed a declaration equivalent to a creed of democratization of communication. They also approved about 30 recommendations that would allow each country to formulate and apply an overall policy that was most suitable to its particular circumstances.

However, not even Venezuela, the country leading the movement, was able to apply the recommendations because of militant and persistent business opposition. In Peru, instead, a *de facto* military regime made various substantive changes in the communication situation akin to the Bogota and San Jose recommendations and, in some cases, above and beyond them. For example, it seized all Lima dailies and announced its intention to create social property by handing them over to organized labour (e.g., peasants, industrial workers, and teachers). On the other hand, it reorganized and tried to bolster and improve state communication capabilities.

New International Information Order: Fire on Deck!

In 1976 the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries proclaimed its desire to promote the establishment of a New International Information Order, which it deemed was as necessary as the already proposed New International Economic Order. Soon, this proposal was endorsed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, which instructed UNESCO to provide all possible technical support.

This was not a Latin American initiative, but it did coincide in spirit with the on-going events in the region. A few governments were sympathetic and scholars participated in international gatherings to discuss the nature of the intended new order and the strategies that it would require.

The controversy between proponents and opponents of the initiative set communication at the middle of an unprecedented and heated worldwide conflict. The discussions about the gross imbalance of communication resources between developed and underdeveloped countries and about information freedom were complicated by a Soviet Union proposal for a UNESCO declaration on racism. This proposal caused much tension between 1972 and 1978 and was finally approved with changes in 1978.

Seeking compromise, UNESCO established an international pluralistic group of high-level specialists for the study of communication. Known as the MacBride Commission, the group — which included two Latin Americans (economist Juan Somavia and writer Gabriel García Márquez) — worked under frequent fire from the media. It managed, however, to submit by 1980 its insightful final report, which was a careful piece of conciliation and balance. Its main propositions, all favourable to equity, freedom, and democracy in communication at national and international levels, were condensed in a recommendation approved by the UNESCO General Conference held that year in Belgrade. The decade thus closed with a feeling of appeasement.

The Dramatic Collapse of the 1980s

Far from being alleviated, the Latin American situation experienced a terrible deterioration during the 1980s. The region suffered the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Exports grew at less than half the rate of imports, which seriously curtailed Latin America's participation in the world market. High interest rates, major decreases in private loans and investments, protectionist barriers, and a considerable reduction of foreign aid were concurrent aggravating factors.

Activated by inflation, capital flight from the region reached a great magnitude in this decade. Under such a combination of negative factors, the region's foreign debt, which had been only 67 million USD in 1975, grew by 1982 to 300,000 million USD. Most countries could not afford to honour this obligation even by committing exaggerated proportions of their foreign income to service the debt. The growth rate of the gross domestic product collapsed from 5.5% for 1950-1980 to minus 0.9% in 1982. Per capita product decreased by more than 3%

in 1982 alone. By the end of the decade, many countries saw their per capita income fall below levels reached 20 years earlier.

Not only did the region's aspirations for development come to a halt, regression led in some situations to even more acute underdevelopment. The drastic adjustments required from the governments by the international financial organizations were applied at the expense of social investments and the exacerbation of poverty. No wonder this was called "the lost decade" in Latin America. Yet, changes to the old paradigm are not apparent in foreign aid, although "development with a human face" is talked about and the United Nations now advocates — at long last — "development with social equity".

Communication for Development Survives

What could communication do for development under such dreadful circumstances? Perhaps not much, but Latin Americans nevertheless kept working hard. International agencies, such as UNICEF and USAID, continued to make considerable investments in communication support to health and nutrition programs. OPS (PAHO) reorganized its communication services. Qualified contractors, such as the Academy for Educational Development and Johns Hopkins University, shared with Latin Americans their expertise in the rigorous planning and evaluation of health, population, and education operations such as Guatemala's Basic Village Education Project and Bolivia's National Program for Reproductive Health. "Social marketing" was added to the set of strategies of communication for development in Honduras and The Dominican Republic. Communication campaigns for prevention against AIDS and cholera were carried out in some countries. Several countries also received technical and financial assistance for programs seeking to use educational communication to prevent the use of narcotics.

UNESCO began to operate the International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC), which was presided by an international council that granted modest sums to small projects, mostly in the area of development support communication. Latin American leadership was present in IPDC's Council through its experienced and able Vice-President José Antonio Mayobre of Venezuela.

Radio Nederland International established a regional branch of its training centre in Costa Rica, which greatly expanded the learning opportunities available for alternative communication through broadcasting.

The Foundation for New Latin American Cinema established an international school in Cuba for film production, and the Cuban government sponsored and held yearly regional film and video festivals in Havana. Mostly assisted by German funding and expertise, CIESPAL began to offer regional workshops to improve television production.

Headquartered in Costa Rica, ILPEC worked across Central America in the area of alternative communication (especially radio) for democratic development. In Bolivia, ERBOL consolidated the region's oldest and largest network of Catholic radio stations for nonformal education, which operated across the country in four languages. Nicaraguan Sandinistas struggled to build a participatory radio network, new forms of democratic print journalism, and community video.

CENECA in Chile became the centre of excellence for media education, especially for training in the critic of television. Assisted by FAO, Mexico recorded stimulating accomplishments with the PRODERITH projects.

Throughout the decade, two information services derived from the 1976 San Jose recommendations, ASIN (a cooperative of governments) and ALASEI (German Carnero's creative obsession), bravely struggled to survive. They were supported by UNESCO and a few governments and assisted by the International Press Service (IPS), the only international news agency to favour the alternative communication approach. Brazil was the first country to create a workers' television channel and a national association for the use of video by grassroots organizations.

More Institutions Are Born

Several other very significant institutional creations took place in the 1980s. One was FELAFACS, the Latin American Federation of Communication Schools, which embraced most of the 200-plus schools in an active program of training, research, exchange, and publications, and was supported by the Adenauer

Foundation and by UNESCO. Born in 1982 under the leadership of Joaquín Sánchez and Walter Neira, FELAFACS recently celebrated its first decade of work with a professional gathering in Mexico that was attended by some 4000 Latin American professionals.

The establishment in Peru of Instituto para América Latina (IPAL) endowed the region with an institution born under the creed of democratic communication for development. Lead by Rafael Roncagliolo, it has been very productive in research, training, exchange, and publications. IPAL has paid special attention to communication policies, to new communication technologies, and to audiovisual media, film, television, and video. IPAL now operates a regional audiovisual network and publishes a news bulletin, as well as studies and manuals. Furthermore, it has developed links with regional development and integration agencies such as SELA, the Andean Pact, and CEPAL-ILPES. IPAL rapidly earned an international reputation and has been supported by several international funding sources. Inspired and assisted by UNESCO, and hosted by the government of Costa Rica, the Latin American and Caribbean Association for Radio and Television, ULCRA, was born in San Jose. It promotes cooperative activities among public-broadcasting and private-nonprofit stations.

Another institution was created by bringing together the work of three long-existing Catholic communication associations — UCLAP (press), OCIC (cinema), and UNDAL-AL (radio and television). Headquartered in Ecuador, the three organizations share a joint secretariat and tightly coordinate their resources and programs in the service of their numerous affiliates, which all subscribe to the ideals of alternative communication for democratic development.

Theory Building Advances

In another field of endeavour, the theoretical construction of models of democratic communication had numerous and talented contributors during the 1980s. Maximo Simpson and Maria Cristina Matta, of Argentina, and Mario Kaplun, of Uruguay, were outstanding. So were Rafael Roncagliolo, Juan

Gargurevich, Luis Peirano, and Rosa Maria Alfaro in Peru, and Luis Gonzaga Motta and Regina Festa in Brazil.

There were considerable variations in their approaches and therefore several adjectives were used to characterize communication, e.g., "alternative", "dialogic", "group", and "participatory". One school of thought gained precedence in Colombia and soon became quite influential in other parts of the region. It was "comunicación popular", an innovative conceptualization of Jesús Martín Barbero, which together with insightful work by analysts of "cultura popular" such as Nestor García Canclini, generated a fruitful new trend in communication research in the region.

Contrary to what is often assumed in North America and Western Europe, most Latin American authors advocating democratization of communication were not radical activists belonging to left-wing organizations. Theirs was a broad, loose reform-minded movement, not a conspiratorial communist organization. If any organization was behind some of them, it was the Catholic Church.

The End of Policies and of the New Order?

Early in the 1980s, the Mexican government engaged in a most comprehensive, well researched, and daring plan to democratize communication through an overall policy that was to be implemented by means of a general law and some 30 instrumental projects. However, in 1982, President José López Portillo suddenly dismissed his Secretary of Social Communication, Luis Javier Solana, and cancelled the ambitious initiative. The reason? Once again, stern opposition from the private sector, which no politician in Latin America can afford to ignore.

Such opposition is applied against any form of government planning for the development of communication, even when it is restricted to state media facilities seeking to make rational use of their resources. Venezuela provided a clear example when two different governments included brief chapters on communications in their overall national development strategies. Even if they were not withdrawn, they had to be forgotten. Meanwhile, highly advanced

communication technologies have arrived in the region, and constitute a promise or a threat depending on how they are to be used. However, because it was impossible to develop policies for the old technologies of the mass media, how can policies be formulated for these new technologies, which are often handled from abroad?

Early in the 1980s, a meeting was held in Talloires, France, of editors, publishers, and writers of 60 media institutions from 24 countries of Western Europe and North America. They pledged cooperation among themselves to consolidate, expand, and protect the free flow of information; asked UNESCO to cease any attempts at press regulation; and served the Third World notice of open war against its reform intentions. In Latin America, and in most of the rest of the developing countries, the ideal of building a New International Information Order appeared to have virtually vanished by the end of the 1980s.

Performance Evaluation

It is time to briefly assess our performance over the last 40 years of communications for development in Latin America.

Our activity has been intense, diverse, sustained, and sophisticated to degrees higher than those in other Third World regions. The Latin American contributions to communication for development have been numerous and creative, especially in the area of alternative communication for democratic development. Some contributions were made to the theory and some to the practice.

Latin Americans were the earliest contestants of the classic concept of communication derived from unilinear Aristotelian thinking, which prevailed across the world unchallenged until the late 1960s. It was these researchers who, digging beyond the apparent simplicity of the paradigm, discovered its undemocratic implications. They were among the first to propose new visions of communication — new models that promoted genuine democracy. This intellectual innovation received broad acceptance in the region and was eventually acknowledged, and even adopted, by some of the most prestigious theoreticians of our trade, e.g., Schramm and Rogers.

Another accomplishment of Latin Americans was the conceptualization of overall communication policies for national development. This contribution

was made in the early 1970s in response to a UNESCO challenge. Embraced or condemned, the definition that was produced has survived time and gone around the world. The ideas of the Bogota experts — adopted by the region's government officers in San José and later refined and expanded by others — have ignited debate, inspired research, permeated training, and stimulated action not only in the region, but in Asia and Africa as well.

Latin Americans also made contributions to two other areas of academic reflection. They have sought to revise the legal principles of communication in search of broader, more equitable formulations that would ensure information freedom. The other area of innovative reflection has been in communication research. Its orientation and practice were found lacking in relation to Latin America. Therefore, the prevailing assumptions, objects of study, and procedures were criticized and new approaches were sought. The revision went as far as attempting to reconsider the role of science in underdeveloped societies. Participatory and action-oriented research were recommended as desirable alternatives. The influence of this fresh thinking reached beyond the shores of the region and into the academic circles of the United States and Western Europe.

The rich and imaginative practice of alternative communication in Latin America provides more satisfaction than theorization. The invention of strategies to help the poorest people become full participants in the communication process, and thus in the conduct of society, has had remarkable results in several countries. This has been especially true of radio, which has been used with unparalleled imagination and tenacity. The initial experiences may have started in the traditional pattern of benevolent outsider doing something for the poor and forgotten; however, the approach soon became one of stimulating and enabling the downtrodden to do alternative communication by themselves and for themselves. This change unleashed the people's capabilities to become protagonists in communication rather than passive receivers of messages. Broadcasting was fostered as a self-managed tool that could help grassroots organizations freely meet their objectives.

Another area of regional achievement was the creation of reform-minded and people-oriented communication institutions. These professional communication agencies and associations (both private and public) are found through-

out the region. Apparently, no other part of the Third World has as large or as productive a group of institutions.

For all its merits, however, alternative communication is questioned at times, especially in terms of its scope and impact. Usually confined to involving small segments of the lower strata (forgotten peasants, oppressed workers, and slum dwellers), does it have an impact on all of society? If democratization involves only minimedia at local levels, often without interconnection, how will change ever occur in the decisive domain of the large media? Could it be that alternative communication can provide partial alleviation, but no real and global solutions? Is there perhaps even the danger that alleviatory measures may help detour the people's attention and energies from the crucial problem of power concentration? These are some of the questions posed by concerned observers. In view of these questions, while we celebrate the legitimate accomplishments, we should avoid "triumphalism" if alternative communication is to be consolidated and further improved.

How did development support communication fare over the same period? In terms of building a base of human resources for the discipline, it did very well. It trained, in a rather short period, a large number of people in the principles and skills of communication for development. Support by USAID and the United Nations in the late 1950s and early 1960s, especially in the service of rural development, was decisive in establishing communication for development as a professional endeavour in Latin America. In the 1970s and 1980s, the passion for efficacy derived from research, planning, and evaluation techniques gave the region a valuable lesson in the rational conduct of development support communication.

In terms of final impact, however, there seems to have been little success at too high a cost. Referring to the many projects sponsored by the United States from the 1950s to the 1970s, Robert Hornik, an outstanding development communication specialist, had this to say: "Given the available data about audiences reached, practices changed, benefits achieved, and long-term institutional survival, we can assume that most of them fail; they have not reached even a small part of their apparent goals." Another American colleague of comparable expertise, John Mayo, shared this view in these terms: "Many, if not

most, have been terminated after a few months or years, often in anonymity. Others were able to stay afloat longer, but appeared to lose direction and to drift aimlessly without ever accomplishing what they set out to do."

Why did this happen? Hornik identifies three categories of explanations: theory failures (resulting from an incorrect assumption that a particular development problem is amenable to a communication-based solution); program failures (resulting from inadequacies in the design or implementation of a project); and political failures (resulting from a lack of acknowledgment of the negative influence of such structural factors as the concentration of power).

In the early years of our professional exercise (the 1950s and much of the 1960s) we came to reify the mass media as being capable of doing much good to our people — to the point of being able to cause the modernization of our nations in a short time almost all by themselves. In the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, we attributed to the mass media intentions and capabilities to ignore national development needs, if not to oppose them. In both cases, we exaggerated the actual powers of press, radio, television, and cinema, and their influence for good or for evil. In so doing, we forgot that scientific theory had warned us long before that the mass media had no power to hypnotize people into submission and that their effects were ultimately channelled through interpersonal communication. Recent Latin American research has again advocated that media messages are reprocessed through the cultural frameworks of individuals. Should we now adopt a more realistic position and neither demand from the media magic results nor demonize them? Should we learn to use their virtues to the advantage of democratic development without expecting them to go against the interests they were set to defend?

Notes for the 21st Century Agenda

What can the initial practitioners of communication for development do? Not very much perhaps in terms of actions. They did the best they could under changing circumstances. However, they can, and must, pass on their experiences (both good and bad) in a systematic and frank manner to those who will inherit their dreams and occupations in the very near future. They can offer notes for their 21st Century Agenda.

1. Put together the best of development support communication with alternative communication. Do not treat them as far apart islands. Blend social consciousness with a passion for planning. Put together technical abilities and political perceptions.

2. Do much more institution building than self-consummatory operations. Teach to fish, do not just hand out fishes. Persuade key schools of communication to include communication for development in their curricula. Foster in them, and in other institutions, communication research geared toward democratic development.

3. Do not support only government agencies. Put faith in the small communities themselves. Help workers' unions, peasant leagues, and neighbourhood groups and work with nongovernmental organizations.

4. Place paramount emphasis on communication for health, sanitation, nutrition, and population. People in Latin America must be healthy before they can afford to be well educated, housed, or employed. Plagues such as drugs, AIDS, and cholera epidemics demand massive education programs that can be attained only through communication.

5. Insist on persuading political leaders and development planners to rationally use communication to attain the development they promise to the people. Help the masses press them for development.

6. Encourage basic communication training at all levels, including the universities that train health, education, housing, agriculture, and development planning professionals. Communication specialists cannot cope with the massive job all by themselves. Help strengthen regional communication institutions. Our countries must expand cooperation. Not even the largest countries can do the whole job in isolation.

Mass Education: The Disaster's Deterrent

Let us not forget that, on the verge of year 2000, Latin America finds itself in a state of gravely increased underdevelopment. The colossal collapse of its economy has halted development, and the struggle seems now to be one for pure survival for many. The adjustments prescribed by the international financial organizations are castigating more than ever before the innocent,

downtrodden masses. Meanwhile the population continues its rapid growth without comparable gains in food production. The mighty do not yield. The rich are getting richer at the expense of the poor. If this situation continues and deteriorates even further, political upheaval and social chaos can be anticipated.

The United Nations Commission for Latin America and other similar agencies have recently recognized that massive education is now fundamental if economic development with social equity is to be secured — that is food with justice, prosperity with freedom, modernity with peace.

A Crusade for Year 2000

At long last, our profession should be called on to provide the essential instrument for this education. I hope this happens soon. I also hope that the development communication specialists of the new generation will meet the new and immense challenges in sight. In fact, I trust they will put their brains and souls to their job as a crusade to help avoid catastrophe and to build the humane society so many of us have for so long envisioned.

Latin America: Peculiarities, Problems, and Proposals

Rafael Roncagliolo

La Planete Balkanisée, a book written by Ives Marie Laulan, was published in Paris in 1991. I would like to use its opening words as my introduction: "The year 1990 will be remembered as the start of the XXIst century, just as 1914 or 1918 were considered the beginning of the XXth century. The past year has indeed witnessed both the end of Communism and East-West dissension, and the years to come are likely to be marred by localized North-South conflicts that are unpredictable."

Laulan's diagnosis and prognosis are useful for developing communications strategies: "We are not striving towards a new world order but towards a worldwide disorder: a more confused, uncertain and increasingly more dangerous world than ever before."

At the end of one of the shortest centuries in history we are witnessing the consolidation of a democratic, liberal, mercantile, and transnational world order. It is not the world order demanded by Southern countries in the past, nevertheless it is the world order that actually exists today: McLuhan's "Global Village" and Barnet and Muller's "Global Supermarket".

The suggestion that this state of affairs is actually a disorder and Laulan's premonition that the East-West dispute will be followed by localized North-South conflicts are quite credible, particularly in the light of the Gulf War and current circumstances in Peru and Colombia.

Latin American Peculiarities

Communications in Latin America are atypical for three reasons: their level of technological development; the logic behind their operation; and the vast number of "alternative" media and networks that have emerged as instruments of cultural self-expression.

Opulence Rather Than Misery. From a quantitative point of view, our communication media are characterized by opulence rather than by misery. For example:

1. On average, one out of every three people in Latin America owns a radio and one out of every seven people owns a television set, which is nearly equivalent to one television set per family. Of course, these are average estimates and there is still a long way to go before television coverage reaches 100% of the population, particularly in rural areas.

2. Estimates based on the World Communication Report published in 1990 by UNESCO, show that Latin American countries, on average, broadcast more than four times the viewing time of Latin countries in Europe (Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, Rumania).

3. We have an excess of television stations. Bolivia, one of the world's poorest countries, has one of the highest television channels-per-viewer ratio: approximately 70 television channels and slightly over 500,000 television sets, i.e. more than one television channel for every 10,000 viewers.

4. In Colombia, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela there is more than one videorecorder (VHS) for every three homes that own a television set. This proportion is higher than in Belgium (26.3%) or Italy (16.9%). Furthermore, it is worth remembering that in a consumer society, the number of television stations or videorecorders and message intake are only remotely related to socioeconomic level of development.

These figures show that the technological underdevelopment in Latin America is merely relative. Unlike other southern regions, the main problem of our communication systems is not so much the lack of communication media, but the absence of locally developed messages or content. It is unfortunate that the percentage of programs and messages produced within Latin America has a tendency to drop every time there is a media expansion in the region.

Economic Profitability. Unlike the broadcasting systems in Europe, Africa, and most Asian countries, ours were initially inspired by the economically profitable system in the United States. This hemispherical peculiarity should not be overlooked because it could lead to incorrect comparisons between the situation in Latin America and in other parts of the world.

American broadcasting is based on the logic of economic profitability; whereas, the European system is based on the logic of sociocultural profitability, to quote Guiseppe Richeri. The intention of the former is to ensure that the firm's accounts show maximum profits; whereas, the latter is guided by society's cultural and educational interests. The American system relies on private business, financed exclusively through advertising. The European system is public-service oriented. Programs in the American system revolve around advertising. As mentioned by Dallas Smythe, advertisers are literally sold a semicaptive audience. The size of the public is measured through the so-called "rating" system, which is used to establish the selling price for advertisements.

The partial privatization of the European broadcasting system is taking place within a background that has simply never existed in Latin America. This is why when privatization occurs in Europe, plurality is introduced. In Latin America, however, where everything is private (with a few exceptions), it is necessary to find a break-even point in the self-contained, foreign, oligopolistic landscape of our television system.

Unity and Diversity. Latin America and the Arab world are the two most coordinated groups in the world. We are united by our language, our geography, our history, and by the feeling of belonging to the same nation despite having many different cultures. How can popular cultures make use of the audiovisual industry to promote this cultural diversity and the opinions of all human and ethnic groups within the framework of a global village?

Cultural identity as well as personal identity, involves an acknowledgment of one's own physiognomy. Mass media — including the audiovisual industry — is the cultural industry par excellence. Movie, television, and video screens are reflections of the population. People see themselves, just as the population sees itself on the screen, or fails to recognize itself, as the case may be.

As a result of the telematic revolution, the communication explosion in Latin America will have a tendency to increase. In fact, communication technologies (informatics, telecommunications, video, and television) are characterized, among other things, by the relative reduction in the selling prices of their final

products (microcomputers, dish antenna, VCRs, video cameras, and transmitting stations).

In Latin America, this technological revolution has given rise to new performers and means of communication: regional, municipal, and community television stations; radios and newspapers in the hands of different groups from all walks of life; and independent and popular producers and video broadcasters. There is a broad range of video producers, regional and community stations, and audiovisual users for educational, cultural, and development purposes. These groups should become the new subjects and performers of cultural self-expression in the global village.

Factors that Inhibit Public Access and Expression

This list is by no means exhaustive. The intention is to point out a few of the factors that restrict domestic production.

Logic of the Commercial System. A communications system governed solely by making as much profit as possible will always prefer to import than to produce. Old 1-hour programs from the United States can cost as little as 200USD. A locally produced 1-hour program could easily cost three times this amount. As a result of the worldwide video market, direct broadcasting satellites, and the privatization of telecommunications, programs may even be imported free of charge. Because our states and our societies are totally unaware of the public service concept and of the relationship between the audiovisual system and culture, education, and development, liberalization involves globalization and the loss of cultural identity.

Size of Domestic Markets. Attempts to reduce the gap in the comparative costs of imported and locally produced programs are impossible given the size of our domestic market. Paradoxically, there are two exceptional cases in Latin America — Rede Globo in Brazil and Televisa in Mexico. Both started with exceptionally large domestic markets and were based on an association between companies and their respective states. Brazil is now the world's fourth-largest producer and third-largest exporter of television programs. Mexico

benefitted from the enormous Spanish-speaking market in the United States. Such experiences cannot be repeated in other Latin American countries because the mechanisms necessary to integrate local productions are still nonexistent.

Gap Between Independent and Popular Television Stations and Producers.

In most of our countries, television stations must by law transmit a certain percentage of locally produced programs—60% in Peru, 50% in Colombia and Venezuela, 20% in Bolivia, and 10% in Ecuador. Nevertheless, these legal standards are generally not fulfilled because the companies themselves are unable to produce sufficient programs. At the same time, producers, performers, artists, and reporters are unemployed. Alternative networks consist of thousands of groups of producers who have rarely, if ever, had access to mass transmission.

Exclusion of Electronic Communications. Those responsible for issuing national policies, including those who design communications policies, appear to be unaware of the fact that, as indicated by McLuhan, we have moved on from the Gutenberg Galaxy to that of Marconi. Written communications, in general, have gained in presence, but lost in priority; whereas, electronic communications are viewed as an exotic object. This is a crucial problem that goes beyond the financial limitations of this period of crisis and debts. Even nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) still prefer to publish books, leaflets, and magazines than to venture into the audiovisual field.

Lack of International Distribution Channels. In these times of globalization, Rede Globo and Televisa have been exemplary as far as export policies and aggressive joint ventures are concerned. However, most television stations and producers are not in the position to follow in their footsteps. Moreover, European television stations have played an important role in supporting the Latin American movie industry by financing and purchasing their films. However, this does not occur with television programs.

Lines of Action

The following actions are suggested to overcome these problems.

Diversification of Broadcasting Stations. It is difficult to subdivide advertising any further in Latin America. The time has come to give some thought to granting preferential transmission licences to noncommercial entities involved in education, communities, municipalities, and social groups. The global village must not represent just one or a few opinions, but as many as possible.

Regional Integration Policies. There are a number of organizations and meetings of ministers, cinematographic and television authorities, private entrepreneurs, researchers, schools of communications, and video groups in Latin America — the 'network region'. The problem is how to visualize and implement efficient instruments to encourage them to operate in a practical manner.

Cooperation Between Producers and the Media. Mechanisms could be established to develop local productions through agreements for obligatory broadcasts. These productions could be financed with funds generated by imported programs and obtained from advertising. This would improve the quality and quantity of programs of cultural self-expression. The Peruvian cinema law is a good example of what can be done.

Democratic Audiovisual Policies. The need has arisen for coordination between entrepreneurs, states, independent producers, and even users, to design ways to ensure that cultural identities are represented during the global village period.

Global Broadcasting Service. Much could be done if the North were to broadcast, and thus help finance, productions from the South. The idea of promoting a Global Broadcasting Service deserves urgent consideration and action-oriented research.

There is a need to establish a ring of worldwide enterprises in the global village. Efforts are already being made within the radio (AMARC) and audio-visual (Vidéazimut) fields, within academia (the McBride Round Table), and within religious institutions (WACC). Nevertheless, private initiatives are still required to obtain and guarantee cultural diversity and the democratization of communications in the coming century.

An African Perspective

Paul A.V. Ansah*

The last three decades have witnessed phenomenal growth in communication, its pervasive nature, and its profound influence on nations and their cultures. The mass media and the messages they carry act as catalysts in the transformation of society in all spheres — political, social, economic, and cultural. To a large extent, they set the agenda for public debate and sometimes even determine the direction of such discussions. If the mass media consider that a particular topic merits public attention, it will be topical for as long as the media sustain debate. This has happened with the issues of family planning and of the situation of women and children. If the issue of the environment is the dominant theme today it is because the media have accorded it high priority. This observation is valid both at the national and international levels.

This phenomenon, which has turned the global community into what has been called an information society, is a direct consequence of the development of new communication technologies that continue to become more refined and more sophisticated. They offer immense opportunities and potential that can be used for positive or negative ends, for liberation or domination, for enlightenment or manipulation, for the promotion of integration or the instigation of disintegration. Specifically in the area of cultural development, mass media based on new communications technologies may be used to enhance cultural self-expression or stifle it through what has been variously labelled as cultural imperialism, cultural invasion, cultural synchronization, or cultural homogenization.

To harness this technology, nations must formulate appropriate policies and very clearly define their individual objectives. In doing so, they must take into

* Regrettably, Dr Paul Ansah passed away in June 1993. The editors wish to acknowledge his lifelong contribution to international communication.

consideration a number of factors, including public and private interests and rights, the interplay of political, social and economic forces at both the national and international levels, and their capacity to master and control the technology with a certain amount of independence.

Service Orientation of Broadcasting

Africa is a vast continent comprising some 50 states and islands with different historical, political, and cultural characteristics. However, because of shared experiences, it is still possible to make statements that have general applicability to almost all the states, especially those countries South of the Sahara.

Radio is without doubt the only truly mass medium in Africa. Although it is estimated to have only about 85% penetration, it reaches many more people than any other medium. For this reason, it constitutes a very important instrument for nation-building and development and its control is a very sensitive issue. When Ghana gained independence, one priority was how to inculcate the sense of belonging to a single nation into people who tended to have more clan and ethnic loyalty than national loyalty. It became necessary to create national symbols, bring people together to share national aspirations, and mobilize them for development.

This nation-building task was entrusted to radio and it has had very broad implications in terms of ownership, control, structure, and financing. The governments that took over from the various colonial administrations inherited centralized broadcasting structures that were closely controlled by government and operated in the public service tradition. Radio is a very powerful tool for the exercise of political power, and it has been used to build or maintain national integration and reduce the dangers of fragmentation and regionalism. Broadcasting has become such a crucial factor in national politics that a firm grip over it is seen as essential for the survival of governments in Africa. As one African scholar has observed: "The importance of radio is underscored by the role it plays in political crises. Whether a coup attempt succeeds or not is determined by who gets control of the radio station. This explains why many African broadcasting stations are veritable fortifications complete with sand bags, barbed wire fences, trenches, and armoured cars. Any bid for power, therefore, seems to have the following operational principle: Seek ye first the radio station

and its effectiveness, and all other things shall be added into it"¹.

But whatever its importance in the interplay of political forces, radio (and also television) is more than an instrument of power; it is also a tool for general development in several spheres: formal and non-formal education; raising civic consciousness; social and economic development; transmission of the cultural heritage; bringing people in the different parts of the nation in regular touch; serving as a channel for dialogue between the rulers and the citizenry; and providing general information and entertainment. This makes the electronic media indispensable in the building and governance of the modern state.

With limited educational opportunities available, broadcast technology is seen as a resource that must be harnessed to accelerate national integration, cultural harmonization, and national development in general. In this respect, radio supplements the efforts made by government information services and various extension officers to provide specifically packaged information on health, agriculture, nutrition, family planning, and environmental protection. The heavy responsibilities entrusted to radio bring to the fore the question of ownership and control because the one who owns the channel determines what messages it will carry and who gets access to the channel and its output.

Ownership, Structure, Control, and Access

In Africa, most broadcasting is a government monopoly, has a public service orientation, and is structurally highly centralized. There are a few independent religious or commercial stations in a handful of countries, but these are exceptions. Control of broadcasting takes two forms: a government agency directly under the Ministry of Information; or a public authority regulated by a public corporation with an independent board of directors. In actual practice, however, there is little distinction between a radio station operated under either system. This is because the government is the final authority in appointing the governing boards, filling senior posts, and formulating policy for the public corporations. In addition, the government is also the major or even sometimes the sole funding source of broadcasting.

Centralization of radio has limited access by linguistic, cultural, and religious minorities and led to calls for decentralization to encourage more local programming and therefore greater access by minorities and other interest

groups. But even if a certain amount of decentralization is conceded, it will bring about only a limited amount of pluralism, because ultimate control will still be vested in the state.

It is pertinent to recall that in most African countries a "national culture" does not exist. What exists is a number of ethnic cultures that may share certain common characteristics but are quite distinct. The cultural policies of most countries therefore try to amalgamate, assimilate, distill, and synthesize ethnic cultures into a national culture. The role of broadcasting, especially radio, is to expose people from various ethnic groups to one another's music, dance, customary usages, and art. Over time such elements of ethnic culture will, through a process of evolution, become part of an integrated national cultural heritage instead of being associated with particular ethnic groups. For this task, a centralized system seems to commend itself more readily than a decentralized or regionalized one.

In view of this situation in Africa, many people have argued forcefully that the electronic media should be under the ambit of the government and should not be privatized (even partially) because the situation makes government monopoly a painful necessity. Apart from what one may call the political, nation-building argument there is also a cultural aspect. One scholar argues that if private ownership of broadcasting is allowed, the noble objectives for which media are set up would be discarded.

The private operator in a drive for profits will air "what the people want" rather than "what the people need". In most cases, as shown in the United Kingdom, Italy, Canada, Australia, and the United States, this has been interpreted to mean sex, violence, fashion, cars, and gossip. Because private broadcast stations will be forced to compete for advertisements, they will appeal to the lowest common denominator to capture the largest audience. In this atmosphere, the lowest standard of programming, foreign and domestic, is aired². Mailafiya concludes his article quite forcefully by stating: "In order to maintain peace and stability and retain our cultural identity in a world dominated by western culture, government monopoly over broadcasting should be retained"³.

The reference to peace and stability as a justification for advocating government monopoly was echoed by Prince Tony Momoh, then Minister of Informa-

tion and Culture, in his contribution to a national seminar on Nigeria's National Communication Policy (2-7 February 1967) when he said: "The pressure for private participation in the country's broadcasting industry has so far been resisted on the grounds of national security and stability, as well as on the basis of past experience where partisan political interests in control of various governments of the Federation have employed the media for less than patriotic ends and indeed as divisive instruments"⁴.

He added that although Section 36(2) of the 1979 Constitution allowed the federal and state governments or "any other person or body authorised by the President" the right to "own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station", no licences had been granted because no guidelines had been drawn up to aid the President in the exercise of that prerogative. On the specific issue of culture, the Minister said that a sound cultural base for an enlightened and comprehensive communication policy should be "the continuous exploitation of latent desirable values in the indigenous culture to promote national mobilization and consciousness, national self-sufficiency, self-reliance and national identity". He added that the existing national cultural policy stated the need to establish appropriate mechanisms for "ensuring the effective use of the press, radio, television and film for promoting Nigeria's cultural image and aspirations".

Reflecting on the same issue of pluralism in the operation of broadcasting, Fred I.A. Omu examined the arguments put forward by those who support government monopoly and those who oppose it. Although he conceded that private ownership might pose a threat to national unity and stability, he stated that the opponents of monopoly believe that all that would be required to eliminate the danger is the "discouragement of proliferation and the strict enforcement of regulatory measures". While recognizing that "the electronic media are the more sensitive area because they are, in many respects, instruments of power", he concludes: "However, there certainly are Nigerians with the appropriate orientation and experience who will regard a licence to operate broadcasting media as a great challenge"⁵.

The position taken by Omu is based on the implicit confidence he has in the good sense and public spiritedness of the potential Nigerian investor in the electronic media, but it raises a number of questions. For example: How does

one discourage proliferation without being somewhat discriminatory if one wants a really free system? By what criteria does one establish the parameters? Who draws up the regulatory measures that should be strictly enforced? Can there be any guarantee that those granted licences will operate in the public interest rather than for private profit — at the expense of public interest and threatening the cultural fabric of society?

Fred Omu sees some threat to cultural autonomy from foreign cultural imports, which would be the principal menu not only of private stations but also of public stations. Speaking of the negative impact of the cultural industry whose most powerful instrument is television, he says: "Most of the television programmes which are exported from the industrialised countries of Europe and North America are intended to entertain viewers in their countries of origin. They naturally reflect the values, interests, prejudices and aspirations of these countries. The recipient countries cannot be indifferent to the content of these programmes which are capable of provoking deep social and cultural conflicts and discouraging domestic creative possibilities and innovations"⁶. Omu believes that the problem is further compounded by the attitude of many African media practitioners. They imagine that because the technology is imported from the West, programming patterns and styles must also be modelled on Western practices.

Whatever strong arguments are advanced to support a government monopoly (or a preponderant share of the electronic media), the dangers inherent in monolithic control of the media must be recognized. Evidence abounds in Africa to demonstrate that under the pretext of maintaining national security and stability, promoting national integration and cultural integrity, and mobilizing the people for development through the electronic media, governments have used radio and television as one-way megaphones and propaganda tools for promoting party and government interests. They have denied other groups within the society access to these facilities through legislative restrictions and other extra-legal measures. This is an unsatisfactory situation that must be redressed in view of the new environment of political pluralism and democratization. But, as we have seen, a free-for-all opening can spell danger, undermine national ideals, and provoke chaos by promoting divisiveness and

parochialism, subverting cultural autonomy, and converting our societies into a dumping ground for the third-rate productions and rejects from the Northern television industry.

The question is: How do we get out of this dilemma? One possible way might be to establish a kind of partnership between the public sector and private or non-public sectors (nongovernmental organizations such as cooperatives, church organizations, universities, labour unions, civil liberty unions, consumer associations, women's organizations, and environmental protection associations). These groups could operate broadcasting stations and thus provide alternative voices and ensure greater access without being compelled by purely profit considerations. Such partnerships could ensure pluralism and diversify and encourage participation in cultural policy making, promotion, and dissemination.

Democratic Wind and the New Communication Technologies

New developments will make an impact on the operations of the electronic media in Africa and elsewhere. The democratic wind that has been blowing over Africa and other parts of the world within the last 2 years, coupled with the rapid development of new communication technologies, is bringing about profound changes in the balance of political forces. There are calls for greater participation in decision-making at the political level, while the level of sophistication of communication equipment is making control and regulation more difficult.

The steady transformation of the political landscape in Africa from monolithic institutions and practices to open, liberal, pluralistic entities augurs well for all forms of expression, including cultural self-expression. There are bright prospects for greater access to more cultural products of both local and foreign origin. This process of democratization offers immense possibilities and provides limitless opportunities. The use that will be made of these possibilities and opportunities, however, will depend on the structures that are put in place, the cultural and communication policies that are formulated, the strategies that are

adopted, and the availability of the appropriate technology for the production, dissemination, and reception of programs.

In the area of cultural self-expression and development, policy formulation should entail the twin considerations of facilitating the creation, consolidation, transmission, and preservation of the national culture while converting the electronic media into "a window on the world" so that citizens are also exposed to the cultures of other societies. To ensure that this exposure does not degenerate into cultural alienation or domination, it is essential that the people become more solidly moored in the elements of their own cultural heritage.

In addition to democratic change, the other factor that will shape the future is communication technology. When trying to project or determine what role new broadcast technologies may play in the enhancement or repression of social and cultural self-expression, it is important to remember that: "Telecommunication technologies or technical progress are not an unmixed blessing. It is naive to say technology is neutral, that it may be used for good or bad ends. The good and bad effects are simultaneous and inseparable. All technological innovations have unforeseeable effects"⁷.

Whether technology in general, or the new communication technology in particular, is neutral or value laden has become a point of academic debate. However, let us consider it as neutral or ambivalent, its beneficial or pernicious effects being subject to, or determined by, the policies that are adopted. It is not unreasonable to consider the technology as mere carriers or channels. The content of what they carry is determined by the policymakers. These policymakers can either use the broadcast technology to enable people to participate more directly and more meaningfully in societal processes and thus contribute to human development, or use it as part of the arsenal to manipulate and domesticate the masses.

In Africa, the new broadcasting technology can be used positively for the promotion of development and cultural self-expression by bringing the media closer to the people and giving them greater access both as receivers and sources of messages. A liberal distribution of FM facilities within a well-planned network system can nurture ethnic, regional, and national cultures and create a national cultural of "unity in diversity". On the other hand, the

same facilities can be used for the imposition of a censorious, monolithic viewpoint to the exclusion of others, and as an instrument for the irresponsible exhibition of political power, the exacerbation of ethnic or regional divisions, the perpetuation of social inequalities, or the suppression of the legitimate aspirations of political, social, and cultural minorities.

Public policy may also be subjected to unregulated commercialization and privatization, which will rate profit rather than service as a measure of success. Profit motives and advertisers' interests will largely determine the bulk of media content; there will be trivialization; popularity will be accorded a premium while quality is discounted; the lowest common denominator will prevail as the standard measure; and the element of public service and enlightenment will cease to count or become largely irrelevant. In the final analysis, whether the new technology will be a bane or a blessing will be determined by the kind of policies that are formulated, the strategies that are adopted, and the prevailing political structures and environment.

The use of the new technology also depends on the motivation of the one controlling the output. We have seen how governments can use or misuse the media, but what is the motivation of private entrepreneurs and groups? If it is a political or religious group, its motivation will be to advocate a particular cause, and opposing or alternative viewpoints are not likely to be aired. On the other hand, if it is a business venture, its motivation will be to maximize profits and cater to the tastes of the majority, usually youth fed on foreign culture. Such entrepreneurs cannot be expected to assist in the promotion of local or national culture. The evidence is there to prove it. The FM station in Accra, although operated by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, plays so much Western pop music that it is cynically called "Free Music". It acts as "an electronic discotheque", and given the type of music it generally plays, FM might just as well stand for "Foreign Music". Therefore, if not carefully handled, the new technology may play a negative rather than a positive role in cultural self-expression.

Foreign Interests

Although in Africa the electronic media are operated by governments as government agencies or public corporations, there is a considerable amount of

indirect foreign contribution or participation. First, the technology is imported from the North, along with a large number of programs in the case of television. Second, many of the engineering, technical, and production personnel were trained abroad or on location by trainers from the North. For example, in Ghana, television personnel were trained in Canada and in Ghana by the Canadians who helped establish the station. Program formats are also patterned after Western models. This means there is already a certain amount of collaboration, participation, influence, and partnership between local and foreign broadcasting interests.

On the more direct level, over the last few years, agreements have been developed between some African countries and industrialized nations for the transmission of television programs using satellites. For example, France's Canal France International, Canal Horizons, and TV5-Afrique feed a number of former French colonies with packaged programs under certain mutually agreed conditions. There is also, of course, CNN, as well as BBC World Television, which made their appearance in Africa in April 1992.

Since the dismantling of the communist regimes of Eastern Europe and the demise of the centrally planned economic systems of those countries, several African countries are now moving toward the free market system — in some cases with indecent haste at the prodding of the International Monetary Fund. States are divesting themselves of state corporations, privatizing a number of publicly owned enterprises, and not only welcoming but actually inviting foreign investors in a wide variety of fields. It may be useful to speculate on the likelihood of such an invitation being extended to investors in the electronic media. For the supply of hardware, no problems can be foreseen because there is no alternative. But, it is another story altogether when it comes to software and other program material.

Although a few countries, such as Kenya and Botswana, have local television stations with foreign participation, this is rather rare. It must, however, be noted that things are moving at such a fast pace in Africa that it is hazardous to speculate. About 3-4 years ago, it would have been a wild dream to conceive of radio services operated by private individuals, but this is gradually becoming accepted as part of the democratic package, and new constitutions contain

relevant provisions. In fact, after years of rigid centralization and state control of all major enterprises, Tanzania has just announced that when it introduces television to the mainland in 1993 it will welcome private investment in both radio and television. In the course of the parliamentary debate on this subject, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting indicated that both local and foreign investors had shown interest and that appropriate guidelines were being prepared⁸.

The question of foreign participation in the electronic media remains open because it is a sensitive political area. However, no matter how the discussions go, the motivation of foreigners wanting to invest in the electronic media will be closely examined. Some questions to be asked will be: Is it to help promote the local culture or to project the culture of the foreigners? Is it just to sell their products and promote international advertising with all its known effects on local culture? Unless satisfactory answers can be given to these and other questions, the prospects may not be very bright. On the other hand, if foreign interests are prepared to operate in partnership with local groups, particularly nongovernmental organizations, cooperatives, and church associations, these collaborative efforts will be seen to contribute to the social and cultural development of the nation.

The Mythical Global Village

The phenomenal development of communication technology has brought the peoples of the world closer together and made distance almost meaningless. Satellite technology and fibre optics, for example, have allowed us to relate more closely and this has led to the idea of a "global village". But in concrete terms, is the idea of a village real or just a modern myth? The normal image evoked by "village" is that of people living in close physical proximity, bound by kinship and other ties, sharing common values, aspirations, and cultural heritage, sharing common problems to which they try to find collective solutions, and having a specific social identity. Seen from this angle, to what extent does the reality of the world support the contention that modern communication has in fact created a "global village"? Reality seems not to support this contention.

Technology has indeed brought the elites of the world closer. For example, video technology and satellite transmissions make it possible for the elites of the industrialized and developing countries to share the same cultural products almost simultaneously. World events, such as the Olympic Games, can be viewed simultaneously in different parts of the world. But there is the question of access. The elites in developing countries can afford the receiving equipment that enables them to enjoy the facilities, but most of the people in the rural areas, who constitute the majority of the population (about 70% in Africa) remain largely untouched by the new developments — except perhaps for what the limited number of video theatres offer. But even if a small percentage of the people get occasional access to the products of the new technology, what is the cultural value of what they receive? For whatever they receive, can they also give in return? Is there any genuine exchange or sharing? Is there a unilateral imposition on them of alien values, which may cause what Hamelink describes as cultural homogenization? In the final analysis, it may not be unreasonable to say that modern technology, far from creating a global village in which people share concerns, has only provoked sharp differentiation in social structures that cut across borders.

Even at the national level, the new communication technology has tended to widen the gap between the core and the periphery. The elite are becoming more distanced from the masses who cannot afford the gadgets that will enable them to share ideas with the elite sector of society. This has widened the disparity rather than brought people together to share aspirations and ideals. Decisions as to what cultural products will be offered, both locally produced and imported, are also made by the elite and imposed on the masses. While the elites can speak on the same wavelength as their counterparts in the industrialized countries of the North, the masses of the South cannot dialogue with the local elites, much less with their counterparts in the North or South.

The ideal global village would be one in which people are brought closer together to feel their common humanity and to share common concerns and ideals while retaining their cultural particularities. It should not bring about the elimination of all cultural differences through the imposition of a dominant, homogenized culture. It should portray unity in diversity and mutual respect

and tolerance for other cultures, rather than the emergence of a contrived uniform culture. But the partnership has been so unequal and so heavily weighted on one side that there is a danger of the globalization of culture, i.e., the emergence or the imposition of a dominant culture within an environment based consciously or unconsciously on the principle of the survival of the fittest.

The fear has been expressed that the constant and unilateral flow of images from a dominant culture will, over time, create a homogenized global culture that will impose itself on others. Is this fear genuine, and if so, what should be our response? While some people fear such an eventuality, others are more sanguine and believe that with the appropriate local responses, the outcome of the cultural encounters in the global village will be a cosmopolitan rather than a homogenized product. On this point, Pierre Juneau, former President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) stated: "In effect, our world may not become more globalized if by that we mean more uniform. Our world, in all its parts, may in effect become more cosmopolitan, more pluralistic... We do not have to bow to the idea of electronic communication as the bulldozer of all cultural differences. We do not have to accept the idea that it is better to switch than fight, and the sooner the better"⁹. But how does one fight when most of the people in the Third World must obtain the necessary weapons from those they are supposed to fight?

Modern communication technology has contributed to the creation of a global village at a certain level. But, for the vast majority of people in Africa and other parts of the South, the reality of its existence is a myth because a commonly shared set of cultural values does not exist. It has condemned the masses of the Third World to be passive recipients of foreign cultural products and to be unable to reciprocate in the exchange. Paradoxically, then, reality would seem to indicate that what we are witnessing may not be a "global village" where everybody can have his or her say, but an environment with a "few voices in many worlds" — a kind of cultural jungle where the operational principle is survival of the fittest.

Although the foregoing discussion has been confined largely to Africa, it may be applicable to other parts of the world, especially to nations of the South. But the need and desire to safeguard cultural identity is not peculiar to the new

nations of the Third World. It is the aspiration of all nations that need cohesion as well as cultural unity and integration, but who feel threatened by powerful neighbours or technologically superior external competitors. This point was made in another context by Gerard Veilleux, President of CBC. Answering a question on the possibility or desirability of privatizing the CBC, he said: "I don't think it would be desirable, particularly given what this country is going through. Canada will need a CBC for a long, long period ahead. We're only 26 million people up here, and we need, in the face of a strong neighbour our own strong product to maintain our identity. Otherwise we may as well give up and all become American. I don't think Canadians want that. Canadians will fight for their country. And part of it is, we will find ourselves wanting this Canadian television even in the face of the strong forces of globalism. People are saying they want strong institutions that allow us to have our own cultural fulfilment"¹⁰.

This position echoes the attitudes of most African decision-makers in broadcasting. Therefore, even with pluralism and a limited amount of privatization, the public service orientation of broadcasting in Africa will persist for a long time to enable Africans to escape being culturally submerged in the mythical global village from which escape is virtually impossible. How does Africa adapt to such an environment at the minimum cultural cost?

Challenges to African Broadcasting in the Global Village

The debates on the now moribund or virtually defunct New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) produced passionate viewpoints ranging from the sober and well reflected to the acrimonious and fanatical. Despite the opportunistic and expedient relegation of this important topic to the background of international discussions, the problem has not gone away. On the contrary, it is being aggravated by rapid developments in communication technology. How can Africa respond adequately to the challenges, especially in relation to cultural self-expression?

It must be emphasized that what the Third World countries were advocating in pressing for a new order was not cultural isolationism but

genuine cultural pluralism that would enable them to preserve the core values of their various cultures. It was realized that "an international community with multifarious cultures is recognised and accepted to be a better world to live in than one with a monolithic culture"¹¹. It is certainly accepted that because radio and television constitute a window on the world, the screening of foreign programs is most desirable, sometimes inevitable, and certainly enriching. The quarrel has been with the very high preponderance of such foreign imports and their quality and type. Most of these imports deal with cheap entertainment features, soap operas, situation comedies, pop musical shows, and sports that are often not only unsuitable and irrelevant, but positively subversive and counterproductive to the development objectives and cultural needs and aspirations of recipient countries. Such imported programs advertise foreign cultural values, images, and consumption and behavioural patterns and subtly create in youth alien lifestyles, mentalities, and needs that are incompatible with those sociocultural values needed for nation-building.

The situation is aggravated not only by the sheer volume and indifferent quality of foreign imports, but also by the disturbing paucity of local productions in the field of culture. On average, less than 10% of annual radio broadcasting hours are devoted to local cultural programming in Cameroon, Ethiopia, and Ghana¹. Only a few countries such as Burkina Faso, Congo, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe devoted more than 10% of their total broadcasting hours to cultural programs. On television, the situation is no better. Quoting UNESCO sources, Boafo reports that "out of the 1,664 broadcasting hours on Ghana television in 1985, only 2.3 per cent was given to local cultural programmes and 14 per cent of the total hours of 2,184 on Senegal's television in the same year was made up of cultural programmes"¹².

This scenario reflects an insufficient appreciation by African broadcasting authorities of the immense potential offered by the electronic media for the creation and promotion of cultural self-awareness. This constitutes a dereliction of duty, misuse of resources, and misplacement of priorities. Urgent steps need to be taken to ensure that the electronic media are purposefully used to inculcate in the people their own cultural values as a way of inoculating them against undesirable or harmful cultural intrusions. As Ansah observes, if this is done,

"the external values which will inevitably filter into the society through the mass media will come to enrich and supplement the cultural heritage of the recipients rather than supplant or subvert them with all their alienating consequences" ¹³.

This is a serious challenge to African policymakers and broadcasters. With the proper orientation, policies, determination, good will, and above all the willingness to make the needed financial resources available, their peoples can be adequately prepared to not only survive in the global village but also to contribute to its evolution and development. First of all, an enabling environment for participation and access must be created. Greater access must be provided. The provision of greater access should not necessarily entail the establishment of additional broadcasting stations by private companies or individuals. A simpler solution can be found. Alex Quarmyne refers to "the misconception that pluralism in broadcasting necessarily implies the ownership and operation of a radio or television station" and adds that "to the same extent that not every newspaper has its own origination and printing facilities, radio and television programmes originated by organized bodies other than the broadcasting station itself may be transmitted from the facilities of the station." This will be a way of giving "a voice to many who are at present voiceless"¹⁴.

Private production houses can also be encouraged to produce relevant cultural programs at reasonable cost, which the broadcasting station can purchase. There are a few private production companies in some countries, but they need financial support and credit, as well as other incentives, to increase their output. Most television stations throughout the world use these types of services and Africa can learn from this. This is now happening in Ghana and Nigeria, but the pace can be quickened. Efforts must be made to tap local artistic and cultural talent to produce the kind of material that will stimulate cultural growth. The talent certainly abounds, but it is not fully exploited and stations resort to irrelevant foreign cultural imports.

One reason why broadcasting authorities resort to foreign imports is that it is far cheaper to fill air and viewing time with old, mediocre foreign films and other programs than to produce local ones. Although the amount of money required to produce a good, culturally relevant and edifying program may be

higher, the cost factor should be weighed against the cultural harm that can be done. Priorities need to be reordered accordingly. However, financing need not only come from government sources. In a number of countries, private companies assist broadcasting stations in the procurement of foreign programs as part of their public relations activities. These companies could continue this sponsorship by financing the production of local cultural programs. With these and other measures, Africa can brace itself against the challenges and threats of living in a homogenized culture that has been created by rapid advances in communication technologies.

Conclusion

To ensure cultural self-expression, developing countries should make a conscious effort and the necessary financial sacrifices to ensure that their voices can be heard. This calls for a complete review and overhaul of existing structures, strategies, and policies. Communication technology is advancing at a pace that those in the South cannot control. What they can control is what use to make of the technology. Therefore, serious rethinking is needed. Moves toward democratization create the appropriate environment for media access by minority groups reduced to mere receivers rather than sources of messages. With the proper orientation, this new environment should allow the peoples of the South to build, consolidate, and give expression to their cultures. At the same time, they can open themselves to other cultures while avoiding the unequal cultural transactions that can take place in the mythical global village.

References

1. Ansah, P.A.V. 1985. *Golden Jubilee Lectures*, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, Ghana Publishing, Tema, Ghana, p. 21.
2. Mailafiya, Madu G. 1989. "Media Policies in Nigeria and Selected Third World Countries." In: *Philosophy and Dimensions of National Communication Policy* (Vol.1), edited by Tony Nnaemeka, Egerton Uvieghara, Did Uyo. Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation, Lagos, Nigeria, p. 137-138.

3. Mailafiya, Madu G. 1989. "A Framework for National Communication Policy". In: *Philosophy and Dimensions of National Communication Policy* (Vol. 1), edited by Tony Nnaemeka, Egerton Uvieghara, Did Uyo. Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation, Lagos, Nigeria.
4. Momoh, Prince Tony. 1989. "A Framework for National Communication Policy". In: *Philosophy and Dimensions of National Communication Policy* (Vol. 1), edited by Tony Nnaemeka, Egerton Uvieghara, Did Uyo. Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation, Lagos, Nigeria.
5. Omu, Fred I.A. 1989. "Features of Media Policies in Nigeria and India". In: *Philosophy and Dimensions of National Communication Policy* (Vol. 1), edited by Tony Nnaemeka, Egerton Uvieghara, Did Uyo. Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation, Lagos, Nigeria, p. 144.
6. Omu, Fred I.A. 1989. "Features of Media Policies in Nigeria and India". In: *Philosophy and Dimensions of National Communication Policy* (Vol. 1), edited by Tony Nnaemeka, Egerton Uvieghara, Did Uyo. Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation, Lagos, Nigeria, p. 147-148.
7. Haque, Marzharul. 1992. "Information and Media Technology in the Third World". *Media Asia*, 18(4), 1991. Quoted in *Media Development* 39(2), 35.
8. Daily News (Tanzania), 8 August 1992, p. 1. "Report on the previous day's debate in Parliament on the budget proposed by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting".
9. Juneau, Pierre. 1990. "The Globalisation of Culture?" *COMBROAD*, June, p. 29.
10. Veilleux, Gerald. *COMBROAD* June, p. 10-11.
11. Bofo, S.T.K. 1989. "New Communication Technologies and Promotion of Cultural Promotions in Sub-Saharan Africa". In: *Communication and Culture: African Perspectives*, edited by S.T.K. Bofo, Africa Church Information Service, Nairobi, Kenya, p. 26.

12. Boafo, S.T.K. 1989. "New Communication Technologies and Promotion of Cultural Promotions in Sub-Saharan Africa". In: *Communication and Culture: African Perspectives*, edited by S.T.K. Boafo, Africa Church Information Service, Nairobi, Kenya, p. 29-30.
13. Ansah, P.A.V. 1989. "The Path Between Cultural Isolation and Cultural Dependency". *Media Development*, 36(2), 12.
14. Quarmyne, Alex T. 1992. "Broadcast Programming and the Changing Political Environment in Africa". Unpublished paper presented at the URTNA 30th Anniversary Symposium, Dakar, Senegal, 19-20 May.

Communications for Development, Democracy, National Independence, and Economic Growth

Jacques Habib Sy

Sub-Saharan Africa is suffering material and moral defeat and is ravaged by war and famine, drought, and isolation. This part of Africa has declined culturally as well as technologically as a result of intellectual apathy and political chicanery. However, this is also the Africa of high aspirations.

An Unfavourable International Context

Trapped in the torments of slavery and later of colonization, Africa has undergone a gestation period of three centuries and has had difficulties finding its identity. Africa had little internal communication throughout this long period. Europe, and later North America, dictated the form and substance of government and relegated to a lower level the native vision of national or subregional nation-building. The major consequences of this colonial diktat were intellectual poverty, wretched educational systems, and an enormous deficit in scientific research — notably in the areas of design, invention, innovation, information processing, inventory management, and dissemination.

Japan and the United States are involved in ferocious competition for control of the African telecommunications market, particularly radio and television broadcast receivers and production equipment. Multinational corporations have a tendency to finance traditional production studios that are often ill-suited to the African environment because they require a level of investment that is beyond local capacities.

As a general rule, the chronic deficits in Africa encourage local governments to appeal to bilateral and multilateral funding institutions. The fall of the Soviet

empire and the resulting overall breakdown in Eastern Europe has created a new situation in the funding of telecommunications projects. Most international cooperation agencies have shifted their priorities to the new markets in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that, at first glance, appear to be more lucrative. Africa may very likely be abandoned to its own resources. It runs the risks of being offered only the insignificant loans that will be required just to avoid a complete breakdown in its communications systems. During the period 1987-1990, Africa only received 212 million USD in loans from the World Bank for its telecommunications sector, i.e., half that provided to Central and South America (418 million USD) and almost nine times less than Asia (1790 million USD). However, current projections indicate that Africa will have to invest more than 40 billion USD in the telecommunications sector between 1988 and 2007, i.e., twice the investment level required by the United States for the same period (24 billion USD).

A Communications Industry in Collapse

Many studies have dealt with the huge disparities between the African communications industry (electromagnetic, electronic, and print) and that of the rest of the world. The new and irremediable fact about the African communications field is the absence of "mass distribution" communication vehicles: telephones; telex; facsimile; televisions; and books. Even radio, which could be described as an obvious mass technology in the African context, remains, according to the most reliable statistics¹, an inadequate communication vehicle at the village and semi-urban level. Another complicating factor is that Black Africa has no self-financed indigenous database that is comparable from a strategic viewpoint to other structures of the same kind in the industrialized world.

In fact, Africa lacks even the baseline statistics that would confirm the relevance of its planning efforts. It must turn to the international financial institutions in Washington, Paris, Geneva, or London to prepare "pseudo-plans" for development, unless it occasionally decides to rely simply on the science of "development" wizards, i.e., "cooperators", "technical assistants", and other "Africanists", ready to take up any doubtful cause concocted by hard pressed governments.

Under these circumstances, any talk of mass communications or of the Information Age in Black Africa are just words. Whether it is Kenya, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, or Senegal, the so-called "modern communication processes" are essentially subject to the rules of the international division of labour, and to the supreme power of the transnational corporations. These development partners have decided, in the African context, to limit the ideological effects of mass communication to their political and cultural agendas — cultural subjugation, political domination, and subjection to hegemonic European language projects. Contrary to the situation in industrialized countries, computers, radio, television, and telephones are seized by a minority. The vertical integration of modern communication models in Black Africa accurately reproduces the fear, pressed to a state of paranoia, of total social control and emasculation of cultural and political awareness.

What Communication Systems for What Type of Development?

The fundamental question, therefore, is to establish what significance we assign to development and communications in terms of their relationships with mass mobilization, political consciousness-raising, technological awareness, and knowledge and power.

If the premise offered by Nkrumah is accepted, i.e., "neo-colonialism is power without responsibility", then the logical conclusion is that development without sovereignty is a delusion. The basis of this sovereignty may be national, subregional, or even pan-regional. However, in all cases, true development moves along a course propelled by native forces, based on a pluralist democracy that guarantees the rights of free expression and organization. Only this can meet on an equitable basis, all the current and future needs linked to the exploitation and preservation of natural resources for the benefit of the majority of the members of a specific community.

The cultural basis of development and its political foundations rests on a respect for the right of free expression at all levels of society. This principle is meaningless if it does not allow the majority to express itself in the language of its choice, using the national languages of the local cultures. Development

based on foreign languages is largely responsible for the appearance of parodies of democracy, and for the failure of projects that have been undertaken. World history does not provide a single example of a model of sustainable development, or of a civilization worthy of the name, that has been built using foreign elements or the language of the former colonizer. This does not imply that the cradles of civilization must fall back on their own resources and cut themselves off from the fertile contributions of other societies. A desire to do this would run counter to the pervasive atmosphere of cultural exchanges and the extremely porous quality of frontiers in the current era.

The issue of the multiplicity of languages on the continent is a false debate. In the main, Africa has five large cultural areas, whose languages are closely related. The major language vehicles (Hausa, Diula, Fulfulbe, Lingala, the Akan languages, and Yoruba) provide solid departure points. However, their use does not imply that the use of other languages must be suppressed. On the contrary, the development of the national languages used by minorities is an indispensable requirement for any success in spreading instruction and governance using national African languages.

Once development is defined as a primary factor in the national culture, based on the real cultural and linguistic unity of Black Africa, it is not difficult to grasp the fertile mutual relationship between development and communications.

The African dilemma in using communication services for development purposes is essentially based on technological and political factors.

The technology gap that separates Africa from the rest of the industrialized world represents the most serious threat to the long-term interests of the continent and to the national security of its States. Current trends indicate that the communications industry will continue to be dominated by foreign interests for a long time. In general terms, the former colonial powers control a large part of the telecommunications sector. All the equipment is imported. Except for the North African countries, which have succeeded in manufacturing some minor equipment and in assembling radio and television sets, sub-Saharan Africa has been unable to produce anything in this field. A huge country like Zaire, which used to be one of the major world copper producers, lacks even a

plant that can produce overhead telephone wires. Everything must be imported — receivers, transmitters, software, and the necessary know-how. In Nigeria, the failure of the communications service constitutes a primary constraint and is the most deadly enemy of efforts to expand by this vast federation of human and material resources. Only South Africa, dominated by a separate development system, shows the signs of a preindustrial stage in its communications sector. This conclusion, however, has to be tempered by the extensive influence of European and North American transnational corporations on all sectors of telecommunications, informatics, and broadcasting.

Confronted by this nightmare, what are Africa's chances of pulling itself together and escaping from the abyss at the threshold of the year 2000?

An overview will make it possible to grasp the extent of the disaster. States often have no ideas on how to plan the development of the communications and telecommunications sector. Worse still, they have no concept of the levels attained in other countries. Nor have they any knowledge of the most suitable technologies to allow them to deal with their most pressing needs. At best, they allow themselves to be guided by archaic thought patterns and methods that are completely unsuited to their cultural, political, and social conditions. In the worst case scenario, which unfortunately is often the reality, state powers exclude any local expertise from the design process of decision-making and rely instead on outside consultants (at a considerable financial cost). This means that the prospects for any radical change in these trends are closely linked to movements toward real democratization in the use of power and an equitable sharing of national resources.

The elitism and hunger for power of the African political class, as well as its marked instinct for accumulating easy money and flashy riches, results in a cool attitude toward the requirements of democratic development. As a result, the educational, cultural, scientific, and technological dimensions of development that are based on communication escape them completely. The emergence of a new vision of the potential of audiovisual equipment to be used for economic and social development, is an imperative that must be supported and made a reality by change agents. In this regard, current struggles led by national democratic movements have made considerable, although as yet insufficient,

progress in managing the area of communications. In relation to the process of democratization and its new requirements, the number of newspapers has increased, although print runs are limited in most cases. In Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali, and Benin, independent radio stations have already been established and are surviving. Almost everywhere, television has generally remained at the beck and call of public authorities who are jealous of their prerogative to manage this "new" medium. As a result, coverage becomes an elitist tool confined to the large urban centres. Often, however, there is barely more than one television channel per country, and in most cases at least 60% of programming is imported. This is a severe blow to the cultural and political sovereignty of countries.

Despite the existence of "radio and television commissions", the right to communications, and the instruments that can effectively guarantee this, are sadly lacking. In countries like Ghana, for example, the allocation of radio frequencies is entrusted to the information service of the Ministry of the Interior. In Senegal, this vital resource is currently the responsibility of Radio Television Senegal, which is under government control. In Nigeria, a new structure has recently been created to manage the frequencies and propose regulations on program management and access of political parties to radio and television. It is based on the model of the United States Federal Communications Commission.

Communications and Development

Over the last three decades, several schools of thought and paradigms have confronted or complemented each other in defining communications for development. A startling view of the diversity of opinions and theoretical models has been presented by the efforts of several researchers²⁻⁶.

From the modernists, through the structuralists, conservatives, reformists, supporters of the dependency or cultural imperialism theories, and the advocates of pan-Africanism in communications, the theory appears to have operated on the basis of a rather extensive paradigmatic and epistemological void. The research conducted over the last three decades has, therefore, primarily been administrative. In other words, it has been contracted for by decision-

making centres of the North, particularly the former colonial powers and the United States. The purpose has been to ensure maximum efficiency in development projects related to agriculture, health in general, sanitation, education, AIDS, and technological innovations.

In the early 1960s, the recently independent African States, backed by the former colonial powers, introduced a communications model based on the preeminence of public authority in the control of mass communication vehicles. The key argument then was that, in a period of nation-building, it was essential that radio broadcasting be controlled by governments (whether authoritarian or not was immaterial) to protect the countries from the horrors of civil war, "tribalism", and any dangers linked to the absence of national unity and consensus on the political and economic decisions to be made. This was the time when "fathers of the nation" and other development prophets flourished.

Starting in the 1970s, the crises in the Bretton Woods institutions, which were linked to the oil crisis and intensification of East-West and North-South tensions, plunged Africa (to join South America) into a sphere of turmoil. Nevertheless, the period 1970-1980 was christened the decade of development and, later, the communications decade. The high frequency channels of the Pan-African Telecommunications Network received significant investments from traditional financial backers. The network configuration was, however, off-centre. It closely followed the contours of the commercial penetration axes of former colonial powers. Demand was primarily generated by multinational corporations, while rural requirements were ignored unless located in so-called "useful" development areas, i.e., lands where cash crops, extensive export crops, and the exploitation of strategic minerals were being developed.

Theories of the "modernization" of communications are thus a direct response to the need to stifle the crisis in its human dimensions. They have largely been nourished by the "dissemination" approach supported by Rogers and others. Strategists in the American State Department, who were specialists in administrative research in communications, therefore believed that it would be adequate to inject African society with a small dose of technological know-how, a pinch of technology, to promote the distribution of information, particularly through radio broadcasting. It was believed that this would make indigenous audiences react "favourably" to opening up to the world and to the

principles of the market economy. The old propaganda approaches of Hitler's Reich were based on the belief that a unit of information injected into the psychological and sensory reflexes of an individual produced Pavlovian reflexes that would put the receiver at the mercy of the transmitter of such messages. Subsequently, this approach was followed by the approach of a generation of research pioneers, such as Schramm and Lerner, who attempted to link social communication processes to the requirements for change and social progress. Here, however, the desired changes were connected to a vertical, elitist relationship in which the "strong" were "helping" the "weak" to be seduced by the blessings of science and technology, which were perceived as being exclusively Western "inventions".

Sociology and economy were used as justifying methodologies to legitimize the modernist perspective on communications. It was, consequently, necessary to promote a type of vertical model of technological transfer by using conventional media (radio, television, and to a lesser extent print, because of the low rate of literacy) as instruments to modernize the minds and attitudes of "assisted" populations. Statistical indicators of the Rostow type were invariably put forward as the basis for making quantitative projections based on limited concepts, such as the literacy rate, the GNP, and the number of radio receivers.

Using the political sciences as their basis, Pye and Ithiel de Sola Pool⁷ attempted a methodological breakthrough by suggesting that the promotion of the American or European liberal democratic model was the only way to break the relative power of existing feudal and traditional systems.

Modern disseminators like Schramm⁸ had a major impact on the recently established elites of Africa and the Third World. The enemy to attack, here as with the pure and hard-line disseminators of the same period, was the so-called traditional culture, which was held responsible for the "backward" mentality and the social and technological status quo. Schramm was hoping that the power and impact of radio, in particular, could actively and effectively counterbalance the damages done by traditionalism.

From the 1970s onward, the failure of the models advocated by disseminators and modernists, as well as the extent of the economic crisis, which was global in scope, led the theorists of dependence to propose new approaches. The

common denominator in this approach, which was nourished by the expansion of the ideological debate, can be found in the following categories: analysis of the ownership of communication vehicles, broadcasting channels, international structures for transmission and production of information; class analysis of communication processes; the political economy of communications and the ramifications of transnational communication structures in media organizations of the South; the appeal for an inauguration of a North-South dialogue that would foster a new world order of information and communications; preference to small radio stations rather than to large structures that would consume the available financial and infrastructural means; and promoting an alternate press in contrast to the mass media.

A structuralist trend^{3, 9-13} places particular emphasis on the impact of international communications on national development, and the negative influence of multinational corporations. While drawing attention to the multinationals, Tunstall¹⁴, Beltrán¹⁵, and Hamelink¹⁶ also emphasize the oppressive aspect of North-South cultural relations, created by the stranglehold of the media organizations of the North on those of the Third World.

The need to promote alternate sources of information for target communities of the North and the South and, particularly, the need to assign new values to the news and bring new concepts to the journalistic profession led authors as varied as Varis¹⁷, Tunstall¹⁴, and Gerbner¹⁸ to question the structures, content, effects, and processes of communications that resulted from this inequitable international division.

The pan-African theories are based on the concept that the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa must choose a participatory use of the means of mass communication and place emphasis on popular education, political consciousness-raising, respect for cultures, scientific practices, and indigenous national languages¹⁹.

As early as the mid-1980s, the international crisis created by the start of a new world order in information and communications caused African thinkers to abandon the Eurocentric and manipulatory visions of the Black African communications arena. The creation of the African Council for Education in Communication is, undoubtedly, connected to this cultural renaissance in the

area of communication studies. However, most of these thinkers and academics were educated in the West, and used conceptual and theoretical tools that belonged to those schools of thought. A considerable number of academics have attempted to rid themselves of the ideological and theoretical baggage linked to their European or North American education. Given the publishing crisis, little is known of the new communication research trends in Africa because many manuscripts are still awaiting publication.

In a recent review of African communication theories, Amupala²⁰ mentions the critical views of Hamelink²¹, Tehranian²², and Nordenstreng²³ regarding government policies on communications for development.

In an even more recent study, Hughes Koné² reviewed the major trends in African research on communications for development. Koné defines communications for development as "all communication resources, techniques, strategies and actions required to successfully manage a development project or program..., create a social environment that promotes development, encourage the mobilization of the members of a society in favour of multidimensional progress, collect, process and disseminate information that can be of value to individuals, groups or communities for the purpose of development".

By definition, communications for development is, thus, a total concept. In the African context, Koné suggest that studies have been conducted on experiments or media (e.g., the Senegal experiment in rural educational radio^{24, 25}). Studies have also been conducted on the rural press with the support of UNESCO, on school television particularly in the Ivory Coast, and on information, education, and communication projects throughout the Third World.

Koné also emphasizes the fact that health, sanitation, nutrition, agriculture, cattle breeding, family planning, and environmental protection have been the subject of particular attention by specialists in communications for development. Women tend to be marginalized in these projects. Koné also notes that "information on development is deficient and, most often, tends to be rejected by the rural populations who prefer immediate and visible results, or take refuge in conservatism".

Research on scientific and technological information has also been conducted, particularly on bilateral or multilateral funding sources to test the

feasibility of projects to disseminate scientific and technical information.

Ugboajah and Yahadé²⁶ have in their turn investigated the contribution and potential of traditional forms of communication in rural communication programs.

More recently, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) has proposed alternate forms of research, promoting traditional culture as an agent for disseminating agricultural or environmental information, and functional literacy in the national languages as a means for appropriating knowledge and know-how by the rural masses and enabling them to increase production and defend their rights.

However, IDRC is not the only organization dealing with these issues. There has been an international convergence of views on the need to turn the dissemination and use of information and research results into an important factor of development.

Research on participatory communications has shown that, by increasing the involvement of target communities in the formulation of research questions, the identification of variables, and eventually the analysis of data, it is possible to create a new social dynamic in which there is less risk of target communities being caught in the conventional procedures of prevailing research.

However, participatory communication has its objective limitations. It is most efficient at a very restricted level. It requires constant interaction between the field researcher and the village community. It must be accompanied by follow-up actions and continuous assessments to avoid losing the fragile results obtained with great difficulty by the new rural partners. In this period of crisis, neither the State nor the nongovernmental organizations have the necessary abilities, or maybe even the will, to foster, in a serious and methodical manner, the participation of the communities in the process of appropriating knowledge and, consequently, power.

During three decades of "development", what has been learned about communications for development?

First, the practitioners and theorists of communications know with certainty that communications for development cannot by itself solve the problems of

development, at the exclusion of other social, economic, political, and cultural forces.

Second, communications for development is not able to work within a vertical trajectory that descends from the town to the country, from the intellectuals to the illiterates, from the rich to the poor, or from men imbued by feudal attitudes to communities of women who are suppressed and reduced to silence. Communications for development requires by its very nature a feedback process, a spirally ascending form of communication.

Third, field activities, to be fruitful, must be ongoing, as must be the assessment of the efforts and internal pressures for development. It is impossible to initiate development without monitoring.

Fourth, communications for development is expensive, particularly when this requires new technologies, such as computer communications or radio and television satellites. Although the cost of this technology is decreasing in absolute value in Northern countries, it has a tendency to decrease more slowly in nonindustrialized countries. The failure to apply economies of scale, and the weak purchasing power of the majority, is not conducive to reducing the cost of communication vehicles through appropriate price-setting mechanisms.

The major question being posed is that of self-production, or self-sustainability. Given the current unequal situation in international relations, African nonindustrialized countries cannot, and are not in a position to, become self-sufficient in communications. The main reason is that they are unable to manufacture communication vehicles in the same way as Asian activity centres, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, which, it should be emphasized, are still largely dependent on transnational corporations. Furthermore, African countries lack the necessary financial resources.

How should this situation be approached? The community of donors and the multilateral funding sources are, undoubtedly, inhibited in their intervention strategies, which have to be adjusted on the basis of unstable local conditions. It would, therefore, be naïve to think that the goodwill of international organizations would be sufficient to reverse the order of things, or to induce the necessary changes. This may be the place to recall that self-sustained development cannot be induced by outside forces. This hypothesis has been

proven throughout history. Consequently, the response to the current slump can only come from internal forces for popular and democratic reform. The forces of change (whether named "civil" society, change agents, or forces of progress) aspire everywhere to a better life. They have achieved remarkable breakthroughs in the struggle for the recognition of fundamental rights (notably those of the person and those relating to freedom of expression); access to communications services; and a balance in the distribution of information services and the use of knowledge for total development.

Communications Through International Relations

African countries are at a loss when it comes to using their collective negotiating power for access to frequency resources or the geostationary arc. The danger of exclusion from the global use of the frequency spectrum is real. Since the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the United Nations agency that regulates the spectrum, recognized in 1973 that "radio frequencies and the geostationary satellite orbit are limited natural resources" (Article 33 of the Malaga-Torremolinos Convention), the battle for world leadership in communications matters has been largely shaped by the technical, legal, financial, and military aspects commanding the control of the geostationary arc and the radio frequency spectrum.

The Minister of Information of the Sudan portrayed this conflicting situation very well when he said that the "developed" countries have 90% of the spectrum and 10% of the population; whereas, the Third World countries have 90% of the population and 10% of the spectrum. The use of the orbit-spectrum resource should be very high on the telecommunications policy agenda of African countries. The longer these countries wait before either directly using or protecting their share of the geostationary arc, the more likely they will have to negotiate the use of this resource under very unfavourable conditions. This situation is aggravated by Africa's absence of involvement in an autonomous regional satellite system and weakness of participation in the ITU frequency allocations for satellite communications. The geostationary orbit may soon reach a state of near saturation given the proliferation of domestic, regional, and military communications satellites.

Available data do not leave any doubt as to the present and future overcrowded aspect of the geostationary orbit. In this scenario, Africa will be left with no more than two orbital "parking lots" planned for use by Nigeria and two other allotments reserved by the countries participating in the Arabsat system. Therefore, with an estimated population of 600 million people, one of the largest emerged landscapes, and the richest reservoir of natural resources in the world, Black Africa will have at best by the year 2000 four to six orbital slot locations out of a theoretical total number of 1800 orbital parking spaces. The number of commercial, experimental, meteorological, and military satellites has reached 1186 vehicles, or nearly 66% of the available geostationary resource. By the end of the century, therefore, the Black African countries' share of the geostationary arc may represent only 0.3% of this resource!

The benefits gained by the African countries in the Intelsat venture are slim. One of the Intelsat governors for Africa suggested that Intelsat is not equipped to cover Africa's domestic communications needs and that, from a national security standpoint, it could have damaging consequences for African countries that will be unable to cope with increasing telecommunications needs for military, economic, and administrative purposes. He also questioned what he called the "shameful axes", referring to the telecommunications axes between Paris or London and the major African capital cities. Pushing this reasoning to its logical conclusion, an Ethiopian expert raises the following question: "If we cannot design our own spacecraft, communications satellites, etc., are we really independent?"

The question is all the more pertinent because, faced with international appetites, the African countries are virtually defenceless and have little choice between the "global domestic satellite system" (Glodom) concept suggested by the ITU and the "global village" formula advocated by Intelsat.

Africa's marginality in the "Satellite Age" has other implications from a national security standpoint. New discoveries in the telecommunications sector have become a matter of national security for all countries. The military implications of the United States Space Shuttle cannot be ignored by any country caring about its national independence. On the other hand, the sophisticated telecommunications system that allows the United States Na-

tional Security Agency to monitor a sizeable part of the military, economic, and political communications signals carried inside and outside the United States on a daily basis, in 140 different languages, and through hundreds of powerful antennas is a source of legitimate concern for countries struggling not only to survive but more particularly to outline and control their technological and socioeconomic future.

Where does Africa stand in this battle for world leadership through the control of scientific research in communications matters? There are hardly any answers to this question in African telecommunications policies. The tragic lack of qualified human resources, particularly highly trained engineers, pleads in favour of a more aggressive and skilful planning of professional education in telecommunications. The rare workshops animated by the ITU for the training of mid-level engineers cannot solve this delicate problem, nor can the curriculums intended to give practical training to African students attending the few telecommunications schools on the continent. There is an urgent need to redress the total absence of reference to communications satellite technology in training programs and to alter the narrow minded approaches that confine technical studies to the management and operation of the existing high frequency circuits. The content and purpose of applied research and professional training in the African telecommunications schools must be reoriented.

The examples of success displayed by other nations in the telecommunications industry must convince us that self-reliance in technological matters is the safest road to achieve progress and development at a respectable level. As the Wolof proverb puts it: "Yalla Yalla, bey sap tool" (God helps those who help themselves). There is no way to reach technological and economic wealth but to be off the beaten track and be committed to knowledge acquisition and apprenticeship. Apprenticeship is ultimately linked with the pitfalls of the novice. But errors educate for life. They impress on collective memory the indispensable character of technological innovation and the imperatives of nation building. The untimely recourse to Western assistance to repair the slightest breakdown in the national networks, or manufacture an electrical wire or a switching system, castrates peoples' confidence in their intrinsic capacities and makes them vulnerable to foreign invasion and control. The safest way to

avoid technological underdevelopment is to do for oneself what others have done for themselves: to learn from one's mistakes; to avoid being inhibited by small details or daily preoccupations; and to project oneself toward the remote future. It is wiser to master the future today than to wait until tomorrow when it will be too late to understand its complexity.

In today's world the dominant means of communications "rapidly become", in Schiller's words, "a vehicle for material produced outside (a developing society's) territory with an outlook and a character generally irrelevant, if not injurious, to its development orientation". Lloyd A. Free, Director of the United States Institute for International Social Research, is quoted by Schiller as saying: "I did a study in Nigeria a couple of years ago. During that time I watched Nigerian television. Do you know that most of the prime hours of programming time on Nigerian television was made up of filmed television shows from the United States, many of them of a soap opera variety? . . . The Nigerians apparently watched because there was nothing else to watch. But of all the sheer waste of program time in a country faced with very grave problems as we see today, it just seems atrocious that this medium with the potential of television was utilized in that way. The reason that it is utilized that way is that it is cheaper for the Nigerian television networks to buy American films than produce their own or get other types of material."

This exemplifies the manner in which the dominant means of communications are used in Africa. It also shows two aspects of the neocolonial mode of communications:

1. the dominated countries are under electronic siege as suggested by Schiller, which means that the very right of dominated classes to communicate is determined by the multinational corporations (MNCs) controlling the periphery's telecommunications market; and
2. there is a growing contradiction between the neocolonial relations of communications and the central objectives of the capitalist mode of communications. In other words, the backward use of television in Africa contradicts the MNCs need to expand their sales because if television content does not appeal to a large fraction of potential viewers and television set buyers there is no possibility to develop the market.

The bolstered activities of American firms indicate the particular role played by the MNCs in the exportation of capital and technology. The best illustration of this is that most of these firms (Xerox, ITT, Sperry Rand, NCR, Burroughs, Westinghouse, and General Electric) generate 40% of their income overseas. The following statement by a Third World leader perfectly summarizes this process: "One of the most dangerous phenomena of our times is that these supercompanies — whose sales amount to more than 10 billion USD a year — began to diversify their investments some 15 years ago and have now extended their control to other areas, such as textbook publishing; educational television programs; communications satellites; the production of records, cassettes and video-grams; information and publicity services; public opinion polls; hotel chains; and auto rental networks. These groups, in turn, are controlled by a small sector of the world's most powerful banking houses, through an interlocking network of financial relationships."

Another illustration of the well-known process of enrichment of few countries to the detriment of the greatest part of the world can be observed in the increasing and widening disparities that characterize communications systems. It is not useful to dwell on the statistical data of this familiar picture, although, from this process, one must still note the increasing importance of electronic and aerospace technologies (in particular the submarine cable, the earth-orbiting satellite, and the computer — "the backbone of the communication infrastructure" — in Vincent Mosco's words) that are monopolized by MNCs and represent potentially devastating means for "destabilizing" anti-imperialist countries. These new technologies, developed under the banner of electronic "civilization", heighten the monopolistic trends characterizing the ownership of data businesses or the sale of information — the access of which is often vital to the planning of national development. The uncontrolled flow of information from computer to computer by satellite using the on-line telex system is therefore possible. This gives multinational firms automatic free access to the material accumulated in the computers or data banks of one or more countries — and countries involved have no legal recourse.

Reliable indicators point to the leading place occupied by British MNCs in

Black Africa's telecommunications market. They are followed by the American, French, West German, and Japanese firms. Among the top companies controlling the market are GEC (United Kingdom), Siemens AG (West Germany), Thomson CSF (French), CGE-CIT-ALCATEL (France), and Westinghouse (USA).

The theoretical distribution of sales realized by these MNCs shows that the West European telecommunications industry is still controlling the largest part of the African telecommunications market. While the duopoly traditionally exercised by the United Kingdom and France is still holding in many parts of Africa, the North American and Japanese MNCs are now controlling a significant share of the African telecommunications market, especially in South Africa. It is likely that if the market's present configuration does not drastically change, the European firms will largely be superseded by the American and Japanese companies by the end of the century. The trend that appeared during the early 1960s, with the control by the United States of the communications satellite industry and the subsequent loss of influence of the more conventional British telecommunications industry (particularly the submarine cable industry), will therefore be brought to its conclusion. A triple alliance of the three giants in the international telecommunications industry (USA-Japan-Canada) will assess its hegemony on the "global village" called for by McLuhan or the "Glodom system" advocated by Pelton. If this scenario takes place, the import-substitution industrialization process already tested in other sectors will reach a full cycle and the African telecommunications market will be transformed into a privileged milieu for the expansion of the exports of industrialized countries.

During the past three decades, Africa has witnessed the development of the contradictions born out of the competition between different agents of multilateral imperialism (particularly the MNCs) for the control of the African telecommunications market. The stakes are considerable because hegemony guarantees control of a significant part of the African military market. We are in an age when supremacy in the battlefields — as evidenced by the Gulf War and operation "Restore Hope" in Somalia — can be assured by the combined assets of electronic precision and warfare know-how.

Which Alternatives for the 2000s?

Africa's ability to make a better use of communications technologies for democratic development will depend on four main factors: the technological imperatives; shifts in the international division of labour; the extent to which democratization processes successfully take place; and regional integration.

The technological factors must be fully dealt with by African policymakers if their hope is to transcend the present structural constraints and to lift the continent's scientific and technological apparatus to a competitive level²⁷. Three sets of problems must be considered in this respect:

1. The ability of states and civil society to cope with communications training needs that will enable the next generation of African technicians and decision takers to be fully conversant with advances in satellite transmission, fibre optics, broadcasting technology, and telecommunications hardware.

2. Success in enhancing regional cooperation and developing balanced South-South cooperation for the transfer and adaptation of appropriate technologies and their local manufacturing through innovative science and technology policies.

3. The successful replacement of present industrialization models by more self-centred and self-reliant industrial ventures that repudiate the vertical model of technology transfer.

The unequal international division of labour that characterizes international relations today is a frontal contradiction in Africa's quest for excellence in development matters. The main question for states willing to promote another development is how to stay away from the influence and thirst for domination by multinational forces and hegemonic states. The answer to this question is a major unknown because it depends to a great extent on the outcome of the international class struggle and the battle for leadership at the world level and within nations. The democratization processes that we are witnessing will deepen class contradictions in Africa. The final outcome is still uncertain. New prophets may emerge and may decide to confiscate once again peoples' democratic conquests. Or chaos may take place in fragile states still weakened by ethnic rivalries or confrontations between the army and civilians. Social forces able and willing to revolutionize the cultural, social, and economic fabric

of the African societies may emerge within the two coming decades. Communications for development will then be at the forefront of Africa's battle for another development, a more "humane" one.

References

1. UNESCO. 1989. *Rapport sur la communication dans le monde*. UNESCO, Paris, France.
2. Koné, Hughes. 1991. *La communication pour le développement*. CRDI, Dakar, Avril (DAP 3-A-904739/COMM).
3. Nordenstreng, Kaarle and Schiller, Herbert (editors). 1979. *National Sovereignty and International Communication*. Ablex, Norwood, New Jersey, USA.
4. ACCE (African Council on Communication for Education). 1988. Biennial General Assemblies Documents and Africa Media Review series (Nairobi, Kenya). *Communication and the Democratic Process in Africa. 6th Biennial Conference Report*, Jos, Nigeria.
5. Traber, Michael (editor). 1986. *The Myth of the Information Revolution; Social and Ethical Implications of Communication Technology*. Sage, London, U.K.
6. Hornik, Robert C. 1988. *Development Communication, Information, Agriculture and Nutrition in the Third World*. Longman, New York and London.
7. Pye, Lucian and Ithiel de Sola Pool (editors). 1983. *Communication and Political Development*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, USA.
8. Schramm, Wilbur. 1964. *Mass Media and National Development*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, California, USA.
9. Schiller, Herbert I. 1970. *Mass Communication and the American Empire*. Augustus M. Kelley Pub., New York, New York, USA.
10. Schiller, Herbert I. 1973. *The Mind Managers*. Beacon Press, Boston, Massachusetts, USA.

11. Schiller, Herbert I. 1976. *Communication and Cultural Domination*. International Arts and Sciences Press, New York, New York, USA.
12. Varis, Tapio. 1975. *The Impact of Transnational Corporations on Communication*. Tampere Peace Research Institute, Tampere, Finland.
13. MacBride, Sean et al. 1983. *Many Voices, One World*. UNESCO, Paris, France.
14. Tunstall, Jeremy. 1977. *The Media are American*. Columbia University Press, New York, New York, USA.
15. Beltrán, Luis Ramiro et al. 1980. *Comunicacion Dominada: Estados Unidos en Los Medios de America Latina*. Nueva Imagen, Mexico (ILET, Edition).
16. Hamelink, Cees. 1984. *Transnational Data Flows in the Information Age*. Lund, Chartwell-Bratt.
17. Varis, Tapio. 1985. *La circulation internationale des émissions de télévision*. UNESCO, Paris, France (Etudes et documents d'Information, 100).
18. Gerbner, George and Siefert, Marsha (editors). 1984. *World Communications: A Handbook*. Longman, New York and London.
19. Ugboajah, Frank Okwu (editor). 1985. *Mass Communication, Culture and Society in West Africa*. Hans Zell, London, U.K.
20. Amupala, Johannes Ndesihala. 1989. *Developmental Radio Broadcasting in Namibia and Tanzania: A Comparative Study*. Julkaisuja, Tampere, Finland.
21. Hamelink, Cees. 1983. *Finance and Information: A Study of Converging Interests*. Ablex, Norwood, New Jersey, USA.

22. Tehranian, Mahjid. 1979. "Development Theory and Communication Policy: The Changing Paradigms". In: Melvin G. Voigt (editor). *Progress in Communications Sciences*, Vol. I. Ablex, Norwood, New Jersey, USA.
23. Nordenstreng, Kaarle. 1987. *Tanzania and the New Information Order: A Case Study of Africa's Second Struggle*. Nkwabi Shihata, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
24. Bourgeois, M. 1977. "Attitudes et comportements de la population rurale sénégalaise vis-à-vis des moyens audiovisuels de formation". *Revue du Tiers-monde*, XVIII(70), Avril-Juin.
25. Sock, Boubacar. 1978. "L'utilisation de la radiodiffusion pour l'animation et l'éducation des communautés de base". *Présence Africaine*, 107(3e trimestre).
26. Ugboajah, Frank Okwu and Yahadé. 1983. " 'Oramedia' or Traditional Media as Effective Communication Options for Rural Development in Africa", *Communication Socialist Yearbook*, Vol. II, 1982-83.
27. Sy, Jacques Habib. 1992. "African Nations and Access to Telecommunications Services". In: Korthals Altes, Willem F. (editor). *Information Law Towards the 21st Century*. Kluwer, Boston, Massachusetts, USA.

Asian Self-Expression and the Global Village

Vijay Menon

Four years ago it was Tiananmen Square. In 1992, it was Los Angeles and Bangkok, and television screens in Asia, and around the globe, filled with scenes of fighting in the erstwhile Yugoslavia, racist violence in Germany, and famine in Ethiopia. Bosnia Herzegovina, Mogadishu, Rostock, and Sarajevo are no longer far away places or strange sounding names. The nightly newscasts have given them a ring of familiarity. Electronic communications are indeed helping to shrink the world. CNN and BBC World TV are symbols of the communication revolution in Asia. But how much a part of the global village is Asia?

A Continent of Contrasts

Dr. Yogesh Atal placed the matter of media in Asia in perspective: "In the context of the societies of the Third World, mass media is a misnomer; mass media are in fact class media; they are the media for the elite... In Asia, there are still pockets which are beyond their reach, despite the transistor revolution, which makes literacy a redundant qualification for communication exposure. While illiteracy continues to cause concern, and several communities remain insulated in the countries of Asia, mass media have certainly made some inroads; but geography and poverty still defy them and prevent their full scale penetration"¹.

The advance of technology and the spread of affluence in Asia have been uneven. Japan and Korea, Hongkong and Singapore are among the high and upper-middle income economies that have per capita GNP comparable with the countries of the North. Most of the other members of the Association of

Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are middle or lower-middle income economies.

The pockets of poverty are scattered across the face of Asia: South and North Asia and part of Southeast Asia. But add illiteracy, shorter life expectancy, and the absence of safe drinking water and inadequate sanitation and we find that the isolated and the deprived are to be found mainly among the hundreds of millions who inhabit the rural areas of South Asia and China. Adult literacy ranges from 26% in Nepal, to 35% in Bangladesh and Pakistan, to 48% in India. Female literacy is dismal: 13% in Nepal; 21% in Pakistan; 22% in Bangladesh; and 34% in India. Sri Lanka is a notable exception with literacy in the high eighties and female literacy at a creditable 83%².

There are other problems of a basic nature that afflict the countries of Asia, particularly South Asia. Compared with the universal availability of safe drinking water and sanitation services in Canada, Sweden, and the United States, over 40% of the population in Pakistan and 60% of the population in Nepal are without safe drinking water. Over 80% of the people do not have access to sanitation services².

Where the basic needs of the population are not met, it is not surprising that the communications infrastructure is also found to be sorely wanting. Broadcasting, both radio and television, have recorded phenomenal growth in recent years. The print medium, particularly periodicals, has grown in numbers and circulation. There is also a belated recognition on the part of governments of the need to upgrade telecommunication facilities. Yet the situation remains less than satisfactory (see Table 1).

The Communication Revolution and Asia

Dr. Mary Bitterman has contested the "villain" view of mass communication—the view that mass communication is a powerful vehicle of arbitrary and destructive foreign influence against which fragile and defenceless "traditional" cultures must be insulated. "In my judgement, the villain view exaggerates the power of the vehicle as well as the arbitrariness and destructiveness of the influence, and it ignores the necessary complicity of traditional culture (or any culture) in the process of change. The foreign products are not for the most

TABLE 1. *Distribution of telephones, newspapers, and radio sets in Asia.*

	PEOPLE PER TELEPHONE	NEWSPAPERS PER 1000 PEOPLE	RADIO SETS PER 1000 PEOPLE
Bangladesh	568.0	6	40
India	17.1	21	78
Nepal	686.0	6	30
Pakistan	99.2	13.5	97
Indonesia	166.0	18	118
Malaysia	10.1	197	431
Thailand	36.4	55.2	178
Singapore	2.0	227	300
Japan	2.2	562	824
Sweden	1.9	521	875
United States	1.3	268	813
Canada	1.3	220	546

part uninvited. Usually, they are sought—even bought—by people in the host country, which indicates already a substantial degree of cultural contact and cultural congruence; but invited or not, they are widely accepted in the host country only if they have meaning and relevance for the host culture, and, if accepted, they will not simply be passed on into the host culture, but transplanted and enriched in the process”³.

The elements of “complicity” and “invitation” are indeed usually present, but the host is not always a willing one. For that reason, the relationship can be parasitic, or even cannibalistic, instead of symbiotic. Take the case of the cinema in Indonesia. Asia is the world’s largest film-producing region. Indonesia, in its heyday, produced over 100 films in a year. Yet today, the movie industry is believed to be dying. The causes are many, but imports are a major factor, as *Asiaweek* recently reported. Local film production is reported to have slid from 119 in 1990, to 60 in 1991, to only 12 up to September 1992. One reason is the

fascination that American movies hold for Indonesians, young and old alike. Despite dominating the Indonesian screens, the American movie industry wishes to sell even more. To quote *Asiaweek* (21 August 1991): "The U.S. Motion Picture Export Association threatened to complain to battle-ready U.S. Trade Representative, Carla Hills, whose office has the power to include Indonesia in a "watch list" of unfair markets. Jakarta caved in. In May, it gave the U.S. film industry greater access — in return for a 35 per cent increase in U.S. quotas for Indonesian-textile producers... Local film makers see it as a death blow."

In India, the problem guest is MTV from Hongkong telecast by Star Television's Asiasat satellite and avidly watched by Indian teenagers. The impact is not confined to the entertainment scene but goes much deeper in urban India. To quote from a report in *The Week* (10 May 1992): "As more and more (MTV) programmes taped in the U.S. and Europe and telecast from Hongkong wind up on the Indian small screen, the world continues to shrink into the global village that Canadian communications theorist, Marshall McLuhan, predicted. But in its wake has come the stirrings of a social and cultural revolution that is making sociologists sit up and parents go for the panic button."

"But it is not cassette sales or music tastes alone that MTV is deciding. It is triggering a change in the social style. In fashions, behaviour, language and morals, more and more youngsters are falling to the thrall of MTV and are drawn into aping the West. The moral moorings are slowly being shifted though many may disagree. Youngsters have become very open minded about sexual relationships."

If we shift the focus from musical to children's television, there is still cause for concern. The potential viewership is very high because over half the population of South and Southeast Asia is below 15 years of age. The material available for viewing includes old Disney and Hanna-Barbera cartoons, new generation cartoons such as Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles and Japanese Robot Fantasies, and Sesame Street. This is the programming pattern for children whether in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, or Thailand. Victor Valbuena reports that samples of materials from Asian networks show a weakness in presentation techniques and creativity. The predominance of western pro-

grams on many Asian networks influences the perception of local producers about what is a good quality children's program. "There is growing concern about children's television in Asia, particularly among children's programme makers, child development specialists and educationalists, parents and other child advocates. Much of this concern has focused on the negative aspects of television's influence on children"⁴.

If we turn to advertising, the main source of revenue for most mass media, we observe a similar phenomenon of Western domination. The top agencies are in all the South and Southeast Asian countries where collaborative ventures are permitted. A study of the top three advertising agencies in six Southeast Asian countries showed that, with a single exception, Western-based multinational advertising networks topped the agency rankings in each country.

As Frith points out: "The technology of advertising tends to be transferred from the West as a complete entity. The implicit theory, practice, values, and attitudes of Western advertising are bundled for export. Thus the corporate culture within which many Asian advertising messages are developed is inevitably a reproduction of Madison Avenue culture. For the most part, managers of multinational agencies are largely expatriate or Western trained, and staff are trained overseas or acculturated on the job. Indigenous culture tends to be a largely unknown quantity to the expatriate, and tends to be abandoned as old fashioned by the local recruit bent on adopting the values held by the management"⁵.

A study by UNESCO in 1981 showed that the world was publishing a new book title every minute. In less than 25 years, the production of titles has more than doubled and the number of copies has tripled. In fact, the world produced more titles in the 25 years since 1950 than it had in all the years before 1950. The picture in Asia gave much less cause for happiness. With 57% of the world population, Asia produced only 18.3% of world titles in 1978. In 1989, UNESCO reported that the number of titles per million inhabitants published in Asia in 1986 was 67 as compared with 578 in Europe and 397 in North America.

A more recent study of textbooks recommended for study in institutes of mass communication and journalism in Asia revealed that over 60% of the books used were of North American origin, and that a further 6% were from

European sources. Books in local languages account for an even smaller share of local production. A Philippine report found that lack of indigenous teaching materials was a major problem. Available foreign materials were not very relevant and were very expensive⁶.

A related phenomenon is the orientation imparted by education. A 1989 report (*Voice*, August/September 1989) mentioned that the number of foreign students studying in the United States had increased to just over 350,000. The largest groups were from Asia (Taiwan, Korea, and India all contributed more than 20,000) followed by Malaysia, Japan, Hongkong, and Indonesia. The number from the People's Republic of China was believed to have increased to over 40,000. Adhikarya reports that there is a considerable quantity of American-originated communication knowledge transferred to, and utilized by, ASEAN communication scholars for their teaching and research. Much of this American communication knowledge, acquired by ASEAN communication scholars during their graduate training abroad, might or might not be appropriate for use in ASEAN countries⁶.

Joseph Wang, an advertising practitioner from Hongkong sounded a note of optimism when he spoke of Asian culture at a gathering of fellow practitioners in New Delhi: "We in Asia have a particular advantage... nobody has yet moulded us. We are still very much our own people, with our own multitude of cultures, religions and ideals. And even in the most economically advanced Asian societies, we are a very tradition-minded people"⁷.

There are not many in Asia today who would agree with those sentiments. Certainly not Dr Yos Santasombat, a Thai anthropologist and researcher. "Thai society today is indeed in a state of confusion and expedient Westernization. McDonalds, Burger King, Dunkin Donuts. Fast foods and fast profits... Thai culture and traditions are becoming obsolete and irrelevant, if not outright obstacles to modernization and Westernization"⁸.

A similar plaintive note is heard from the People's Republic of China: "The floodgates have been opened, and we have an unprecedented inundation," says Li Delun, Musical Director of the prestigious Central Philharmonic Orchestra, of the "invasion" of pop culture. "Since World War I, mass culture from the U.S. — from jazz to disco — has conquered the world. China is the last

battleground — and we are hardly putting up any resistance”⁹.

From the Philippines, Ramon Tagle Jr. laments that: “the Filipino is not only in search of his national identity, but such an identity is becoming more and more blurred with the coming of satellites, computers and other modern technologies as well as the products that they bring into his country and the alien ideas that they inject into his mind”¹⁰.

The steady growth in the number of parabolic antennas in South Korea to 150,000 at the beginning of 1990 was not seen as a blessing, or even as a sign of progress. Journalism professors vented their alarm by filling local newspapers with letters denouncing the impact of foreign television on Korean society. Foreign programs, they felt, were making viewers in Korea adopt alien lifestyles, customs, and ways of thinking and deepening the dependence of Korea on alien culture.

Notwithstanding the critics and the doomsayers, it is recognized that global communication can be a positive force for change, that far from destroying local culture it can help to revive, reinforce, and enrich it. As Dr. Atal concedes: “Belatedly, we now acknowledge the falsity of the dichotomy of tradition and modernity. Asia lives in a dual world of bullock carts and jumbo jets; traditional attire and the western outfit; temples and shrines alongside modern hotels and nightspots... The most startling consequences of the communication revolution, as part of the modernization process, have been the resurgence of tradition, revival of religion and a concern for cultural identity. The awareness about others has invoked reference group behaviour, only to emulate how to remain distinct, how to preserve identity, how not to submerge in a confluence of cultures”¹¹.

This is best exemplified by Singapore. The country’s leaders stress the need to preserve and promote Asian, particularly Confucian values. The government has launched many initiatives toward this end, including an annual “Speak Mandarin” campaign. But the government also stresses the need to adopt the new communication technologies to ensure the survival and progress of the country.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations comprises some of the world’s most dynamic economies. Singapore takes justifiable pride in its modern

telecommunication infrastructure and is working hard to secure its position as an information gateway. Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand have drawn up similar plans for massive capital investment to improve telecommunication facilities. Selective privatization is also being encouraged. This pattern of accelerated spending on infrastructure improvement and telephones can also be seen in other countries, notably India and China.

Despite the misgivings voiced by the governments of the region, investment in satellites, public and privately owned, is planned. The Indonesian experience has shown that the Palapa satellite has been a good investment in terms of national integration, education, literacy, and promotion of the national language.

The most ambitious plan to harness information technology has been drawn up by Singapore. A study commissioned by the National Computer Board has drawn up a report entitled, *A Vision of an Intelligent Island*. It plans to enable Singaporeans to access and share a vast storehouse of information and to create economic growth by accelerating productivity and creating new commercial opportunities. It expects Singapore to become a global hub, attractive to companies with global operations and to experts who can apply their skills worldwide. In short, an integral unit in a global village.

Singapore was possibly the first of the newly independent countries in Asia to welcome direct investment by multinational companies to develop manufacturing industries. This is now a widely adopted policy. Singapore's strategy of investing in education and skills development and in telecommunications and information technology will also be emulated by its partners in ASEAN and the countries of South Asia. The path to the global village is neither short nor easy but the countries of Asia, including South Asia, will certainly take that path, emphasizing the need to protect national cultures but unwilling to sacrifice growth to preserve tradition.

References

1. Atal, Yogesh. 1985. "Entering the Global Village". *Media Asia*, 12(1), 3-6.

2. World Bank. 1992. *World Development Report 1992*. World Bank, Washington, D.C., USA.
3. Bitterman, Mary. 1985. "Mass Communication and Social Change". *Media Asia*, 12(1), 38-43.
4. Valbuena, Victor T. 1991. "Children's Television in Asia". *Media Asia*, 18(4), 183-190.
5. Frith, Katherine Toland. 1989. "Advertising as Cultural Invasion". *Media Asia*, 16(4), 179-184, 214.
6. Valbuena, Victor T. 1987. "The Adhikarya and PACE studies on Communication Education: Some Problems and Responses." Chapter 10 In: *Rethinking Development Communication*. Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC), Singapore.
7. Wang, Joseph. 1983. *Creativity in Asian Advertising*. ADGROW 1983.
8. Yos, Santasombat. 1991. "Which Way to Modernization?" In: *Bangkok Post*, 12 July.
9. Li Delun. 1985. "An Invasion of Pop Culture". In: *Asiaweek*, 1 November.
10. Tagle, Jr., Ramon. 1985. "Mass Media and the Filipino Family". Chapter 11 In: *Mass Media, Tradition and Change*. Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC), Singapore.

Historical Perspective: Discussion*

Global Village or Global Domination?

Wilna Quarmyne: In rural Africa, television is not a legitimizer because it is completely irrelevant. Perhaps we need to look at the theme from two different perspectives. First, our urban populations, and particularly our youth, are great consumers of the global media. They face the problem of cultural domination and they are the potential decision-makers. Second, we must bring the people who are marginalized in terms of communication into the mainstream of decision-making. There has been much discussion of the New World Information and Communication Order and the need to develop infrastructures and facilities. However, it would seem there is also a need for a new National Cultural Order that would allow not just national integration but cultural diversity within and among nations.

Charles Morrow: This explosion of technology is creating a global village of elites. While it links the elites internationally, at the national level it distances them from the life of the village. There is a danger that television will create a globalized, urban culture while widening the gap between the "haves" and the "have nots" within countries.

Hugh Leonard: There is very little exchange between the regions. Why is the South fragmented? I do not believe there is any such thing in the South as an

* In the discussion sections "Unid" is used to identify contributions by speakers who were not identified.

"entity". These news exchanges, which are regional and have operated in a regional way, are not intended to be segments of an overall South news exchange. We all have the desire to exchange news among the various exchange schemes but this has not happened to any large extent. This is because the broadcasting unions and news exchanges have, until now, been too busy establishing their operations within their own context. But, I believe a South news exchange will happen.

Nancy George: There were interesting questions raised, but not answered, about how to deal with existing Southern media giants. For Example, in Arab countries, Egypt is the media superpower that establishes the relationship of the Arab countries to media production. In Africa, South Africa is a media giant and will soon play a role and have a tremendous influence on broadcasting in Africa. This must be considered.

Atsen Ahua: Is it possible to establish a universal rationale for cultural self-expression? In other words, "cultural self-expression, for what"? The sharing of the universal human cultural heritage? If so, through what means? Is it possible to establish at the global level the "lowest common multiple" of shared human values, which we can agree on in the operation of a global village. There are issues that force us to go from the global to the national level. I believe the modern mass media has an important role in exploding some of the religious and cultural myths that are detrimental to development — not only to the advancement of women, but the whole course of human development. These all must be dealt with in the context of cultural self-expression.

Unid: We should try to focus on democratizing media, and try to change the way media have been organized. The South has never had a voice in the North, or even in the South. If you look at what is in the newspapers and television of the South, what is reported is what the international news agencies report. The South does not have the capability to distribute its own news. The North never hears about the South because the South does not have the capability to tell the North about itself. Therefore, the South is always represented from the perspec-

tive of the North.

Hugh Leonard: The biggest problem we have is defining cultural expression. To some it means repression of cultural expression and a dominance of Northern influence in television programs in the South; to others it seems to be a lack of Southern viewpoints or news from Southern countries in television programs in the North; to others it seems to be a repression of minority viewpoints. Political censorship has been mentioned, a lack of locally produced programs, lack of access by the general public to the existing media. This is rather confusing. We should define just exactly what is meant by cultural expression and who or what is alleged to be repressing it.

Nick Ketchum: When CBC was introduced into the Canadian North it had many of the effects people anticipated. The use of native languages by young people dropped significantly. The lifestyles of the community changed radically from a very communal lifestyle to one in which families stayed in their houses watching television. It had effects on school attendance. It had effects on the interest of young people in learning the traditional skills their parents normally would have taught them. These effects generally were considered to be negative.

Unid: Why are we focusing on a global initiative, when in many of our countries we have consolidated so little at the national level? Is it because we believe that the need cannot be met through national initiatives? What needs are we trying to meet through this global network that cannot be met through national consolidation? If we want development, we need local initiatives to take off from the ground.

Patricia Castaño: I have a very strange anecdote. When filming in the jungles in the Amazon for "Law of the Jungle", we stayed in a little school where they had a television set run off a gasoline generator. These were coco-leaf-growing areas and everyone had a television set run by gasoline generators. When I say everyone, I mean everyone. In the middle of nowhere; in all the small towns that spread out along the Cocoman. There were shops renting videotapes in the

middle of the Amazonian jungle. In this school on a Sunday the children were watching a program that brought in films from around the world (e.g., BBC and Jacques Cousteau). These children were watching eagerly the giraffes, the African jungle, the desert in Kenya, and the Serengeti and were fascinated by nature. These were the children of the colonizers who were destroying the jungle, killing the Amazonian jaguars because they ate their pigs, and destroying everything by burning the forests. It was amazing. The children were fascinated by nature, yet they had no way to address their own problems. No one was really telling them the implications of what their parents were doing to their own environment.

Reinhard Keune: When discussing the influence of media on development we must consider the tendency of Southern governments and Northern donor agencies to attribute less and less importance to mass media as a tool of development. To some extent I sympathize because priorities must be set to confront the endless series governments face when seeking food, shelter, work, and health for their people. However, this is a short-sighted position. The media should be used for development purposes.

Kassaye Demena: The influence of the mass media on development does not tend to inhibit indigenous expression. If it does, the reasons are related to the existing structures of the mass media, the ways they are being deployed, and the various restrictions imposed by design or default on the services the media are expected to deliver.

Training

Nancy George: There is an implicit need for training. Local productions will not be able to compete with international programming unless there is local competence to produce those programs. Some technocrats would have you believe that the provision of equipment will substitute for having people with production skills. The human resource is as important, if not more important, than the technology. As technology becomes less expensive and more available, the need for training increases. To produce local programs that protect national

identity and national cultures, there must be competent people in these cultures who are able to produce the programs.

Nahum Gorelick: Management training is also a serious problem. It is possible to take over an organization that runs nine radio stations and one television channel, but without management skills there will be problems. This is not just management as professionalism but management in terms of producing programs and allowing people to have access.

Cecilia Lazaro: Training is very important; however, the competency levels in various parts of the world, specifically the South, have increased and there are competent producers for television and various other forms of media. However, how is competence defined? At present it is directly related to the Western concept of competency. Use of the Western model raises the question of cultural identity. Why does nothing from the South reach the West? I think the obvious reason is because we are judged by Western standards. Programs from the South are not competently produced, are not good enough, according to Western standards. We are criticized for editing skills, we are criticized for lack of snap, we are criticized for not being up to speed. Whose fault is it? Is it a question of cultural identity, or is it a question of being judged by Western standards?

Laura Glaser-Weisser: In Africa, many of the journalists and producers who return from training at home or abroad either are not employed in their respective media stations, or leave their stations because the salary is too low. There is also a lot of job rotation because of political change. Another real obstacle to production is the speed of technical progress, which quickly outdates the equipment of the smaller, poorer stations. In addition, when these stations do acquire new equipment, they often do not receive the necessary training.

Christopher Laird: Training staff is one thing, but as soon as staff are trained they emigrate or go where the pay is better. Every 3 or 4 years you lose the best people you have, and you must start again. What can be done about that?

Farag El Kamal: As a professor, I am struck by a recurring story I hear from students who were trained in communications. Most tell me, for example, that after they graduated and joined Egyptian television, they were told to forget what they were taught and start to learn from scratch. We taught them what makes news – the tragedy of someone close, somebody dying, a fire. They are now taught that in television what makes news is the President, his wife, the Prime Minister, a Minister, or a government person speaking. The very last thing that makes news is something that has to do with the public.

There was an excellent program in Egypt to train television producers. However, when the students graduated they were quickly picked up by the international networks. CNN took most of them; therefore, the country did not benefit from the training. The national structure must reap the benefits of training.

Language

Rafael Roncagliolo: To get diversity in the global village we should defend the plurality of language and the right to use our own language in the mass media. In Peru, there are people who do not speak Spanish very well, but who watch television in English. The English language is becoming a new kind of cultural domination inside the country. Language is a problem of globalization. In our efforts to create diversity, the first level of diversity should be the right to linguistic diversity.

Joyce Aryee: We are fortunate that there are a few languages we can all understand; otherwise, we would be unable to communicate. What is important is that within our own countries we recognize the importance of communicating with each other on levels that enhance our development while preserving our diversity. We should focus on how to rearrange things to ensure that, whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa, "Hollywood" films do not dominate "all" television programs. John Wayne speaks German in Germany; he speaks Italian in Italy; he probably will speak Spanish in Peru. It makes little sense that

Italian films cannot come to the United States and be dubbed in English. That is a great problem in terms of achieving equality in cultural expression.

Unid: Fairly strong demographic changes in the Southern United States have substantially increased the number of Spanish-speaking people. California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Florida are now bilingual states. This may provide an opportunity for Latin American producers and distributors, but will it cause them to begin to disregard local history and local issues?

Rafael Roncagliolo: The American market is important. Mexican TELEvisa shows that it is possible to think in terms of this market to create economies of scale for the development of our own productions. As we create networks of Latin American people we normally include the Chicanos and Spanish speakers from the United States. For example, we had a film festival of Indians in Lima in 1991 and there was very important representation from Chicanos from the United States. In terms of culture and linguistics, they are part of Latin America.

Gender Representation

Unid: All of the women in the world do not share the same view of culture or cultural usages. There are certain things that are tolerated in some societies because of their traditions that would not be tolerated in others. There are situations that women in one part of the world find unacceptable, but women in other parts find acceptable. Women are part of cultures and societies and they respond to stimuli from these societies. This is also true of men. Nobody can pretend that men will react the same way within a certain cultural context to the same situation. It is a question of cultural awareness. We cannot have a global or uniform view of women any more than of men.

Magda el Sabbahi: Women have been speaking of a kind of perspective that we refer to as a "feminist perspective". There seems to be basic agreement from women from all over the world, whether from North or South, that this kind of perspective needs to be established. That is, women look at the world from the

point-of-view of being a minority, underrepresented, or even oppressed and exploited. Although people from different regions have different values, there are two important points concerning the resurgence of tradition and the revival of religion. When we speak of protecting the culture and the tradition of different countries from conquest or imperialism, we might be working against women. Tradition and religion in many parts of the world, whether Western or Asian, have been very prejudiced against women. Sometimes when factors like the media change religion and culture, the changes are welcomed by many women.

Sharma Kumari: Tradition has limited women, but not religion. Perhaps it has been a misinterpretation of religion. I belong to the Hindu religion, and I can say that a very honoured Guru has enlightened me on the status of women.

Wilna Quarmyne: Tradition has been used to hold women back and this is a concern for those who are interested in promoting the status of women. But, women are held back both by tradition and by the modern economy. In relation to the economy, the most significant factor may be that women's work is often not economically valued. For example, during a recent visit to a project in Zimbabwe — a women's woodlot project in one of the communal areas — one of the managers of the project told me she had seven children. I told her that I had two. She said, "Oh, my you are lazy!" She continued: "But it's all right, it's all right for you to be lazy because you work, but I can't be lazy because I don't work." Here was a woman, the manager of a woodlot project, who was doing many other things and was on the village development committee. But, she did not work! In many ways, this type of economic evaluation contributes to the self-conception of women as being oppressed or being marginalized.

Anna Leah Sarabia: Why are women inhibited from self-expression in the media (radio, television, journals, and newspapers)? This is a very important question because, as women who are activists and involved in public life, we are asking the same questions. What do we do to overcome this obstacle? The root of the problem goes back 2000-3000 years to old civilizations that looked down on

women and inhibited them from participating in politics or even cultural life. Very few women are mentioned in our history, whether cultural or political. *Cecilia Lazaro*: It has been stated that if you took a survey of women all over the world they would have different opinions about their position in the world market as far as media is concerned and that men would also have different opinions. I disagree. I would think that men would have more common responses because I think globally there is the acceptance that men are the dominant sex in terms of business, in terms of control of media empires, and in terms of control of activities that are economically related in all of their countries. Women have been marginalized in different parts of the world and in different ways. Therefore, their memories of acceptance of their condition differ in different parts of the world.

Unid: There is no doubt that women have been marginalized by journalists, both men and women. In Kenya, CIDA Canada is supporting one of our nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to help sensitize journalists to the issue of women. The NGO is sensitizing the writers, so that writers can start writing positive things about women. The hope is to give the South a voice, and give women a voice. No matter how poor the production, or bad the writing, at least women will be allowed to produce and write and to give their perspective to the world.

Ownership/Funding/Distribution

Cecilia Lazaro: Eventually the term "free access" will be weighted with commercial viability, that is access to media will depend on the commercial viability of a project. In this highly competitive industry, everything will be reduced to the question: "How commercially viable is it?" This is especially true now that there are more options opening up to audiences all over the world. The objective of being socially and culturally relevant will become commercially relevant in the long term. We should look toward creating a policy that will protect the access of those who do not have "commercial viability".

Unid: The South may never be able to handle many of the broadcasting issues because individuals do not have the money to set up private broadcasting corporations. At the same time, governments are democratizing and encouraging privatization, even in broadcasting. After privatization, the major issue is; "How do you pay for broadcasting equipment and how do you make sure that you are able to pay the people who work with you?" You cannot help but go into areas that will just make money. Most of these areas will probably not take into account the important need to use the media for development. Funding agencies may have to fund private organizations. Although there is pluralism, I think a lot of African governments, for example, are still going to be a little terrified of the potential power of private broadcasting.

The ways to fund private radio stations do not automatically apply to television because of the high costs involved. Private television stations must look for foreign capital. This means that imported programs will appear because of the close links between those who finance the stations and distribute programs abroad.

Wilna Quarmyne: There is a need for a survey of distribution channels to allow Southern products to reach the North. However, in many of our countries our products are not distributed even within our own country. In Zimbabwe, UNICEF is conducting a survey on local distribution capacity. Before the survey team went out to study distribution capacity they interviewed various independent producers in Zimbabwe. They all said there were no distribution channels. In fact, the survey found that distribution capacity does exist but is not known and is therefore not being tapped to its full potential. A study of national distribution channels would also be quite important.

With regard to the exchange of information and resources, information does exist but it does not circulate. Sometimes we do not even know it exists. Perhaps another necessary form of assistance is to study the management and organizational problems that prevent information exchange. This must be followed by adequate funding to ensure that beautiful institutions do not exist without the money needed to operate.

CORRECTING THE IMBALANCE

Development Communications: An Alternative to What?

Michael Laflin

Getting bogged down in definitions is not a productive way to start. Nevertheless it is probably worth noting the widespread differences of opinion about what development communications is, or even whether it is development "communication" or "communications", or communication for development.

Almost every agency has its own understanding of "development communications". To indulge in generalizations for a moment: whereas UNICEF talks about social mobilization; U.S. AID and WHO talk of social marketing. The Canadians seem to have something more participatory in mind. In Latin America, development communication is concerned with fighting oppression; whereas, in Africa, the issue is how to deal with the civil service-dominated public media that are often still rooted in British or French models of the 1960s.

Whatever the cast of development communication, its variety causes problems in making definitive statements about the state of its art. However, the practice of development communication is better than it has ever been. People involved in the business of communicating are more skilled, use better equipment, and put out cleaner signals and more effective messages than ever before. The days of the "gifted amateur", the genuinely talented but largely untrained dilettante are passing. They are being replaced by people who have been trained as communication researchers, community development specialists, and communication planners.

We are also seeing the development of systems. Communication practice has become more systematic in at least the following ways:

1. The theoretical base is constantly being renewed and applied. Social science research continues to increase the power of communication practice. Research, whether it is focused on human behaviour or social systems, is

providing insights into communication practice. When communication strategies are being conceived and selected, they are sharpened by a rapidly developing understanding of why individuals and societies behave as they do.

2. Communication practice is becoming more sophisticated. For example, there has been a trend away from using single channels and one-time campaigns toward using multiple channels over a sustained period. There is greater awareness of how different channels interact. Mass media and interpersonal communication, or print materials and electronic media evidently have different characteristics. Where choices are available, they are being made more knowledgeably and with greater certainty about the effects.

3. Effective communication has been based on operational research. Although more is known about media strategies, communicators have learned to be wary. There is a greater acceptance that we cannot always predict human behaviour. Consequently, we have become more thorough in checking our assumptions and testing strategies and media before ploughing ahead.

4. These trends have coalesced into a generally accepted communication process of research, development, implementation, and evaluation. The number of stages, or what those stages are called, varies but the process is almost always cyclical in nature and it follows a logical sequence of planning and management of activities.

5. Development communication is no longer regarded as a separate process. Communication has become integrated into the broader system of development planning, management, training, commodity delivery systems, and community programs, rather than being a separate, independent, and marginalized operation. In fact, communication has often organized these other inputs.

6. Less often, development communication capacity has begun to be institutionalized so that it exists beyond a single activity or campaign. Development communication programs have tended to focus on immediate objectives or on institutional development, but rarely on both. What is now being recognized is that training and institutional development that can sustain change beyond the immediate impact of a program are just as important as immunizing one generation.

7. The public and private sectors are gradually beginning to talk to each other. Private and public sector institutions have historically regarded each other as being in competition for the same slice of pie. The private sector has been regarded as unscrupulous in its pursuit of profit, and the public sector as being hopelessly inefficient and focused only on self-preservation. Both are learning that they often have more to gain by working together than by attempting to carve out separate roles, and are working out new partnerships for both communication and service delivery purposes.

Three broad foundations underlie most good development planning: a strong conceptual base; attention to quality; and good organization. Whatever the sector and purpose, whether the programs try to transfer a technology or mobilize community action, whether they use high technology or a village crier, effective communication programs demonstrate:

1. Practice that rests on and reflects a sound conceptual base. Communication strategies have become more effective by building on the conceptual base provided by social psychology, behavioural psychology, instructional systems design, marketing, anthropology, and other social sciences. As communication practitioners have adapted and applied the theoretical advances of these social sciences, they have become more effective.

2. Programming that emphasizes quality. Communication may be a high-tech multimedia campaign or work through truckdrivers' word of mouth, but to be effective it must be based on sound social research, follow a systematic development cycle, and employ a strategy consistent with the communication objective and communication environment. Different models of communication may be applied, but they should match the purpose of the communication and include each participant in an appropriate role.

3. An effective operations and management structure. A population campaign without condoms or an immunization program without a cold chain will vitiate the best communication campaign and jeopardize future credibility. Communication activities must be integrated into an effective operations and management structure and take account of future institutional needs and immediate plans.

In summary, the state of the development communications art is advancing

steadily. Communicators are getting better at what they do as they learn that there is more to what they do than simply flair and creativity.

Improving Public Access and Participation

Sheldon Annis looked at the way in which technology is being used to empower people who formerly had no access to communication technology. He wrote: "While poverty once implied physical and cultural isolation, the poor today are connected with each other and with the outside world. Driving this evolving "connectedness" is an information revolution. An explosion of electronic information is penetrating poverty. The most important change is that the poor are increasingly able to manipulate the media, instead of just receiving messages. With advances in affordability, miniaturization and user-friendliness, the poor are no longer merely a passive mass audience. They, too, are becoming message makers."

Annis says that outside agencies such as the World Bank have not decided if they can orchestrate information-based development. He concludes, however: "What is clear is that communications technology is emboldening the poor in ways that have profound implications for the process of democratization."

In Costa Rica, campesino leaders, when visiting government officials to bargain for community services, are now known to record conversations with concealed miniature tape recorders. "I know they do it" one Costa Rican official confided. "We know he knows" said the chairman of a local committee the following day: "That's the point."

Increased access to private media is only just beginning in most developing countries; where it will lead remains to be seen. Its effects may eclipse the importance of restricted access to public media much more quickly than we expect. As a trend, the organization of broadcasting along national lines will be soon overtaken by a proliferation of privately owned local media and international media. I believe it is the local media that will become more significant. I base this conclusion on a hunch and on my own experience in assisting in establishing a network of local radio stations in Liberia.

The Liberian Rural Communication Network (LRCN) consisted of a network of three 10,000-watt AM stations supported by a central production and administration unit in Monrovia. Three-quarters of the programming originated in the local stations. The stations primary coverage areas ranged from 15 to 27 km during the day and farther at night and in the early morning. Each rural station was staffed with a manager, an executive producer, four to five producers, two technicians, a field assistant, and a small support staff.

Volunteers and staff from development agencies, who were trained by LRCN but paid by their own organizations, assisted LRCN with program production and other tasks.

The stations broadcast for 2 hours in the morning and 4 hours in the evening, 7 days a week. They presented a mixture of development programs, entertainment, and news. Each station established a strong local identity and was guided in its programming by local advisory committees. Each station broadcast in English and four to five vernaculars.

LRCN's operating expenses were generated primarily through the Government of Liberia's development budget, but other sources of income included fees paid by clients for airtime and production services. Fees were also earned for conducting training, covering special events, broadcasting personal messages, music requests, and contributions from local communities.

LRCN was designed to promote community development in several ways:

1. Promoting the increased use of existing government services by the rural population. LRCN therefore worked closely with government services to provide production services and airtime and to train representatives of government agencies as broadcasters.

2. Expanding the access to development and other services to a greater portion of the rural population. LRCN tried to ensure that its listenership in rural areas was as well served as urban listeners. Producers frequently travelled to villages; networks of village "stringers" were recruited and trained; and listening groups were established in outlying towns and villages. A majority of the 55% of rural Liberians who listened to the LRCN stations every day regarded LRCN programs as their primary source of development information.

3. Increasing communication between villages and the local, regional, and national governments. Rural people were provided access to the airwaves through the Saturday morning "man-in-the-street" interviews in Zwedru market, for example, so that local views were represented in programming. Government officials at the highest level listened to LRCN, and local stations received both plaudits and criticism.

4. Promoting increased self-help activities. As well as supporting government agencies, LRCN promoted the establishment of fishponds and vegetable gardens, Parent-Teacher Associations, Village Health Committees, individual clinics and hospitals, local drama groups, and soccer teams.

5. Distributing news and entertainment, especially of local relevance. LRCN provided local news bulletins in local languages every night after the national news. LRCN covered local events such as soccer.

6. Informing the rural population of, and involving them in, local and national development activities. LRCN tripled the number of mothers bringing their children to be immunized. It was the centre of the National Population Week and was selected by the National AIDS Committee and World Health Organization to be the central agency for Liberia's AIDS information and education campaign. LRCN's paying clients included UNICEF, the World Health Organization, Phebe Hospital, the Forestry Development Authority, the African Cooperative Development Bank, the West African Rice Development Authority, the National Elections Committee, and the Family Planning Association of Liberia.

The impact of LRCN was greater than most had expected. In observable terms, it was evident that more people were bringing their children to be immunized, visiting family planning clinics, and asking for fertilizer and fingerlings. Local stations were successful in soliciting both moral and financial support from the communities.

An independent evaluation showed three main impacts on communication in Liberia:

1. a narrowing of the knowledge gap about family planning, health, agriculture, and nutrition between urban and rural listeners;
2. a daily listening audience of 55%, a regular listenership of about 75%;

3. a replacement of traditional sources of information by LRCN programming as the primary source of information for many issues, although clinics and extension workers were still regarded as the sources of further information.

What is more interesting than a single case is the fact that local broadcasting for development purposes is gaining ground in many countries. At a recent meeting of international communication agencies in Rome, hosted by the FAO, several case studies of local broadcasting systems were presented that showed very similar results.

What distresses me is that people who should know better are using the words "rural radio" to describe what are in fact centralized systems of national broadcasting with a rural audience in mind. Having producers in the national capital paying occasional visits to some villages, where they interview some mothers about agriculture and nutrition, is not rural radio and never has been. The importance of the distinction is that people are not truly represented, do not have real access, and cannot really participate until they can go to a radio station and have a reasonable chance of being heard when they choose to visit, not when the producer decides to visit them from afar.

That kind of broadcasting, to my mind, constitutes the real challenge and the real opportunity to development communication in the 1990s. The technology is now sufficiently inexpensive to be widely available. Development communications will face several issues in the 1990s.

Prospects for the 1990s

As times and technologies change, new challenges and possibilities emerge. In some instances, the challenge is simply to respond to familiar problems whose urgency or magnitude is increasing. AIDS is one example. The World Health Organization estimates that the number of HIV-infected people will double to between 15 and 20 million by the year 2000. Most new infections will occur among heterosexuals. The World Health Organization predicts AIDS will become the leading cause of death among adults in their most productive years over the next several decades. Changing risky behaviour is plainly an imperative, although it may be too late for a least two generations of people in developing countries.

Population Reports (November 1991) estimates that the number of users of family planning services in developing countries will increase by 250 million during the nineties. However, family planning services will cost 11 billion USD by the year 2000, and the estimated 600 million users will pay only 10% of that cost. Will governments be able to fund the increase?

Linked with managing the world's population, is managing the resources needed for food, clothing, and shelter. The challenge to identify and respond to environmental problems becomes more pressing as time passes. However, environmental communication has rarely gone further than simply talking about environmental issues, often through hugely expensive media or at the next world conference to define our collective future. A challenge to environmental communication is to be substantive rather than merely declamatory.

The capacity to educate the poorest populations is decreasing rather than increasing. In terms of numbers, 50% of school-age children do not attend school in the poorest countries. Those that do attend often do not learn very much because the resources needed to provide good quality instruction are lacking. Communication for education offers real options.

Falling agricultural production in developing countries is blamed on a variety of causes. Whatever the specific causes in any given country or region, there is a general dissatisfaction with the capacity of extension services to communicate change, and the dissatisfaction grows as farm families become more remote and poorer, and farms become smaller. Communication frequently is completely ineffective.

Some changes are systemic: fewer governments hold a monopoly on broadcasting, for example. Some changes are technological: desktop publishing has broken the mystique of the printed word and newsletters are springing up everywhere — although fewer may be read than ever before. Video is increasingly used to embolden and emancipate women even in the most feudal societies.

People's expectations of information are changing. As they learn to deal with greater volumes of data, they also learn new filtering skills. They learn to ask for data when making decisions, rather than rely on intuition or hunches. They

expect presentations of information that are tailored to immediate needs rather than of encyclopedic scope.

Do these changes apply to remote groups in the Andes or the Himalayas? Not generally, but they do to some of them, some of the time. There are faxes in the forests of Belize. Packet radio has hooked up the most unlikely places. It is now 30 years since the SITE project in India put television sets in thousands of dusty villages. The infrastructure to communicate efficiently is growing steadily, and as it does the capacity of communication to influence development is increasing.

Some Positive Experiences

Reinhard Keune

Some 25 years ago a young and brilliant German politician, Karl-Hermann Flach, who died much too early, coined a sentence that caused much debate in the then rather young German democracy. He said: "Press freedom in Germany is the freedom of 200 rich people." He was referring to the 200 publishers who could afford to publish dailies in what was then West Germany.

Flach knew he was wrong. The basic law of Germany, as well as the constitutions of all Western democracies, guarantee the freedom of expression. Both individuals and groups can make their voices heard and courts will enforce their rights. But Flach made it very clear that the mass media are closely linked to money and are a factor of the economy rather than a purely cultural phenomenon and the subject of learned debates about culture and cultural identity. Worn-out printing shops, out-dated studio and transmission equipment, the lack of spare parts and, above all, the shortage of skilled media workers are ample evidence that money is in short supply in most developing countries.

The second saddening element that must be considered when discussing the influence of media on development is the tendency of Southern governments and also Northern donor agencies to attribute less and less importance to the mass media as a tool of development. To some extent this is understandable because priorities must be set as governments confront an endless series of crises and seek food, shelter, work, and health for their people. However, this is a short-sighted position.

Third, many authoritarian governments in the South have misused and abused their media as propaganda outlets. They have spent money for the wrong purpose and lost credibility. Therefore, those seeking funds for media development are often confronted with arguments that this kind of assistance only helps to sharpen and refine the weapons of propaganda.

The fourth element to consider is the strong tendency to look at the events of the day in a very parochial manner. Europeans are fascinated at the outflow of nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe; Americans are occupied with the last hurricane and the Presidential elections; Canadians deal with the latest chapter of their endless constitutional debate; and Japan licks the wounds of its stock exchange crash. In the South there is the same trend: being confined to the local newspaper and newscast mostly means you lose contact with the rest of the world — including all neighbouring countries. The soccer results from England, a bit about Yugoslavia, and the latest story about Lady Di are received, but that is all. At first glance, this may serve to enhance national identity in the South. But in view of existing global interdependence and the need to create awareness of Southern problems in the North this is definitely a negative trend.

The fifth and the strongest reason against considering media as tools of development and cultural identity is the proliferation of global satellite television. Two groups are struggling for regional and global audiences. First, there are the commercial providers like CNN, ECOI Televisa, and Star TV. They will be followed by many others, like RTL Luxembourg, which is expanding its footprint rapidly beyond European boundaries, and the German "West Scheme", which will cover Europe with a German-language news service 24 hours a day after 1 January 1993. Second, there are government-funded providers from Northern countries such as France with its satellite program for Africa and other parts of the world. Voice of Germany satellite television is already available all over Europe and will branch out to North America, Asia, and Africa after 1 November 1992. Turkish satellite television reaches all Turkish-speaking peoples of the former Soviet Union up to the Chinese border and is delivered to millions of Turkish viewers in Germany. There is also U.S. Worldnet and BBC TV World Service, which is somewhere between the two groups of providers because it has turned commercial due to the lack of government funding. As well, M-Net and Bon-TV are trying to invade Africa from its Southern tip with commercial satellite programs.

Taking this scenario as a whole, is there enough reason to say that nothing can be done to enhance indigenous expression by mass media? Can there be no

new beginning? Are all steps that may be taken doomed to be futile? On the contrary, there are new perspectives. There is light at the end of the tunnel. The change for the better has already begun and it would be unforgivable to give up now. A lot of encouragement can be derived from the new wind that is blowing through Africa. Many countries striving for more pluralism and democratization have discovered that this is not possible without loosening the grip on government-owned media and licensing media outlets to community groups such as farmers, trade unions, and ethnically coherent parts of the population.

There has been an influx of requests to assist with the drafting of broadcast acts and media laws because a need is felt to provide media access to indigenous groups, a tendency widely unknown in Africa only a few years ago.

A government in Southern Africa only recently posed the following precise questions to us:

1. In view of the aggressive approach of satellite broadcasters, we would like to block access to our country. How can we do this?
2. If a total ban is not possible, how can we influence the providers to inject national program "windows" into their satellite feeds?
3. How can we convince them to take note of our national priorities and problems when beaming their signal to our country?
4. How can we get a share of their advertising income generated in our country?

Shrewd questions that show a lot of insight into the situation and seek solutions for a problem that is by no means confined to Southern Africa.

A similar development can be observed in the Arab region. Ministers of information and national broadcasters convene one meeting after another. All of them deal with the overall theme: "How can we preserve our cultural identity under the floods of international satellite television?" For the ministers, in the beginning, this topic simply translated into: "How can we preserve our monopoly over our state-owned media and ban foreign news flow?" Now for some ministers, and for the majority of broadcasters, this means something else. They understand that they cannot stem the tide and have discovered the only possible answer besides total resignation. Their keyword now is competition. They must revive what they had neglected for a long time: more locally

produced entertainment features, documentaries, and magazine and current affairs programs that take into account national and regional issues.

The regional television news exchange, ArabVision, points in this direction as do the many requests for training and consultancies. This is an important indication that things are changing and that there is light at the end of the tunnel.

There are many success stories. For example, AsiaVision and AfroVision, are both regional initiatives to ease the dependence of developing countries on foreign news feeds and to further the awareness of national and regional issues in the South. PacNews is the first and only radio news exchange in the developing world among island nations of the South Pacific. The scattered islands in this region inform each other about matters of national and regional interest on a day-to-day basis and sell this service to Hawaii, Hongkong, and Singapore. The Caribbean Broadcasting Union, supported by FES, IDRC, UNESCO, and others, has worked in a region where American television dominates 85-97% of the local screens. CaribVision and CaribScope, Caribbean Night, and locally produced feature films now make the difference and help to create a Caribbean identity that is shared by millions of viewers during prime time.

At the national level, there is the Radio 4 experiment in Zimbabwe, one of the most disliked schemes of two-way flow of communication as far as some politicians are concerned. They are being reminded by listeners' clubs (mostly headed by women) of their election promises and are now forced to talk back to their audiences on the air because well-trained journalists ask them to do so. A valuable addition to local production and national dialogue. As well, Latin America is a very fertile ground for grassroots initiatives that need to be fully analyzed and brought to worldwide attention. There are many more success stories that could be quoted: news agency development in Africa; CANA in the Caribbean; some UNESCO/IPDC projects; and new initiatives in Eastern Europe.

In June 1991, Toronto was the venue of the 5th International Broadcast News Workshop, which brought together news specialists from all over the world. At this meeting, delegates were unhappy that during the Gulf War the national broadcasters of the Middle East, the region where it all took place, were left out

completely and had no voice in reporting on the war or giving their view on the events. The large networks of the North were also driven away from the events and had to buy their coverage piece by piece from CNN.

Therefore, broadcasters from the North and the South found themselves, for the first time, on the same side of the fence and they were both frustrated and angry. This led to a new coalition between television news people around the world. In Toronto, they promised to each other that the “Waterloo” of television — as a leading European new broadcaster put it — would not be repeated in the future.

My recommendation based on this note of hope: let us not get lost in another ideological debate on banning or channelling international news and television flows. Let us trace, analyze, and publicize existing success stories and encourage new ones. Let us look at the new and independent press in Africa, at upcoming community radios in Southern Africa, and at video initiatives such as those of Vidéazimut or the Worldview International Foundation. Let us spread these patterns of communication to countries that are now fighting for democratic media systems.

If efforts in this direction are reinforced, we will be able, even during this decade, to bring communication as a tool of development and cultural self-expression back to the top of a new list of priorities shared by both South and North.

Asian Development Communications in the 1990s

Saik-Yoon Chin

The past is always a good place to start our search for the future. Nora Quebrel, who pioneered development communications in Asia, observed in a recent study¹ that the seemingly incongruous, conceptual characterisations of many past development communication efforts in the region reveal their logic when they are "ranged against the development postulates that make up their respective project frameworks". Any attempt to place future and past communication initiatives in a conceptual context requires a review of development theories and their communications counterparts.

Many development scholars would agree that four principal paradigms have driven thinking on development over the past four decades. They are the: Modernization or Growth Model; Basic Needs or Growth with Distribution Model; Dependency Model; and Participatory or 'Another' Development Model.

Quebrel also observed that the hypothesis and prevailing axiom that communication concepts and strategies replicate the development concepts and strategies have, by and large, held. Figure 1 summarizes how development communications has ridden in tandem with development paradigms.

She stressed two points about the four development paradigms and their development communications counterparts:

1. like all paradigms, they are neatly discrete representations of factors that in real life may actually run into each other; and
2. paradigms do not necessarily replace one another but may coexist in overlapping time frames. "After peaking and subsiding, a paradigm may hang on at a lower but steady state, or they may enjoy a resurgence, as seems to be happening to the modernisation theory since the mid-80s".

FIGURE 1. *Development paradigms and the attributes of development communication.*

DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

**DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION
CHARACTERISTICS**

Modernization/Growth Model

Industrialised countries held up as role models. Development perceived as a series of growth stages. Poor countries encouraged to adopt values, beliefs, institutions, and technologies of the rich countries. Strategies capital and technology intensive; benefits thought to eventually 'trickle-down' to the people.

Unquestioning faith in the efficacy of Western-type mass-media to affect change in large societies. Role of communications to diffuse information from central sources and persuade people to change traditional attitudes, learn new skills, and adopt technological innovations. Top-down process.

Basic Needs/Growth with Distribution Model

Focused directly on poverty. Priority on rural sector and to agriculture, the chief source of employment. Attention broadened from incomes to health, nutrition, education. Obstacles to development were perceived not in individuals but in outmoded social structures. Strategies shifted to intermediate technology and labour-intensive solutions.

One-way mass media no longer central role, only supportive. Local media help people express their needs. Interpersonal communication indispensable to development action. Communications' primary role was to provide technical information, educate people, and encourage participation in planning and implementation of development activities for own benefit. Felt that horizontal, grassroots channels of interaction had be deployed and strengthened.

DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM**DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION
CHARACTERISTICS****Dependency Model**

The cause of underdevelopment was pinned on the unequal relationships among countries. Class struggle between rich and poor projected to the global level. The old East-West dichotomy became one between the North and South.

Southern communicators saw little important technological information "trickling" into the poor countries. Instead saw a strong flow of news and entertainment from North that threatened to smother native values and cultures. Felt that the South should be able to keep out unwanted information, defend their sovereignty, strengthen communication links among themselves, and build communication resources to counter alien information and perspectives of the South.

Participatory "Another" Development Model

Model spawned during the dependency debates. Retained decentralist tendencies of the basic needs approach while innovating additional features. Development of peoples' values, cultures, and other qualitative factors were stressed. Antithetical solutions proposed to a wide range of ills: (e.g. violence-peace, destruction of the environment-sustainable development, injustice-social justice, repression-freedom).

Diversity of ideas that drives model has borne communication system of small, scattered personal and other media plugged loosely into constellation of networks that operate fairly independently. The chief function of both interpersonal and mass media is to promote critical self-awareness to facilitate the empowerment of people. The long-term goal is the full realization of the human being. User-oriented.

Legacies of the Past

In debates about paradigms, practitioners frequently grow impatient and want to know: Why are they important? In what ways have they shaped the art and science of development communication? This paper will attempt to address both questions in the context of the broadcast media.

Five broadcasting models can be discerned from the past four decades of programming (Figure 2). By design or accident, they reflect development communication theories, which in turn echo the development paradigms of the day.

Open Broadcasting An early example of this model came from Kinshasa, Zaire where Dr Massikita, a folksy country doctor, hosted 15 minute radio broadcasts (carried in five languages) on a wide range of health topics². Open broadcast programs depended on the presumed ability of radio to reach audiences. These programs assumed that radio broadcasts could persuade people to change their attitudes and behaviour. But the benefit of hindsight together with research has shown that such changes do not occur in deep seated behaviour "unless the messages are received in an environment where the change is sanctioned by the listeners' primary social groups and where the social structures surrounding the listeners hold no impediments, that is, where the only problem preventing change is lack of information"¹.

Radio Rural Forum This approach was commonly based on a weekly 15 to 30 minute magazine format radio program dealing with farming issues. Audiences were organized into village groups that gathered to listen to each broadcast and then immediately afterward discussed what they had just heard. The discussions were facilitated by a locally appointed leader whose job was also to file a report to the program producers to summarize the discussions. Radio forums have drawn their share of criticisms. However, there is evidence that they can effect behavioural change. They are apparently more effective when they are elements of larger integrated rural development efforts that include the mobilization of support services and policies to respond to the decisions reached by the village groups.

FIGURE 2. *Links between development paradigms and models of development broadcasting.*

DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM	DEVELOPMENT BROADCASTING MODEL
Modernization (1950-1960)	Open Broadcasting
Growth with Distribution	Radio Rural Forum
Dependency	South-South News Exchange
"Another" Development	Radio, Video, and Small Media for Animation
Modernization (1980-?)	Broadcasting for Social Marketing

South-South News Exchange

The first television news exchange in the South began operations in Asia on 16 January 1984. On this historic day five television stations in South and Southeast Asia took turns in beaming news footage via satellite to a coordinating centre in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Within hours, millions of viewers in Bangladesh, Brunei, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka saw this footage on their television screens at home. AsiaVision was born. It was a child of two decades of deep concern among broadcasters and policymakers that news about their Southern neighbours had to be obtained via London, New York, or Paris, together with the effects of Northern filtering and processing. AsiaVision has since grown into an exchange of more than a dozen members with the potential to reach more than half of the world's population. Like other schemes around the world (including those in the North) it operates on the following principles:

1. members are free to offer or not offer any news item from its area of coverage;
2. members are free to accept or reject any news item offered;
3. contributing stations make all the decisions in shooting and editing news items; and

4. receiving stations make all the editorial decisions in re-editing and narrating the items accepted.

There is continuing skepticism in the North that the internal state of many participating countries, coupled with sociopolitical pressures would lead to meaningless "declamatory" journalism^{3, 4}. Within months of AsiaVision's launch there was a promising indication that this may not always be the case. Severe student unrest broke out in Bangladesh; the Government, as expected, imposed a ban on news gathering by national and foreign television news crews. However under pressure from AsiaVision members, the Bangladeshi Government relented and gave permission for footage to be shot and transmitted to participating stations; all members carried the images on their evening news except for Bangladesh, which stuck to its self-imposed ban.

Two other successful news exchange nodes are located in Asia. The first is in Manila, from where the Press Foundation of Asia (PFA) moves hundreds of thousands of words among subscribing newspapers under a service called DepthNews. PFA together with the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development (AIBD) circulates a broadcasters' version of DepthNews that is moved in the form of 1-3 minute scripts. The second is the Third World News Features belonging to the Third World Network (TWN) coordinated out of Penang. TWN moves half a dozen news features a week to subscribers in the South as well as the North. TWN's hard-hitting style and in-depth analysis of major, current issues confronting the South have earned it high regard in the South and grudging respect in the North.

TWN also circulates from its listening post in Geneva the South-North Development Monitor, a unique bulletin that analyzes the myriad of issues affecting multilateral talks and the numerous negotiations winding their way through the numerous United Nations (UN) committee rooms in New York and Geneva. Although considered essential reading by all Southern diplomats accredited to the UN, it is little known outside the diplomatic community. This tightly focused communication product helps to shape Southern policies and partially fills a vacuum that has undermined the South's effectiveness in multilateral negotiations.

Radio, Video, and Small Media for Animation

In this model, the media cast aside their traditional role of delivering information. Instead the media perceive their role as a mirror to people's plight and aspirations that helps people see themselves clearly and take stock of their lives. This is believed to be the critical first step to facilitating people's participation in development. An outstanding example of the model comes from Fogo Island off the coast of Newfoundland, where filmmakers from Memorial University collaborated with the islanders to shoot and edit a series of very powerful films and videos. The production and editing process, together with the screening of the final products, helped the islanders to resolve conflict among themselves, and to understand clearly the problems and potentials of the community. When the productions were shown to policymakers outside Fogo Island, they were moved to amend past policies that impacted negatively on the islanders. This approach has come to be known as The Fogo Process and has been deployed in India and Nepal.

This animators model has probably found widest currency in the Philippines where many innovative nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), propelled by a recently liberated spirit, routinely use small media to help mobilize communities. The "People's Power" revolt, which removed Ferdinand Marcos and installed Corazon Aquino as President, had in its arsenal only a mix of small media: a string of community radio stations, thousands of photocopying and facsimile machines, and millions of interpersonal networks.

Media materials in this model always show people in their normal surroundings, living regular lives, and discussing their fears and aspirations for the future. These materials are used to trigger among members of the community personal reflections on their lives, group discussions, the building of consensus, the resolution of conflicts, and plans for united action. The role of the facilitator in these frequently very lengthy processes is very important. He or she is commonly from the NGO and trained to work in a participatory and nondirective manner. The facilitator must build into his or her work the training of members of the community to take over the role of the facilitator after his or her eventual withdrawal from the community. The media materials are of ephemeral

importance; the process of producing the materials, and the social forces they help to activate are instead the central elements of this model.

The Development Broadcasting Unit (DBU) is a recently developed Asian working prototype of this model. AIBD and the Ryerson International Development Centre (RIDC), collaborating with radio and television broadcasters from India, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea, spent 5 years from the mid-1980s evolving the DBU. Four "keys" underpin the DBU concept: two-way communications; it is people centred rather than broadcasting program centred; it evokes and provokes people's participation; and it provides a continuous forum for the analysis of people's inter-relationships with their social, political, economic, and cultural environment.

At the operational level, four features are germane to the DBU prototype: narrowcasting—the area of primary coverage of a DBU is as small as the station can make it; detailed research to generate feedforward and feedback—feedforward helps to develop a clear and detailed profile of the community, their needs, and their preferences and feedback aims to determine the appropriateness of prototype programs and the efficacy of the broadcasts; field-based production involving the active participation of the community that the DBU has elected to serve; and programming integrated with on-going development efforts by governmental and nongovernmental organizations working in the vicinity of the community.

The DBU model has made an impressive impact within Indonesia. All 46 Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) and 12 Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) stations have adopted the DBU approach in the production and broadcast of women's affairs programs.

To date, the DBU model holds the greatest potential for improving people's access to state-owned broadcast media. In the prototype, access is provided through formative and postbroadcast research. These two forms of research are carried out in a highly participative way with the deliberate intention of creating free and open channels that will allow the people to shape the broadcast agenda and influence production formats and techniques. However, the process of prototyping the DBU model also revealed two obstacles that can stymie its widespread adoption: lack of research skills and willingness to do innovative

audience research among many of the broadcasters; and lack of outside broadcast and transport facilities, which in turn prevents the production of community-based programs (past studio-based productions have been largely responsible for the top-down, city-to-village type of programming that still dominates the airwaves).

Broadcasting for Social Marketing

Quebrel¹ sees a resurgence of the first model over the past 7 years. Among a complex combination of several other factors, this revival may be partly traced to the adoption of social marketing concepts in the evolving battle against the spread of the HIV. The Entertainment-Education (Enter-Educate) Approach defined by Johns Hopkins University, Center for Communication Programs, appears to be driving this resurgence. Here, development messages (e.g., "A Rubber (Condom) May Save Your Life") are subtly woven into scripts of television dramas and lyrics of popular songs. Such Enter-Educate programming has been aired in countries as diverse as Pakistan and the Philippines with very convincing short-term impact. Graphs tracking public request for health services that were socially marketed by the programs peaked sharply after each cycle of Enter-Educate broadcasts. Unlike the original open broadcast model, this revived hybrid deploys the mass media to motivate viewers and listeners to call telephone hotlines, or to call on health service providers where interpersonal communication takes over. Also unlike the first model, the fifth depends on sophisticated research to segment audiences, position "products", and develop and refine messages and formats. Like many social marketing activities, this model is open to charges of manipulation. But proponents of the model will argue that the issues they serve (e.g., containment of HIV, reducing family size, and wearing of seatbelts) are for the public good and justify the deployment of such an approach.

Exigencies for the 1990s

Development communications in what remains of this decade will, as in the past, be shaped and driven by development exigencies of the moment. The late 1980s and the first 18 months of the 1990s have projected to the front three sets

of global concerns that will have major impacts on the development communication agenda of Asia, just as they are expected to shape the agenda of other countries in the South: the environment; world trade; and HIV and AIDS. A fourth factor that may be just as applicable to Asia as it is to the rest of the world is: transition of political leadership.

The Environment. The environment tops this list of four factors not because of its glitter in the aftermath of the June 1992 Earth Summit but because it calls into question a range of fundamental and systemic issues that will ultimately decide the survival of the planet on the long term, nation states in the South Pacific in the medium term, and marginalized households living precariously on the edge of disaster in the very short term.

It also tops the list because the solution — sustainable development — a subset of the "Another" Development model seems poised to come out of the wings and take centre stage as the fifth dominant paradigm.

Martin Khor, one of Asia's leading thinkers on development made this observation in a recent assessment of our present quandary: "The global environment crisis is accompanied today by increasingly severe economic and social crises in most parts of the Third World. The per capita incomes in most African and Latin American (and some Asian) countries have been falling in the 1980s, in some regions having declined to levels of 20 or 30 years ago. Poverty has increased, and health problems (like cholera epidemics in Latin America and Africa) have returned... These two phenomena — the global environment crisis and the socio-economic decline in the South are interconnected and have resulted together from an inequitable world order, unsustainable systems of production and consumption in the North and inappropriate developments in the South"⁵.

In the same assessment, Khor quantifies these stunning gaps between the North and the South: the North with 20% of total world population consumes 80% of total world resources; and the North has an average per capita income 15 times higher than in the South.

At the Second International Conference on Energy held in August 1992, delegates were reminded in the keynote address⁶ that nations in the South

account for only 7% of carbon dioxide emissions and thus should not be blamed for its ill-effects on a global level.

Khor concludes that the largest part of the problem of resource contamination and depletion rests in the North: "One could simplistically say that four-fifths of the problem lies in the Northern economic model and a fifth in the Southern development model." He stresses that a reform of the world order is pertinent to evolving a fairer and more sustainable global order. The first of several principles that would move the world to such an order is the democratization of the international order. This would give the South greater participation in both decision-making and benefits from world development. The democratization of the existing order should begin with a review of the major economic institutions including transnational corporations and the Bretton Woods institutions: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (IBRD); and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The South's interest in the impact of the North on the planet's environment should not distract it from the responsibilities that Southern governments, institutions, and businesses share in the protection of the local environment. The South does pollute and deforest. Asian NGOs continue to focus the largest part of their efforts on advocating to their own governments and corporations the imperative of containing the crisis facing the local environment. At the same time, there is increasing awareness to mobilize at the international level. This has led to a phenomenon where NGOs that take adversarial positions with their governments at home, adopt allied positions at international forums. This novel ambivalence can potentially help to defuse conflict between NGOs and governments at home by illustrating to both that while they may represent separate sides to the issue, they have fundamental agreement on what the key issues are.

Tommy Koh, the Chairman, Main Committee and Chairman, Preparatory Committee of UNCED, recently took stock of the accomplishments of the Earth Summit¹¹: "The intellectual breakthrough in Rio is that we have a global consensus in favour of both development and environment... to give people a better life, we must continue to achieve economic progress, we must however do so in harmony with nature... This global solidarity was evidenced by the following facts: that 172 countries attended the summit, that 116 countries were

represented by their heads of state..."

The intellectual breakthrough in the South may be more striking. It is often assumed that concern for the environment is limited primarily to populations in industrialized countries. A survey¹² conducted in the first quarter of 1992 by The George H. Gallup International Institute in 22 Southern and Northern countries proved that this assumption is not true. The study covered seven developing countries; highlighted here are the results of two Asian countries. In India, 4,984 people were interviewed and in the Philippines, 1000 (the sampling error in India is ± 2 percentage points, in the Philippines ± 4 percentage points):

1. in India, 51% rated environmental problems as "very serious" in the country, 37% did the same in the Philippines;
2. 94% of Filipinos rated "A Great Deal/Fair Amount" as their level of personal concern about environmental problems, whereas 77% replied similarly in India;
3. 82% of Indians and 81% of Filipinos believe that environmental problems will affect the health of their children over the next 25 years;
4. 44% of both Indians and Filipinos feel that their governments should take primary responsibility for protecting the environment; and
5. 57% Filipinos and 39% of Indians rate very highly the effectiveness of citizens groups in solving their environmental problems. The environment appears to be a concern of the people.

World Trade. The August 1992 announcement of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) sent shivers across Asia. NAFTA would minimize trade barriers among the United States, Canada, and Mexico and reorganize the region into one of the world's most powerful trading blocs. The chill in Asia can be attributed to two major worries⁸:

1. that the North American pact represents a major step toward the division of the world into trading blocs with all its nightmarish consequences for Asia's trading nations; and
2. that America, having concluded its own free trade agreement, will be less interested in contributing to the successful conclusion of the Uruguay round of GATT aimed at reducing trade barriers worldwide.

The latter is a double-edged sword. There have been strong concerns that the GATT negotiations remain closed-door affairs with little, if any, public participation. This absence of transparency has led to the transfer of power from more accountable local and national bodies to unaccountable international entities.

In a March 1992 report, Greenpeace International⁹ expressed its fears that: "Negotiations for new trade agreements are carried out in secret: in GATT, deliberations are not publicly documented, and even representatives from smaller countries are excluded as deals are cut informally between major trading nations and then presented as *fait accompli*."

This is just not the perception of a NGO. At the end of the July 1990 session of GATT talks in Geneva, Rubens Ricupero, the Brazilian Ambassador issued a statement¹⁰ on behalf of delegations from the South. It closed with a warning: "Developing countries wish to reaffirm their readiness to negotiate constructively... [but] will reject any attempt to impose upon them a prenegotiated package agreed only by a few."

The South Commission, comprising 28 eminent statesmen and development experts from developing countries around the world, and chaired by Julius Nyerere, former president of the United Republic of Tanzania, in its 1990 report¹³ criticized multilateral financial institutions: "Where a small number of developed countries determine in practice both the agenda and outcome of meetings, the developing countries are relegated to a subsidiary role, limited principally to proposing minor textual changes to formulations worked out by the leading countries."

The commission in the same report laid the blame at the doorstep of the South: "...the South has failed to organise itself effectively for complex, collective negotiations. Most countries of the South do not individually have the capacity to deal with the detailed, technical negotiations in the many forums and on the multitude of subjects involved in present-day North-South economic relations. Each of these countries tends eventually to spread its very limited resources of skilled negotiators so thin that it is not fully effective in any area."

Buried within the rapid ferment of Southern discontent against the multilateral processes is a timebomb that threatens to disintegrate development communications. Unnoticed by the majority of communicators is the on-going

South-North battle at GATT where transnational corporations, through the major Northern countries, are pushing for the expansion of GATT's powers to include the service industries. Khor¹⁴ warns that if the North wins on this front: "It may mean that media companies and media personalities and owners in the United States or Australia may be given freedom to set up media companies in the Third World, including television and the print media, and therefore control the cultures of Third World countries."

Until now, the South has largely managed to retain the order of its indigenous cultures (give or take a dent or two inflicted by Hollywood serials and music television). The importance of this vital component in development should never be underestimated. The South Commissioners, with their wisdom distilled from more than two centuries of collective national leadership advises that: "Culture, viewed as the sum total of values, beliefs, attitudes, customs, and patterns of behaviour in a given society, is a vital pillar of social and economic transformation, capital formation and technical progress are essential elements of development, but the broad environment for their effectiveness is a society's culture; it is only by the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities through mass participation that development can be given strong roots and made a sustained process."

At stake is just not ownership of newspapers and television channels, but what could be the South's last vital, undisturbed asset that holds the key to sustainable development.

Culture is not the only information and communication element in jeopardy at GATT. The fast growing trade in data services coupled with businesses' dependence on exchange of data across national boundaries to effect intra-corporate transactions have given rise to deep concern on transborder data flows (TBDF). These flows typically occur using computer networks plugged into telecommunications systems. Advances over the past two decades in computer hardware and software have made the processing, storage, and transmission of information a strategic resource¹⁶ that impacts on economic productivity, investment, structural change, and employment. The United States singularly holds a lead in critical information technology causing not only the South but also Northern countries such as Japan, the United Kingdom,

and Canada to fear persisting American domination of the information services sector by GATT rules framed to preserve the *status quo*.

These and many preceding failures of the multilateral process have led to loud, unanimous calls to reform the Bretton Woods institutions and GATT. The South is now insisting that multilateral processes be made transparent and democratic; and that the agencies that facilitate these processes be made equally accountable to the South and North.

HIV. Our health in the closing years of this century stands threatened by the deadly HIV and its fatal companion AIDS. The virus has already had a catastrophic effect on sub-Saharan Africa — killing most of the adults at the prime of their lives in many communities, and leaving behind the very young and the very old. The 1990 figures for HIV positive people in Asia were remarkably very low. This led to suggestions that there were elements in the Asian genetic makeup that protected us from HIV. Latest figures not only exploded this myth¹⁵ but have simultaneously begun to sketch a trend and pace of virus spread that may well replicate in Asia the sub-Saharan crisis within a matter of years if nothing is done to check its spread.

The alarm in Asia about HIV and AIDS is not only for the hundreds of thousands of people who will succumb to the disease. Because of the geometric rate of increase of infection once the virus takes hold, there are well-founded fears that the disease has the potential to overwhelm hospitals with more AIDS patients than there are beds to accommodate them. This could eventually lead to a collapse of national health delivery systems. Such systemic failures, if they were to occur in the 1990s, could not happen in a worse time: malaria, tuberculosis, and cholera cases are once again on the rise, at a time when diarrhoea and other tropical infectious diseases remain to be effectively contained.

HIV, AIDS, and communication bear especially vital links. Information and education remain the first and last fronts of defence against the virus and disease in the absence of any medical methods of prevention or cure. Communicating health education messages about HIV and AIDS is proving to be very challenging. At the heart of the such campaigns are deep-seated social and

personal taboos, difficult-to-change behaviours, and not completely satisfactory alternatives to currently unsafe practices. HIV will test the *gestalt* of Asian communicators in the remaining years of the 1990s.

Transition of Political Leadership. Some of Asia's most powerful and enduring leaders who have held some of the most rigid courses of ideology and development are, in this decade, into what could be their final years of leadership. In the absence of clear plans of succession in some countries, and promise of smooth transfer of power in others, Asians await with varying degrees of trepidation for the exit of this aging political leadership. This impending transition is of particular significance to Asia because, apart from a handful of other countries, it involves one billion people in the People's Republic of China. For the people of Hong Kong, this transition comes at a highly delicate time. In 1997, the territories will overnight switch all its systems, including communication, to accommodate those of the Chinese government. Hong Kong has been Asia's most free-wheeling mass media hub.

These transitions will certainly redefine the latitudes and rules for development communication. Whether communication processes and information flows will become freer and more dynamic, or less participatory and less vibrant remains to be determined.

Alternatives for the 1990s

Changes in development communication are driven by four main imperatives: advances in communication technologies; exigencies of broader development imperatives; shifts in communication concepts; and revisions in political policies.

Advances in Communication Technologies. The 1990s will probably see the commercial application of High Definition Television (HDTV) and a set of innovations that are microcomputer based. The latter include multimedia programs and virtual reality facilities. Also on the horizon are global cellular telephones that will almost totally actualize Dick Tracy's wristwatch communications device. It is unlikely that any of these will touch the day-to-day lives

of the millions of Asian households. They will instead be the prestigious toys of the urban elites. There may be one exception. An increasing number of non-formal educators and information specialists see multimedia soft and hardware as a powerful tool for assisting the education of all groups. The falling prices of microcomputers, video and sound cards, and CD-ROM drives will render the medium affordable to developing communities in the later years of the decade.

CD-ROMs aside, improvements in development communication techniques will more likely come from technological advances made in the 1980s rather than the 1990s. In the Asian context, four pieces of hardware are particularly well positioned as tools of change.

Hand-Held Small Format Video Cameras. These cameras have made it possible for Asian communities to deploy Fogo-like communication techniques to mobilize support and to advocate their causes. Quite apart from triggering participation and documenting the development process for feeding back into communities, the camera-recorder (camcorder) is a powerful weapon against the clandestine destruction of the environment. The Yamamani Indians in the Amazon wielded this weapon with success. An extreme example of the power of the camcorder was seen in the recent Los Angeles riots. Footage of policemen assaulting a black American was taped by a passerby with a hand-held camera and led to a trial, an unjust verdict, and a catastrophic knee-jerk explosion of pent-up frustrations. The riots at the same time reveal the havoc that can be unleashed by communication processes set in motion without the safety net of conflict management mechanisms. The euphoria for participatory approaches has been tempered in recent years by many unhappy experiences of volatile processes running berserk.

Video Cassette Recorders (VCR). Though not an innovation of the 1980s, it has declined sufficiently in price to help extend its pervasiveness into the less isolated rural hinterlands of Asia. The 1990s will see the VCR moving further into the more isolated areas. Besides being the indispensable companion to the camcorder, the VCR has opened powerful alternative channels of communica-

tion. Among the first to discover its potency were opposition political parties and religious movements. The former found the VCR able to circumvent media blackouts imposed by government controlled radio, television, and press acting on the behest of the ruling party.

However, the deployment of the VCR need not be only in such an oppositional context. Agricultural information that is highly specific to small agroclimatic districts that can never be justified for broadcast, can now be narrowcast using the VCR. Messages delivered on tape enjoy the additional advantage of being retained for replay and reference; whereas, broadcast materials are extremely evanescent in nature.

Because of the scarcity of television sets and VCRs in rural communities, the units that do exist—although belonging to an individual—are frequently used in a communal way. Although the owner may decide what to watch, the watching is usually done by a group of neighbours or friends. This group watching of television usually leads to a discussion of what was seen—a very powerful group reflection process that can maximize the impact of development programs.

Portable Low-Power Radio Station Transmitters. Fed by audio recordings from hand-held cassette recorders, and live broadcasts on microphone or two-way transceivers, mixed and edited on a console that folds into a suitcase, these transmitters have the potential to sprout hundreds of community radio stations. Given the simplicity of the hardware, the people themselves can operate and manage these stations after a short period of training. Because of its low power output, the transmitter is not only cheap to operate but will actualize long discussed concepts of narrowcasting. These stations can be potent empowering tools of scores of Asian communities. Two obstacles stand in the way of widespread adoption of the hardware: the first is funding (which is fairly modest), the second, and more daunting one, is the difficulty of obtaining licences from the authorities to broadcast.

Facsimile (Fax) Machines. Their first contribution to Asia (with its hundreds of indigenous calligraphic scripts) was to free us from the Roman alphabet and Arabic numerals around which most information transmittal networks had

been built. The telex and telegram are two examples of technologies that never fully served the communication needs of Asians. The second contribution was to break the stranglehold on information flow that the more centralized systems imposed on their communities. The most dramatic example of this was the series of events that preceded and followed the massacre on Tiananmen Square; faxed messages mobilized groups within China and allowed Chinese students studying abroad to send home uncensored reports of the true situation.

Less dramatic, but equally important applications of the fax in the 1990s will include the improved networking of citizens groups and the movement of news and features between small community newspapers that could never afford the cost of dedicated telex lines.

Exigencies of Broader Development Imperatives. Three common priorities are likely to appear in the differing national agendas of Asian nations this decade: sustainable development; international trade; and containment of the HIV.

Sustainable Development. This is likely to become the next dominant development paradigm. Partly because of the global trend in this direction, and partly because the national budgets do not permit the continued dependence on expensive, input-intensive approaches. This change will be critical to development communications not only for the messages it will generate and the exigency it signals, but more so for the conceptual shift it heralds.

International Trade. The advent of NAFTA and the EEC, exacerbated by the difficulties that GATT (either abandoned or successfully concluded) will raise, will preoccupy Asian states that have grown dependent on North American and European markets for their sustained growth. Moves are afoot to mobilize Asian and Southern countries to form alliances to redress the imbalances present in the multilateral processes and to promote common interests. A push will be made to make multilateral bodies more transparent and accountable. The contribution of communications will be to strengthen specialized reportage on multilateral processes and negotiations, like those done now by the South-North Development Monitor. This unique communications service, now largely confined to diplomats from the South based in Geneva and New

York, can be strategically broadened to include publics in both the North and South. It may only be by raising a global outrage at the existing gross imbalances in the world order that the major Northern governments can be moved to correct them. The expansion of this unique service might be accomplished by broadcasting a television version. The service should be focused primarily on overcoming the disunity in the South, which the South Commission attributed as one of the causes of the imbalances.

Containment of the HIV. Before the decade is out, most Asian governments will have reversed their policies of remaining silent on the spread of the virus. This reversal will be expressed in the form of mass media campaigns, school education programs, and adult sensitization sessions held at work places. Where agriculture dominated the content of development communications over the past four decades, health may preoccupy us for the next. There are some major differences between having agricultural and health issues as content. The chief differences, and perhaps the most difficult to overcome in the 1990s, is that whereas agricultural concepts have a tactile quality, concepts in health are quite intangible, even if the consequences of diseases are obvious and tragic. The human immune system, how it works, how it breaks down under attack from HIV are all highly challenging messages that are difficult to communicate effectively.

Shifts in Communication Concepts. The imperatives of sustainable development, international trade, and containment of the HIV will provoke the actualization of many existing, though not widely operationalized concepts.

Listening First. Hopefully, the 1990s will be marked by development communicators spending more time listening to people than speaking to them. The listening will be crucial because all three development imperatives pose communications challenges for which we do not have ready answers. By listening carefully we should hear the keys to the challenges.

In the case of sustainable development, communicators will be called on to persuade people to reject many things they have spent the past four decades persuading people to adopt — pesticides, chemical fertilizers, cash crops, and

much more. It is unlikely communicators can do this without suffering some loss of credibility. Listening carefully for the anxieties and anger that this drastic about-turn will cause will minimize these losses and allow communicators to respond in an effective manner.

With HIV, listening to people's knee-jerk reactions to our broaching in public, taboo subjects that are rarely discussed even in private, will ensure that we do not alienate people even before we have had the opportunity to start.

Finally, listening first is highly congruent with the concept of people's participation in the development process — one which will gather greater momentum in the 1990s.

Going Global. Asian development communication of the past has been focused largely at the local level (e.g., increasing agricultural yields, reducing family size, and mobilizing resources). This local focus will have to continue but attention will simultaneously need to shift to a global scale. The shift will be aimed at tackling global problems that impact on local well-being.

Educating Rather Than Informing. Despite an increasing dependence on media and information technologies during this decade; it will soon become apparent more than ever before that communication is not a technological process. The content of this decade's communication (sustainable development and HIV) will ally the discipline closer to education than the information sciences. (However the latter will continue to play a central role in the issue of transborder data flows.) Both communication and education are people-centred processes. The efficacy of both processes depends on how each of the individuals chooses to participate, and how fully he or she is able to analyze, interpret, adapt, and incorporate the content exchanged. Although communication mechanisms should be made as efficient as possible, this should not be done at the expense of the critical interactions between people and content¹⁷.

Using A New Yardstick. The UN Development Programme (UNDP) predicts human development moving to the centre stage in the 1990s. "For too long, the question has been how much is a nation producing? Now the question must be: how are people faring?"¹⁸. UNDP suggests that the real objective of develop-

ment is to increase people's choices. That income is only one aspect of these choices. Health, education, a good physical environment, and freedom are other important elements.

Many development communicators in Asia have persisted over the years with the measurement of the impact of their work according to increases in crops yields and adoptive rates of technologies promoted. It is hoped that a rising awareness that development at the human level is as important as the GNP ratings of a country will provide communicators with impetus to adopt a new yardstick. An alternative may contain indicators included in UNDP's human development index (HDI). It is likely that the new criteria for measuring impact may find successes in past failures — a farmer's rejection of an innovation would be termed a failure in the past but a success in the future if the farmer had made the decision rationally after considering all the facts laid before him or her. The ability to make such rational decisions far exceeds the importance of winning technological adoptions. It is a critical development skill that ultimately allows the farmer to cope with the pressures accompanying development and change. Part of coping has to be the ability and choice of saying "No".

Revisions of Political Policies. This final imperative exerts a strangle-hold on the free and effective practice of development communications in many Asian countries.

All governments have permitted development communicators to freely adopt "simple" development problems such as low crop yields and the eradication of malaria. Fewer governments have allowed the tackling of complex problems such as low prices of farm produce, low wages, or inequitable land ownership. None of the governments have willingly given into the public processing of wealth distribution issues, power relationships, corruption, and other systemic problems.

Many development communicators in the region have been frustrated by the imposed limit that has confined work to the level of simple problems because they have seen that solutions to these problems seldom lead to improvements in the people's quality of life. There is now appreciation that

effective solutions usually lie in the overcoming of complex problems and that long-term solutions lie in the solution of systemic problems. For development communication to make a real difference, it should be given licence to address at the minimum the complex problems.

Filipino communicators were the first in Asia to win for themselves this licence. This decade may see communicators in at least one, if not two more countries gain this freedom.

A Wish for the 1990s

With a process as dynamic and socially driven as development communication, one does not predict the future, but only wish for it. A good wish from Asia would be the metamorphosis of twin streams of development communication. The first intensifies the participatory, animation work at the local and national levels initiated within the fourth model. The work, however, will be driven in this decade by the fundamentals of sustainable development. The second stream flows through the global arena where the South will turn to the international broadcast media, including new ones it will establish and operate for itself, to advocate a balanced new world order maintained by accountable and transparent multilateral mechanisms.

Proposals for Action

The wish for the 1990s stands a better chance of coming true if we successfully undertake six sets of actions at both the global and local levels.

Global Level

1. Strengthen existing Southern news feature services to redress imbalances in information flows and opinion creation.

2. Launch a global, South-managed television network to break the oligarchy of CNN and BBC World Service Television. The global South television network should include in its programming the following: (a) South-North Development Monitor Service, which tracks the multilateral processes; (b) NGO news and reports aimed at supporting networking and advocacy at the regional and issue levels; (c) G-77 news and analyses; (d) culture (traditional

and contemporary); (e) news and documentaries from development agencies; (f) science and current affairs programming focusing on sustainable technologies and solutions; (g) health, emphasizing tropical diseases and HIV and AIDS; and (h) distance learning modules offered together with an Open University of the South.

3. Implement research on transborder data flows to learn how such flows may further disturb the already imbalanced relationships between the South and North.

Local Level

1. Conduct research to merge development communication theories and practices with non-formal education theories and practices, and to explore possible alignments with anthropology on issues of indigenous knowledge systems.

2. Develop and adopt a new set of criteria to measure the impact of development communication.

3. Orient and sensitize communicators to the sustainable development paradigm and to the need to adopt participatory and iterative approaches in actualizing communications undertaken within this paradigm.

References

1. Chin, Saik Yoon and Quebrel, Nora. 1991. "Project for Broadcasting in Development": Evaluation Report, Canadian International Development Agency.
2. McAnany, Ernile G. 1973. *Radio's Role in Development: Five Strategies of Use*. Information Bulletin No.4, Center for Instructional Technology, Academy for Educational Development.
3. Keunne, Reinhard. 1989. *Television News Exchange: Is the Future Over Before it Began?* Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

4. Irwin, Christopher. 1991. "The New Global Broadcasts: Imperialists, Agitators or Philanthropists?": Inaugural Singapore Press Club lecture given by the Chief Executive, BBC World Service Television Limited, 27 September.
5. Khor, Martin K.P. 1993. "Environment and Development: Need for a Better World Order". *World Policy Review* (in press).
6. Salleh, Mohamed Nor. 1992. "Keynote address to the Second International Conference on Energy, Kuala Lumpur". Reported in *The Star*, 19 August, p. 8.
7. Goldsmith, Edward *et al.* 1992. *The Future of Progress: Reflections on Environment and Development*. The International Society for Ecology and Culture, p. 175-176.
8. Helm, Leslie. 1992. "NAFTA sends shivers throughout robust Asia". In: *The Star*, 19 August, p. 20.
9. Green Peace International. 1992. *UNCED Undermined: Why Free Trade Won't Save the Planet*, March.
10. Khor, Martin K.P. 1990. *The Uruguay Round and Third World Sovereignty*. Third World Network, p. 36.
11. Koh, Tommy T.B. 1992. "The Road to and from Rio: The Earth Summit and its Ramifications for Sustainable Development". In: *The Straits Times*, 31 July, op-ed.
12. Dunlap, Riley E. *et al.* 1992. "The Health of the Planet Survey — Updated June 1992". The George H. Gallup International Institute.
13. South Commission. 1990. *The Challenge to the South: The Report of the South Commission*. Oxford University Press, p. 21.
14. Khor, Martin K.P. 1992. "Development, Trade, and the Environment: A Third World Perspective". In: *The Future of Progress: Reflections on Environment and Development*. The International Society for Ecology and Culture, p. 37.

15. Wing, Clive. 1991. *A Family Guide to HIV and AIDS in Malaysia and Singapore*. South-bound, p. 12.
16. Jussawalla, Meheero. 1987. "Trade in Data Services, Developing Countries and GATT: The Institutional Aspects". In: *Transborder Dataflow and Development*. Edited by Becker, Jorg. Fredrich Ebert Stiftung, p. 109-110.
17. Bernard, Anne K. "Issues in Research: Learning, Education, and Ethnography: A Handbook for Communicators". Unpublished.
18. United Nations Development Programme. 1991. *Human Development Report 1991*. Oxford University Press, p. 13.

Development Communications: The Sky is the Limit

Anita Anand

In 1988, 20 producers from Latin and Central America came together to discuss and plan how to expand and consolidate a radio network that would address the concerns of rural women. At the same time, in Nicaragua, the first film on women in a revolutionary process was released. *"La Mujer Habitada"* (The Inhabited Woman) emphasized the incompatibility between women and a revolutionary society, such as Nicaragua, that will not address the issue of women's expression as a systemic problem.*

In the Philippines, creative experiments by Womanwatch (radio and television) and Probe (television) have promoted alternative programming since the mid-1980s. Listeners telephone from various parts of the country to express their opinions and relate their experiences. Probe Productions is a venture in investigative journalism that pursues Filipino issues using local talent and treatment. It is professionally done and is aired on national television on prime time.

These are some of the numerous efforts all over the world to communicate the crux of development — the process of change. In the first development decade (1950s) the concept of development communications was communication about development — be it immunization, better agriculture practices, or family planning. But as mainstream notions of development were challenged and alternative and more equitable models that reflected gender, race, class, and religion were popularized, a wider interpretation of the concept began to emerge — communication about the development needs of the people, who could in turn inform development policy.

* The examples used in this paper are from features supplied by the Women's Feature Service, New Delhi, India, to mainstream media for publication.

These efforts have come in many shapes and forms — audiovisual media (radio, television, film, and video), traditional and nonformal forms (theatre, song, dance, and pictures), and print media. Recent advances in technology have brought in information through satellite, cable, and closed-circuit television.

Whatever the technology in development communications, the questions of values, culture, and tradition have risen. The North has been blamed for perpetuating images of their lifestyle, which is often antithetical to the very development that is desired.

In the Philippines, the advent of democracy has stimulated discussion and action on what it means to be Filipino. According to a 1980 study on the nature of the Filipino child's attachment to the national community, only 4.3% preferred to be identified as Filipinos. The majority would have preferred to be Japanese or American. This is not surprising given the long history of the country's associations with the United States, and the imagery in Filipino mass media. Approximately half the programs on television are American, and every 10-15 minutes advertisements show Caucasian models promoting local products.

The advantage of radio over television is that images have to be construed in listeners' minds. Therefore, it is easier to control the imagery being presented. Radio continues to capture the imagination in most countries of the South. In the Barbados in 1989, the University of the West Indies and WAND (Women and Development Unit) developed and aired a radio call-in program "People of Tomorrow" to meet the employment-related needs of the Caribbean Island.

In Mexico, Radio Rin, a popular children's station, broadcasts programs almost 20 hours a day and is heard by millions of children. Launched in 1984, it is the only radio station in Mexico catering exclusively to children. It plays children's favourite songs and broadcast special messages encouraging creativity and self-confidence. It also runs specials on nutrition, health, child abuse, and physical violence. Other networks and radio stations in Latin America and Africa broadcast to local populations on a variety of development themes.

In the United States, National Public Radio (NPR) brings quality programming to American listeners. In-depth reporting on social issues, news, music,

and alternative lifestyles are regular features of this programming, which has a wide appeal throughout the country.

In many countries of the South, development communication is still done through more low-cost methods, such as hoardings, billboards, and advertisements on buses, trams, and walls. In late 1991, Indian hoardings, newspapers, and magazines were hit with a steamy advertisement promoting the Kama Sutra condom (named after the book on the art of love making). It raised a hue and cry in the press, and among parents, teachers, and government officials. In a country where kissing on the screen was not allowed until recently and nudity and references to sexuality are discouraged, the Kama Sutra advertisement depicted a young couple standing — the man bare to the waist, the woman fully dressed — in a passionate embrace.

The advertisement had the desired response. Condom sales soared, but this was enough to make some people uncomfortable. In terms of development messages, even the government and family planning department had argued that a more innovative method for advertising condoms was necessary. Kama Sutra was the first condom advertisement to depict sex in an open and straightforward manner, and to suggest that sex could give pleasure. This was very different from government family planning advertisements that were usually banal and never got to the point.

Yet another kind of development communications has hit the air — electronic mail. Computers, modems, and electronic connections are enabling activists in the North to mobilize support for grassroots campaigns and people in the South. In Texas, Dorothy Morse is part of a growing global movement of "electronic activity" that is reshaping the way people share information. Morse first heard of the Somalia famine on radio and she inserted an appeal on an electronic bulletin board in Austin. Her action sparked interest and response from people all over the United States and beyond, and eventually played a role in a decision by Britain, France, and the United States to airlift 145,000 tonnes of food to Somalia.

Traditional methods of communications such as song, dance, theatre, and story-telling have also undergone a tremendous revival and change for development communication. In Jamaica, catchy reggae music has been transformed

to tune in social messages and awareness on aid, food, nutrition, AIDS, family violence, and drugs.

In India, women's groups in rural and urban areas have rewritten both popular and folk songs to reflect the strength of women, as opposed to their weakness and vulnerability, which was often the original theme of the songs. As women began researching and analyzing the causes of the low status of women in most societies, it became clear that certain mores, traditions, and customs perpetuated roles and stereotypes of women that made it difficult for them to be seen in other roles and ways, no matter how much change people experienced.

The media as such came in for special scrutiny. Television, films, pornography, books, comics, magazines, and newspapers, when analyzed, seemed to have a strong antiwomen sentiment and failed to present the full picture when it came to the reality of women, or men for that matter. At the same time, other groups, which were not in the majority, were also unrepresented in terms of time and content.

In Thailand, a study at the Chulalongkorn University in 1989 focused on the country's most popular comic series. Each issue sells about 100,000 copies and 80% of its readership is male. In the 50 copies examined, antiwomen messages underlay the humour. Traditional and stereotypical attitudes such as "good" women stay home, "bad" women work outside the home, and wives were to serve husbands were repeatedly perpetuated. The cartoons also justified male infidelity and bigamy by presenting women as nags, who forced the men to seek solace in other women.

While many exciting experiences have successfully conveyed the messages of development, much still needs to be done in terms of understanding the psychology of persons whose behaviour is changing. Specifically, a great deal needs to be done on the imagery that perpetuates stereotypes and prevents people from overcoming them. In development communications there needs to be closer collaboration between psychologists, sociologists, developmentalists, gender specialists, and media, advertising, and marketing people.

An evolution in development communication has been the exponential growth of messages and medium from the South. Traditionally, the perceived

lack of expertise and experience of people in the South (especially in the more technical media) created a situation where most development communications were conceived and developed in the North. At the same time, development communications was not seen as a two-way process, with both the informer and informed empowering themselves with the communication. With a more participatory definition of development, individuals and groups in the South began to experiment with the tools in their environment. However, documenting development, which is largely a process of growth, change, and enlightenment is not easy. Even more difficult is the articulation and analysis of this change. Unfortunately, newspapers and television, the two media with the most impact on people, do not have the attention span nor do they see the long-term payoff from recording, reporting, and analyzing processes, as opposed to just events. The assumption has always been that readers and viewers want short, crisp, tantalizing items.

Some of this is changing. The issue of environment is a case in point. The recent United Nations Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development forced a serious and difficult issue to the centre stage of media. Professionals were forced to think of creative ways to portray the various aspects of environment and development so that "the person on the street" could comprehend the issues. As a result of the Conference and the media coverage of it, thousands have become aware of the issues in a more systemic and in-depth way.

The challenge for development communications lies in the fact that any medium, from the simplest to the most sophisticated, can be used to get a message across. This is not only possible, but essential. From radio, billboard, song, and dance to electronic mail, video, and television, the sky is indeed the limit.

Namibian Experience

Nahum Gorelick

Broadcasting in Africa, as in other parts of the world, is undergoing turbulent changes. Broadcasters have to adapt to these changes, not only to survive, but to fulfill their commitments to their audiences and society in general.

Although we live in a fairly remote part of the world, technological advances are rapidly making us part of the global village, and we can thus no longer continue in isolation. A realistic approach would be: "if you can't beat them, join them" — but we must ensure that it is to our benefit.

Broadcasting in Namibia

Namibia is the youngest independent nation in Africa and has, on the one hand, a formidable task to catch up with the advanced electronic media of the first world. On the other hand, it is in the enviable position of being able to start afresh to create a modern broadcasting environment.

Public radio broadcasting in Namibia dates back to the colonial years of the 1960s. Television broadcasting is only 10 years old, which is in line with the situation in the rest of the region. The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) as public broadcaster has the responsibility to disseminate to the total population information, education, and entertainment, irrespective of the economic implications of this task.

Private broadcasting has been regulated in Namibia since the beginning of 1992 by an act that is unique in Africa and is one of only a few in the world. This act is becoming a model for other countries that are striving to open the airwaves. Deregulation has paved the way for commercial ventures and is also giving community broadcasters and groups with specific religious, cultural, and language interests the opportunity to communicate more effectively on a broader basis.

Broadcasting in Southern Africa

In accord with the worldwide trend toward deregulation and liberalization of the media, and flowing from the transition toward a more democratic order, broadcasting in the region is undergoing far-reaching changes.

As a first step, commercial operators are entering the market wherever legislation allows, and governments are being enticed to enter into joint commercial ventures with these operators, which are normally foreign.

Although the region has generally been spared from being swamped by foreign broadcasts relayed by satellite, the prospects are on the horizon. It is expected that Ku-band satellites will provide television services to Southern Africa in 3-4 years.

Because only large and economically strong countries can afford this satellite technology, there is a real concern among smaller countries, and especially the public broadcasters, that their already limited target audiences will be fragmented even further by broadcasts from outside their borders. The loss of a significant portion of their audience has a negative financial effect on any broadcaster and makes it even more difficult for them to meet their national, public, and social commitments. Coupled to this is the fear of cultural imperialism and loss of national identity.

The Role of Broadcasting

In an environment of high illiteracy, the medium of broadcasting is undoubtedly the main source of information for large sectors of the population. A poor telecommunications infrastructure and limited distribution facilities for the printed media further emphasize the role of broadcasting.

Good communication channels are essential for effective government and the implementation of democratic processes. This applies particularly in Africa.

An important, but often underrated and underutilized, role of broadcasting is as an educational tool. This includes the very relevant topics of education to combat illiteracy and housing and water shortages, to improve agriculture, and to encourage economic and social upliftment.

In the absence of other entertainment facilities, especially where population densities are low and transport facilities are poor, broadcasting is also the major,

and often the only, source of entertainment.

At the same time, the broadcast media have to preserve and promote our cultural heritage and values and foster our own national identity. This must be done against the background of over a dozen distinct cultural/ethnic groups in Namibia and many more in Southern Africa — a task that would be quite formidable for a global broadcast service.

Toward a Global Broadcast Service

Any global broadcast service, if it is to satisfy the needs prevailing in each country, must take cognisance of individual concerns and expectations. Some of the issues at stake are:

1. cultural imperialism — this must, at all times, be borne in mind, and is important when selecting the centre or point of transmission;
2. relevancy — programs must relate to issues of the developing world as well as the developed world;
3. programs — to be relevant, program inputs from the South and coverage of events in these regions are essential;
4. content — programs intended for global broadcast must reflect the multicultural aspects and values prevailing in Africa; and
5. public broadcasters — they must be involved in a global network, and the ways in which they can benefit should be identified.

Broadcasting in Namibia

The responsibility of the NBC is to provide a broadcasting service to disseminate information, to promote national reconciliation, education, social upliftment, and health care, and to provide entertainment according to the needs of the people. At the same time, the electronic media should promote Namibia internationally.

The development goals of the NBC are to: ensure that all broadcasts are in accord with the needs of the people and in the best interests of Namibian society; improve the degree of professionalism; expand the production facilities; expand the transmitter and distribution network for both radio and television to ultimately reach the entire population; create production and distribution

infrastructure for educational broadcasts, especially to rural and lesser developed areas; link Namibia to the international media; and increase the sources of income to improve level of economic self-sufficiency.

Prospects and Constraints. Namibia has the opportunity to create a broadcasting system that will prove to be a vital link in the communication and information infrastructure of the country. No other medium has the immediacy and effectiveness of radio and television. The prospect of disseminating information and education programs to every citizen of Namibia, irrespective of location or social and economic standing, is the ultimate goal.

By being a prominent and professional broadcaster, the Corporation has the opportunity to become a recognized player in the African and international arenas. A prime objective is to increase the percentage of local productions, especially on television. A major constraint, however, is the cost of local productions compared with purchased programs. An additional constraint is the lack of sufficient skilled staff to cope with a significant increase in local productions. The opportunity, however, exists to make use of overseas offers to assist with training.

Another constraint is the cost of the equipment required to expand studio facilities and transmitter networks. An unfavourable exchange rate and high duties on imported equipment have significantly hampered the rate of expansion of the Corporation. The point has been reached where further expansion of the transmitter network is extremely costly, especially in remote and sparsely populated regions. This has led to investigations into the use of satellite technology to achieve immediate national coverage. In applying this technology, Namibia will have to live with the constraints imposed by a low population density and limited financial resources. It will also need to consider the potential "threat" created by a proliferation of international satellite broadcasts.

In summary, the constraints hindering growth in broadcasting are: scarcity of trained human resources; lack of infrastructure such as communication facilities and power grids; low population density, which increases the cost per listener/viewer; topography varying from excessively mountainous areas to vast flat terrain, which both cause negative effects on propagation; and limited

financial resources.

To reduce financial constraints and to bring the Corporation close to economic self-sufficiency, the following opportunities will be sought to generate additional income: increased advertising; improved television coverage and viewership to increase revenue from licences; acquisition of foreign grants to finance capital projects; foreign assistance with training courses; and international assistance with program supplies.

The major objectives of the NBC are: to expand production facilities; to expand the transmitter networks; and to develop human resources. The Corporation seeks primarily to disseminate information, reflect newsworthy events, and encourage responsible and professional reporting, free from Government or outside interference. In addition to news programs, broadcasts by public organizations and associations that wish to inform and educate the public will be encouraged. The Corporation's function is to inform, entertain, and contribute to the education of the people. These services will cover Namibian events (both national and local) as well as African and international news.

The following strategies will be used to meet the Corporation's objectives:

1. contact will be maintained with the Namibian people and the Government to establish their needs and the best means of serving the nation;
2. international trends in broadcasting will be closely watched and applied in a suitable and relevant manner;
3. no effort will be spared to procure the necessary human, financial, and technical resources to provide the necessary services; and
4. the Corporation will transmit programs of the highest quality to the largest possible sector of the population.

Perspectives of an Independent Producer

Patricia Castaño

It is important to discuss the need for a global broadcast service and to offer opinions and ideas that will assist those who have proposed plans to establish such a global service (see, for example, the proposal for WETV). The first criterion for the existence of a global television service, which we have called South-North Television (SNT), is flexibility in the design and administration of its structure.

Who Should Benefit?

A global television service should benefit those for whom television is not only a source of entertainment, but probably the only source of learning. It should not be wasted on substanceless or violent programming or become a source of frustration because it promotes the consumer society portrayed in commercial television.

For this reason, proposing a fee that could be paid by the majority of users to support the network would not work. How could this be overcome? Some type of general tax (i.e., tax on cigarettes or other goods, or on mainstream television advertising) could be levied and used to pay SNT fees. However, setting up the paying system would absorb a lot of effort and money and in the end would not work. For example, in 1992, cable television in Bogota had only 15,000 users after 7 years; those who could afford to pay had access to satellite dishes that smuggled the signal from satellites in the United States.

The priority for SNT should be to benefit children and youngsters, population groups that are more vulnerable and spend more time watching television.

Children 5-years-old spend between 2 and 3.5 hours watching television (21 hours per week). Those between 5- and 12-years-old spend 4 hours (28 hours per week) (compared with 20 hours per week in the United Kingdom). Half of the children watch television alone. Programs for preschool age are of great importance because there are growing numbers of working mothers.

The SNT proposal puts more emphasis on older youngsters. More creativity needs to be put into children's programs. A high-quality adventure series with indigenous scriptwriters and producers writing different chapters for a jointly conceived story could promote values of tolerance and understanding of different cultures, races, and genders.

Gender relations in our changing world should be a priority in children's programs. The roles and expectations of men and women should be analyzed and different family patterns should be presented.

Women are another important target group. In a recent study in Colombia¹ about mass-media consumption by women, very striking patterns were apparent: women "consume" both radio and television in almost the same proportion of preference (radio can be on while you are doing other things) rather than read print media. Television was reported to offer them: "a source of entertainment; access to knowledge and culture; practical solutions for day to day life".

Women like news and current affairs programs in which topics are analyzed and explained. They find this a way of learning about the country and about world problems. They like magazine programs in which health problems are discussed and family situations are analyzed. But above all, they love dramatized series (telenovelas and other variations) because they provide relaxation and entertainment and because "they recognize themselves in the relations portrayed" and they facilitate the discussion of "social roles within the family".

A few years ago Colombian scriptwriters developed "regional stories" in which the idiosyncrasies of the great cultural diversity of Colombia were portrayed. They were the greatest success ever: viewers were fascinated by the characters, their vernacular speech, and the landscape. Moreover, the fascination transcended Colombia's borders. These Colombian "regional" telenovelas became hits in Spain and other Latin American countries.

A Balance Between Globalization and Cultural Self-Expression

We must acknowledge that, in the global village, we are witnessing, rather than a trend toward globalization, another trend that looks inward into nationalism, vernacular languages, and local cultures — with the good and the bad that this entails.

The question is how to achieve a blend between these two seemingly opposite criteria. The answer probably lies in defining the planning, administrative, and production structure of SNT in the participating countries. This structure would be coordinated regionally and the regions (Latin America, Asia, and Africa) would in turn feed the central operation.

The existence of regional operations takes into account that the “generic” name South encompasses a very diverse, complex, and rich variety of cultural, social, and economic differences and problems and very different broadcasting systems and problems. In common, the regions have their weakness in producing their own messages and their need to benefit from mass media in their development processes.

The success of a development-oriented service must take into account that it will compete with commercial channels and that quality standards (good or bad) have been set for viewers by the formats of American television that have inundated the world. It must also accept that television is a source of entertainment and that it plays this role better than it does that of a classroom-teacher substitute. Therefore, even formal education programs must be entertaining and visually attractive. Otherwise, viewers just switch off and the first to do so are those most in need of significant content.

SNT must design and encourage mechanisms that ensure cultural identity and self-expression because realities and practicalities will tend toward centralized decisions and centralized production.

Channel Content

News and Current Affairs. SNT must include news that includes “the possibility of presenting domestic news of participating countries and different

points of view on international news". Public opinion, documentaries, and current affairs programs that analyze events, with a pluralistic viewpoint, are basic for a development and educational channel. News could be part of Channel 1 "New World Sports".

To have a channel only for sports is too much. Even if you give it a cultural context and if you justify it on the basis of paying for the rest of the channels, it is too much. The possibilities of explaining the historical and cultural aspects of games are interesting, but they are a limited resource. For example, what would countries outside the Commonwealth do with an explanation of cricket.

Youth and Universal Music. Music is a powerful integrating element. It crosses through generations and cultures. In Latin America in particular, music is part of our common identity. It is not an exaggeration to say that any Latin American you pick is able to sing the same romantic boleros from Cuba, Colombia, and Mexico, the Argentinean tangos, the Mexican rancheras, and Caribbean dancing rhythms.

Music is therefore a case in which regional programming could be useful. If SNT programming is broken down in chunks for regional transmission, the objective of enhancing cultural identity in Latin America would be achieved. The best programming, with a more universal interest, would be part of the mainstream of the channel.

Learning for All. However important television is as an educational resource because of massive coverage and its visual attraction, it is a costly and complex media for formal education. It requires a very well designed and implemented support system, in which television should not be the only medium used. Television is an unbeatable resource for informal learning, for civic awareness, and for putting forward useful information.

Given its nature, this channel would require specialized local administrative support groups in each country as well as one regional group. These groups would produce educational materials; select the best basic knowledge materials already produced in the region and in the world; select documentaries that would reinforce the learning component of all three channels; and set up the

required system of teachers and instructors. This support structure should support, in a more informal way, the informal learning process in the evening programming and in the other two channels.

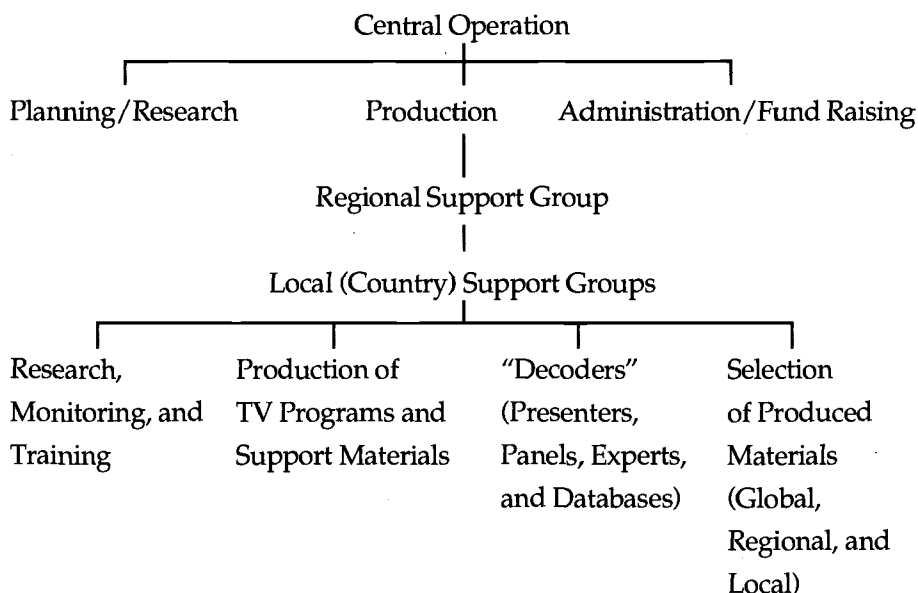
Evening Programs. These programs include the entertainment component (e.g., soap operas, documentaries, adventure series, and local participatory programs) and are very important. The selection of content will allow fruitful informal learning through entertainment. Here, regional and local resources are needed to produce local programs that reflect local realities and to share them with global audiences.

A very good example is the environment. The topic is attractive and significant; however, very few programs reflect local realities. In Latin America, nature films are about far away African deserts or Asian forests, but never about our vanishing fauna. The same is true of environmental topics; rarely do they analyze our own situations. This is a case in which international productions (such as those produced by Moving Pictures, in London), local productions, and good panel or discussion groups could be designed to blend global and local concerns. It is also here where a creative and resourceful team could devise program formats that would include participation of local populations. Little has been done to bring in audiences in a nonmanipulative way. This field should be explored.

Structure

Core support groups should be created in each region, and for each participant country, to help decode, for the regions and the countries, the trends that are presented and the relationships between the topics and local realities. SNT programs bear an intention to create a different kind of impact. They must take into account the different ways that local audiences may have of decoding messages. These "decoders" may be local presenters or discussion panels that can help put the international transmissions into a regional and local context. Databases of regional experts that can support different program types could be created. Moreover, these local support groups could ensure the production of programs that reflect diversity in a way that is attractive to a world audience.

FIGURE 1. *Proposed structure for South-North Television.*



Training

These support groups should share the objectives of SNT, be adequately qualified, and receive very good training in production and administration. In a way, they should develop a language, a kind of common “Global SNT Code”, in the same way that the American television industry has built a language that reaches world audiences — with programs that bear no resemblance with local realities and make television an alienating media.

Training could be done on a regional basis by a multicultural training team. Candidates would be proposed to a panel by the country, but could only be dismissed by the SNT administrators.

Local Production

High technical quality and pertinent content are crucial if the objectives of pluralism and universality are to be fulfilled by SNT.

The regional and local support groups must therefore: define programs to be produced and transmitted; choose local producers for local productions; keep some slots available only for local productions; and select the best productions for international transmission.

Organization

The overall structure of SNT might resemble the organization shown in Figure 1.

References

1. Marulanda, Pilar and Castaño, Patricia. 1988. *Lineamientos para una Política de Programación en la TV colombiana*. Marzo.
2. Tellez, Patricia. 1992. *Comunicación e Identidad*. Julio.
3. Tellez, Patricia, Rodriguez, Clemencia. 1992. *La Telenovela en Colombia. Parra Virginia, Parra Amparo*. Organización Popular de Mujeres y consumo de Medios Masivos. Julio.

Acknowledgments

I discussed this paper with Patricia Anzola, Pilar Marulanda, and Fernando Calero. We all believed, while working together, that SNT was real.

The Future of Broadcasting

Tom McPhail

Television as a global phenomena is evolving rapidly. Some of the major changes are technical in nature, e.g., high definition television and digital compression. Other incentives for change are structural in nature, e.g., the establishment of AsiaVision and the potential World Service of the BBC in competition with CNN.

Other changes relate to the phenomena of narrow casting — where television entrepreneurs define a niche and attempt to concentrate on a mini rather than mass market audience for their viewership. It is this latter situation on which this paper concentrates, namely certain sporting activities such as boxing and certain entertainment activities such as first run feature movies lend themselves to pay-per-view (PPV). PPV is in essence the ability to charge for a single isolated event and the revenue sums in most cases are substantial.

Another Cable Challenge: Pay-Per-View

It is important to note that PPV could have two serious consequences. First, it could siphon from traditional commercial television many high profile sporting activities. Second, and perhaps most important, it may provide another revenue opportunity for new conglomerates, or groups such as Third World nations, to protect their rights when activities such as soccer, rugby, track and field, or basketball are negotiated and sold to PPV providers. It is also important to note that although the initial impact of PPV will be in major western nations, it is also very possible that these same systems will appear in smaller markets in many other cities, including the Third World (e.g., in major hotels, in larger community centres, and in bars and restaurants).

The newest entrant in the cable market is the PPV provider. The operation of a PPV system requires a cable system with addressable homes. In other words, the cable company must install an appropriate decoder or head-end device capable of selecting the individual subscribers who will receive the PPV

event. For a one-time-only event fee, subscribers receive an unscrambled version of the selected broadcast.

PPV, in one form or another, has been around for more than two decades and has developed a loyal following among a specialized segment of the sports' audience. Boxing fans, in particular, are very enthusiastic about PPV events and represent a growing market. About 1.2 million addressable home/tavern subscribers are willing to pay the one-event fee of about 36.50 USD to see a major boxing match. The revenues are significant. For example, the recent Mike Tyson - Razor Ruddock rematch netted 43 USD million in revenue from PPV sources. There appears to be an almost insatiable demand in this niche market and one promoter is now importing boxing matches into the United States from Europe for PPV systems.

Increasingly, other sports organizations are examining the potential impact of alternative media delivery systems and their ability to generate better contracts from both a financial and carriage standpoint with pay cable services. Professional baseball, hockey, and football are all exploring PPV in North America.

The consensus appears to be, that once developed, PPV will offer a broad range of sports opportunities. Perhaps the single most significant initiative in terms of promoting PPV was NBC's offer of 600 hours of 1992 Summer Olympic coverage on three PPV channels. NBC paid 401 million USD for the broadcasting rights to the Summer Games, and anticipated that sports viewers in 2.5 million homes would pay approximately 100 USD for 15 days of around-the-clock coverage of the less popular Olympic events. NBC created a new unit called NBC-PPV, which coordinated 1992 Olympic coverage and will seek additional PPV opportunities for the network. Clearly, the hope is that the investment will pay off in terms of increased revenue, but NBC's decision to undertake the PPV venture also represents a corporate commitment to both PPV and sports' audiences.

A brief look at some of the sporting contests available on PPV in 1992 indicates the growth of this relatively new medium. But professional and amateur sporting contests are not the only events attracted to the PPV alternative. A James Brown concert was offered to subscribers in the Spring of 1991 and

five other events were sold in June of 1991. All are attracted by the potential revenue PPV can generate for artists, athletes, producers, and managers.

In addition to its financial feasibility, timely technological innovations, such as advances in digital compression will make an addressable 100 channel cable system a reality and permit PPV entrepreneurs to hook-up more American homes. Currently, only about one-third of the 60 million cabled homes in the United States have access to PPV events; adoption of the new digital compression system will substantially increase that number. Moreover, PPV may become more readily available through a technology that poses a direct threat to the cable systems, themselves: direct broadcast satellites (DBS). DBS technology is available to bypass the cable company and service the subscriber directly through a small addressable television-receive-only (tvro) dish. While the current costs are somewhat prohibitive, costs and a regulatory lag, in terms of awarding licenses, has slowed the development of DBS, it is a future viable alternative.

The one event that spurred the diffusion of the new technology across the United States was the 1992 Summer Olympics. The NBC Olympic Triple-cast was important because it significantly increased the number of addressable homes. After the system was hooked up for the Olympic events, many subscribers were expected to keep and use it for other events. Because many of the Olympic subscribers fit the preferred audience demographic profile of PPV providers, they will be targeted as purchasers of future PPV events such as first-run movies, theatrical productions, symphonies, concerts and, of course, other sporting attractions.

It appears, therefore, that the time is ripe for PPV to take off. During the recent Second PPV Conference in Orlando, Florida, it was predicted that cable systems would provide as many as 50 PPV channels in the near future as various niche markets are identified. Cable providers will become more like personalized neighbourhood video stores. Subscribers will have access to a broad range of available programming, but they will select and pay for only those programs that appeal to their tastes and interests.

Canadian Developments

The Canadian broadcast regulator, the Canadian Radio Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) recently licensed some trial PPV services in select cable markets. The largest of these is Viewers' Choice, which plans to make certain entertainment events available on a PPV basis in provinces in Eastern Canada. However, a recent PPV experiment in the Province of Saskatchewan illuminates both the potential and the challenge of PPV.

In the Fall of 1991, a Canadian Football League (CFL) game between the Saskatchewan Roughriders and the Calgary Stampeders was offered on PPV. Almost 25% of the 13,000 cabled homes purchased the game coverage, and many other individuals opted to watch it in local taverns or sports bars that made the program available to patrons. Clearly, even small markets can be attractive to PPV providers. Future Canadian PPV endeavours will likely involve Canada's professional baseball teams, the Toronto Blue Jays and Montreal Expos.

It should be noted that American PPV entrepreneurs will need to take into account the different regulatory regime in Canada. Any organization that wishes to sell its product to both Canadian and American audiences must address the transborder aspects of PPV. PPV providers will be faced with meeting the demands of two regulatory regimes. One solution may be the development of a coordinated regulatory mechanism. This would require the cooperation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the CRTC, and their respective governments to address the issues of continental transborder ownership and carriage of PPV programming.

Policy Issues

In addition to the difficult transborder issues, PPV also raises a number of domestic public policy and regulatory questions. PPV television constitutes a threat to the traditional television viewing audience that has a clear expectation of being able to watch a number of shows, including sporting events, on "free" commercial television. But the rapidly escalating costs of professional athletes'

salaries and the rather narrow window of new revenue opportunities for management make PPV a likely candidate to solve some of the monetary dilemmas facing professional sports.

The shift of major sporting events from a traditional commercial broadcaster, supported solely by advertising, to a PPV mode raises a number of public policy issues and some preliminary skirmishes have already taken place. For example, the cable industry, itself, is split on the issue. Some of the larger cable operators are quite encouraged by the private potential of PPV while others are calling for Congressional intervention to protect the sports' product that has traditionally been shown on commercial television. Lawmakers could find themselves in an extremely awkward situation in terms of attempting to deal with what will become a controversial matter.

Congress will have to deal with the issue and various lobby groups on several fronts. First, despite the potential public outcry, the likelihood of heavy-handed intervention in the broadcasting marketplace in an atmosphere of deregulation is certainly not a foregone conclusion. Moreover, lawmakers may face a clash of powerful lobbies. Not only do broadcasting and cable executives have substantial clout with lawmakers, so do the owners of major sports' teams — many of whom have personal access to local and national politicians, including the President. If these owners see PPV as the only new avenue for substantially increasing the revenues required to meet the ever-escalating salary demands of professional athletes and their agents, they may be willing to abandon traditional commercial broadcasters with their limited and, in some cases, shrinking advertising support for major sports broadcasts. Consequently, lawmakers may find themselves in a no-win situation: if they refrain from regulation, many Americans may be without access to televised sporting events; if they do regulate, they may cut off the only new revenue source for management.

Conclusion

Changing demographics, the growing success and influence of cable networks, and the introduction of PPV are all elements of the challenge facing traditional American television providers and their regulators. PPV television, in particu-

lar, appears to be very well positioned to take advantage of the changing video market. It relies on the more technically capable and growing cable infrastructure. It is uniquely suited to meeting the demands of smaller niche markets. And, not insignificantly, it offers a sorely needed new source of revenue to the owners and producers of entertainment products. Given the downturn in traditional broadcast audience ratings and advertising revenues, and the increasing number of expensive player contracts, professional sports of all sorts likely will be among the first major products offered by PPV providers. But the revenue-generating potential of the medium undoubtedly will attract an ever-increasing array of entertainment products for PPV delivery. Not only will this trend create new public policy issues for lawmakers to address but it also will change the face of traditional advertising-based television networks.

Correcting the Imbalance:

Discussion

Regional and Global Cooperation

Charles Morrow: Four important actions are needed to ensure that the global problems we are going to face in the next decade can be confronted.

1. Political will is needed to democratize the media.
2. The major donors must adopt a policy to invest in strengthening the infrastructure of communications—an infrastructure that would allow public access, protect fringe groups, and allow these groups to participate. Investments are also needed in the human resources of communications.
3. During the 1990s, we have seen a lessening of the importance of the nation state and growth in international groupings around trade and culture. The emergence and strengthening of viable regional and subregional organizations is going to be extremely important. Many regional organizations in communications have decayed since the 1970s.
4. New coalitions of interest groups will need to emerge to confront major problems such as human rights and the degradation of the environment. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), indigenous groups, governmental groups, and academics will need to forge new coalitions that will be able to force power brokers to democratize the media, allow access, to revalue communications to confront these major problems.

Unid: A kind of “coalition of coalitions” should be created for the democratization of communications at the local, national, regional, and international levels. There are already many NGOs and international NGOs working in this field. These organizations should work together for the right to communicate and for the democratization of communications. They should be invited to meet, to participate, and to coordinate initiatives for training, production, access, and advocacy. This is extremely important because the states in the South are not engaged in the communications challenge. It is the NGOs, the urban societies,

and the grassroots groups that must develop this struggle. These groups need to create a collective self-reliance — they need to cooperate and work together because each group by itself is too weak.

Christopher Laird: In keeping with the comment that one should “think globally, act locally, regionally, and globally”, the National Broadcasting Systems should reach some kind of accommodation with the international satellite signals and selectively include them on the national networks. On the other hand, they should provide room and access at the local level for community and very small local networks, and for coalitions of local producers.

Unid: Some support has been expressed for a global educational communication system. This could be supported and would provide many opportunities. However, it would require a national and international commitment to education standards, to the production of resources, and to the recognition that this is not a one-medium enterprise (it would be both audiovisual and print). A tremendous amount of cooperation and commitment would be needed for this to happen. Any proposal of this type would have to address how these programs would in fact be different from what is already available.

Vijay Menon: Collaboration is needed on children’s television. There is a dearth of knowledge about the modality surrounding children’s television. In Australia, for example, it was found that there were a number of regulations that no one was aware of in Asia. If that kind of information could be publicized it might lead to some healthy practices in other countries.

Media-related research seems to be singularly out of favour these days. Therefore, a research fund should be organized to help carry out the research and disseminate the findings to all interested countries.

Richard Simpson: We should pay very careful attention to that dimension of collaboration that is somewhat different than North-South collaboration in a geographic sense, or collaboration within and between international organizations. Rather it is the need for collaboration between “functional communities of interest”. The first group is naturally the broadcasting and programming

community, e.g., broadcasters and program producers. A second very important group is the educational community. In the educational community there is increasing interest in the need to promote "life-long learning" to complement the existing educational process that takes place within formal institutions. The third group is the telecommunications community. The cooperation of the telecommunication service providers throughout the world will be very important. These three communities are converging in terms of their interest in this area. However, there is really no forum in which these three communities can work together or even develop ideas about how to work together. It may be opportune to consider whether there is an opportunity, or at least whether the time is opportune, to bring these groups together.

South-South and South-North News Exchange

Paul Ansah: In terms of news exchange there is the nonaligned news pool. It has not been operating at an optimum level, but it does exist and demonstrates the recognition that there must be some South-South flow in the field of information. In this context, there is also the Inter-Press Service (IPS), which is trying to enable people in the Third World to see themselves through their perspectives without first being filtered through the Northern agencies.

Unid: The IPS effort, which started in 1964, has grown over the years and has had a certain amount of impact on information flow among countries of the South. Instead of reinventing the wheel, it might be useful to learn from IPS. Running a news agency is different from running an electronic operation. Nevertheless, learning about the concept and operational experience might be of benefit.

Luis Beltrán: Whether we in the South like to admit it or not, the development of broadcasting institutions in the North is colossally superior to ours. North-South collaboration is not a cooperation between equals. The North has much more resources, much more experience, and much more to offer. We must trust that there are individuals, professionals, and institutions in the North

that are illuminated about the realities of democratic communication and willing and able to give us support. Unless there are institutional bases located in the territory, cooperation tends to become, after a while, nice but nominal. It must be anchored in institutions that have people, that have some resources, have a tradition, and have ways to do things.

Kassaye Demena: In Africa, exchange operations are barely 18 months old. We are trying to consolidate the exchange and expand the scope within Africa first. There have been a number of instances where we have used materials from the EBU, and we have also exchanged materials within the Arab State Broadcasting Union (ASBU). AsiaVision, a collaborative effort to which members of the Asia Broadcasting Union contribute news items, is far more developed than AfroVision, which is a similar attempt. AfroVision has less than 30 minutes of news per day; whereas, AsiaVision is much larger and has more participants. However, the spirit of cooperation exists.

Hugh Leonard: The Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union has tried to establish a better flow of South-North information and to encourage local and regional production of Asian television. AsiaVision is a daily exchange of television news items among the countries in Asia. It began in 1984 and now operates 7 days a week. The objective was to present Asian news through the eyes of Asian journalists to other Asian countries, rather than through the eyes of the Northern-dominated news agencies. AsiaVision goes further than that. It exchanges news on a daily basis with EuroVision, which is the European Broadcasting Unions' program and news exchange. EuroVision uses a good deal of the material from AsiaVision. On average, two items per day are fed into the European system. In addition, all of the American networks (including CNN) have access agreements with AsiaVision and for a fee they can use the material.

Access and Democratization

Unid: It is time for different coalitions in the South and the North to come together to think about what is happening at ground level, and to make a bid

for time or access to government and/or international broadcasting. Consolidation is very important and is often overlooked in our efforts to bring people together on the issue of development or development communications.

Charles Morrow: The prescription of "thinking globally, acting locally" applies to the democratization of the media, especially in Africa where there is so little access for the voices of the people. This is due to government policies that restrict private media in a number of countries and to the lack of adequate training of broadcasters and other media practitioners — especially those working in government-controlled media. The situation of unequal access has been deepened by the economic crisis in many developing nations, and the threat of civil strife in many areas. We do need a New World Information Order (NWIO) of some sort. Part of the agenda of the "Coalition of Coalitions" should be to seek ways to bring back onto the world agenda the issues that were to be addressed by the NWIO.

Unid: Democratization of the media has taken root in parts of Latin America because the people themselves asked for democratization. It was not the media that said: "You must democratize." Perhaps we need to look at a process prior to the intervention of the media, a process that might create the conditions in which people can demand democratization of the media. This may be especially true in Africa, where instead of this ferment there seems to be apathy. From a practical point of view, it might be useful to have a very intensive exchange of experiences between Latin America, and perhaps Asia and Africa. This is because in Africa, when you advocate a democratization conscientization process, the rejoinder is always that the situation in Africa is different. The people must be shown that Africa is not that different.

Unid: I spent a number of years of my working life in Jamaica. I returned about 3-4 weeks ago and watched Jamaican television for the first time in a couple of years. I was amazed to see the difference in quality. The local cable television has learned some very valuable lessons. People have been trained and high-calibre people have been retained within the Jamaican Broadcasting Service. The

Jamaican people also take pride in their own cultural productions.

Jamaican radio has hours of talk shows every day. In these talk shows, people can voice whatever they want. What has made these telephone shows work has been the calibre of the people that field the comments. These people are very well-known personalities within society (respected lawyers, broadcasters, and journalists) who sit for hours every day and answer and converse with the people who telephone. I believe that one reason why democracy has flourished in Jamaica is the fact that people can get whatever concerns they want aired and into the public domain.

Anna Leah Sarabia: The Asian Pacific Institute for Broadcast Development (AIBD) has been trying to promote media access by giving people the skills and knowledge they need to produce programs and to make the technology accessible. Most people who have been marginalized from mainstream media have to do three things: buy airtime or rent facilities and equipment; negotiate coproductions and, therefore, gain a foothold in the mainstream media; and, sometimes, demand access. The Women's Media Circle in the Philippines has combined demands and negotiations for airtime in public television with the purchase of commercial radio airtime. Our television program "Women Watch" and the radio "Women Watch", although they have existed since 1985, have constantly struggled to remain on the mainstream airwaves. Reforms in legislation and policies are also important. Many women's organizations and other organizations are now much more active in demanding reforms in their own countries. It is almost futile to talk about access if you do not have policy regulation.

Unid: It was suggested that independent producers could compete for a pool of revenue generated to support indigenous productions. This would stimulate and improve the quality of indigenous production and also support independent producers. Increasing the competence and skills of these independent producers in Southern countries is very important. However, if producers receive money from this pool of money, they would have to guarantee broadcast of their productions on the global network.

Funding, Programming, and Ownership

Unid: Regional organizations, as well as international funding, research, and educational institutions, should begin to identify individuals and small groups that are interested in making a direct impact on communications for development. People normally work within government structures and will find it difficult to change their approach. The way they portray news and the way they do things will tend to remain the same because they have been socialized into that kind of behaviour. If there are going to be innovations in communications for development, they will come from independent individuals and groups. This means that funding agencies will have to take some of the funds they normally give directly to government institutions and channel them to nongovernmental groups. This would be a great help, particularly in Africa.

David Nostbakken: One small Canadian experiment is working on a noncommercial basis. It is a licensed religious television service that sells blocks of time to religious groups, as well as some other groups, that wish to express themselves and are not able to do so on conventional media. The money generated by these block sales of time is used by the network. It receives no government funding and sells virtually no advertising of any consequence. It depends on this collective of interests that are serious enough about being on the air that they will "put their money where their mouth is".

Unid: Coproductions could be a useful funding mechanism at the national level and could also be sold and distributed internationally to generate additional funds for coproductions. There are also good possibilities for independent producers. For example, an independent producer in Zimbabwe won acclaim for a production on the burning issue of population. It was called "Consequences". It made a great impact and has been aired several times by a number of organizations.

Farag El Kamel: We should begin to identify existing productions that would be useful to have, both from the North and the South. We should also start to

identify a network of producers. Perhaps we should start with radio. I am more of a television person, but radio in terms of reach in many parts of the South and in terms of cost may be a good way to start. We can learn lessons from radio and also use it to promote a television network later.

Robert Lamb: It is important to realize that donor organizations, like the United Nations and the bilateral development assistance agencies, are critically placed to actually influence the broadcast agenda because of the catalytic funds they can contribute to productions. We must try to convince them to adopt a standard rights formula, so that in the future, whether its the McArthur Foundation, a United Nations agency, or bilateral development assistance agency, a common library of material is made available to nonprofit organizations like Vision TV.

Nancy George: Some global media channels should be Southern owned and have civic groups as their moving force. But, how can civic groups possibly afford to finance a global television channel? One possibility is international donors; another is commercial funding. Some members of our group brought up the issue of participation — if we are looking at a Southern owned channel, we are looking at participation of the people on the ground. It was felt that if that is the route, then funding should come from those civic groups. They should raise the money to buy into ownership of the global network, which gets the ownership of the network right down to the people on a ground level — not on a one-to-one basis, but representation of their civic groups on a national basis.

Unid: It is important to provide an effective alternative to current global communication systems by establishing an international consortium to spear head the interests of the South — both in the South and the North. This would include topics like environmental issues, trade regulations, health issues, and population issues that would be of concern both in the South and the North.

Perhaps an alliance could be struck with major players in public service broadcasting and major networks in the North to get enough funding to be able to finance this network, and to influence broadcast trends on the other networks.

Conclusions

The 1992 IIC Pre-Conference was not intended to affect closure on the issues that were identified and discussed. However, a number of priorities requiring greater international collaboration were identified.

Support for Independent Producers

Governments, the private sector, and the nongovernmental sector should support independent production in the South by:

1. creating coproduction opportunities;
2. encouraging pre-sale and other distribution arrangements;
3. supporting audience research and marketing;
4. continuing support for existing institutions and organizational arrangements;
5. encouraging networks among existing distribution, broadcast, and nongovernmental support groups and interests; and
6. working toward policies that support the role of the independent producer.

There is a need for donors to direct more consistent, cohesive, and substantial support to the existing communications organizations that are struggling to support cultural expression in the South. Additionally, because many of these groups are already coalitions of other groups, there is a need for them to form a "coalition of coalitions" to support these objectives. This coalition should comprise communities of interest, not necessary geographic or sectoral disciplines. Partnerships among donors for larger-scale support, perhaps through a jointly created and funded global broadcast service, is one serious consideration in support of independent producers.

Issues of global and common concern should be identified, so that independent producers, funders, and broadcasters can focus their efforts on issues such as human rights, the environment, and the place of women in development.

Research and Development

A number research topics were identified as priorities:

1. work should proceed on the creation of a global broadcast service to provide broader access and self-expression to those voices currently disenfranchised in developing countries;
2. a survey of the policies and funding criteria of national and international development agencies (this initiative was immediately under taken by the Television Trust for the Environment, with support from IDRC);
3. studies of distribution and marketing arrangements;
4. investigations of the contribution of the communications and information industries to economic growth and social and cultural development; and
5. the dissemination of communications research findings especially on a South-South basis.

IIC Pre-Conferences

Future conferences should review the results and resolutions of other communications-related conferences during the previous year to build on their ideas and initiatives. These meetings should also include a wide range of participants from: telecommunications and broadcast industries; trade unions; non-governmental organizations; research and academic institutions; and policy and donor groups.

Succeeding IIC Pre-Conferences should focus on key issues that can benefit from international collaboration and draw on research commissioned to identify issues and possible actions. Donor agencies should also recognize the contributions that such Pre-Conferences can make to policy determination in the rapidly developing field of international communications.

A Global Broadcast Service: WETV

Most international conferences leave as their legacy numerous resolutions and recommendations for action. The 1992 IIC Pre-Conference led directly to the creation of an ambitious project to develop a global access broadcasting service (WETV) to address the issues of cultural expression. A brief description of this initiative is provided.

Agenda 21 is the blueprint that emerged from the 1992 Earth Summit. It recognizes that fundamental changes in how we use the world's resources and how we conduct international relations are unlikely to occur unless there is an unprecedented increase in public awareness of the issues at stake. It calls on:

"... countries in cooperation with the scientific community [to] establish ways of employing modern communication technologies for effective public outreach."

This initiative seeks to establish global partnerships to employ the most powerful and pervasive of modern communication technologies for public outreach — television. The plan is to create an alternative satellite television network (WETV) for industrial and developing countries to use for South-North, South-South, and global sharing. WETV will engender a diversity of expression on issues of sustainable development and related cultural matters.

Why Television?

The social and cultural impact of television is generally underestimated. In fact, it is often discounted as unimportant because of its commercial, entertainment "look" and purpose. At the same time, some leading educators have called television programming the "hidden curriculum". Whether we like it or not, this medium increasingly engages many people and forms beliefs, attitudes, and social learning patterns. Regrettably, its primary message is often one of "consumerism" and its industrial, Northern base has caused it to be regarded as a form of "electronic colonialism" by some in developing countries.

So, what possible use can this medium have for Agenda 21 purposes? First of all it is important, in development terms, that the growing number of television sets and their pervasive influence on populations in developing countries begin to be part of the solution rather than part of the problem. Therefore, cultures and communities need to reflect and be reflected on this medium. They require access. Television should be harnessed to provide new opportunities for social and cultural self-expression because this is central to sustainable development. Second, when properly used, this medium has enormous power to put important matters of public and global concern on the social agenda. Television has become the great legitimizer of issues.

What is the Likelihood of Employing this Medium?

Communications technologies are changing. Digital equipment, digital video compression, and new satellite systems are increasing accessibility at reduced costs. In this decade, direct satellite to dish systems will be penetrating even poor, rural areas of many developing countries where the number of television sets is growing exponentially. This is both good and bad news. It is good if alternative systems such as the proposed WETV are affordable, technically possible, and within reach. It is bad if the only response is a proliferation of new commercially driven Northern services that effectively disenfranchise developing countries.

It is, therefore, important that new alternative systems be explored now to exploit new technologies in innovative and developmentally sound ways. WETV is an alternative access service dedicated to *Agenda 21* and related issues.

The WETV Service

A 2-year research and development phase (1993-1995) will precede the start-up of the service. A Steering Committee will guide an IDRC-based international Secretariat during the research and development phase.

International agencies and national broadcasters are invited to take out a form of membership or partnership in the research and development process. A base fee will entitle each partner to a number of benefits, including preferential access to the resulting WETV service for their own programming ends.

Those partners that are part of the development process will have an important role in shaping both that process, and the resulting WETV service.

In basic terms, the network will consist of a number of uplink locations around the world that will provide programming to a satellite. This satellite will distribute the programming worldwide through signals that can be received by conventional broadcast systems in participating countries, through cable systems where they exist, and very soon, through home-based satellite dishes. Programming for this service will be provided by: agencies and broadcasters who are partners; independent producers; existing broadcast services; and nongovernmental agencies interested in public outreach.

The service will be launched in 1995-1996 as a small operation with only a few country partners on line. The program block to be provided will also start small, approximately 3-4 hours of originated programming, to be repeated eight times around the world. As the number of partners increases, the amount of program time will also increase. The intention is to begin in a manageable way, to proceed from strength with participating partners, and to learn by doing.

A unique program formula is proposed. The programming will consist of two types: *Mosaic* and *Cornerstone*. Mosaic programming will be provided by partners who purchase time on the service at reasonable rates to carry their programming. Cornerstone programming will be provided by the network, primarily by commissioning independent producers in developing countries.

In addition to issue-oriented programming on the environment and sustainable development, the programming will include quality children's programs, and drama, music, and other forms of cultural expression. The service could also include a commercial advertising based stream of programming to help underwrite overall costs and fund some of the partners' public service productions.

WETV's revenues will thus come from three sources: mosaic time sales; a commercial program affiliate; and sponsorships. WETV's revenues will be applied in three ways: cornerstone programming, primarily by commissioning independent producers in developing countries; training, fund-raising, and management and program support to mosaic partners; and ongoing research, particularly in broadcast policy matters in partner countries.

During the research and development phase, start-up costs will be established and funds will be sought. The network will operate on a lean-structured basis with a 5-year business and growth plan and no large studios or buildings. Rather, it will operate with portable equipment and limited staff. New satellite technologies, digital video compression, and digital production and postproduction equipment will make this possible.

Ownership and Control

It is proposed that the service be vested in a non-share capital corporation. The corporation's board will reflect partner, broadcast, and development interests. This board will be designed to be at arm's length from partners and will be served by a number of committees, including a program management group responsible for mosaic programming (made up of those who use the service). The board will deal with broad policy issues, empowering a small management team to run the day-to-day affairs of the service.

Who Will Benefit?

Viewers in the North and South. These people will be exposed to the reality of the South, through the eyes of Third World producers. The same productions will be seen in the South. Through this service, viewers will see themselves along with others around the world, and not be exposed only to narrow, commercially driven perspectives from Northern sources.

Independent Producers. Particularly in Southern countries, they will have a vehicle for expression, particularly on issues of the environment and sustainable development.

International Institutions. United Nations agencies, national aid donors, nongovernmental organizations and foundations, and agencies involved in matters of the environment will have access to a global service permitting them to present their programming and perspectives, and their interests in public education and information.

National-Level Broadcasters. Particularly in developing countries, they will receive from WETV a block of quality programming and will be able to gain global exposure for their choice programs.

Agenda 21 Decision-Makers. This service will help focus collaborative efforts in the production of film and video for sustainable development and include training and support to independent producers and other efforts in public education and awareness-raising.

IDRC's Commitment

IDRC will house an international Secretariat to coordinate the partnership research and development effort to create the service. For its part, IDRC will also provide 1 million CAD as its financial contribution in the expectation that the combination of partners will provide an additional matching amount for the 2-year effort.

Partners in Development

The partners in the development of WETV are a growing circle of multinational, national, government, and nongovernmental organizations as well as private-sector interests and broadcasters in the industrialized and developing regions of the world. The list is growing, and new coalitions are being formed in some regions specifically to participate in this broadcast venture.

Launch

It is expected that the first part of the WETV service will be operational by 1996.

Participants

Belgium

Abdel Kadir MARZOUKI, Directeur-général, CIRTEF, Boul. Reyers, Bruxelles 1044, TEL (332) 736 8958, FAX (332) 732 4585

Bolivia

Luis Ramiro BELTRÁN S., Development Communication Specialist, Edificio Fernando V, Depto. 1101, La Paz, TEL(591 2) 34 24 09, FAX (591 2) 35 73 52

Brazil

Teresa Montero OTONDO, Journalist, Agencia Estado, Rua Jose Yazigi 362, 05658 Sao Paulo, TEL (55 11) 842 0232, FAX c/o Stela-Diretoria (55 11) 266 1289

Canada

Shahid AKHTAR, Director, Information and Communication Systems and Networks, IDRC, P.O. Box 8500, 250 Albert Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1G 3H9, TEL (613) 236-6163, ext. 2033, FAX (613) 238-7230

Alain AMBROSI, Directeur, Vidéo Tiers Monde, 3680 Jeanne-Mance Street, Suite 430, Montreal, Quebec, TEL(514) 982 6660, FAX(514) 982 2408

Robert ANDERSON, Department of Communications, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, V5A 1S6, TEL(604) 291 3687, FAX (604) 291 4024

John BAGGALEY, Chair, Department of Education, Concordia University, 1 Salisbury, Point Clair, Quebec, H9S 3Y9, TEL (514) 848 2001, FAX (514) 848 3494

Guy BESETTE, Project Officer, Distance Education and International Development, Télé-Université, Bureau de Coopération Extérieure, 1001 Sherbrooke Street East, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 3M4, TEL (514) 522 3540, FAX(514) 522 3608

Claude-Yves CHARRON, Co-directeur (académique), Directeur, Département des Communications, Université du Québec à Montréal, Post Box 8888, Station A, Montreal, Quebec, H3C 3P8, TEL (514) 987 4055, FAX (514) 987 4650

Gary COLDEVIN, Graduate Program in Educational Technology, Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, TEL (514) 848 2001, FAX (514) 848 3494

François COUTU, Communications Officer, United Nations Association in Canada, 808-63 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5A6, TEL (613) 232 5751, FAX (613) 563 2455

Roger DUMELIE, Director-General, International NGO Branch, Canadian Partnership Branch, Canadian International Development Agency, Place du Centre, 200 Promenade du Portage, Hull, Quebec, K1A 0G4, TEL (613) 997 5578, FAX (613) 997 0602

Evelyn FOY, AMARC, Post Box 250, Succursale Delormier, Montreal, Quebec

Nick KETCHUM, Canadian Radio Television and Telecommunications Commission, Central Building, 1 Promenade du Portage, Hull, Quebec, K1A 0N2, TEL (613) 953 3111, FAX (613) 994 0218

Olga KUPLOWSKA, Managing Director, Policy, Research and Planning, TV Ontario, 2180 Yonge Street, Box 200, Station Q, Toronto, Ontario, TEL (416) 484 2693, FAX (416) 484 7771

Gaetan LAPOINTE, Chef des Relations Internationales, Société Radio-Canada, 1400 René-Lévesque Boulevard East, Montreal, Quebec, H2L 2M2, TEL (514) 597 4386, FAX (514) 597 4599

Jocelyne LIMOGES, International Relations Officer, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1500 Bronson Avenue, P.O. Box 8478, Ottawa, Ontario, K1G 3J5, TEL(613) 738 6862, FAX(613) 738 6749

Iain McLELLAN, Social Communications Consultant, CONSULT, 5270 Hutchison, Outremont, Quebec, H2V 4B3, TEL (514) 272 7658, FAX(514) 272 5281

Trina McQUEEN, Vice President of Regional Broadcasting Operations, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1500 Bronson Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, K1G 3J5, TEL (613) 738 6639, FAX(416) 738 6576

Annie MÉAIR, Professeur, Département de communication, Université de Montréal, Post Box 6128, Station A, Montreal, Quebec, H3C 3J7

Charles MORROW, Consultant, International Development Research Centre, P.O. Box 8500, 250 Albert Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1G 3H9, TEL (613) 236 6163, ext. 2023, FAX(613) 238 7230

Randy NAYLOR, Secretary of Communications, The United Church of Canada, 85 St. Clair Avenue East, Toronto, Ontario, M4T 1M8, TEL (416) 925 5931, FAX (416) 925 9692

David NOSTBAKKEN, Executive Director, International Broadcast Development, International Development Research Centre, P.O. Box 8500, 250 Albert Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1G 3H9, TEL (613) 236 6163, ext. 2573, FAX (613) 238 7230

Bernard OSTRY, 44 Charles Street West, Suite 2012, Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 1R8, TEL (416) 924 5005, FAX (416) 924 6169

Pierre PATRY, Directeur du Bureau de Coopération Extérieure, Université du Québec, Télé-Université, 1001 Sherbrooke Street East, Post Box 5250, Station C, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 3M4, TEL (514) 522 3540, FAX (514) 522 3608

Alan QUINN, Réalisateur - Vidéo, CECI, 180, St. Catherine Street East, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 1K9, TEL (514) 875 9911, FAX (514) 875 6469

C.V. RAJASUNDERAM, Advisor, Development Communication, Ryerson International Development Centre, Ryerson Polytechnic, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5B 2K3, TEL (416) 979 5026, FAX (416) 979 5352

Leo RAMPEN, Metavidea Associates, 246 Main Road, Hudson, Quebec, J0P 1H0, TEL (514) 458 2733, FAX (514) 458 2733

Heidi SCHAEFFER, c/o Ryerson International Development Centre, Ryerson Polytechnic, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5W 2K3, TEL (416) 979 5026, FAX (416) 979 5352

Sylvia ROY, Vidéazimut, Suite 430, 3680 Jeanne-Mance Street, Montreal, Quebec, TEL (514) 982 6660

Florian SAUVAGEAU, Département d'information et communication publique, Université Laval, Locale 5420, Pavillon Casault, Quebec, Quebec, G1K 7P4, TEL (418) 656 7689, FAX(418) 656 7807

Richard J. SIMPSON, Director, Telecommunications and Technology, Commonwealth of Learning, P.O. Box 10428, Pacific Centre, 777 Dunsmuir Street, 17th Floor, Vancouver, British Columbia, V7Y 1K4, TEL (604) 660 4675, FAX (604) 660 7472

Nancy THEDE, Secretary-General, Vidéazimut, Suite 430, 3680 Jeanne-Mance Street, Montreal, Quebec, TEL (514) 982 6660, FAX (514) 982 2408

Colombia

Hernando BERNAL-ALAIZCON, Socioestudios, K 51 A, Number 134-38, Bogota, TEL (57 1) 226 4354 / 217 7237, FAX(57 1) 217 7032

Patricia CASTAÑO DE MERMELSTEIN, Producciones en Cine y Video, Calle 71, No. 13-86, Of. 201, Bogota, TEL (57 1) 211 2338 / 235 3391, FAX (57 1) 211 9623

Egypt

Farag ELKAMEL, Director, The Center for Development Communication (CDC), 53 Shehab Street, Mohandiseen, Giza, TEL (20 2) 342 4649 / 346 7566, FAX (20 2) 341 2755

Magda el SABBAHI, Egyptian Women in Film, 26 Sherif Street, Immobilia Building, Cairo, TEL (20 2) 347 7247, FAX (20 2) 348 0270

Germany

Laura GLASER-WEISSER, Transtel GmbH, P.O. Box 101 707, Cologne 5000, 1, TEL (49 221) 389 2755, FAX (49 221) 389 2766

Reinhard KEUNE, Director, Department of Media and Communications, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Godesperger Allee 149, D 5300 Bonn 2, TEL (0228) 88 30, FAX (0228) 88 36 96

Ghana

Hilda Titi ANEPE, Editor, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, P.O. Box 1633, Accra, TEL (233 21) 229 387, FAX (233 21) 773 227

Paul ANSAH, Director, School of Communications Studies, P.O. Box 53, University of Ghana, Legon, TEL (233 21) 777 870 / 774 693, FAX (233 21) 777 870 / 773 324

Joyce ARYEE, Public Relations Consultant, International Consultants Ltd., P.O. Box 15007, Accra-North, TEL (233 21) 229 719 / 224 746, FAX (233 21) 227 512

Great Britain

Andrew CURRY, 7 Richford Street, London W6 7HH, TEL (44 81) 746 1388, FAX (44 81) 749 7785

Richard HALL, Director of Projects, International Institute of Communications, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9LF, TEL (44 71) 388 0671, FAX (44 71) 380 0623

Gerry JAYASURIYA, Deputy-Executive Director, International Institute of Communications, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9LF, TEL (44 71) 388 0671, FAX (44 71) 380 0623

Carol JOY, Executive Director, International Institute of Communications, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9LF, TEL (44 71) 388 0671, FAX (44 71) 380 0623

Robert LAMB, President, Television Trust for the Environment, 46 Charlotte Street, London, W1P 1LX, TEL (44 71) 637 4602, FAX (44 71) 580 7780

Rex WINSBURY, Editor, Intermedia, International Institute of Communications, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9LF, Tel(44 71) 388 0671, Fax (44 71) 380 0623

India

Mira B. AGHI, P-14 Green Park Extension, c/o Regional Office for South Asia, International Development Research Centre, 11 Jor Bagh, New Delhi 110 003, TEL(91 11) 685 3770, FAX (91 11) 462 3227 / 462 2707

Anita ANAND, Director, Women's Feature Service, 49 Golf Links, New Delhi 110 003, TEL (91 11) 496 9886, FAX(91 11) 496 9886 / 462 6699

Jai CHANDIRAM, Joint Director, Central Institute of Educational Technology, Chacha Nehru Bhawan, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016, TEL (91 11) 660 479 / 665 031

Indonesia

Dra Suprpti WIDARTO, Deputy Director, Programming, Direktorat Televisi (TVRI), TVRI Senayan, Merdeka Barat No. 9, Jakarta 10270, TEL (62 21) 570 472 / 582 400, FAX (62 21) 583 122

Kenya

Atsen J. AHUA, Director, URTNA-Programme Exchange Center, P.O. Box 50518, Nairobi, TEL (254 2) 219 661 / 218 156 / 331 978 / 218 169, FAX (254 2) 219 662

Nancy GEORGE, Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa, International Development Research Centre, P.O. Box 62084, Nairobi, TEL (254 2) 330 850, FAX (254 2) 214 583

Mary NGECHU, College of Education and External Studies, Kikuyu Campus, University of Nairobi, P.O. Box 30197, Nairobi, TEL (254 2) 543 362, FAX c/o International Development Research Centre, Nairobi (254 2) 214 583

Malaysia

CHIN Saik Yoon, Managing Director, Southbound Publishers, 9 College Square, Penang 10250, TEL (60 4) 282 169, FAX (60 4) 281 758 / 379 280

Sharma KUMARI, Associate Trainer (Women/Children), Asia Pacific Institute for Broadcast Development, P.O. Box 1137 Pantai, 59700 Kuala Lumpur, TEL (60 3) 282 3719 / 282 4618 / 282 1752, FAX (60 3) 282 2761

Hugh LEONARD, Secretary-General, Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union, P.O. Box 1164, 59700 Kuala Lumpur, 2nd Floor, Bangunan Iptar, Angkasupuri, 50614 Kuala Lumpur, TEL (60 3) 282 3592, FAX (60 3) 282 5292

Mexico

Patricia de la PENA, Documentary TV Producer, Pyne Productions, 5 de Febrero, 40-C Coyoacan, 04000, TEL (52 5) 554 7200, FAX (52 5) 659 8777

Namibia

Nahum GORELICK, Director-General, Namibian Broadcasting Corporation, P.O. Box 321, Windhoek, TEL (264 61) 21 58 11, FAX (264 61) 21 62 09

Peru

Rafael RONCAGLIOLO, Director, Instituto para America Latina (IPAL), Av. Juan de Aliaga 204, Lima 17, TEL (51 14) 617 949, FAX (51 14) 629 032

Philippines

Cecilia LAZARO, President, Probe Productions Inc., 35-C Scout Torillo, Quezon City, TEL (63 2) 810 7328, FAX (63 2) 810 5530

Anna Leah SARABIA, Women's Media Circle, 96 Maningneng Street, Quezon City, TEL (63 2) 921 3809 / 921 2222, FAX (63 2) 921 095

Senegal

Kassaye DEMENA, Consultant, Union des Radiodiffusions et Télévisions Nationales Africaines, 101 Carnot Street, P.O. Box 3237, Dakar, Senegal, TEL (22 1) 211 625 / 215 970, FAX (22 1) 22 51 13

Jacques Habib SY, Regional Office for West and Central Africa, International Development Research Centre, Post Box 11007, CD Annexe, Dakar, TEL (221) 24 42 31 / 24 09 20, FAX(221) 25 32 55

Singapore

Vijay MENON, Secretary-General, Asian Mass Communications Research and Information Centre, 39 Newton Road, 1130, TEL (065) 251 5106, FAX (065) 253 4535

Trinidad and Tobago

Christopher LAIRD, Director, Banyan Ltd., 15 Cipriani Boulevard, Newtown, Port of Spain, W.I., TEL (809) 623 9756, FAX(809) 624 2052

United States

Nash COX, 226 Rittenhouse Square, Number 2210, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19103, TEL (215) 893 0294

Michael LAFLIN, Director, Learntek Project, Education Development Center, Suite 300, 1250 24th Street N.W., Washington, D.C., 20037, TEL (202) 466 0540, FAX (202) 232 4059

Thomas McPHAIL, Professor, University of Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri, 63130, TEL (314) 553 5485, FAX (314) 553 5415

Robert Lewis SHAYON, The Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, 3620 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19104, TEL (215) 898 7041 / 893 0294, FAX (215) 898 2024 / (502) 875 2782 or 227 Rittenhouse Square, Number 2210, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19103, TEL(215) 893 0294

Zimbabwe

Victor MHIZHA-MURIRA, Director, Human Resources and Corporate Affairs, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, The Broadcasting Center, P.O. Box 444 Highlands, Harare, TEL (263 4) 729 661-4, FAX (263 4) 702 940

Wilna W. QUARMYNE, Freelance Communication Consultant, 64 Eastern Road, Greendale North, Harare, TEL (263 4) 730 501 / 445 63, FAX (263 4) 729 253

