NIILM University

Development Communication

Subject: DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION **Credits: 4**

SYLLABUS

Paradigms of Development

Introduction to Development; India's Approach to Development; Need for Planning in Development; Underdevelopment Revisited; Political & Economical Systems and Development.

Development Communication

Philosophical Basis of Development Communication; History of Development Communication; Communication and Development; Information and Rural Development; Gender Dimension in Development and Communication; International Agencies: UNDP; UNESCO and NWICO; Agriculture Communication in India; National Agencies: Extension System.

Media and Social Development

Panchayati Raj System; Role of NGOs in Development; Financial Institutions and Development; Role of Women in Development; Role of Media in Development Communication; Factors of Media Effecting Social Development; the Power of Communication and Information to Social Change; Using Folk Media in Development Programmes; Role of the Press in Development; Power of Radio in Development; Power of Television in Development; Information Communication Technology for Development.

Critical Concerns and Social Marketing in Development Communication

Understanding Globalization; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); Global Debt and Third World Development; Communication and Social Revolution; Need for an Information and Communication Policy; Introduction to Development Support Communication; Participatory Project Management; Introduction to Social Marketing; the Seven Step Social Marketing Model; Social Marketing & Health Practices.

Suggested Readings:

1. Involving the Community: a Guide to Participatory Development Communication, Guy Bessett, IDRC.

2. International and Development Communication: A 21st Century Perspective; Bella Mody, Sage Publications.

COURSE OVERVIEW

The social development perspective of communication gave rise to a new field of communication studies-Development Communication. The Development of the individual, group, society, and the nation thus began to receive worldwide attention.

Under the new paradigm, communication was no more top-down, dictated or manipulated. The poor received their voice back, those who were in darkness were lit by the light that information brought with it. The lamps that were hitherto forgotten began to be lit. It was voice of the voiceless, power of the powerless, and philosophy of the oppressed.

This course enables the students to understand development and underdevelopment in a new perspective from the communication dimension. The power of communication and information to develop people is the key.

DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

CONTENT

DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

LESSON 1:
INTRODUCTION TO DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To define development

To differentiate development and growth

To understand the dimensions of development

'Development' is perhaps one of the most fiercely debated concepts in the contemporary social sciences. The concept is often equated with 'modernization', 'industrialization', 'social change', 'progress' and 'growth', and like these other terms is invariably seen as something desirable and positive for society in general, and for the community in particular. Development is seen as absolute, inevitable, and universal; it is promoted as a laudable goal no matter what the society, the culture, the people and their resources and traditions.

Development has been one of the ideals and aspirations of all human societies. It has an inherent functional value in raising the socio-economic standard and the life style of the citizens as it aims to provide basic needs to all, particularly the deprived sections of society. The supreme aim of development should be to improve the quality of life for its citizens and to guarantee social justice.

What is national development? Does it mean the presence of high-rising buildings in some of the cities? Or does development mean the scores of Mercedes-Benz cars on the roads? Does the mere existence of Western infrastructure constitute development?

According to Dr. Adebayo Oyebade, (2001), development means simply the ability of a nation to create a viable political and economic system capable of bringing growth and advancement to a nation. This means sustainable democracy, effective bureaucracy, accountability in public service, social justice and human rights, and a sound economy capable of providing better life for the great majority of the masses. In short, national development means the ability of a state to provide for its people the basic necessities of good living like good health care, good roads, good education, and so on.

For the people, the poor economy is manifested in widespread poverty, deteriorating living standard, poor health condition leading to high mortality rate and rapidly declining life expectancy.

The poor economy has also translated into crumbled infrastructure. Power supplies by the epileptic National Electric Power Authority continue to be erratic. The same is true of water supply. Fuel shortage is a never-ending thing in Nigeria, a major oil-producing nation. Many roads are bad causing ghastly auto accidents. The list of crumbling infrastructure is long.

Corruption, leadership failure, military rule, ethnic and religious politics, are all symptoms of a fundamental problem—a lack of a sense of belonging to a nation among the various ethnic groups all these underdevelopment.

Development Defined

Thinkers based on the paradigms with which they approach this concept have understood the term 'development' differently. Some define it as growth, progress, modernization etc. But, Development is a multifaceted phenomenon and may be understood as political, social, economic, spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual.

Generally development is defined as a passage from a lower to a higher state. Development is essentially maximizing the goods and services available in a country. Its paucity denotes underdevelopment. The international encyclopedia (1988) defines development as "purposive changes undertaken in a society to achieve what may be regarded generally as a different (improved) state of social and economic affairs."

Communication plays a central role in development. The notion of development is basic to development communication. Therefore, let us begin by examining the term 'development'. It is indeed a multi-faceted and value-laden concept, which seems to resist precise formulation.

Dissanayake (1981) defines development as the process of social change which has as its goal the improvement in the quality of life of all or the majority of the people without doing violence to the natural and cultural environment in which they exist and which seeks to involve the generality of the people as closely as possible in this enterprise, making them the masters of their own destiny.

Development communication scholars of the 60s, like Rogers and Shoemaker defined development as: "… a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita income and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization. Development is modernization at the social systems level (1971).

Deborah Eade defines it as "Development is about women and men becoming empowered to bring about positive changes in their lives; about personal growth together with public action; about both the process and the outcome of challenging poverty, oppression, and discrimination; and about the realization of human potential through social and economic justice. Above all, it is about the process of transforming lives, and transforming societies."

The characteristics of an underdeveloped country are massive poverty, social inequality, unemployment, low productivity and increasing foreign debt. All development strategies must aim at reducing these impediments to development.

Lambert Okrah, the founder of the Ghanaian Institute for Cultural Affairs (ICA), challenges the view that development is something that can be exported from developed to developing countries. According to him, there is no such thing as a

developed country development is a continual process of reacting to the challenges one faces in life.

Development and Modernization

Development is not just modernization as each one can lead to the other. A well developed country need not be modern. Because, equality of living standards might not be a sign of a developed country. In America there exists vast unemployment and underemployment.

Development and Growth

The concept of development is rightly distinguished from that of mere growth. The term 'growth' connotes only an increment to the gross national product. On the other hand, development connotes a qualitative and structural change. The structure of an underdeveloped country is characterised by a 'dual economy' and a 'dual society'. While there are manifestations of development in a few metropolitan centres in the shape of modem industrial and commercial establishments, the bulk of the country. the vast hinterland of rural areas, is underdeveloped in every sense of the term. Life there could he described, if not as nasty, brutish and short-certainly as short, poor and isolated. Thus metropolitan centres are only enclaves in vast areas of darkness and backwardness- As against this a developed country is characterized by the homogeneous development of social and economic life in all parts of the country. The standard of living and social amenities in the developed countries are the same in the urban areas as in the countryside. In the underdeveloped countries economic and social dualism is also accompanied by institutional dualism. Institutions like banks, technological and training institutions necessary for development and modernity, are confined only to metropolitan centres and do not exist in rural areas.

Dimensions of Development

Development cannot be considered synonymous with economic development as it has other dimensions as well.

Political development

Political development could be assessed in terms of the stabilization and consolidation of participatory political institutions. Where such development takes place, the political authority is responsive to the people; and conversely people have faith in the political authority and indeed have opportunities to participate in the political process. The example of Iran has shown that spectacular economic progress can come to an abrupt halt due to political explosions thus reducing the glittering trappings of apparent success.

Social Development

Social development may be conceived in terms of progressive social integration. Where society is fragmented into different warring groups where there is social discrimination against minority groups, where one section of society dominates another, or where one social group has privileges while another has social disabilities, development cannot take place in a smooth and harmonious manner. Social homogenization is integral to development. Without it there cannot be unity and social solidarity and without them no society can develop. That is why it has to be affirmed that development is not only economic but also social and political development. Without one of the three, the other two cannot survive. It is an illusion that an authoritarian political or social system can accelerate economic development. Indeed, it is a contradiction in terms to talk of economic development through authoritarian political and social systems.

It is this realization, which has also altered the concept of economic development itself. Even economists have increasingly realized that economic development is not purely an economic phenomenon. There are non-economic factors as well which need to be taken note of in understanding the process of economic development.

Structural Development

Development brings about structural transformation. Colin Clark has divided the structure of the economy into primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. The primary sector is concerned with economic activities directly connected with natural resources such as agriculture, animal husbandry and mining. The secondary sector is concerned with the transformation of the products of the primary sector into manufactured commodities. The tertiary sector is concerned with all those activities which are required to make the products of the primary and secondary sectors available to the final consumer. It is connected with the activities of trade, transport marketing and distribution.

In a typical underdeveloped country 90 percent of the population is engaged in the primary sector, especially in agriculture carried on a low level of technology and productivity. On the other hand, a developed country has a large secondary and tertiary sector. The economy benefits a great deal from value added to the produce of the primary sector. In a developed country like the United States of America, only 3 to 4 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture. Yet, due to the

improvement in technology and productivity, American agriculture is able to provide food grains in large quantities to other countries of the world. Similarly, in Sweden, barely 5 per cent of the population is engaged in the primary sector. On the other hand nearly 75 per cent of the Indian population is still engaged in agriculture despite more than 35 years of planning. Development, therefore, requires diversification of the economy in the shape of larger secondary and tertiary sectors.

However a reduction in the proportion of people engaged in the primary sector does not by itself bring about development. Nor can this he brought about in an artificial manner. What structural transformation does imply is that an agricultural revolution must be followed by the industrial revolution. However, there could he no industrial revolution without the agricultural revolution, which is its conditional precedent. An increase in the productivity of agriculture provides raw material as well as surplus manpower for economic activity m the secondary and tertiary sectors. Thus the path of development is an agricultural revolution followed by an industrial revolution, and the expanding production and productivity of the industrial and agricultural sectors may then require a large tertiary sector.

Human Development

The nation alone shouldn't develop. The people should develop. This human factor in development is very important.

Economical Development

The living quality or standard of life of the people have to increase. Having a high per capita income or a growth in the Gross Domestic Product need not mean necessarily a growth in the living standard of people.

Spiritual Development

The growth and development should be integral. Spiritual development among people is a must for a peaceful nation. If peace does not prevail in a country, however wealth that nation has no value.

Western Approach to (Economic) Development

The process of development in the countries under colonial rule started in the second half of the twentieth century. In the Western countries however, it started with the advent of the industrial revolution and Britain was the first country to become the 'workshop of the world' as Knowles termed it in 1953.

The industrial revolution came to Britain between 1760 and 1820 and transformed it from a feudal agricultural economy into a capitalistic industrial economy. Historians have ascribed many causes to the revolution. They included agricultural-commercial and transport revolutions, which preceded and accompanied the industrial revolution. Also a series of new technological inventions like printing press and steam engine replaced human skill with mechanical skill. The establishment of the factory system was an innovation in economic organization, which was part of the industrial revolution.

These events in Britain were soon followed by a similar industrial revolution in other European countries like France, Germany and the new world of the United States of America. By the turn of the century, it took place in the remaining European countries. Japan, after the Meji restoration in 1868, also embarked upon the path of modern industrial development. Soon countries like Sweden, Germany, the United States of America, and Japan overtook Britain.

The early years of industrial capitalism in most of these countries were characterized by a laissez faire economy. Development was not the conscious goal and objective of the state but the result of the efforts of private entrepreneurs in pursuit of self-interest The laissez faire philosophy was embodied in the maxim that 'that government is the best which governs the least,' where the slate should confine itself to the sovereign functions of law and order, currency and coinage and national defence. The theoretical inspiration for the philosophy of laissez faire was provided by Adam Smith (1937) who wrote the first scientific treatise on economic science, namely, Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations. He spoke of the 'invisible hand of Providence' in the market which transformed the fruits of private entrepreneurs in pursuit of self-interest into the production and supply of goods and services needed by the society. He pointed out that the butcher, the brewer and the baker produced and supplied meat, wine and bread, not to serve society but were in fact seeking a means of livelihood for themselves'.

However, as industrial capitalism gave rise to a number of problems, the laissez faire philosophy was modified in favour of a series of justifiable cases of state intervention. The inequalities made a case for progressive taxation and other measures for the redistribution of income and wealth and eventually for ushering in the Welfare State or the Social Service State.

Malthus drew attention to the basic problem of development, namely, the balance between the growth of population and the growth of production. He pointed out that while production grew in arithmetic proportions, the population grew in geometric proportions, thus creating an increasing imbalance between population and production. Schumpeter (1955) suggested innovation in production in large scale to cope up with the growing population.

Karl Marx, starting from the basic concept of Ricardian economics, provided a theory of the historical evolution of the process of development, explained through the logic of

dialectical materialism of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. He pointed out that beginning with primitive communism, the economy passed through the stages of feudalism, capitalism and socialism. Though he predicted the decline of the capitalistic system, he appreciated the achievements of capitalism. However, capitalism based on the exploitation of the working classes was bound to collapse and give rise to socialism which would provide a just economic system based on the principles of "from each according to his means and to each according to his needs."

Rostow, in 1960 published in *London Economist* his 'New Non-Communist Manifesto.' He provided a theory of historical development in terms of five stages — traditional economy, the transition, the take off, the self-sustained growth, culminating in high mass consumption economy.

Harrod-Domar (1960) came out with a simple formulae to measure the development. Harrod-Domar equation states that **G = I/C** where **G** is the rate of growth, **I** is the amount of investment and **C** is the capital-output ratio. He stipulated that c being stable at any point of time for an economy, growth depended upon investment and investment depended upon savings (Domar 1960). Following this analysis, W. Arthur Lewis (1955) in his book Theory of Economic Growth pointed out that the rate of savings in underdeveloped countries was as low as 5 per cent and it has to be raised at least to the level of 12 to 15 per cent. This alone would ensure a growth rate of about 4 to 5 per cent on the assumption of the capital-output ratio being three. Thus in this analysis capital formation provided the keynote of economic development.

However, the power of investment to trigger off development depends on productivity, effective use of capital, and human resources, and appropriateness of technology.

Role of Technology in Development

Technology makes capital productive. The developing countries had at their disposal a considerable amount of accumulated technology of the industrial age of the already developed countries. All that they have to do is to absorb that technology into their productive system. Japan, for example, developed through the quick acquisition of Western technology. In the early years of development in Japan, their technicians and managers were sent in large numbers to the United Stales of America and Germany where they visited enterprises and industrial establishments, took photographs and notes and reproduced the plants and machines in their own country, in the beginning, the products of Japanese industry were looked upon as of low quality. However, the Japanese proved to be outstanding not only in absorbing Western technology but improving upon it and adapting it to their own conditions. The results have been spectacular. The Japanese have been able to beat the Western countries at their own game and excel in them with respect to technology and industry by developing a productive system which can produce superior goods at a lower cost. Cars and electronic goods made in Japan have been able to capture markets in America and Europe.

Measuring Yards of Development

Up to the 70's the determiner of a countrie's development was Gross National Product (GNP). GNP is the value of all goods and services produced in a country in a given period of time. The problem with this was, a growth in GNP does not mean a growth in the standard of living. Another determiner was the per capita income. Percapita income is the amount obtainable by dividing the national income by the number of population. Per capita Income also did not assure a rise in the living standards of the poor.

In these economic strategies, capital, technology, manpower were considered as the input and the output determined the development. Economic growth was calculated the corresponding increase in the output to a increase in the input

But, all these were proved false. Years after implementing all these the economists saw that the rich became more richer and fewer and the poor became poorer and numerous than ever. They understood that GNP and per capita income were to be seen and be used only as tools to measure development and not as the goal of development.

GDP and Per Capita Income

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the market value of goods and services produced by labor and property in a country.

GDP is the primary indicator used to gauge the health of a country's economy. It represents to total value of all goods and services produced over a specific time period—you can think of it as the size of the economy. Usually GDP is compared to that of the previous year. For example, if the year-to-year GDP was up 3%, it means that the economy has grown by 3% over the last year.

Measuring GDP is complicated (which is why we leave it to the economists), but, at its most basic, the calculation can be done in one of two ways: either you add up what everybody earned in a year, or you add up what everybody spent. Logically, both measures should arrive roughly at the same total.

A significant change in GDP, whether up or down, usually has a significant effect on the stock market. It's not hard to understand why: a bad economy usually means lower profits for companies, which in turn means lower stock prices. Investors really worry about negative GDP growth, which is one of the factors economists use to determine if an economy is in a recession.

Per capita income is the total national income divided by the number of people in the nation.

Traditionally development was measured by such early quantifiable indices as the area and per capita income. It was found that a large number of countries that could lay claim to a rapid rate of GNP growth had also at the same time created very high rates of unemployment and underemployment, Moreover, in many instances, the rapid growth in GNP had gone hand in hand with the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor in society. In other words, paying attention to the GNP and per capita income, without adequately taking into consideration the income distribution and other forms of social justice, will only serve to create a totally distorted picture. For this reason, the traditional criteria of economic growth are being supplanted by the newer criteria of social growth.

The Determinants of Economic Development

Basically, economic development implies the process of securing levels of productivity in all sectors of economy and this in turn, is a function of the level of technology. For obtaining a higher level of technology, the economy is required to forge the physical apparatus in the form of machines, equipments, tools and instruments of production on the one hand and on the other, to train the labour force of the country to make use of the physical apparatus thus created. In a nutshell, economic development is a process of stepping up the rate of capital formation. But it must be emphasized that capital, though necessary, is not a sufficient condition of economic development which depends on such non-economic factors as social attitudes, political conditions, human endowments and efficient governance. Economic development thus depends upon two sets of factors — economic and non-economic.

Non-economic Factors

The non-economic factors provide the requisite social climate in which the seed of economic development can germinate to full bloom. Therefore, it would be unwise to underrate the importance of the sociological and psychological factors. Professor Cairncross emphasizing the non-economic factors, writes; "Development is not governed in any country by economic forces alone and the more backward the country, the more this is true. The key to development lies in men's minds, in the institutions in which their thinking finds expression and in the play of opportunity on ideas and institutions." An underdeveloped economy is not only required to raise the level of investment in order to initiate growth, but is also required to gradually transform the social, religious and political institutions which act as obstacles to economic progress. Consequently, economic development cannot take place unless men are educated. Sociological and psychological factors being given, the rate of economic development would depend upon (a) the proportion of the current income of the community devoted to capital formation; (b) the capital-output ratio; and (c) the rate of growth of population.

Capital Formation

Capital formation is of crucial importance in the process of economic development. It is quite necessary to step up the rate of capital formation so that the community accumulates a large stock of machines, tools and equipment which can be geared into production. Not only that, capital formation requires the creation of skill formation so that the physical apparatus or equipment created can be utilised to raise the level of productivity. The Indian Planning Commission puts this idea correctly when it states: "The level of production and the material well-being a community can attain depends, in the main, on the stock of capital at its disposal, i.e., on the amount of land per capita and of productive equipment in the shape of machinery, buildings, tools and implements, factories, locomotives, engines, irrigation facilities, power installations and communications. The larger the stock of capital, the greater tends to be the productivity of labour and therefore, the volume of commodities and services that can be turned out with same effort." Again, "while other factors are important and essential a rapid increase in productivity is conditional upon additions to and improvements in- the technological framework implicit in a high rate of capital formation."

Experience of development in other countries suggests that a high rate of capital formation was achieved to trigger rapid economic growth. It is quite reasonable to suppose that in the initial years it was not possible to step up the rate of capital formation to the full extent by domestic savings. Consequently, some inflow of foreign capital became necessary for achieving about 6 to 7 per cent rise of national income, It is heartening to note that India has achieved a gross saving rate of 24.5 per cent during 1993-94 to 1995-96 and the growth rate achieved was 6.5 per cent during the Eighth Plan period. But during the Ninth Plan (1997-2000) growth rate has come down to 5.35 per cent.

As a consequence of second industrial revolution sweeping the world on account of computerization and revolution in electronics, India finds itself technologically very backward. Consequently, it has decided to permit direct foreign investment with a view to imbibing advanced technology so that ultimately India can compete in the international market on its own. A higher dose of foreign capital has become necessary in the changed world scenario.

Capital-Output Ratio

Another determinant of economic development is the capital-output ratio. The term 'capital-output ratio' refers to the number of units of capital that are required in order to produce one unit of output. In other words, capital-output ratio reflects the productivity of capital in the various sectors of the economy

at a point of time. The capital-output ratio for the economy as a whole is only a shorthand description of the productivity of capital.

The capital-output ratio is different for different industries and different economies and it varies over a period of time. "There is no unique capital-output ratio applicable to all countries at all times. Much depends not only on the stage of economic development reached but also on the precise forms of further expansion."9 For instance, in the early phase of economic development, when a country is making heavy investment on economic infrastructures, i.e., on building irrigation works, hydro-electric projects, roads, railways, etc., the corresponding additions to output will be small. But with the passage of time as the power potential and transport equipment are utilized to the full, there shall be a favourable shift in the capital-output ratio. Similarly, basic industries like iron and steel, machine tools, engineering and metallurgy are more capital-intensive than consumer goods industries. Consequently in the initial years of development when the economic foundations are being laid, capital-output ratio tends to be unfavourable. But as development gathers momentum, and the emphasis is shifted to the production of consumer goods, relatively smaller increases in investment bring about large increments of output. In other words, the stage of economic development and the mix of various types of investment determine the capital-output ratio.

Besides, in certain sectors of the economy output can be increased with comparatively small additions to capital, while in other sectors, comparatively large additions to capital are called for. For instance, in Japan (between 1885 and 1915) labour productivity in agriculture was doubled by a comparatively small quantum of investment in the form of better seeds, improvement in water supply, control of crop diseases and the use of fertilizers. In addition to this, capital-output ratio depends upon the efficiency with which the new types of capital equipment are handled and the quality of managerial and organizational skill available at a particular stage of economic development. Co-ordination of the programmes of investment so as to develop complementary economic activities simultaneously has a favourable effect on capital-output ratio while the appearance of lags in development of interdependent sectors only produces an adverse effect on the capital-output ratio. In other words, the capacity of the economy to more effectively use the investment at a particular time also affects the capital-output ratio.

The rate of growth of national income in an economy depends upon the rate of investment and the capital-output ratio.

$$\text{Rate of growth of National Income} = \frac{\text{Investment-income Ratio}}{\text{Capital-Output Ratio}}$$

In other words, to achieve high rates of growth of national output, economy has to operate on two variables, viz. (a) to step up the rate of investment, and (b) to generate forces which reduce the capital-output ratio.

Growth of Population

Rapid growth of population is considered to be an important determinant of growth. Since economic growth is measured in terms of an increase in per capita income, a part of the increase in national income is utilized to maintain the additional population. In other words, in terms of per capita income, on account of a rise in population, the country experiences a very thin spread of the benefits of growth. This highlights the peed for a large and active programme of family limitation so that the benefits of the massive developmental effort are not dissipated.

But it may be emphasized that it would not be proper to isolate the population factor because history has shown that birth rate falls significantly when the standard of living rises significantly for the majority of the people. In plain language the neo-Malthusian approach underplays the role of development in controlling population. Economic development and population growth are inter-connected. Whereas population hinders economic development, the latter, as it gathers momentum, leads to the creation of more appropriate conditions to control population.

Building Human Capital

An important determinant of economic growth is the building up of human capital by focusing on education and health and thereby increasing the productivity of the economy. The experience of highly performing East Asian economies shows that they could force a lead over other developing economies by making investment in human capital formation. In the sixties, these economies spent large sums on education on the lower grades; first by providing universal primary education, later by increasing the availability of secondary education. Experience of East Asian countries also reveals that they were successful in reducing birth rate and thus brought about a sharp decline in the population growth rate. Consequently, declining fertility combined with rapid growth rate resulted in more resources becoming available per child for education. Coupled with this, these countries spent more resources on generating technical skills at the post-secondary stage. The result of these policies has been a broad, technically trained human capital base well suited for improving productivity and thus sustaining rapid economic development. Whereas the state Spending was devoted to provide primary and secondary education which benefited large segments of the population, higher education for the select few was largely self-financed: This strategy increased the base of human capital which fostered economic development.

The Research Study of the World Bank about eight high performing Asian Economies (HPAEs): Japan, the "Four Tigers" - Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea, Singapore and Taiwan (China) and the three newly industrializing economies (NIEs) of South-east Asia, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand has recorded that these economies grew faster than all other regions of the world. "In large measure the HPAEs achieved high growth by getting the basics right. Private domestic investment and rapidly growing human capital were the principal engines of growth. And some of these economies also got a head start because they had a better-educated labour force and a more effective system of public administration. In this sense, there is little that is "miraculous" about the HPAEs' superior record of growth; it is largely due to superior accumulation of physical and human capital."

"But these fundamentals do not tell the entire story. In most of these economies; in one form 01 another, the government intervened — systematically and through multiple channels — to foster development and in some cases the development of specific industries."

To sum up, it is quite possible that mere emphasis on G.N.P. approach to development may result in increases of national income by the manipulation of capital-output ratios but in the process, the economy may be faced with the problem of massive unemployment. It is, therefore, of vital importance that the pattern of investment should be so designed that certain areas such as defence equipment, engineering and metallurgical industries, heavy industries, shipping, etc., may be permitted to use sophisticated capital-intensive technology but bulk of the consumer goods industries and various programmes of agricultural development should emphasize labour-absorbing technologies with low doses of capital. Such a course is vitally necessary in the early phase of development in which population pressures are heavy on account of a fast decline in death rate. The harmonization of the objective of expanding production with that of securing full employment is a logical necessity in India.

Note

LESSON 2:
UNDERSTANDING UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To understand underdevelopment

To know the characteristics of underdevelopment

An underdeveloped economy is characterized, by the existence, in greater or less degree, of unutilized or underutilized manpower on the one hand and of unexploited natural resources on the other. This state of affairs may be due to stagnancy of techniques or TO certain inhibiting socioeconomic factors, which prevent the more dynamic forces in economy from asserting themselves. -The First Five-Year Plan

U.N. Classification

The term 'underdeveloped countries' is relative. In general, those countries which have real per capita incomes less than a quarter of the per capita income of the United States, are underdeveloped countries. More recently, instead of referring to these economies as underdeveloped, the UN publications prefer to describe them as 'developing economies'. The term 'developing economies' signifies that though still underdeveloped, the process of development has been initiated in these countries. Thus, we have 'developing economies' and 'developed economies'. (UN, 1951) The World Bank in its World Development Report (2002) classified the various countries on the basis of Gross National Product (GNP) per capita.

Distribution of World Population and World GNP among various groups of Countries in 2000 (Exchange Rate Basis)

SOURCE: Compiled from World Bank, World Development Report, (2002).

Developing countries are divided into: (a) Low income countries with 2000 GNP per capita of $755 and below; and Middle income countries with GNP per capita ranging between $ 755 and $ 9,265. As against them, the High-income Countries which are mostly members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and some others have GNP per capita of $ 9,265 or more.

From the data given in the above table, it may be noted that in 2000 low income countries comprise nearly 40.6 per cent of the world population (2,459 million), but account for only 3.3 percent of total world GNP. The middle income countries, which are less developed than the highly developed countries, but comparatively speaking, more developed than the low income countries comprise 44.5 per cent of world population but account for 17.0 per cent of world GNP. Taking these two groups, which are popularly described as developing economies or underdeveloped economies', it may be stated that they comprise about 85 per cent of the world population but account for about 20 per cent of the world GNP. Most countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and some countries of Europe are included in them.

India with its population of 1,016 million in 2000 and with its percapita income of $460 is among the poorest of the economies of the world. It had a share of 16.8 per cent in world population, but accounts for only 1.5 per cent of world GNP.

Three observations may be made here regarding the U.N. classification of developed and developing countries on the basis of per capita income. First, there is gross inequality of incomes between the rich and the poor countries. Second, the gap in per capita income (and naturally in the level of living) between the rich and poor countries is even widening over the years — the annual rate of growth of per capita income of the rich countries was higher during 1985-95 as compared with the poor countries. More recently, the growth rate among low-income countries has also shown an increase and if this is sustained, the gap may show a decline over a period. Third, all the high income countries are not necessarily developed countries. For instance, the oil-exporting countries have high per capita income but this is mainly due to their exports of oil; really speaking, they are not developed economies. Recently, with a decline in world oil prices, the GNP per capita has started showing a decline in this group.

M. Eugene Staley offers the following definition of an underdeveloped country; "A country characterized (1) by mass poverty which is chronic and not the result of some temporary misfortune, and (2) obsolete methods of production and social organization, which means that the poverty is not entirely due to poor natural resources and hence could presumably be lessened by methods already proved in other countries." The above definitions about underdeveloped economies bring out the following points:

a. Underdeveloped economies are distinguished from the developed economies on the basis of their low per capita income. Though per capita income is not the only indicator, it is the most significant single measure of comparison for different economies.

b. The central problem of underdeveloped economies is the prevalence of 'mass poverty" which is the cause as well as consequence of their low level-of development.

c. 'Mass poverty' is the result of low resource base of the poor who own a very small portion of the total assets in the form of land, capital, house property, etc. The low resource base of the poor also inhibits them from giving education and training to their children. As a result, the children of the poor are, by and large, either engaged in unskilled occupations or some semi-skilled occupations. This enables them to earn very low and meager wages and 1-hys perpetuate poverty. In other words, inequality in the distribution of assets is the principal cause of unequal distribution of income on the one hand and unequal distribution of opportunities on the other.

d. Mass poverty in underdeveloped countries is not due to poor natural resources, but is the consequence of obsolete methods of production and exploitative social structure.

Note

LESSON 3:
INDIA'S APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To assess the development in India

To know where India stands now

India is the seventh largest and second most populous country in the world. A new spirit of economic freedom is now stirring in the country, bringing sweeping changes in its wake. A series of ambitious economic reforms aimed at deregulating the country and stimulating foreign investment has moved India firmly into the front ranks of the rapidly growing Asia Pacific region and unleashed the latent strengths of a complex and rapidly changing nation.

India's process of economic reform is firmly rooted in a political consensus that spans her diverse political parties. India's democracy is a known and stable factor, which has taken deep roots over nearly half a century. Importantly, India has no fundamental conflict between its political and economic systems. Its political institutions have fostered an open society with strong collective and individual rights and an environment supportive of free economic enterprise.

India's time tested institutions offer foreign investors a transparent environment that guarantees the security of their long term investments. These include a free and vibrant press, a judiciary which can and does overrule the government, a sophisticated legal and accounting system and a user friendly intellectual infrastructure. India's dynamic and highly competitive private sector has long been the backbone of its economic activity. It accounts for over 75% of its Gross Domestic Product and offers considerable scope for joint ventures and collaborations.

Today, India is one of the most exciting emerging markets in the world. Skilled managerial and technical manpower that match the best available in the world and a middle class whose size exceeds the population of the USA or the European Union, provide India with a distinct cutting edge in global competition.

India embarked on the process of planned economic development in 1951. The National Planning Commission headed by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was set up to comprehensively assess the natural and manpower resources of the country and to prepare plans for the mobilisation of these resources for economic development aimed at raising the standard of living of masses of people. Jawaharlal Nehru was committed to planning ever since 1927 when he visited the Soviet Union and saw how planning brought about economic transformation in that country. Even before Independence, he was appointed by the Indian National Congress as the Chairman, National Planning Commission which produced valuable development plans for different sectors of the economy. However, after Independence, when Nehru broached the idea of planning, he was opposed by his Finance Minister, John Mathai who raised many objections. As a result of this difference of opinion, John Mathai resigned. It was not that Nehru alone was amongst the public men who accepted the idea of a planned approach to economic development. As far back as 1934, Sir M. Viswesurariah, the engineer statesman advocated planning for India's economic development. Even private businessmen had produced a Bombay plan before Independence. The adoption of planning as the instrument of development was thus a logical culmination of ideas that had gathered momentum in the years before Independence.

India has now completed more than three decades of planning. Except for the three annual plans during the years 1966 to 1969, which came to be described as plan holiday, India-has been preparing five-year plans with a long term perspective. Within the framework of the five-year plans, annual plans are also prepared and are integrated with the budgetary process. Every five-year plan has a mid-term appraisal.

Indian plans are comprehensive in the sense that they cover both public and private investment and also all sectors of the economy; second, the Indian approach to planning has been described as that of democratic planning as distinguished from totalitarian planning as in the Soviet Union. It gives an important place to popular participation. While it envisages that the public sector would be in charge of the commanding heights of the economy, it gives considerable scope to private enterprises as well as the cooperative sector which is expected to provide a sense of value and direction to the economy. Third, India's approach to planning is for balanced development, in the sense that all sectors including agriculture, industry, infrastructure, as well as the service sector have been accorded their own place. The Second Five-Year Plan put greater stress on heavy industry. However, the importance of agriculture and rural development was always recognized and the plan strategy was based on interdependent and mutually enforcing growth of different sectors of the economy.

Fourth, India's approach to planning is aimed at the establishment of the socialist pattern of society. In other words, equitable distribution of income and provision of full employment opportunities have been the objectives along with that of increasing the rate of growth of the gross national product. Lately the objective has been defined in terms of the anti-poverty approach. Planning for development has not always succeeded in reconciling the different goals. The Indian approach to planning for development aims at evolving the 'third way' — steering clear of unbridled capitalism on one side and unmitigated totalitarianism on the other side.

Finally, India's approach to development has tried to combine the economic, technological, human and institutional aspects of development. Within the field of technology the concept of 'intermediate technology' has also found its place. India's plans

for development assume that science and technology provide the basis for development. The Central Ministry for Science and Technology has been established which has enunciated a science policy. One of the aspects of the Indian approach to development is that of a self-reliant economy and society. In order to have self-reliance in the field of science and technology, India has introduced a chain of scientific laboratories. However, so rapid has been the technological advancement in some of the developed countries, that India has also found it necessary to import high technology in various fields of development. At the same time attention has been paid to the improvement and upgradation of the more traditional technology adopted by village and cottage industries and handicrafts.

India's approach to planning is therefore eclectic in every sense of the term. It tries to reconcile planning with democracy, increased production with equitable distribution, establishment of large industry with promotion of cottage industries, introduction of high technology with upgradation of traditional technology and upholding human values with the pursuit of material advancement.

Development in India

After Independence, India displayed a commitment to improve the plight of its citizens. Planned development became the accepted strategy for attaining the objective of improving the economic, social and political life of our people. As a consequence, a large quantum of societal resources was earmarked for developmental activities covering various sectors of our society in the successive five-year plans. The outcome of the developmental efforts is discernible in India. Concurrently, certain facets inherent in development, as discernible in other parts of the globe, have also started emerging and creating complexities in the Indian social structure.

The model for and the pace of development needs to be in conformity with the value system and the cultural patterns of a society. Moreover, although we adopted a mixed model of development— Western and socialist — it appears, at the operational level that we have shown a greater inclination for the Western model. The major underlying assumptions in the Western model of development and the inherent contradictions — perceptions versus reality — have affected the pace of development in our country.

Selected Indicators of The Indian Economy

	1950-51	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91	2000-01
GDP at factor cost (Rs. crores) at 1993-94 prices	1,40,477	2,06,121	2,96, 303	4,01,162	6,93,051	11,98,685*
Per capita NNP (Rs) at 1993-94 prices	3,687	4.430	5,002	5.353	7.323	10,306*
Index of Industrial production (Base 1993-94)	7.9	15.6	28.1	43.1	9.16	162.6
Index of Agricultural Production (Base: 3 Year ending 19S1-82)	46.2	68.8	85.9	102.1	148.4	176.3
Gross domestic capital formation (as per cent of GDP)	8.7	14.4	15,4	20.3	26.3	24.0*
Gross domestic saving (% GDP)	8.9	11.6	14.6	18.9	23.1	23.4*
Foodgrains (Million tonnes)	50.8	79	108.4	129.6	176.4	199.5
Electricity generated (Utilities only) (Billion KWH)	5.1	7.4	55.8	110.8	264.3	499.5
Centre's Budgetary Deficit (Rs. Cr)	-33	-117	285	2,576	11,347	1,197
Exports (Rs. crores)	606	642	1,535	6,711	32,553	203.571
Imports (Rs. crores)	608	1,122	1,634	12.549	43,198	230,873
Population (Millions)	361.1	439.2	548-2	682.2	846.3	1,019
Birth rate (per 1000)	39.9	41.7	36.9	33.9	29.5	25.8
Death rate (per 1000)	27.4	22.8	14.9	12-5	9.8	8.5
Life expectancy at birth (in yrs)	32.1	41.3	45.6	54.4	58.7	
Male Female	32.4 31.7	41.9 40.6	46,4 44.7	54.1 54.7	59.0 58.7	63.9 66.9
Literacy rate (per cent)	18.3	28.3	34.5	43.6	52.2	65.4+
Male Female	27.2 8.9	40.4 15.3	46.0 22.0	56.4 29.0	64.1 39.3	75.8+ 54.2+
Registered Medical Practitioners (RMP) (000)	61-8	83.7	151.1	268.7		575.6*
RMP (per 10,000 population)	1.7	1.9	2.8	3.9	4.7	5.6
Beds all types per 10,000	3.2	5.2	6.4	8.3	9.5	9.3

**Provisional; +As per 2001 census*

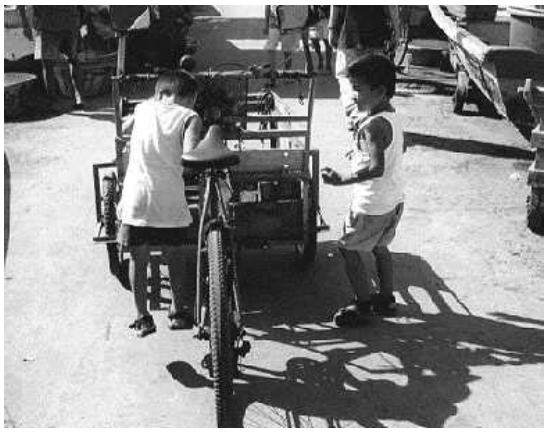
Source: Government of India, Economic Survey (2002-2003).

The broad features of the Indian model of development can be summarized as:

1. Material aspects were over-emphasized.
2. Preference was given to technology and a heavy industrial growth model.
3. Disregard for indigenous techniques and social conditions, i.e., literacy, language and ability to adapt to the sophisticated Western model.
4. The model was not comprehensive enough.

In accordance with the ideology of the model, it was presumed that development could best he achieved by the installation of heavy industries, which, by implication, had an impact on the small scale industries of India (the small scale industries ha(l evolved and were modified in accordance with the local expertise, needs, resources, etc.).

In fact, the developmental model appeared to be an imposition on the local small scale industries of this country. Traditional tools and techniques — prevalent in India and considered relevant for centuries — were denigrated and efforts were made to replace them. The futility of the old system, the loss of human labour, the wastage and dispersal of human resources, were stressed upon and efforts were made to convince the policy makers that quick results could be achieved only by adopting the developmental model along with sophisticated tools and techniques.



For the masses in India, the informal modes of interpersonal communication and relations continue to play a decisive role. On the contrary, the promoters of the Western model of development considered them counter to the ideology of development. The motivators therefore projected the informal modes as primitive techniques and highlighted the importance of formal modes. Accordingly, they suggested that the formal modes be given primacy over the informal modes, even though the informal modes are still found to be relevant in various spheres of human life and relations. Therefore, the masses of this country could not adequately assimilate or digest these new and formal modes, illiteracy was another area that attracted attention in the process of development. It was considered a handicap or an obstacle in the projected model of development. Having assessed this reality, the promoters emphasised education as a prerequisite as this argument opened the way for the import of educated and professionally trained surplus manpower to the developing countries. Although the rate of illiteracy, for various reasons, was high in our country in the pre-Independence era, we had, nevertheless, evolved various mechanisms of meeting our demands and invented indigenous modes for our requirements. Moreover, during that period and even in the contemporary era, many illiterate persons have shown considerable professional acumen in the areas of agriculture, industry, trade and other skilled work.

No process will be able to achieve the desired success unless the motivators and beneficiaries share a common language and find similar meaning in the implementation of a programme. Unilateral assumptions, without their acceptance by the beneficiaries or the instruments, may be counter-productive. Since the perceptions of the group promoting development and those who would have been the beneficiaries differed and were at different wave-lengths, the meaning and language of development also proved to be at variance. Even the willingness and preparedness — in the face of the skepticism, doubts, criticism or suggestions expressed at different levels — of the policy makers could only introduce modifications in one aspect or area of development strategy, in terms of modes/ mechanisms, instruments/tools, etc. On the contrary, there might in fact have been a need to look at the developmental model itself afresh. Even after experiencing the consequences of our choice, we were not prepared to change it. Hence, our continued allegiance to the Western model introduced repercussions for the country.

These measures — partial or half-hearted — could not fully enmesh and bring about an equitable balance in various dimensions of development which should have formed a part of a comprehensive model and should have preceded or proceeded concurrently. Each aspect of development—political, social, economic, spiritual, intellectual, and emotional — should have been given equal importance at the stages of conception, formulation and implementation of development plans. Therefore, as the model, modes, instruments, methodology and the languages were different, for which the recipients were either not prepared, or were not cumulatively educated regarding their possible benefits, or no serious effort was made to

sensitise the public, this model had its implications for the country. In addition, the chasm or inconsistencies amongst and between the physico-politico-economic development had an impact on the emotional, intellectual and spiritual life of our country. This viewpoint assumes added significance in the face of the spirit and philosophical traditions of India. In Hindu philosophy in particular (and also in other religious beliefs and thoughts), there is an emphasis on 'discard' as a means and mechanism to attain solace, mental peace and the development of the human mind. Since these aspects continue to be relevant for a sizeable section of our society, they ought to influence the pace of development.

Having realised the prevailing notions of the people, the promoters of development wished to deal with this first as they were considered to be obstacles in the process of development. The outright denigration and disregard for the crystallised and synthesised notions, without an adequate evaluation of their importance in the life styles of Indian people, could not be without its consequences for the masses. The approach then could have been slightly different. Self-consciousness inevitably results in the interpretation of traditional institutions and ideas giving rise to a complex amalgam in which the traditional and modern join to form a new synthesis.

United Nations and The Right to Development

The second half of the twentieth century has seen the increasing preoccupation of social scientists and policy makers with 'development'. The United Nations announced the sixties as the first and the seventies as the second decade of development (United Nations 1962).

The right to development is a fundamental human right rooted in the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In 1993, the World Conference on Human Rights affirmed the right to development by consensus.

Right to Development is an inalienable right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development.

Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations identifies international cooperation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms as one of the purposes of the Organization.

In 1995, the Copenhagen Declaration reaffirmed the link between human rights and development by establishing a new consensus that places people at the centre of concerns for sustainable development, and by pledging to eradicate poverty, to promote full and productive employment, and to foster social integration to achieve stable, safe and just societies for all.

Rights-based Approach to Development

A rights-based approach to development is a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights.

Essentially, a rights-based approach integrates the norms, standards and principles of the international human rights system into the plans, policies and processes of development.

The norms and standards are those contained in the wealth of international treaties and declarations. The principles include equality and equity, accountability, empowerment and participation.

A rights-based approach to development includes the following elements: express linkage to rights, accountability, empowerment, participation, non-discrimination and attention to vulnerable groups, Express linkage to rights.

The definition of the objectives of development in terms of particular rights - as legally enforceable entitlements - is an essential ingredient of human rights approaches, as is the creation of express normative links to international, regional and national human rights instruments.

Rights-based approaches are comprehensive in their consideration of the full range of indivisible, interdependent and interrelated rights: civil, cultural, economic, political and social. This calls for a development framework with sectors that mirror internationally guaranteed rights, thus covering, for example, health, education, housing, justice administration, personal security and political participation.

By definition, these approaches are incompatible with development policies, projects or activities that have the effect of violating rights, and they permit no "trade-offs" between development and rights.

Accountability

Rights-based approaches focus on raising levels of accountability in the development process by identifying claim-holders (and their entitlements) and corresponding duty-holders (and their obligations). In this regard, they look both at the positive obligations of duty-holders (to protect, promote and provide) and at their negative obligations (to abstain from violations). They take into account the duties of the full range of relevant actors, including individuals, States, local organizations and authorities, private companies, aid donors and international institutions.

Such approaches also provide for the development of adequate laws, policies, institutions, administrative procedures and practices, and mechanisms of redress and accountability that can deliver on entitlements, respond to denial and violations, and ensure accountability. They call for the translation of universal

standards into locally determined benchmarks for measuring progress and enhancing accountability.

For all human rights, States must have both the political will and the means to ensure their realization, and they must put in place the necessary legislative, administrative, and institutional mechanisms required to achieve that aim.

Under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, States are required to take immediate steps for the progressive realization of the rights concerned, so that a failure to take the necessary steps, or any retrogression, will flag a breach of the State's duties.

Under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, States are bound to respect the rights concerned, to ensure respect for them and to take the necessary steps to put them into effect. Some rights claimed in some jurisdictions may not be justiciable before a court, but all rights must be enforceable.

While primary responsibility under the human rights system lies with individual States, the international community is also duty bound to provide effective international cooperation, inter alia in response to shortages of resources and capacities in developing countries.

Empowerment

Rights-based approaches also give preference to strategies for empowerment over charitable responses. They focus on beneficiaries as the owners of rights and the directors of development, and emphasize the human person as the centre of the development process (directly, through their advocates and through organizations of civil society).

The goal is to give people the power, capacities, capabilities and access needed to change their own lives, improve their own communities and influence their own destinies.

Participation

Rights-based approaches require a high degree of participation, including from communities, civil society, minorities, indigenous peoples, women and others. According to the UN Declaration on the Right to Development, such participation must be "active, free and meaningful" so that mere formal or "ceremonial" contacts with beneficiaries are not sufficient.

Rights-based approaches give due attention to issues of accessibility, including access to development processes, institutions, information and redress or complaints mechanisms. This also means situating development project mechanisms in proximity to partners and beneficiaries. Such approaches necessarily opt for process-based development methodologies and techniques, rather than externally conceived "quick fixes" and imported technical models.

Non-discrimination and Attention to Vulnerable Groups

The human rights imperative of such approaches means that particular attention is given to discrimination, equality, equity and vulnerable groups. These groups include women, minorities, indigenous peoples and prisoners, but there is no universal checklist of who is most vulnerable in every given context. Rather, rights-based approaches require that such questions be answered locally: who is vulnerable here and now? Development data need to be disaggregated, as far as possible, by race, religion, ethnicity, language, sex and other categories of human rights concern.

An important aspect of rights-based approaches is the incorporation of express safeguards in development instruments to protect against threats to the rights and well-being of prisoners, minorities, migrants and other often domestically marginalized groups. Furthermore, all development decisions, policies and initiatives, while seeking to empower local participants, are also expressly required to guard against simply reinforcing existing power imbalances between, for example, women and men, landowners and peasants, and workers and employers.

For further documentation see the OHCHR Asia-Pacific Regional Office's Resource Database on Human Rights-based Approaches to Development for Practitioners in Asia Pacific:

Development of Indigenous Peoples

National development processes have often failed to include the free and meaningful participation of indigenous peoples. As a result, national development objectives and policies, as conceived by national-level officials and processes, have not always been consistent with the views, wishes and interests of indigenous peoples affected by them.

Some have had a serious negative impact on indigenous communities, including displacement, loss of livelihood, destruction of local environments, damage to sacred sites and, from the perspective of indigenous peoples, an intrusive, unsustainable and unplanned influx of outsiders into traditional territories. Indigenous peoples are thus often wary of programmes offered in the name of development.

While not opposed to development policies that bring improvements nationally and locally, indigenous peoples have consistently insisted that they be empowered to affect decisions that have an impact on their communities and rights.

Recognition of and respect for land and resources are fundamental to many indigenous belief systems. Experience has shown that conflicts arise when development projects take place without an understanding of, or respect for, indigenous peoples' strong spiritual attachment to and traditional association with their lands and territories.

Emerging international and State standards and practices are increasingly recognizing that indigenous peoples should have rights over their lands and development projects that affect them. Article 30 of the draft United Nations Declaration on the

rights of indigenous peoples states that indigenous peoples have the right "to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands, territories or other resources".

Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development calls upon intergovernmental organizations to establish a process that empowers indigenous people and their communities through, inter alia, recognition of their lands, support for alternative environmentally sound means of production and arrangements to strengthen indigenous participation in the national formulation of policies, laws and programmes relating to resource management and development that may affect them.

Rights-based development processes will give due attention to the need to avoid paternalistic or externally conceived responses. They will recognize the need to ensure the full, free, active and meaningful participation of indigenous peoples in the planning, implementation and evaluation of development policies, projects and decisions, and will recognize the potential value of indigenous contributions to such processes. They will also respect indigenous peoples' rights over their land and resources, and will obtain the prior informed consent of indigenous peoples for projects on their lands. Finally, due regard will be given to the need to ensure that indigenous peoples enjoy equitable benefits from economic activities affecting them.

The United Nations began its first formal work on indigenous people in 1982 with the establishment of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. Since then, a wide range of activities have been undertaken as part of the Organization's human rights programme and by the United Nations system as a whole.

By resolution 2001/57, the Commission on Human Rights decided to appoint, for a three-year period, a Special Reporte on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, with, inter alia, the functions of gathering and exchanging information and communications from all relevant sources and formulating recommendations and proposals to prevent and remedy violations of such human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Note

LESSON 4:
NEED TO PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To understand the need for planning

To know the impact of planning

Role of the State

Development is then a complex process and it requires a critical combination of various factors to be brought about. Rather than leaving the onset of such a process to the operation of the forces of demand and supply in the market, many developing countries have felt that development could be stimulated and promoted through conscious efforts under the auspices of the state. The example of socialist countries has shown how the state initiative can help in the transformation of the economy and in the promotion of industrialisation. Moreover, the state could introduce development through well chalked out plans.

Though the concept of planning has been widely accepted today and indeed has been adopted in countries with different types of economic systems, several leading economists like Ludwig von Mises and Frederick von Hayek had questioned the very basic premise about planning. They felt that innumerable decisions regarding production and the working of the economic system which are taken by innumerable producers and consumers in the economic system could never be taken by a few individuals who assume responsibility for planning. There is the problem of an information gap. Moreover, suppression of decisions of individual producers and consumers by a few planners is the surest way to serfdom. However, such views which totally reject planning as a method of management of an economic system are nowadays less frequently expressed. On the other hand, it is pointed out that in this scientific age society must consciously arrange its economic future in such a way that the social goals are attained. The discussion, therefore, is centred not around whether the plan should be there or not but rather as to how planning for development should be attempted.

Methodology of Development Planning

A development plan begins by stipulating the rate of growth of the economy, with regard to the fiscal and physical resources available. Once the growth rate is stipulated, the planners decide upon the level of investment required for achieving the growth rate and the allocation of investments between the various sectors of the economy. This is followed by detailed sectoral plans—principal sectors being agriculture and allied activities, industry and allied activities, the infrastructure and the tertiary sector.

Sectoral Development in Agriculture

The importance of the agricultural sector for development is well recognised. Agriculture provides the raw material for industry. Above all, it provides foodstuff required for maintaining the working population and indeed for the very survival of the nation. An agricultural development plan includes allocations for related non-agricultural sectors, such as production of fertilizers or the development of irrigation and power projects. Agriculture is a vast system with several sub-systems which include agricultural research and extension, supply of inputs like fertilizers, seed, insecticides and pesticides as well as water, organization of agricultural production itself and the marketing and processing of agricultural produce-Agricultural development requires the creation of a network of institutions at various levels including cooperative institutions for the delivery of agricultural inputs and credit. Cooperative structures have to be built from the bottom upwards in the shape of primary agricultural cooperatives at the village level, district cooperative central banks and the state cooperative banks. These in turn have to be supported by apex institutions tike the Reserve Bank or the National Bank for Agricultural Development. A network of storage facilities for both inputs and outputs are also equally important. The agricultural development plan has to take into account not only investment but institutional and technological developments and proper economic policies. These economic policies are required to provide minimum remunerative prices for agriculture.

Sectoral Development in Industry

In the field of industry as well, the development plan must include facilities like industrial estate and credit through financial institutions like the finance corporations and industry development banks. The extension and organisational guidance have to be provided through institutions like district industrial centres. Special programmes might be required for industrial development in backward areas and the promotion of small and cottage industries. Special training institutions might also be required for training industrial workers and skilled and semi-skilled professional people.

Gross Domestic Product and its Sectoral Share (1950-1996) at current prices of India.

	Gross Domestic Product		Sectoral Share in GDP		
	At factor cost (Rs millions)	At market prices (Rs millions)	Agriculture and allied (%)	Industry (%)	Services (%)
1950-51	89,790	93,660	55.8	15.2	29.0
1960-61	152,540	162,010	45.8	20.7	33.5
1970-71	397,080	431,630	45.2	21.9	32.9
1980-81	1224,270	1360,130	38.1	25.9	36.0
1990-91	4778,140	5355,340	31.0	29.3	39.7
1991-92	5527,680	6167,990	31.3	27.8	40.9
1992-93	6301,820	7053,280	30.6	28.4	41.0
1993-94	7231,030	8010,320	30.7	27.7	41.6
1994-95	8541,030	9456,150	31.1	28.0	40.9
1995-96	[9822,180	10874,570	29.5	29.0	41.5]

The infrastructural development plan should include irrigation and power projects, transport and communication and educational and health facilities- The allocation to these various sectors becomes an important issue of plan priorities, and it has to be resolved by taking into account the contribution of various sectors and projects to the desired rate of growth of the economy.

National plans would have to be followed by and related to state plans and the district development plans. Decentralisation of the planning process is considered essential to get the benefit of local resources and local knowledge.

The success of planning depends on its effective implementation. A great deal of attention has, therefore, to be given to the efficient management of not only the development programmes as a whole, but of the public sector enterprises as well. Large amounts of resources are invested in the public sector but if they do not yield necessary dividends, they could well he a drag on the development plan. The efficient management of public enterprises requires a proper balance between managerial autonomy and public accountability.

Management in development has many dimensions. Apart from being oriented to public services, it is also necessary to evoke popular participation and cooperation without which several development programmes would not succeed.

Balanced and Unbalanced Development

Such a critical minimum effort might well require 'a big thrust' in some directions so that direct and secondary consequences of that big thrust would spread throughout the economy. Such a big thrust might either be in the shape of intensive agriculture, export drive or industrialisation, and this alone can introduce dynamic change, Anything else would just get lost in the vicious circle of poverty or caught in the low level equilibrium trap. A big thrust would have forward and backward effects and would also stimulate complementary investment. A Joint investment with a number of backward and forward linkages and benefits of external economies can trigger off development, while anaemic efforts towards development might well prove futile (Rosenstein-Rodan 1964).

A similar idea has been expressed by Hirschman (1960) in terms of balanced and unbalanced development. The so-called balanced development with resources spread over the entire field of economic development might not be effective. On the other hand, a big thrust even though appearing to give rise to unbalanced development to start with, would in fact create opportunities of investment in complementary fields of activities and would eventually stimulate wide ranging economic development.

Another structural transformation that has to take place is that between the urban and the rural population. Development leads to greater urbanisation. England which was the first country to be the workshop of the world is urbanised to the extent that 75 per cent of the population lives in urban areas. This process is going on in other countries as well. In South Korea within a period of two decades— between 1960 and 1980— the ratio 75:25 of rural-urban population has been reversed. In India 10 percent of the population lives in urban areas at the beginning of the century but this has grown to nearly 25 percent.

However, this transformation has to be the result of economic development and cannot by itself create development. Development does not simply mean reducing rural population and adding to urban congestion. In the developed countries, what led to urbanization was the urban pull — the pull created by increasing employment opportunities in the wake of industrialization. On the other hand, in many developing countries urbanisation is the consequence of the push factor created due to the pressure of population on land. There is growing unemployment, underemployment and disguised unemployment in the rural areas. It is these unemployed landless people who in desperation throng to the cities to eke out a livelihood. Unfortunately, these employment opportunities are not available even in the cities and this gives rise to a large number of unemployed people living on the pavements or in the shanties, doing almost anything in the so-called unorganized sector, and this may well include petty crime. Urbanisation of this sort is the very negation of development. Thus, even though development brings in its wake structural transformation, we have to make a distinction between real development and the mere migration of population out of agricultural and rural areas.

The Development should be distributed equally, or development will lead to concentration, waste and abuse of development resources, which in turn affects the dispersal of concomitant benefits to the target groups. Evidence shows that in the last few decades, the urbanites, the articulate, the resourceful and the educated, have been able to derive greater benefits and mobilize a larger share of developmental inputs.

It has been observed that over the years, developmental activities have brought happiness to one group and misery to another. It has motivated and involved one sector, but alienated another. It has infused commitment in a segment and generated indifference in another. Development may influence various aspects of human life and may be both the cause and effect of processes such as urbanisation, migration, etc. Social crises and political upheavals have emerged in countries in all stages of development.

Development and Inflation

If the development plans do succeed in augmenting the stream of goods and services, it would not give rise to inflation. It is sometimes stated that inflation is an inevitable concomitant of the development plan. It is true that development projects do not immediately yield results, but if they are completed on time, and do yield the goods and services expected, development would not be accompanied b\ inflation. Successful development has to be anti-inflationaiy in character.

The pace of development must keep ahead of the increasing growth of population or else development may well prove a Sisyphean effort. Measures for population control should be a part of development strategy.

New Dimensions of Development

Successful development planning should lead to an increase in the gross national product, higher per capita standard of living,

fuller employment, reduction in poverty and improvement in the quality of life. These may appear to be multiple objectives of development but they are related to each other and often flow from each other. Development only in terms of increase in the GNP is no longer considered acceptable since what matters is the composition of the GNP. Does it consist of luxury goods consumed only by the rich or of goods of mass consumption? Do the masses have the requisite purchasing power so that their essential needs can be translated into effective demand? Masses would have the requisite purchasing power only if they have opportunities for gainful employment. Hence, full or near full employment must go along with development and equitable distribution of the fruits of development. The latter may require that priority be given to minimum social consumption, indirection of the productive system- banking resources, ownership of assets and entitlements in favour of the poor. What it implies then is a direct assault on poverty rather than reliance on the trickle down effect.' Finally, the development must not be at the cost of the nation's life supporting system consisting of soil, water, forests and other natural resources. Environmental protection is thus a new dimension of development which cannot be overlooked.

Conclusion

The classical model remained the only model in the West until 1913. After World War I, especially after the Russian Revolution and the Great Depression, the classical model declined and alternative forms emerged. After World War II, the world entered another new stage of development.

The most important common feature of development is growth. To develop means to advance, to further, to evolve, or to expand by a process of growth. A modern society is one which is growing, expanding and advancing.

Development is a process of societal transformation from a traditional society to a modern society, and such a transformation is also known as modernization. A modern society is also a rational society. While all societies have rational and irrational elements, modern society is said to be rational that it is not dominated by super-natural factors or by tradition and that it assigns high value to making decisions on the basis of reason and performing tasks in accordance with rational methods and procedures.

Another common feature is the building of Nation-State as the unit of development. This is why modern development is often known as national development. Development involves institutional changes. Institution is a significant element in the life of a culture which is persistent and enduring, which regulate the pattern of behavior; and which is widely tolerated, sanctioned or legitimized by society.'

Development is considered to be a process of improving the capability of a nation's institutions and value system to meet increasing and different demands social, political and economic. Development has also been defined as economic growth plus social change as bread plus dignity; as a technical solution to underdevelopment; as institutional building; human development, a more equitable spread of distribution and development resources.

However, in the first UN Development Decade which began in 1961, development was almost equated with economic growth. During this Decade, the world's total Gross National Product increased by $ 1,000 billion. About 80 per cent of this increase went to countries with a per capita income of $ 1,000 with 25 per cent of the world population. Only 6 per cent of the increase went to countries where per capita yearly income average was 200 or less and areas comprised 60 per cent of the world population.

The second UN Development Decade, therefore, stated that Development for the developing countries is not simply an increase in productive capacity but a major transformation in their social and economic structures. Economic growth and social progress are not mutually inter-dependent, but are organically related parts of a simple process of development.

And the third Development Decade launched in 1981, laid emphasis on Basic Minimum Needs.

The basic values underlying development are human dignity, equality and social justice. These three concepts are not separate and distinct but interrelated and dependent on each other. Another principle implied in social development is the emphasis on cooperation as against competition. It lays emphasis on the collectivity as against rugged individualism. It does not deny the right of full development and expression of the individual and his/her role in decision making that affects their lives. It lays greater emphasis on the well-being of the total society and all its individuals.

Development based on the principles of human dignity, equality and social justice can be defined as a goal and process that aims to achieve an integrated, balanced and unified (social and economic) development of society. It is international in scope and has a holistic, interdisciplinary, inter-sectoral and inter-regional approach to societal issues and problems. It focuses on "qualitative" development as measured by (a) the participation of people in matters affecting their lives, (b) the nature of social and interpersonal relations and (c) the relationship of people to their environment. Quantitatively, social development aims at structural and institutional reforms to bring about changes in the distribution of income, wealth and services,

In fact, social development means something more than merely economic, political, social and environmental development It is not merely an effort to provide ad-hoc growth targets in each of the sectors of planning. Social development planning requires the perception and delineation of the nature of interrelationships between the different sectors. Social development is an integrative concept and this integration depends upon clear enunciation of the values and the type of society toward which planning is to be undertaken."

Development Philosophy and Objectives

Development is a process by which one's overall personality is enhanced. This is so for a society as well as for an individual. For society the identity is collective. Thus development for society means development of the collective personality of society.

Development of collective personality requires physical, material and economic development, but it is above all the development

and application of consciousness. A child may grow physically while his personality does not develop. So it is with society. Thus, "economic development", while it is vitally necessary, cannot be treated as an independent variable divorced from its social bearings. Development of a society is social development, a process in which "economic" and "non-economic" elements interact organically with each other. Attempts to isolate the "economic" elements and fit them into any hypothetical model of "economic development" are, therefore, unscientific. Development thus defined is a multi-variate quantitative and qualitative change. It would be futile to attempt to measure any country's social development quantitatively and expect consensus about it. The world's richest society may be considered to be its sickest, and hence not developed at all. Such positions can be understood but cannot be refuted, and yet scientific judgments may be given on such a basis. While scientific judgments about social development need to be reasoned, cardinal quantification has often served as a fetish that has detracted from rather than helped evaluate the more essential qualitative attributes.

Self-reliance

Of all the new values to be created, self-reliance is the single most important. India has depended too long on external masters. This is much more true of Rural India which has depended too long on the city. The rural poor have been subservient too long to the rural rich and to the "officer" sent from the city, a subservience that has been forced upon them; in the process their own initiative and vitality have been sapped. The result is a history of exploitation of the "dependant" by the master". The dependant, appearing to have no self-respect, commands no respect from others- He is laughed at by the world and despised at the same time as he is squeezed.

India cannot develop unless it rejects the soft option and resolves to be self-reliant. This means building up a combination of material and mental reserves that enable one to choose one's own course of evolution, uninhibited by what others desire. It requires maximum mobilization of domestic resources, but above all it requires psychological, and institutional staying power to meet crisis situations when the supply of essential materials is too short. This slaying power is best attained collectively. Individually a hungry man feels isolated and his mental reserve wanes; collectively this reserve is reinforced for each and collective resolve gives individuals strength to fight a calamity with their heads high.

Self-reliance does not necessarily mean self-sufficiency. With psychological staying power a self-reliant society can open up and negotiate from a position of strength. But some measure of self-sufficiency in strategic areas that are easily prone to manipulation by exploitative interests is desirable. Such vulnerable areas are staple food production, technology and spare parts and military resistance power.

All these make the development of appropriate technology indispensable. While development of a modern sector is imperative, the technological revolution has to be primarily internally achieved.

Participatory Democracy

The collective as we conceive it functions through the active participation of the people. Without this the individual would not belong organically to the collective and the collective itself would not to that extent be a reality. Hence the collective and participatory democracy are inseparable concepts. Participatory democracy is not the formal voting of leaders to power once every five years and passive obedience in between; it is not merely government of the people but also, and more fundamentally" by the people". Participatory democracy rules out the dominance of any minority group over the broad masses of people. In the Indian context it precludes, therefore, dictatorship of the "elite" over the masses, of the city over the countryside and of the modern sector over the traditional, and new forms of external control which would dilute the processes of democracy. Moreover, there is no room in this participatory system for power-wielding, though intelligent leadership, which is alien to the broad masses of the people and tends to strengthen its own position at the expense of the latter; nor is there a place for the unaccountable and unresponsive bureaucrat who considers it beneath his dignity to have any interaction with the masses.

Consciousness Gap

The problem of a "consciousness gap" between the leaders of a society and the masses of the people remains. In concrete historical conditions in any society some persons may be ahead of others in perceptions of the need for social change, in their ability to systematize ideas whose origins are in the masses themselves, in seeing through complex relationships and in relevant technical expertise. Such men are natural leaders of society, whom the masses of the people tend to follow without coercion. Participatory democracy in such situations would not yet be complete, nor would the leaders be fully accountable to the people in a real sense. Such a relationship may be formally 'democratic', but in the depth of the situation lies the seed of leadership ego which may grow and gradually alienate the leader from his people, so that finally he leads them to a vision that is more ha than theirs. This would, in turn, alienate the people and inhibit the growth of their collective personality. The leadership and the masses must, therefore, move in a mutually interacting process that systematically reduces the consciousness gap. Democracy in this sense is not a system to be implanted, but an objective to be realized through a process.

De-alienation

Many of the above objectives imply a regeneration and development of values that man has lost or nearly lost through ages of subordination to exploitation, maladministration and misdirection. Regressive social relations and cultural taboos have paved the way for such alienation from Man's original and inherent potentials.

In essence, the development philosophy mid objectives which we have enunciated centre around five core concepts which stand inseparably together.

1. Man as the end of development which is, therefore, to be judged by what it does to him.
2. De-alienation of man, in the sense that he feels at home with the process of development in which he becomes the subject as well as the object.
3. Development of collective personality of man in which he finds his fullest expression.
4. Participation as the true form of democracy.
5. Self-reliance as the expression of man's faith in his own abilities.

In India, whose situation we are reviewing, rural development is the key to its overall social development. The personality of India cannot be enhanced without raising the personality of rural India. This leads us to a strategy of development which points that the countryside should be the centre of activity for contemporary India. The inner-directed strategy that we arc seeking encompasses the city, but the focus and driving spirit is the village where the new Indian Drama will inevitably have to be played.

We welcome economic development but our development programmes should not pave ways for the long-run dangers. If economic transformation processes start paving ways for the social dangers, the wave of development must be checked and be turned into right direction. Of course commercial considerations are important to survival and prosperity but in no case, the commercial motives should be successful in establishing an edge over the social, cultural and ethical values.

In an age of environmental disaster, population explosion, socio-cultural confrontation, tension and dissension, we need to review the present philosophy of transformation of the industrial economy. We cannot deny the fact that the present system of economic development, standing on the pillars of mechanized industrial economy, has helped sensing, serving and satisfying customers fantastically but at the same time have also been instrumental in inviting a number of social evils.

We do not find any justification for promoting the fast food industry, especially when researches reveal that most of the food items served by them are harmful. The hamburger, fried chickens are found gaining popularity the world over though these are found injuring consumer health considerably. The service generating industries are also found actively involved in the process. To be more specific the communication services have been found invading on social and cultural values. All of us witness the movies and TV serials very much instrumental in promoting the social evils. The educational institutes, hospitals are also in queue. The financial institutions in general and public sector banks and insurance corporations in particular are not contributing substantially to the process of motivating low-income group and mobilizing small savings. The social organizations, religious organizations and even Red Cross society often fail in creating public awareness and sub serving social interests.

Do we find any justification for endangering social interests just for generating profits?

Today or tomorrow, we have no option but to change our attitudes. Whatever we think is for society, whatever we plan is for society, whatever we produce is for the society and whatsoever we market is for the society. This makes it essential that we are well aware of the multi-dimensional changes found in the society.

Development, understood as widening the range of people's choices, has to consider three interrelated and crucial dimensions: human, or "people-centred " development, global development and sustainable development. Together they imply a radical change to the current development paradigm. If one or more of these factors is missing in decision-making, then conflicts between people and nations are inevitable. These three dimensions represent the conceptual base and necessary focus of action for people's movements, for policy making and for the missions of any private initiative.

Human development of people, for people and by people means investing in human capabilities to empower individuals to take charge of their own destiny. People are the end goal. Therefore, the benefits of development are to be directed toward them and it should serve them. It means that economic growth is distributed fairly and widely, that people benefit from their contributions to work and social life, and people are given the chance to participate in the process.

Global development has three dimensions: spatial, time and holistic. The spatial dimension refers to ensuring that actions have applicability to the rest of the world. The time dimension provides for a perspective of the continuity of events and facts. The holistic dimension ensures that development is not fragmented, but analysed from an integrated viewpoint and as a part of the same system.

Sustainable development utilizes resources to satisfy present needs without compromising the satisfaction of the needs of future generations. Until the last quarter of this century, we have not considered the world's resources limited. Decision-making needs to take greater responsibility for the implications in the lives of others, including future generations.

Development, therefore, is a whole; it is an integral value loaded, cultural process; it takes in the natural environment, social relations, education, production, consumption and welfare. The approach to development depends upon the local cultural or national situations, not on any outside model. In other words, development springs, from the heart of each society, relying on its history and traditions, as also its own strengths and resources as far as possible.

Need for an Alternative Paradigm of Development

Adoption of development strategies of the western countries

created havoc in the developing countries. The context of these countries and the 'soil' of the countries were not suitable to make grow the strategies that were developed in the western countries. This led to many a problems.

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To understand the need for alternative Paradigm in the approach to development

To know further the problems of underdevelopment

Inappropriate Technology

Technologies developed in the western countries were inappropriate in poor countries. The most up-to-date or sophisticated technology lacked the technical know-how and apt environment in the developing countries. This lead to training the personnel in the western universities or hiring know-how from developed countries. This led to further capital outflow from the developing countries. Eventually the dependence on the western countries increased, and foreign debt grew.

It has been rightly pointed out that in absorbing the technology of the Western countries or even of the USSR and other East European countries developing countries should not needlessly saddle themselves with obsolete technology. At the same time in the name of modern technology, they should not absorb a capital-intensive technology since they (certainly India) are abundantly endowed with human resources, which need to be fully harnessed. In many cases labour intensive technology would be more 'appropriate' than capital-intensive technology.

This was the principal thrust of the book Small is Beautiful, by Schumacher (1976), who himself drew inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi in making out a case for labor-intensive technology. Much of this labour intensive technology may have to be developed indigenously as it may not be possible to borrow it from Western technological development which is geared more and more to automation. It has been pointed out that in the field of agriculture, the bias of Western technology has been in favor of large-scale farms and that such a technology is not suitable to the small and marginal farmers in India (Andersen 1982). The agricultural technology should be such as to cater to the requirements of marginal farmers who are forced to be agricultural workers in their spare time.

Human Resources Underutilized

The idea of labour intensive technology brings out the importance of the productive utilization of idle manpower resources in India. Here again it was Mahatma Gandhi who wrote at length on the use of the spinning wheel and of cottage industries for removing unemployment and underemployment in rural and urban areas. This concept of mobilisation of idle manpower resources in developing countries also received attention from the economists of developed countries and one of the earliest books by Ragnar Nurkse (I960) was concerned with capital formation through the utilisation of unemployed and underemployed manpower resources. He pointed out that underdeveloped countries may he short of capital resources but they have abundant manpower resources, which if put to productive use (even the unskilled manpower), can produce capital assets such as earthen dams, rural roads and social services. It has been pointed out that in the early years of development. China was able to improve its agricultural production mainly by the mobilisation of rural labour. Even in India the earthen dams like Nagarjunasagar dam was constructed by mobilising the labour resources of the country. This idea is also embodied in programmes like the Food for Work Programme or the currently operating National Scheme for Rural Employment. In their book on poverty, Dandekar and Rath (1971) had suggested that the work programmes providing employment to the unskilled manpower of the country is perhaps one of the most important ways of raising people above the poverty line. It was Marx who said that capital is congealed labour. Following his dictum the underdeveloped countries can transform their idle labour into capital assets.

But this does not mean that the drudgery of unskilled labour is the only fate of underdeveloped peoples. Their skills can be improved and with simple machines can be put to more productive use. Also, development, in the ultimate analysis, means human development It implies improving the capability of the population and one of the best ways of achieving this is to make them literate. Literacy seems lo be the minimum precondition for development. Without near total literacy, no nation can make the transition from underdevelopment to development. From that point of view the fact that literacy in India is as low as 36 per cent according to the 1981 census, is certainly a very disturbing fact. Even the neighbouring countries of Asia have a much higher rate of literacy. India's development plans have, therefore, to be geared towards achieving 100 per cent literacy at the earliest. This should be followed by programmes for the development of skills such as training for rural youth in self-employment. Also their education system should be geared more and more to the dissemination of technological skills rather than traditional courses in the general arts. Thus education through building up our human resources can make a significant contribution to development.

The importance of human resources can be emphasised by once again taking the example of Japan. Japan lacks natural resources like petroleum or coal or even agricultural land. Only 1/lOth of Japanese land is cultivable; and yet with a hard working, disciplined and skilled population, Japan has been able to import raw material from all over the world and convert it into finished products for which they have been able to get a market through aggressive salesmanship all over the world.

Cultural Ethos towards Development

Above all, the change in human resources must mean a change in the altitudes to work and life. Many Western authors have pointed out that the other worldly and fatalistic attitudes of Hindus that leaves everything to karma or fate, rather than self-reliance or the efforts of human beings, has been the major obstruction to development and progress in India. This, however, does not mean that Hindu religion and philosophy are antithetical to development as was insisted upon by Gunnar Myrdal in his Asian Drama (1968). It is not correct to say that Hindu religion is responsible for making India a 'soft state'. It has to be recognized that the Bhagwad Gita, the holy scripture of the Hindus, gives the call to human beings to awake, arise and to do their duty rather than give up in the face of danger. This philosophy can provide a great source of inspiration to the development effort in our country.

Some Western economists had developed a theory of the backward sloping supply curve of labour as typical of the attitude of workers in the underdeveloped countries. The theory states that Indians have limited ambitions and are satisfied with minimum conveniences of life and therefore with a low level of income. If offered higher wages they tend to work less rather than work more. It is doubtful that such a theory can be uniformly applied to all Indians. Experience has shown that given incentives, Indian farmers can produce more and that it is not correct to assume that they are unresponsive to incentives.

A similar theory has also been propounded, though with much different implications, by John Galbraith. While dealing with the problem of poverty in underdeveloped countries, he has pointed out that poverty perpetuates because poor people have come to terms with it (1979). They know through experience that they cannot afford to take risks, even small risks, and therefore they are reluctant to respond to any change. This attitude also explains the unwillingness of the marginal farmers who readily accept the hybrid seeds and other 'green revolution" innovations. While the unwillingness of the poor to undertake risks can be understood, it is not necessary to assume that the poor in underdeveloped countries will remain poor for all time to come. Given an organised social effort, the poor can get over their accommodation to poverty. Thus what development requires is a combination of capital formation, appropriate technology, and a motivated and trained population. These have to be galvanized in an organized social effort.

Environmental Degradation

Full utilization of the natural resources leads to environmental degradation.

Every year, in Asia, an area, the size of Bhutan looses its forest cover. If the present rate of deforestation continues, every year, fifty million hectares of forest will be lost, equivalent to the size of Thailand. Deforestation results in floods, landslides, which destroys people and crops. People, who depend on forest for firewood, food and fodder, now have to face the impact.

This results in a destructive chain reaction such as; Less fodder - less livestock - less dung - less fertile land - less productivity - chemicals - Destruction of soil system - less crops - less food - low health - poorer people - Men go to cities - less farming - less food production.

The population growth worsens the situation. Every year 97 million people are added to the population. Half of this explosion takes place in South Asia and Africa. Though the percentage of people below the poverty line is on the decrease, the absolute number is going up.

The growth in population demands more food, more space. It accelerates deforestation and food crisis.

If the present generation empties the limited oil resources, and if no other fuel is invented, our future generation will have to walk as our former parents did, if alternate energy sources are not found.

Balancing population and resources in a way that renews and revives the environment is the current objective of development. It is to be pursued locally, nationally and globally for the benefit of the present and future generation.

Therefore development initiatives have to orient towards sustainable development.

Note

LESSON 5:
UNDERDEVELOPMENT REVISITED

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To understand the need the theories of underdevelopment

To critically evaluate theories like dependency theory

After the 50's the paradigm with which thinkers approached development issues began to take a pro-sufferer angle. Developed countries which clad themselves with a philanthropic robe, began to be looked with suspicion as if a wolf was hiding behind their smiles.

Dependency Theory

Dependency Theory developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch. Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. Such a possibility was not predicted by neoclassical theory, which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all even if the benefits were not always equally shared.

Prebisch's initial explanation for the phenomenon was very straightforward: poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The "Value Added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports.

Prebisch's solution was similarly straightforward: poorer countries should embark on programs of import substitution so that they need not purchase the manufactured products from the richer countries. The poorer countries would still sell their primary products on the world market, but their foreign exchange reserves would not be used to purchase their manufactures from abroad.

The traditional neoclassical approach said virtually nothing on persistent poverty of the poorer countries, except to assert that the poorer countries were late in coming to solid economic practices and that as soon as they learned the techniques of modern economics, then the poverty would begin to subside. However, Marxists theorists viewed the persistent poverty as a consequence of capitalist exploitation. And a new body of thought, called the world systems approach, argued that the poverty was a direct consequence of the evolution of the international political economy into a fairly rigid division of labor, which favored the rich and penalized the poor.

Defining Dependency Theory

The debates among the liberal reformers (Prebisch), the Marxists (Andre Gunder Frank), and the world systems theorists (Wallerstein) was vigorous and intellectually quite challenging. There are still points of serious disagreements among the various strains of dependency theorists and it is a mistake to think that there is only one unified theory of dependency. Nonetheless, there are some core propositions which seem to underlie the analyses of most dependency theorists.

Dependency can be defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences—political, economic, and cultural—on national development policies (Osvaldo Sunkel, "National Development Policy and External Dependence in Latin America," The Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 6, no. 1, October 1969, p. 23).

Theotonio Dos Santos emphasizes the historical dimension of the dependency relationships in his definition: [Dependency is]...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected. (Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," in K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges, eds., Readings in U.S. Imperialism. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971,)

There are three common features to these definitions which most dependency theorists share. First, dependency characterizes the international system as comprised of two sets of states, variously described as dominant/dependent, center/periphery or metropolitan/satellite. The dominant states are the advanced industiral nations in the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The dependent states are those states of Latin America, Asia, and Africa which have low per capita GNPs and which rely heavily on the export of a single commodity for foreign exchange earnings.

Second, both definitions have in common the assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external forces include multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications, and any other means by which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interests abroad.

Third, the definitions of dependency all indicate that the relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns. Moreover, dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism. Dependency is an ongoing process:

Latin America is today, and has been since the sixteenth century, part of an international system dominated by the now-

developed nations.... Latin underdevelopment is the outcome of a particular series of relationships to the international system. (Susanne Bodenheimer, "Dependency and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment," in Fann and Hodges, Readings)

In short, dependency theory attempts to explain the present underdeveloped state of many nations in the world by examining the patterns of interactions among nations and by arguing that inequality among nations is an intrinsic part of those interactions.

The Structural Context of Dependency: Is it Capitalism or is it Power? Most dependency theorists regard international capitalism as the motive force behind dependency relationships. Andre Gunder Frank, one of the earliest dependency theorists, is quite clear on this point: "...historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole. (Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank, and Dale Johnson, eds., Dependence and Underdevelopment. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972)

According to this view, the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labor which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world. The dependent states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities, and cheap labor, and also serve as the repositories of surplus capital, obsolescent technologies, and manufactured goods. These functions orient the economies of the dependent states toward the outside: money, goods, and services do flow into dependent states, but the allocation of these resources are determined by the economic interests of the dominant states, and not by the economic interests of the dependent state. This division of labor is ultimately the explanation for poverty and there is little question but that capitalism regards the division of labor as a necessary condition for the efficient allocation of resources. The most explicit manifestation of this characteristic is in the doctrine of comparative advantage.

Moreover, to a large extent the dependency models rest upon the assumption that economic and political power are heavily concentrated and centralized in the industrialized countries, an assumption shared with Marxist theories of imperialism. If this assumption is valid, then any distinction between economic and political power is spurious: governments will take whatever steps are necessary to protect private economic interests, such as those held by multinational corporations.

Not all dependency theorists, however, are Marxist and one should clearly distinguish between dependency and a theory of imperialism. The Marxist theory of imperialism explains dominant state expansion while the dependency theory explains underdevelopment. Stated another way, Marxist theories explain the reasons why imperialism occurs, while dependency theories explain the consequences of imperialism. The difference is significant. In many respects, imperialism is, for a Marxist, part of the process by which the world is transformed and is therefore a process which accelerates the communist revolution.

Marx spoke approvingly of British colonialism in India: "England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia." (Karl Marx, "The Future Results of the British Rule in India," New York Daily Tribune, No. 3840, August 8, 1853.)

For the dependency theorists, underdevelopment is a wholly negative condition which offers no possibility of sustained and autonomous economic activity in a dependent state.

Additionally, the Marxist theory of imperialism is self-liquidating, while the dependent relationship is self-perpetuating. The end of imperialism in the Leninist framework comes about as the dominant powers go to war over a rapidly shrinking number of exploitable opportunities. World War I was, for Lenin, the classic proof of this proposition. After the war was over, Britain and France took over the former German colonies. A dependency theorist rejects this proposition. A dependent relationship exists irrespective of the specific identity of the dominant state. That the dominant states may fight over the disposition of dependent territories is not in and of itself a pertinent bit of information (except that periods of fighting among dominant states affords opportunities for the dependent states to break their dependent relationships). To a dependency theorist, the central characteristic of the global economy is the persistence of poverty throughout the entire modern period in virtually the same areas of the world, regardless of what state was in control.

Finally, there are some dependency theorists who do not identify capitalism as the motor force behind a dependent relationship. The relationship is maintained by a system of power first and it does not seem as if power is only supported by capitalism. For example, the relationship between the former dependent states in the socialist bloc (the Eastern European states and Cuba, for example) closely paralleled the relationships between poor states and the advanced capitalist states. The possibility that dependency is more closely linked to disparities of power rather than to the particular characteristics of a given economic system is intriguing and consistent with the more traditional analyses of international relations, such as realism.

The Central Propositions of Dependency Theory

There are a number of propositions, all of which are contestable, which form the core of dependency theory. These propositions include:

1. Underdevelopment is a condition fundamentally different from undevelopment. The latter term simply refers to a condition in which resources are not being used. For example, the European colonists viewed the North American continent as an undeveloped area: the land was not actively cultivated on a scale consistent with its potential. Underdevelopment refers to a situation in which resources are being actively used, but used in a way which benefits dominant states and not the poorer states in which the resources are found.

2. The distinction between underdevelopment and undevelopment places the poorer countries of the world is a profoundly different historical context. These countries are not "behind" or "catching up" to the richer countries of the world. They are not poor because they lagged behind the scientific transformations or the Enlightenment values of the European states. They are poor because they were coercively integrated into the European economic system only as producers of raw materials or to serve as repositories of cheap labor, and were denied the opportunity to market their resources in any way that competed with dominant states.
3. Dependency theory suggests that alternative uses of resources are preferable to the resource usage patterns imposed by dominant states. There is no clear definition of what these preferred patterns might be, but some criteria are invoked. For example, one of the dominant state practices most often criticized by dependency theorists is export agriculture. The criticism is that many poor economies experience rather high rates of malnutrition even though they produce great amounts of food for export. Many dependency theorists would argue that those agricultural lands should be used for domestic food production in order to reduce the rates of malnutrition.
4. The preceding proposition can be amplified: dependency theorists rely upon a belief that there exists a clear "national" economic interest which can and should be articulated for each country. In this respect, dependency theory actually shares a similar theoretical concern with realism. What distinguishes the dependency perspective is that its proponents believe that this national interest can only be satisfied by addressing the needs of the poor within a society, rather than through the satisfaction of corporate or governmental needs. Trying to determine what is "best" for the poor is a difficult analytical problem over the long run. Dependency theorists have not yet articulated an operational definition of the national economic interest.
5. The diversion of resources over time (and one must remember that dependent relationships have persisted since the European expansion beginning in the fifteenth century) is maintained not only by the power of dominant states, but also through the power of elites in the dependent states. Dependency theorists argue that these elites maintain a dependent relationship because their own private interests coincide with the interests of the dominant states. These elites are typically trained in the dominant states and share similar values and culture with the elites in dominant states. Thus, in a very real sense, a dependency relationship is a "voluntary" relationship. One need not argue that the elites in a dependent state are consciously betraying the interests of their poor; the elites sincerely believe that the key to economic development lies in following the prescriptions of liberal economic doctrine.

The Policy Implications of Dependency Analysis

If one accepts the analysis of dependency theory, then the questions of how poor economies develop become quite different from the traditional questions concerning comparative advantage, capital accumulation, and import/export strategies. Some of the most important new issues include:

1. The success of the advanced industrial economies does not serve as a model for the currently developing economies. When economic development became a focused area of study, the analytical strategy (and ideological preference) was quite clear: all nations need to emulate the patterns used by the rich countries. Indeed, in the 1950s and 1960s there was a paradigmatic consensus that growth strategies were universally applicable, a consensus best articulated by Walt Rostow in his book, The Stages of Economic Growth. Dependency theory suggests that the success of the richer countries was a highly contingent and specific episode in global economic history, one dominated by the highly exploitative colonial relationships of the European powers. A repeat of those relationships is not now highly likely for the poor countries of the world.
2. Dependency theory repudiates the central distributive mechanism of the neoclassical model, what is usually called "trickle-down" economics. The neoclassical model of economic growth pays relatively little attention to the question of distribution of wealth. Its primary concern is on efficient production and assumes that the market will allocate the rewards of efficient production in a rational and unbiased manner. This assumption may be valid for a well-integrated, economically fluid economy where people can quickly adjust to economic changes and where consumption patterns are not distorted by non-economic forces such as racial, ethnic, or gender bias. These conditions are not pervasive in the developing economies, and dependency theorists argue that economic activity is not easily disseminated in poor economies. For these structural reasons, dependency theorists argue that the market alone is not a sufficient distributive mechanism.
3. Since the market only rewards productivity, dependency theorists discount aggregate measures of economic growth such as the GDP or trade indices. Dependency theorists do not deny that economic activity occurs within a dependent state. They do make a very important distinction, however, between economic growth and economic development. For example, there is a greater concern within the dependency framework for whether the economic activity is actually benefiting the nation as a whole. Therefore, far greater attention is paid to indices such as life expectancy, literacy, infant mortality, education, and the like. Dependency theorists clearly emphasize social indicators far more than economic indicators.
4. Dependent states, therefore, should attempt to pursue policies of self-reliance. Contrary to the neo-classical models endorsed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, greater integration into the global economy is not necessarily a good choice for poor countries. Often this policy perspective is viewed as an endorsement of a policy of autarky, and there have been some experiments with such a policy such as China's Great Leap Forward or Tanzania's policy of Ujamaa. The failures of these policies are clear, and the failures suggest that autarky is not a good choice. Rather

a policy of self-reliance should be interpreted as endorsing a policy of controlled interactions with the world economy: poor countries should only endorse interactions on terms that promise to improve the social and economic welfare of the larger citizenry.

A Critique

Dependency theory posits that the cause of the low levels of development in less economically developed countries (LEDC's) is caused by their reliance and dependence on more economically developed countries (MEDC's) - i.e. the LEDC's are undeveloped because they rely on the MEDC's. Some proponents of dependency theory assert that LEDC's will remain less developed because the surplus that they produce will be siphoned off by MEDC's - under the guise of multinational corporations. There is, as such, no profit left for reinvestment and development.

As a corollary of this theory, LEDC's should cut off ties with MEDC's, retain their surplus production, and follow economically independent and socialistic ideas in order to further develop their economies, as the Soviet Union had done to great effect. Additionally, it also emphasises the virtuous circle of self-perpetuating benefits that the MEDC's gain from their existing prosperity.

Dependency theory refers to relationships and links between developed and developing economies and regions. It sees underdevelopment as the result of unequal power relationships between rich developed capitalist countries and poor developing ones.

Powerful developed countries dominate dependent powerless LEDC's via the capitalist system. In the Dependency model underdevelopment is created by developed countries.

Proponents of the theory state that growth can be achieved bu closing the economy and following a self-reliant policy.

Developed countries have such a technological and industrial advantage that they can ensure the 'rules of the game' (as set out by World Bank and IMF) works in their own self-interest. This partly explains the hostility shown towards the WTO in Seattle in 1999.

Dependency theory, as a theory based on materialist and structuralist theories, has been criticized for placing too much emphasis on material and economic factors. The development of many Asian economies that developed along capitalistic, open lines, also serves as an empirical contradiction to dependency theory. (This is not to say that many asian "tiger economies" did not follow the ideas propounded by development theory, for indeed many did - South Korea, Taiwan and others developed through a process of import-substitution - backed up with heavy investment of American capital.)

The Development (of Underdevelopment) Theory

Gubder Frank proposed an alternative to dependency theory - "Development Theory".

The conventional view of the undeveloped countries denies them a history: "To classify these countries as "traditional societies" implies either that the underdeveloped countries have no history or that it is unimportant." (Griffin 1969)

But it is increasingly clear that the history of the post-colonial countries has been crucially important in shaping their present underdevelopment. The most influential proponent of the thesis that European expansion and colonialism created the underdevelopment of these countries has been Andre Gubder Frank. Frank"s thesis is that underdevelopment is not basically a consequence of traditionalism. Rather, he argues that underdevelopment in Latin America-and by extension, parts of Africa and Asia- has been systematically created by colonist exploitation. Frank has documented "the development of underdevelopment" in Chile, Brazil, Mexico and Cuba.

Conspiracy Theory of Underdevelopment

Conspiracy theories that suggest "development" is a multinational capitalist scheme to enslave the world, saddling many Third World countries today with international debts crippling economic growth.

Donors missing overseas assistance for flagrant strategic political ends, notably during the Cold War to support and reward allies, but continuing up to present times by tying aid to trade.

The neo-Malthusian argument that relentless population growth is wiping out any technological gains, despite the fact that yield statistics demonstrates that the world produces enough food to feed us all.

Even the "Green Revolution" increased agricultural production from genetically engineered hybrid grains that produce high yields in return for high inputs of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. That in the long run destroyed the soil system and polluted the water bodies. Developing countries still depend on the developed countries for cereals, petrochemical fertilisers, machines, and assistance for irrigation projects, as high breed varieties needed much more water than the traditional varieties. It further divided the rich –poor gap, urbanization and immigration. Mechanisation of agriculture caused rural depopulation as poor people seek jobs elsewhere; e.g. Pakistan, Thailand, Mexico, India, Philippines.

How did the development discussions make conflict worse in one Bangladeshi village? The Bangladesh projects have followed established participatory approaches, striving to empower while facilitating technology transfer. Further, the scientists have adopted a problem-centred approach, generating a range of potential options from which "beneficiaries" might choose.

Proponents of conspiracy theory state that globalization, liberalization, international trade arrangements, diplomacy, everything is aimed at maintaining the statusquo of the underdeveloped countries.

Note

LESSON 6:
POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL SYSTEMS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To appreciate capitalism, socialism and mixed economy principles

To know their impact on development ideology

Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic system characterized by the following: private property ownership exists; individuals and companies are allowed to compete for their own economic gain; and free market forces determine the prices of goods and services. Such a system is based on the premise of separating the state and business activities. Capitalists believe that markets are efficient and should thus function without interference, and the role of the state is to regulate and protect.

The word 'capital' originate in a context of trade and ownership of animals. The Latin root of the word capital is capitalis, from the Indo-European kaput, which means "head", this being how wealth was measured. The more heads of cattle, the better. The terms chattel (meaning goods, animals, or slaves) and even cattle itself also derive from this same origin. The lexical connections between animal trade and economics can also be seen in the names of many currencies and words about money: fee (faihu), rupee (rupya), buck (a deerskin), pecuniary (pecu), stock (livestock), and peso (pecu or pashu) all derive from animal-trade origins.

The word "Capitalism" was in fact not used by Karl Marx, who only spoke about capital; although it is not completely clear who used the word in its current, systemic context first, it was coined and introduced into the economic discourse by Werner Sombart in his 1906 classic, Modern Capitalism.

Definition

Capitalism, according to the dictionaries, commonly means private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership means that individuals control their own persons, their own energies, and the products of their energies. It prevails to the extent that individuals do not restrain or interfere with one another as they use, exchange (sell) or give away what they find unclaimed or abandoned, what they make, and what they get from other persons by gift or exchange (purchase).

Capitalism has its origins, therefore, in individual freedom. Freedom implies that individuals do not coerce, intimidate or cheat one another. This means that they do not use violence or fraud to injure one another or to deprive one another of possessions obtained by peaceful means, and that they do not threaten to injure one another in their persons or properties.

This freedom develops as individuals learn that, over a period of time, they gain more from cooperation motivated by hope of reward than they do from services performed under threat of violence. In other words, they gain more in the long run by production and exchange of goods and services than they can get by stealing, fraud, banditry or other forms of predation.

In short, capitalism arises as individuals (a) learn the advantages of division of labor and voluntary exchange, and (b) discover and live by the moral laws (rules of conduct) necessary for peaceful relations, one with another.

This progress requires growing understanding of the nature of man and the meaning of justice, together with appreciation for honor, truth, and goodwill toward more and more of their fellow humans.

Capitalism as an Economic System

The following example introduces many of the ideas involved in capitalism. When starting a business, the initial owners typically provide some money (the Capital), which is used by the business to buy or rent some means of production. For example, the enterprise may buy or rent a piece of land and a building; it may buy machinery and hire workers (Labour). If more money is needed than the initial owners are willing to provide, the business may borrow a limited amount of extra money with a promise to pay it back with interest - in effect it may rent more capital. The business then has a degree of legal authority, and thereby hopefully control, over a set of factors of production (as economists call them). The business can register as a corporate entity, meaning that it can act as a type of virtual person in many matters before the law. The owners can pay themselves some of the income derived from the business (Dividends), sell shares in the company, or they can sell all of the equipment, land, and other assets, and split the proceeds between them.

Traditionally capitalist economies have had corporations working along the lines of the above example existing in parallel with other types of organisation such as governments, sole traders, partnerships and sometimes cooperatives, credit unions, and other entities. Observers do not always agree which of these organisations, or which features of them are part of capitalism, although most often companies, or many features of their operation, are included as part of the definition.

Additionally, many of the characteristics and techniques of business workings in the above example existed before capitalism, and many have continued to be added. So this leaves much room for debate. However, many people agree that it was around the time when share-trading in corporate bodies became common and widely understood that capitalism can be said to have begun, even though there is often disagreement that it was the share-trading itself that defined capitalism. Such share trading first took place widely in Europe during the 17th century and continued to develop and spread thereafter, although the word "Capitalism" itself did not come into use until the 19th century.

In larger companies, authority is usually delegated in a hierarchical system of management. When company ownership is spread among many shareholders, the shareholders generally

have votes in the exercise of authority over the company in proportion to the size of their share of ownership.

Importantly, the owners receive any profits or proceeds generated by the productive capacity that they own - sometimes in the form of dividends, other times in the form of profits. Various owners are motivated to various degrees by this incentive - some give away a proportion of what they own, others seem very driven to increase their holdings. Nevertheless the incentive is always there, and it is credited by many as being a key aspect behind the growth exhibited by capitalist economies.

Characteristics of Capitalist Economies

Economic Growth

Capitalist economies have shown an erratic but sustained tendency towards economic growth, when measured as an increase in GDP. They have on occasion been through nearly disastrous periods (such as the Great depression), and some have argued that it has only been government intervention that has prevented capitalist economies from collapsing, while others maintain that it was government intervention that caused such disasters. The former argue that it is only government intervention that has enabled capitalist economies to ever grow at all, or even that economic growth in capitalist economies is not due to capitalism itself, but exists despite capitalism - perhaps due to some other reason such as increased scientific knowledge, or some form of 'imperialism'. Others have argued that the natural tendency of capitalism is to continuous growth and that government intervention in the form of subsidies and taxes is the cause of depressions. Yet others argue that growth, or often growth without enough freedom, is a bad thing. Still others argue that modern capitalism has been a disaster because of its other effects besides the growth of GDP. Further discussion on these points might be found in following sections. Nevertheless, good or bad, because of or despite capitalism, it can be seen from history that there has been a sustained tendency for capitalist economies to grow over time.

Distribution of Wealth

Capitalist economies have shown an uneven distribution of wealth. Typically between 0.5% and 1% of people own more than half of productive capacity, if not half of all wealth. Various studies have shown distributions with the peak in the distribution at or near zero with fewer people owning progressively higher wealth. In these distributions some people own hundreds of thousands, or sometimes millions of times more than average.

The distribution of wealth in capitalist economies is one of its most contentious issues. To properly visualize the shape of these distributions it is useful to imagine what it would be like if some other commonly known characteristic of people were to be distributed this way. If height were distributed in the same way as wealth with the same average height as now, most people would be under 1 meter (3 feet) tall, but you would still see people 100 kilometers (60 miles) tall, if you could see up that far, and the wealthiest would rise well into space.

Critics argue that it is exploitation through which rich become richer. Supporters state that inequality of income depends on risk taking, innovativeness and investing.

Competition and Survival of the Fittest

Capitalist economies have large numbers of companies and people free to enter into many types of arrangements with each other. The economy reacts to various changes in technologies, discoveries, and other situations, by means of companies and individuals re-assessing their arrangements with each other. Therefore, the control mechanisms of the economy, and the way that information flows through it, evolve over time, and are subject to a kind of "survival of the fittest" form of selection not unlike biological entities.

Prices are fixed by market operations.

Prices are fixed by demand for and supply of a product.

Private Ownership and Least State Intervention

While there is a great deal of planning within companies and other organisations in capitalist economies, there is no economy-wide direction, or even any reliable prediction or knowledge of how the economy will behave or perform more than a year into the future. While nearly all transactions may be approved of and planned by the people taking part, many society-wide phenomena emerging from the transactions or markets are often not planned, predicted, or approved or authorized by anyone.

Most of the enterprises are private oriented.

Unemployment/Employment

Since individuals typically earn income through finding a company for which to work, it is possible that not all individuals will be able to find a company that will want their labor at a given time. This would not be such a big problem in an economy in which individuals had access to the resources to provide for themselves, but when ownership of the bulk of productive resources is collected in relatively few hands, most individuals are made dependent on employment for their well being. It is normal that all real capitalist economies have fluctuating unemployment rates typically between 3 and 15%. Some economists have used the term the "natural rate of unenployment" to describe this situation. Occasionally employment rates have reached levels of 30%, and occasionally they have fallen to 2 or 1%, but rarely is there enough employment for all. Some economists consider a certain level of unemployment to be necessary for capitalist economies to function. Some political figures have claimed that the "natural rate of unemployment" shows the inefficiencies of a capitalist economy, since not all resources, human labor in this case, are efficiently allocated.

The Fruits of Capitalism

Supporters of capitalism state that it supports the individualism, creativity, individual freedom, and the ability of the individual to develop.

During feudalism poor people were eternally poor, but in capitalism they could rise up. The supporters claim that the peoples of the economically backward countries are poorer than the Americans because their countries lack a sufficient number of successful capitalists and entrepreneurs.

A tendency toward an improvement of the standard of living of the masses can prevail only when and where the accumulation of new capital outruns the increase in population figures.

Problems of Capitalism

Capitalism leads to Class Divisions

Over the past twenty years the United States particularly merits Marx's indictment for its aggravations of class divisions. As the rich get richer and the poor poorer, we are all pitted against each other, millions in the third world are killed each year by humanly reproduced poverty, environmental destruction proceeds out of control, and handy advantages of race, gender or nationality are used to exclude our neighbors.

Capital given Importance than Humans

Humanity is the highest value. Elevating something subhuman (capital) above it, subjecting humanity to it in impersonal, "masterless slavery" (Max Weber's apt phrase), is morally wrong. Unless joined to labor of humans, capital produces no profit. The labor is not rewarded according to the value the labor adds to the capital. This "surplus labor", and its contribution, "surplus value," is the profit that is controlled by capitalists.

Profit Orientedness

Capitalists are entitled to profit because of their unique productive contributions like entrepreneurial insight, managerial skill, innovation, and risk-taking.

Commodity Fetishism

According to Karl Marx, the treatment of labor as a commodity led to people valuing things more according to their price rather than their usefulness (see commodity fetishism) and to an expansion of the system of commodities. Marx observed that some people bought commodities in order to use them, while others bought them in order to sell elsewhere at a profit. Much of the history of late capitalism involves what David Harvey called the "system of flexible accumulation" in which more and more things become commodities the value of which is determined by their exchange rather than by their use. Thus not only are pins commodities; shares of ownership in a factory that makes pins become commodities; then options on shares become commodities; then portions of interest rates on bonds become commodities, and so on. The predominance of commodity speculation in modern capitalism very much shapes its results.

Marxists and others criticize capitalism for enriching capitalists (owners of capital) at the expense of workers without necessarily working themselves ("the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer"), and for the degree of control over the lives of workers enjoyed by owners. Supporters of capitalism counter this criticism by claiming that ownership of productive capacity provides motivation to owners to increase productive capacity and so generally increase the average material wealth ("we all get richer"). Opponents of capitalism counter this by pointing out that the average inflation-adjusted hourly wage in the United States is below what it was 35 years ago.

Marxists believe that the capitalism allows capitalists - the owners of capital - to exploit workers. The existence of private property is seen as a restriction on freedom. Marxists also argue that capitalism has inherent contradictions that will inevitably lead to its collapse. Capitalism is seen as just one stage in the evolution of the economy of a society.

Marxists also often argue that the structure of capitalism necessarily leads to unjust exploitation of workers, regardless of whether or not the political system is one of an elected democracy or not. For this reason Marxists typically emphasise the capitalist economic system of western countries rather than the democratic political system. A capitalist system is an economic system - although often associated with democratic systems, capitalist systems have functioned well under unelected governments, two examples being Hong Kong and Singapore.

In mainland China differences in terminology sometimes confuse and complicate discussions of Chinese economic reform. Under Chinese Marxism, which is the official state ideology, capitalism refers to a stage of history in which there is a class system in which the proletariat is exploited by the bourgeoisie. In the official Chinese ideology, China is currently in the primary stage of socialism with Chinese characteristics. However, because of Deng Xiaoping's dictum to seek truth from facts, this view does not prevent China from undertaking policies which in the West would be considered capitalistic including employing wage labor, increasing unemployment to motivate those who are still working, transforming state owned enterprises into joint stock companies, and encouraging the growth of the joint venture and private capitalist sectors.

Capitalism and political ideologies

1. Some political ideologies favor capitalism:

   Libertarianism, sometimes also called classical liberalism, defends a capitalist free market with minimal state intervention. Minarchist libertarians see the role for government in the economy as solely defending the rights of the participants against violence, theft, fraud, and damages such as pollution. Anarcho-capitalists see no role for government whatsoever.

   Conservatism varies depending on countries in its specific stances. In Western nations, conservatives often defend the status quo of capitalist practices. Most people who call themselves politically conservative however, economically subscribe to Mercantilism. See also political conservatism.

   Objectivism argues that from the individual's standpoint, the only moral economic system is capitalism, since capitalism itself can never come to exist without free men who act rationally and within the bounds of their unalienable, and rationally derived, rights.

2. Some ideologies favor a mixed economy with capitalist and state-run elements:

   Mercantilism defends a mostly free market within the nation, but proposes state intervention to protect domestic commerce and industries against foreign competition. See also protectionism, and in opposition, free trade, and Crony capitalism.

   Social democracy and new liberalism argue for extensive state regulation and partial intervention in an otherwise capitalist economy. Social democrats occupy a position between

socialists and classical liberals with regards to economic matters. They see a need for government to regulate employment, trade, and labor, and sometimes favor nationalization of certain industries. See also welfare state, political liberalism.

Distributism desires an economy with private property and with almost all people possessing a means of production. This would take place in for example a country of sustenance farmers. In a distributist economy, laws would be made to restrict larger corporations from taking over. Distributists favor achieving these goals not primarily through government regulation, but firstly through grass roots efforts and collaboration.

Fascism established a state-controlled economy with powers delegated to capitalist interests subservient to the central government. Socialists sometimes describe modern capitalism as "fascist", meaning an analogy to historical fascism with its cooperation (or cronyism) between industry and government. Fascism argues for a limited market economy, while emphasizing non-economic issues such as nationalism and obedience to authority as the solution to what the fascists see as the problems of capitalism.

3. Some ideologies oppose capitalism and support a collectively run economy:

Socialism argues for greater state control of the economy than under social democracy. Areas of capitalism or private ownership may remain in certain sectors (such as small businesses) under socialism, but industry and labor are regulated by the state for the benefit of the populace at large. Socialism argues for extensive non-private control of the economy, which may or may not be associated with democratic control by the people over the state (if a nation-state exists in such a system). Philosophies calling themselves socialist may be libertarian, authoritarian, or anything in between. Socialism also argues for a high degree of economic equality and the eradication of poverty and unemployment. In common usage, the term socialism tends to be used specifically to denote Social democracy.

Communism is a variant of socialism which calls for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of public ownership of the means of production. Communists see socialism as a stage towards the establishment of a stateless and classless economy. Historical Soviet Communism, a system of Party-controlled socialism, is distinct from the Communist ideal.

Marxism argues for collective ownership of the means of production, and the eventual overthrow of the state, with an intermediate stage in which the state will be used to eliminate the vestiges of capitalism. Marxism is the foundation of several different ideologies, including communism and certain types of socialism.

Libertarian socialism or left anarchism argues for collective control of the economy without the need for a State. It argues for total abolition of both the state and the capitalist economy. Instead, its proponents argue for a society based on non-coercive voluntary co-operation.

Arguments for and against capitalism

There seem to be four separate and distinct questions about capitalism which have clearly survived the 20th century and remain hotly debated today. Certain thinkers claim or claimed to have simple answers to these questions, but political science generally sees them as scales or shades of grey:

Is capitalism moral? Does it actually encourage traits we find useful or appealing in human beings?

Yes: Ludwig von Mises, Ayn Rand, Robin Hanson

No: John McMurtry, Karl Marx

Is capitalism ethical? Can its rules and contracts and enforcement systems be made wholly objective of the people administering them, to a greater degree than other systems?

Yes: Buckminster Fuller, John McMurtry, Friedrich Hayek

No: Karl Marx, Peter Kropotkin

Is capitalism efficient? Given whatever moral purposes or ethical standards it might serve, can it be said to allocate energy, material resources, or human creativity better than any of the alternatives?

Yes: Ludwig von Mises, Paul Hawken, Joseph Schumpeter

No: Peter Kropotkin

Is capitalism sustainable? Can it persist as a means of organizing human affairs, under any conceivable set of reforms as per the above?

Yes: Buckminster Fuller, Paul Hawken

No: Joseph Schumpeter, Karl Marx

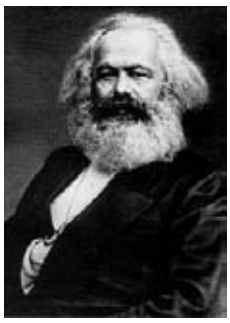
Marxism and Socialism

Karl Marx: The Life and the Message

Karl Heinrich Marx was born into a middle-class home in Trier on the river Moselle in Germany on May 5, 1818. Marx's father, Heinrich, was a Jewish lawyer who had converted his family to Christianity partly in order to preserve his job in the Prussian state. Karl himself was baptized in the Evangelical church.

At the age of seventeen, Marx enrolled in the Faculty of Law at the University of Bonn. At Bonn he became engaged to Jenny von Westphalen, the daughter of Baron von Westphalen, a prominent member of Trier society, and man responsible for interesting Marx in Romantic literature and Saint-Simonian politics. The following year Marx's father sent him to the more serious University of Berlin where he remained four years, at which time he abandoned his romanticism for the Hegelianism which ruled in Berlin at the time.

As a student at the University of Berlin, young Marx was strongly influenced by the philosophy of Georg Hegel and by a radical group called Young Hegelians, who attempted to apply Hegelian ideas to the movement against organized religion and the Prussian autocracy. Although he shared Hegel's belief in dialectical structure and historical inevitability, Marx held that the foundations of reality lay in the material base of economics rather than in the abstract thought of idealistic philoso-



phy. Marx believed that philosophy ought to be employed in practice to change the world.

He earned a doctorate at Jena in 1841, writing on the materialism and atheism of Greek atomists. In 1842, Marx became editor of the Rheinische Zeitung in Cologne, a liberal democratic newspaper for which he wrote increasingly radical editorials on social and economic issues. The newspaper was banned by the Prussian government in 1843, and Marx left for Paris with his bride. There he went further in his criticism of society, building on the Young Hegelian criticism of religion.

Arriving in Paris at the end of 1843, Marx rapidly made contact with organized groups of émigré German workers and with various sects of French socialists. He also edited the short-lived Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher which was intended to bridge French socialism and the German radical Hegelians. During his first few months in Paris, Marx became a communist and set down his views in a series of writings known as the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (1844), which remained unpublished until the 1930s. In the Manuscripts, Marx outlined a humanist conception of communism, influenced by the philosophy of Ludwig Feuerbach and based on a contrast between the alienated nature of labor under capitalism and a communist society in which human beings freely developed their nature in cooperative production. It was also in Paris that Marx developed his lifelong partnership with Friedrich Engels (1820-1895).

Ludwig Feuerbach had written a book called The Essence of Christianity, arguing that God had been invented by humans as a projection of their own ideals. Feuerbach wrote that man, however, in creating God in his own image, had "alienated himself from himself." He had created another being in contrast to himself, reducing himself to a lowly, evil creature who needed both church and government to guide and control him. If religion were abolished, Feuerbach claimed, human beings would overcome their alienation.

Marx applied this idea of alienation to private property, which he said caused humans to work only for themselves, not for the good of their species. In his papers of this period, published as Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, he elaborated on the idea that alienation had an economic base. He called for a communist society to overcome the dehumanizing effect of private property.

Marx was expelled from Paris at the end of 1844 and with Engels, moved to Brussels where he remained for the next three years, visiting England where Engels' family had cotton-spinning interests in Manchester. While in Brussels Marx devoted himself to an intensive study of history and elaborated what came to be known as the materialist conception of history. This he developed in a manuscript (published posthumously as The German Ideology), of which the basic thesis was that "the nature of individuals depends on the material conditions determining their production." Marx traced the history of the various modes of production and predicted the collapse of the present one — industrial capitalism — and its replacement by communism.

At the same time Marx was composing The German Ideology, he also wrote a polemic (The Poverty of Philosophy) against the idealistic socialism of P. J. Proudhon (1809-1865). He also joined the Communist League. This was an organization of German émigré workers with its center in London of which Marx and Engels became the major theoreticians. At a conference of the League in London at the end of 1847 Marx and Engels were commissioned to write a succinct declaration of their position. Scarcely was The Communist Manifesto published than the 1848 wave of revolutions broke out in Europe.

In 1845, Marx moved to Brussels. He jotted down some notes, Theses on Feuerbach, which he and Engels enlarged into a book, The German Ideology, in which they developed their materialistic conception of history. They argued that human thought was determined by social and economic forces, particularly those related to the means of production. They developed a method of analysis they called dialectical materialism, in which the clash of historical forces leads to changes in society.

In 1847 a London organization of workers invited Marx and Engels to prepare a program for them. It appeared in 1848 as The Communist Manifesto. In it they declared that all history was the history of class struggles. Under capitalism, the struggle between the working class and the business class would end in a new society, a communist one.

Early in 1848 Marx moved back to Paris when a revolution first broke out and onto Germany where he founded, again in Cologne, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. The paper supported a radical democratic line against the Prussian autocracy and Marx devoted his main energies to its editorship since the Communist League had been virtually disbanded. Marx's paper was suppressed and he sought refuge in London in May 1849 to begin the "long, sleepless night of exile" that was to last for the rest of his life.

The outbreak of the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe led Marx to return to Cologne, where he began publication of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, but with the failure of the German liberal democratic movement he moved permanently, in 1849, to London. He spent most of his time in the British Museum, studying economic and social history and developing his theories.

Settling in London, Marx was optimistic about the imminence of a new revolutionary outbreak in Europe. He rejoined the Communist League and wrote two lengthy pamphlets on the 1848 revolution in France and its aftermath, The Class Struggles in France and The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. He was soon convinced that "a new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis" and then devoted himself to the study of political economy in order to determine the causes and conditions of this crisis.

During the first half of the 1850s the Marx family lived in poverty in a three room flat in the Soho quarter of London. Marx and Jenny already had four children and two more were to follow. Of these only three survived. Marx's major source of income at this time was Engels who was trying a steadily increasing income from the family business in Manchester. This was supplemented by weekly articles written as a foreign correspondent for the New York Daily Tribune.

Marx's major work on political economy made slow progress. By 1857 he had produced a gigantic 800 page manuscript on capital, landed property, wage labor, the state, foreign trade and the world market. The Grundrisse (or Outlines) was not published until 1941.

In the early 1860s he broke off his work to compose three large volumes, Theories of Surplus Value, which discussed the theoreticians of political economy, particularly Adam Smith and David Ricardo. It was not until 1867 that Marx was able to publish the first results of his work in volume 1 of Capital, a work which analyzed the capitalist process of production. In Capital, Marx elaborated his version of the labor theory value and his conception of surplus value and exploitation which would ultimately lead to a falling rate of profit in the collapse of industrial capitalism. Volumes II and III were finished during the 1860s but Marx worked on the manuscripts for the rest of his life and they were published posthumously by Engels.

Marx's ideas began to influence a group of workers in London, who established the International Workingmen's Association in 1864, later known as the First International. He devoted his time and energy to the First International as a member of its General Council. He was particularly active in preparing for the annual Congresses of the International and leading the struggle against the anarchist wing led by Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876). Although Marx won this contest, the transfer of the seat of the General Council from London to New York in 1872, which Marx supported, led to the decline of the International.

The most important political event during the existence of the International was the Paris Commune of 1871 when the citizens of Paris rebelled against their government and held the city for two months. On the bloody suppression of this rebellion, Marx wrote one of his most famous pamphlets, The Civil War in France, an enthusiastic defense of the Commune.

In 1867, Marx published the first volume of Das Kapital. The next two volumes, edited by Engels, were published after Marx's death. The fourth volume was edited by Karl Kautsky. Marx's last years were marked by illness and depression. Marx continued to write treatises on socialism, urging that his followers disdain softhearted bourgeois tendencies.

By the time of the brief Commune of Paris in 1871, Marx's name had begun to be well known in European political circles.

During the last decade of his life, Marx's health declined. He traveled to European spas and even to Algeria in search of recuperation. The deaths of his eldest daughter and his wife clouded the last years of his life.

His collaborator and close friend Friedrich Engels stated about his death: "On the 14th of March 1883, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep — but for ever." He called Marx as "the best-hated and most-calumniated man of his time."

Marx was buried at Highgate Cemetery in North London. Engels gave the following speech in memory of Marx.

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of development or organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means, and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production, and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated — and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially — in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival.

His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work. "

Marx's contribution to our understanding of society has been enormous. His thought is not the comprehensive system evolved by some of his followers under the name of dialectical materialism. The very dialectical nature of his approach meant that it was usually tentative and open-ended. There was also the tension between Marx the political activist and Marx the student of political economy. Many of his expectations about the future course of the revolutionary movement have, so far, failed to materialize. However, his stress on the economic factor in society and his analysis of the class structure in class conflict

have had an enormous influence on history, sociology, and study of human culture.

The philosopher, social scientist, historian and revolutionary, Karl Marx, is without a doubt the most influential socialist thinker to emerge in the 19th century. Although he was largely ignored by scholars in his own lifetime, his social, economic and political ideas gained rapid acceptance in the socialist movement after his death. Until quite recently almost half the population of the world lived under regimes that claim to be Marxist. This very success, however, has meant that the original ideas of Marx have often been modified and his meanings adapted to a great variety of political circumstances. In addition, the fact that Marx delayed publication of many of his writings meant that is been only recently that scholars had the opportunity to appreciate Marx's intellectual stature.

Marx and Capitalism

Marx lived and wrote to eliminate capitalism. According to him capitalists are able to make profits only by **exploiting their workers**. Profits are made by the capitalist's appropriation of the surplus value created by the labour of his workers. In other words, profits are made by the workers producing for their capitalist employers sums of value greater than they are paid in wages. That sum of value which the workers receive in wages they pay back to the capitalist by working for the period of necessary labour. The sums of value that are created by workers during the period of surplus labour represent for the capitalist pure gain. It is a return for which they make no equivalent outlay. Marx called the rate of surplus vale, therefore, 'an exact expression for the degree of exploitation of labour-power by capital, or of the worker by the capitalist (Conway, 1987).

Traditionally, defenders of capitalism have wished to ascribe to capitalists two positive functions which, so they say, constitute genuine contributions to production that benefit workers and which accordingly entitle them to some part of the product of the workers' labour. Further, capitalists bear the burden of risk that is an inevitable feature of all commodity production. When goods are produced for sale, there is always a risk that there will not be sufficient demand for the product at a price which covers the costs of production. By paying wages to workers in advance of the sale of their product, the capitalist guarantees a return to the worker for his labour irrespective of whether his labour will turn out to have been worthwhile from an economic point of view when the commodities come to be sold. The capitalist spares the worker this risk by shouldering it all himself. Profit is the reward for taking this risk.

Marx challenges the claim that the advance of capital by capitalists involves abstinence on their part. He contests this claim, first, in connection with the historical origin of the capitalist mode of production, and, second, in connection with capitalism after its inception. Marx's views about the origin of the capital which funded the first capitalist industrial ventures are contained in his Theory of Primitive Accumulation, expounded in Part VIII of Capital Volume 1. Marx denies that the sums of capital which financed the first capitalist ventures were formed as a result of the frugality of the initial capitalists. Marx writes: 'In actual history, it is a notorious fact that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, in short, force, play the greatest part [in the formation of capital. In writing of the genesis of the industrial capitalist, Marx spells out in more detail what he takes to be the true source of the original fund of capital that financed the first capitalist ventures. 'The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the indigenous population of that continent, the beginnings of the conquest and plunder of India, and the conversions of Africa into a preserve for the commercial hunting of black-skins, are all things which characterize the dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation.'

Marx denies that capitalists genuinely abstain from consumption when they make capital available for production. Marx claimed that the original industrial capitalists came by their capital by naked extortion and force.

Therefore Marx envisaged that private property should be avoided. A welfare state could be established by sharing the riches of the country among all.

Scientific Approach to History: Dialectical Materialism

Dialectics states that theses creates antethesis and their interaction leads to a synthesis. This synthesis acting as a synthesis further creates an antethesis.

Marx applied this in his study into the European History. He stated: Feudalism creates bourgeoisie and this leads to emergence of capitalism & Capitalism creates proletariat and this lead to Socialism

Theory of Class War

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, equites, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence. The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with clash antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a

whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed. The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development. The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were closed on one side by the manufacturing middle class; division of labor between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois. Modern industry has established the world-market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages. We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange. Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune; here an independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there a taxable third estate of the monarchy (as in France); afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, the corner-stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last. since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder. Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., Capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piece-meal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market. Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labor, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labor increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.....

Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the foreman, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labor, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex. The growing competition among the bourgeoisie, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious...The modern laborer, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth....

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

To establish this new format of society, working men (the proletariat) must be organized and take up the struggle against the capitalists who defraud them. Thus the actors in this drama are the social classes — the proletariat is arrayed against capital-

ism. This struggle, according to Marx and Engels, will end in victory for the proletariat, that is, in the triumph of universal Socialism.

Widening gap between Have's and Have Nots

Marx also noted that in all but some of the earliest agricultural communes, human society was invariably divided into social classes and some classes exercised much greater control over the ownership (and disposal or exchange) of land (and other means of production), and hence also enjoyed greater authority in defining social roles and shaping social conduct.

He saw inequities in the access to property and the control of wealth, deriving from, and influencing inequities in the levels of social and political influence that particular social categories or groupings enjoyed. He noticed a strong correlation between economic and political power in society.

This was one of Marx's most revolutionary insights, because it lifted the veil of secrecy that had always shrouded unequal societies in the past. Inequities were argued away on a variety of religious grounds or on the basis of socially discriminatory theories. It was either "God's Will" that people were poor, or it was their "karma" in a previous life, or that this life was merely a test, and the ultimate liberation lay in the after-life when a "Just God" would dispense the gift of "eternal happiness" to those who had followed "His Teachings" obediently. But according to Marxian theory, oppressed individuals had the opportunity of liberation in this world by recognizing social divisions, forming associations with like class members, and acting in a manner that reduced or eliminated class-inequities through informed and determined struggle.

Based on his observations of 19th C European life, Marx believed that capitalism was nurturing the very weapon which could liberate humanity from the depredations of the capitalist class. This weapon was the proletariat - i.e. those who had no choice but to work for a living but got very little rewards for their toils and tribulations. It was this proletariat which was going to be the prime mover in a future revolutionary change for a society free from ignorance, injustice, and cruelty - a society where people could enjoy the varied fruits of all scientific, technological and cultural advances.

In 19th C Europe, the proletariat was large, and appeared to be growing. Living conditions were impossible to bear, and nothing short of a revolutionary change seemed the answer. But as is evident today, in much of Europe and the US, classes are not as starkly polarized as they once were, and class divisions appear to be more graduated and diffused than they were a century earlier. But in the slums of India (or any other formerly colonized nation) the contrast between rich and poor remains vivid and intolerable. The classic proletariat as Marx described may not exist in overwhelming numbers in Europe, but is fairly numerous in most poorer countries of the world.

Concentration of Wealth and Unplanned Growth

Marx's observation that the wealth of society was getting concentrated in the hands of a very small minority - i.e. a small proportion of society owned a variety of economic resources (whether it was agricultural land, urban land, factories and other means of production, or banks and other financial institutions), and that the trend was accelerating in the direction of impoverishing the majority certainly applied to colonial and post-colonial India where hunger, homelessness, malnutrition and disease had never been more widespread.

Although today, society may not be sharply divided into polar opposites quite as Marx described, there are important similarities between contemporary India, and the bleak reality that Marx had described then.

Fifty years after independence, the distribution of wealth in India (like most other developing nations) remains highly unequal. In a nation of almost a billion people, barely a million are able to purchase a car each year. Less than 1 in 3 households own a telephone. Roughly 20-25% (or even more) of all workers earn fifty rupees (a dollar) a day or less. In spite of the dramatic reduction in poverty since independence, poverty in India remains unacceptably high. Children drop out at young ages to join the work force while educated adults are unable to find work.

Just as Marx had observed, industrial development (in the hands of private capital) has been an unplanned and anarchic process that has led to regional neglect and the proliferation of slums in the urban areas. Industrialization for profits (at any cost) has led to life-threatening pollution, the dumping of toxic wastes, criminal exposure to hazardous materials and dangerous conditions for many ordinary workers.

The expansion of private property has led to the expropriation of community property, village pasture lands and forests leading to landlessness, the impoverishment of the small peasantry, destruction of fishing and forest resources, and the impoverishment of local artisans and traditionally trained and skilled craftspeople.

Although the growth of capitalism in India has led to a growing supply of consumer goods, many are beyond the reach of the average Indian. And what is worse is that the most basic essentials of life - such as clean drinking water, fresh air and dignified housing are becoming more scarce.

Even relatively better-off Indians must contend with constant power outages, inadequate water supply, poor sewage facilities and transportation gridlock. And like the poor, sections of India's professional intelligentsia must live with nagging insecurity about the future. Will they find jobs when they graduate, will they be able to hold on to their jobs, will they have enough savings for sickness and old-age? Will they find a job they like, or will they be forced to work at something insufferably boring just for the sake of the money...Will they be forced to learn a foreign language to get work? These are not academic or abstract questions, but the reality for many Indians (or citizens of any developing nation experiencing uncertain growth). Yet, few question the basic economic system that creates these problems. Many blame "corrupt officials and politicians" but hardly ever see the connection between economics and politics, or understand these problems in the context of class divisions.

Marx however made an important leap in the understanding of social relations when he saw an interactive and dialectical

connection between the social, economic and political forces in society. Rather than see these various forces as independent or unrelated forces he saw the links between them. Rather than see government bodies as prime (or independent) determinants of production and distribution, he saw these as by-products of the specific political-economic system and the class divisions that existed in society. He saw politicians and government officials acting in support of specific class interests. He concluded that in any nation legal relations as well as forms of state and government arose not from the specific ideas or thought processes of some individuals in society but rather, they developed from the general social and political conditions that influence both individuals and society at large.

By analysing various societies he observed that the social and political conditions of society were shaped by their economic structure. By economic structure he meant the means of production and the social relations involved in economic activity. For instance, he pointed out how in ancient Greece and Rome, most production in society was carried out by slaves. This aspect of economic relations had far reaching consequences on the political and cultural life of these ancient societies. For instance, in Greek democracy, slave holders had special rights but slaves were not allowed to vote. The same was true of the American South during the slave-owning period.

On the other hand, most production in Indian history was not carried out by slaves but by peasants and artisans who (to varying degrees) were divided into different jatis (guilds) or castes. They were paid in either cash or kind. Since jati/caste had an important role in the specialization and allocation of labor - (what Marx would have called the "relations of production") - jati/caste came to play an important role in social relations in society as well, and in determining who enjoyed greater political authority and social influence.

On the other hand production in modern societies is carried out more and more by indirect labor. That is to say that machines either replace human labor entirely or else they magnify it manifold. The production and maintenance of machinery involves both physical and mental labor. This has led to a dramatic change in the process of production and productive relations. It has consequently also led to changes in culture, social interaction and forms of government. But regardless of how the world has changed over the centuries, Marx's axiom: "The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness" remains an important guide to understanding social realities, and how societies can be shaped for a better future.

(Of course, there is a danger in interpreting the above statement too literally - because social memories - the weight of history, of cultural traditions also have an impact on human consciousness - and these too can play a role in shaping the destiny of human societies - either by retarding progress, or facilitating it)

However, in the 19th C, the People's Will Party (in Russia) used this understanding of Marxian theory to argue that the greatly enhanced productive capacity of modern industrial processes (rather than being left to the unpredictable workings of capitalism in a relatively backward country such as Russia) could instead be positively harnessed by a revolutionary coalition of all oppressed people in society (including peasants, manual workers and intellectuals - i.e. scientists, engineers, teachers etc). They envisioned that this coalition could then create a society that would be fair and just, and maximize the quality of life for the vast majority of the people. It is important to note that this vision of socialism as elucidated by the People's Will Party involved the participation of categories other than just workers and peasants (as is typically enunciated by most communist parties).

The role of the intellectual in the transition to socialism and communism has not been entirely well-understood and many have in fact failed to consider that intellectuals can play a dual role in society. Parasitic intellectuals can obstruct social progress, but progressive intellectuals can be of great assistance in moving society forward.

The intellectual simply cannot be simply wished away in modern societies. The intellectual - whether as teacher, or organizer, or discoverer of new scientific knowledge, or creator of new technology, or designer of more advanced production processes (such as machines, or hardware or software codes) is an essential, perhaps even leading force (in some instances) in contemporary production. This is not to say that the intellectual can replace the actual workers, but that the intellectual can greatly facilitate the increased productive capacity of the average worker.

(Once productive processes become routinized, the role of the intellectual can diminish, even be eliminated altogether. But as long as society is scientifically and technologically dynamic, the need for intellectual work will remain. Socialists might try to distribute this work so as to prevent the formation of intellectual cartels or intellectual monopolies, but the complete elimination of the intelligentsia as a social category is unlikely in the foreseeable future, and serious Marxists will do well not to overlook the necessity of garnering support for socialism amongst the intelligentsia.)

And whether Marxists acknowledge this or not, intellectuals played an important role in the Soviet Revolution as well. Due to the compelling leadership of Lenin, in 1918, the Bolshevik Party in Russia captured power, and was offered the opportunity of implementing the vision of the Russian People's Will Party (even though the People's Will Party had actually considerably decayed by that time).

During the period of British colonization of India, some of India's greatest freedom fighters were also inspired by the ideals of the Russian Revolution. Prominent amongst them was Shaheed Bhagat Singh who read the works of Lenin in jail while awaiting the outcome of his trial. Refusing to compromise before the British, Bhagat Singh was sentenced to death. But his impending death neither frightened him, nor dampened his heroic patriotism. In his last days, Bhagat Singh read furiously, and in one of his very last testaments, argued persuasively that the liberation of India's impoverished and oppressed masses would require nothing less than a socialist revolution.

Six decades after Shaheed Bhagat Singh kissed the gallows, the Russian Revolution has disintegrated and the ideals of the socialist revolution are treated with disdain by sections of the

Indian intelligentsia. Marxian theory is considered 'passe', out of date and irrelevant to the future of human progress. Intellectuals have often been told that their interest does not lie with the cause of socialism but with capitalism. Such feelings have been exacerbated by the propaganda of some Marxist (particularly Maoist) tendencies that have ridiculed intellectuals, and associated the pursuit of knowledge and technological understanding with counter-revolutionary sentiments. Such misguided derivations and applications of Marxian theory have needlessly alienated potential allies to the cause of socialism. For that reason, the approach of the People's Will Party is extremely important and relevant, particularly for those of India's intellectuals who are seeking alternatives to the capitalist paradigm.

For the majority of India's workers and poor peasants, socialism remains a fairly obvious choice, (if only they were made aware of it); but it is also a preferable option for many of India's well-educated, since only those who are able to avail of the opportunities for a prosperous life in the US (or find lucrative jobs with a select group of export-oriented or foreign-owned corporations) manage to escape the myriad problems of life under capitalism in India.

It is quite ironic how so much of Marx's critique of early capitalism remains so relevant to the Indian condition today. Even as specific aspects of the writings of Marx or Lenin may not hold validity, many of the general trends outlined in their writings continue to hold true. On a world-wide scale, as Marx had warned, capitalism continues to favor the concentration of both economic and political power. Transnational corporations in the US and Europe enjoy market capitalization and valuations that exceed the GNP of entire nations. As Marx had argued, those who own considerable wealth are rarely satisfied with their present level of capital ownership. They continue to demonstrate an insatiable need for expanding and increasing their monopoly powers.

The concept of "free" competition is repeatedly threatened by attacks from viciously manipulative and rigged "market" forces. Although new technology brings forth new companies, and allows new entrepreneurs to emerge, in more established industries, capitalism rapidly degenerates from fair competition to monopolistic or oligopolic control. And as predicted by both Marx and Lenin, wars of acquisition and economic control have not been eliminated. Regardless of the propaganda concerning a the war and occupation of Iraq, this war has not been fought to liberate any nation or people, but to facilitate the US (and its allies such as Britain and Israel among others) in their domination of the Middle East - to promote the monopolistic control of super-profits from the oil-fields of the Arabian Peninsula, and hence, to control the energy resources of energy deficient nations such as India.

Throughout the world, capitalist governments have been largely ineffective in countering the power of the US and its allies. The sudden collapse of the Asian tigers was a lesson for all developing countries. It showed how Western capital could manipulate currency and bond markets. It vividly illustrated how the Asian stock markets had attracted all kinds of speculators and market manipulators, leading to the wild run-ups and the unexpected collapse in currency rates and stock prices throughout South East Asia. Although some of the biggest Korean conglomerates have just about survived this shock, many small investors and even medium-sized businesses in Korea, Thailand, and Indonesia have been permanently bankrupted. And now, even before East Asia has fully recovered from the last crisis, a new (and potentially deeper and wider) recession looms high on the horizon.

The latest victims of economic turmoil are now to be found in Turkey and South America (such as in Argentina where there has been a dramatic economic collapse that threatens to engulf a large proportion of the population, and by some accounts, has already forced almost half the population into poverty, a quarter into dire poverty.)

During a period of what seemed like an unstoppable boom, it was easy to ignore Marx's warnings about capitalist crises and economic collapse. Yet, now, at least for some, these warnings might hit home. In Argentina, the middle class is learning the hard way that economic insecurity cannot always be wished away under capitalism.

Although, a string of welfare measures have helped limit the ill-effects of economic downturns in the wealthier nations, many middle class stock investors in the US have been recently exposed to the enormous risks of investing in the stock markets when they got burned by their investments in Enron, or WorldCom, or sundry other highly touted high-tech companies.

In several key respects, Marxian concepts and formulations not only remain relevant, they are indispensable tools of social and political analysis. At the same time, it is important for Marxists to take the trouble of clearing up many misimpressions and stereotypes about Marxism that have invaded the popular consciousness. Marxism is often represented as an ideological system that is undemocratic and authoritarian, that represses personal freedoms and squashes individuality and personal choice. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. It is a myth that Marxist conceptions of socialism require the absolute crushing of dissent or suppression of individual freedom and initiative.

Socialism and Democracy

It is important to note that when the Bolshevik Party embarked on a journey to build socialism, it was a pioneering effort, an experiment that was new and unique in the history of class-divided human society. Just as new technologies and new inventions need several cycles of debugging and correction, the process of building socialism in human society will also involve several attempts - some less successful and some more. It will involve constant learning and self-correction.

Whereas Indian history has a rich tradition of dialectical thinking and philosophical debate, where a variety of religious and philosophical views found a platform and competed for acceptance, such has not been the case in societies where religion became fused with the state, and religions of the book insisted on a "revealed truth" being the last word in human understanding and philosophy.

At the dawn of the socialist revolution in Orthodox Russia, there was no well-established tradition of parliamentary democracy, of a vibrant press, or of multiple political parties. Even though Czarist Russia was becoming more liberal, and permitted (even encouraged) a considerable degree of progress in the realm of science and culture, it allowed for only limited political freedom. Democratic currents were weak and fragile. In fact, in 1918, there were few real democracies in the world - most of Eastern Europe was under dictatorial rule and much of Asia and Africa were under the colonial gun. In many so-called 'democracies', there wasn't yet universal suffrage. There was racial and gender discrimination, and often, property owners and old feudal elites enjoyed political privileges that ran counter to democratic values. It is therefore, not too surprising that the construction of socialism in 20th C Russia was not to be accompanied by the sort of political and intellectual democracy that some might have hoped and envisaged. (Lenin had himself predicted that no new society is completely able to destroy the ghosts of the past.)

Moreover, soon after the Bolshevik victory, the Bolshevik state was attacked from all sides. Some of the decisions that the Bolsheviks took in suppressing democracy were more in the nature of emergency measures that eventually got institutionalized. This led to scathing criticism from Rosa Luxembourg who saw in such measures the danger of internal rot and decay due to misuse by opportunist elements (something that gradually came to pass, and contributed to the eventual dismembering of the Soviet Union). Karl Kautsky, while sympathizing with the dilemmas faced by the Bolsheviks, also warned that the repression of democracy could at best be a temporary measure, and that the long-term health of any socialist state would inevitably require the construction of stable democratic institutions, albeit within a socialist framework.

It is therefore important not to over-generalize from the Soviet model, and to recognize that even in 1918, there were differing views amongst Marxists as to how to build a stable socialist state.

But even as one might take note of such criticisms of the Bolshevik approach, one ought not to ignore the equally serious dangers of the misuse of liberal democracy or the misuse of radical populism. Bolshevism has not been the only political system that was undermined by the covert invasion of parasitic elements. In recent years, the utter bankruptcy of liberal democracy should pose no less a threat and warning to sincere advocates of social change. Lenin, Stalin (and later Gramsci) understood very well that if the world had to be changed for the better, one couldn't rely upon either radical populism, or corrupt liberal democracy. Lenin's purpose in advocating the formation of a revolutionary vanguard must be fully comprehended before advocating any solutions to the problem of socialist democracy.

For democracy to be truly effective, not only must one eliminate the unequal power of capital accumulation and concentration, one must also provide rigorous education in the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

It must also be noted that democracy is more than just the right to vote. In some important respects (such as guaranteeing life's necessities, providing educational and cultural opportunities, assuring access to health and other essential social services) the Soviet Union was not only more democratic than Czarist Russia, it also led many so-called "liberal democratic" nations.

Where it lagged was in offering broader political and intellectual democracy and greater freedom for dissent - something that is seen as too precious to give up in countries such as India. But too often, democracy is seen as an end in itself - rather than as simply a means of achieving social fairness and justice. To the extent that democratic freedoms are exploited to undermine social justice, democracy can be a hindrance to progress (rather than a facilitator of progress as is sometimes mechanically assumed).

In any case, there is no reason to believe that a new socialist society couldn't be more liberal than earlier incarnations. Surely any future attempt at building socialism could learn some valuable lessons from the Soviet experience, and attempt to rectify those aspects of the Soviet system that were inadequate or caused the revolution to go astray. With India's greater experience with tolerance of dissent and differences (and over five decades of democratic functioning), it is likely, that socialism in India might likely entail more democratic freedoms (and tolerate much higher levels of dissent) than was possible in the Soviet Union.

Yet, it is also important to reiterate the present limitations of Indian democracy (as of democracy as practised in all other capitalist countries).

Today, in democratic India, we have a wide spectrum of political parties, newspapers and magazines in several languages and stable democratic institutions. Yet, virtually all the political parties are unanimous in their support for market-driven economic policies and greater liberalization of the Indian economy regardless of any negative consequences. Every political party makes tall promises before elections, but few, if any of these get implemented. Although parties in opposition might oppose certain retrograde moves of the party in power (such as voice their opposition to reckless privatisation), they rarely take sufficient steps to actually counter or restrain the ruling party.

Political parties might criticize the IMF or the WTO, but they are rarely able to take any concrete steps to actively advance Indian interests in the international arena. The interests of the imperial powers, of the transnationals, and of the CII (Confederation of Indian Industry) or ASSOCHAM (Association of Indian Chambers of Commerce) and other such organizations invariably seems to supercede the will of the people.

The Indian press even as it acknowledges the problems faced by ordinary Indians overwhelmingly speaks for foreign and/or domestic business interests before it speaks for the Indian public interest. The solutions they advocate rarely have anything to do with ameliorating the plight of ordinary Indians. It is little wonder that often, in Delhi and Gujarat and other places in India, only half the eligible voters even bother to vote. Indian democracy, while undoubtedly superior to Pakistan's Jehadi militarism, is nevertheless an inadequate political solution for the problems that grip India.

One can therefore hope that genuine and serious advocates of social change in India (or elsewhere in the subcontinent) will not dismiss Marxian theory, but make their own investigation and inquiry into the writings of Marx and other Marxist scholars, incorporating aspects relevant to the Indian experience into their analysis and criticism of social and political conditions in India. Theories of social change that utilize the best of Marxist literature (whether developed by Marx himself, or those that followed him) are far more likely to help in bringing about the sweeping transformation that is required to liberate the Indian people (and their neighbors) from what seems to be an unending saga of social and political strife, economic frustrations and deprivation.

Common Good given Priority to Individual Greed

But Marxism is not just an ideology for the liberation of the poor and disenfranchised. An equally important aim is to release human creativity from the shackles of commercialism - from the inhibitions imposed by the imperative of the profit-motive, from the necessity of dog-eat-dog competition and from the credo of survival of the fittest. Socialism has often been criticized for strangling the human spirit. But socialism need only restrict those aspects of individual freedom that trample on the rights of others. Socialism may also attempt to encourage cooperation and social harmony which justifiably involves a certain degree of sacrifice of self-centered egotism and individualism. But socialism has no reason to restrict those aspects of individual freedom that cause no harm to others, or may benefit others. In fact, socialism has the potential of offering a much greater variety of positive individual freedoms that would be impossible to realize under capitalism.

In fact, the goal of socialism is not to crush individualism but rather to organize and manage the economic life of society in a way that encourages the individuality of all human beings to blossom. By guaranteeing the essentials of life to all citizens, and ensuring equal opportunity to all the children that enter this world, socialism then creates the potential of every individual to develop unique personality traits, engage in any useful human endeavour and realize the maximum creative potential that may exist in one, (but often remains dormant due to adverse social conditions).

The vision of socialism is therefore not just about eliminating the existing problems of poverty, underdevelopment, hunger and disease, but also to enable individuals to use their bodies and intellectual and entrepreneurial abilities to the fullest, without concern for cut-throat competition, market risks and uncertainties. Socialism is not just for manual workers and peasants, it is also for those engaged in cultural, educational, scientific, technological, managerial or entrepreneurial activities. It is for every one who dreams of a just and happy world, a world in which peace and harmony reign instead of war. It is for those who wish to build a world based on reasoned optimism - who wish to take advantage of basic human goodness, rather than for those whose world-view stems from cynicism and the exploitation of human frailty.

In many key respects, socialist goals are not at odds with those of the philosophers of ancient India. Indian history is replete with inquiries into the liberation of the human spirit. There are shlokas in the Atharva Veda which speak of human inter-connectedness and the need for tolerance and cooperation. Buddhism went several steps further in analyzing the human condition, and inquiring into what might lead to human happiness. Whereas many Indian philosophical systems attempted to solve this problem in the context of an individual alone, early Buddhism attempted to relate the individual experience to the functioning of society - and correctly posited that the happiness of an individual could not be fully realized without also realizing the happiness of society as a whole. Marxian theory attempts to turn such revolutionary insights into concrete realizations, unencumbered by the idealistic and practically unachievable constructs of ancient philosophical systems.

Thus, Marxism is not the rejection of ancient philosophical systems, but their rehabilitation and their renewal - their transformation from the wishful or desirable to the realizable.

Thus even as one great socialist experiment has fallen apart, there will be others that will once again awaken the world to the possibility of the cooperative and collective will of millions acting in concert to raise the human spirit to new heights of social consciousness and cooperation, allowing for a free and unbridled (but positively oriented) individuality to thrive and flourish. That will be the socialism of the future.

Capitalism versus Socialism

The debate between socialism and capitalism is far from over. In fact the battle of ideas is intensifying. International agencies, including the United Nations, the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Health Organization and reports from NGO's, UNESCO and independent experts and regional and national economic experts provide hard evidence to discuss the merits of capitalism and socialism.

Comparisons between countries and regions before and after the advent of capitalism in Eastern Europe, Russia and Central Europe as well as a comparison of Cuba and the ex-communist countries provide us with an adequate basis to draw some definitive conclusions. Fifteen years of "transition to capitalism" is more than adequate time to judge the performance and impact of capitalist politicians, privatizations, free market policies and other restoration measures on the economy, society and general welfare of the population.

Under communism the economic decisions and property were national and publicly owned. Over the past 15 years of the transition to capitalism almost all basic industries, energy, mining, communications, infrastructure and wholesale trade industries have been taken over by European and US multi-national corporations and by mafia billionaires or they have been shut down. This has led to massive unemployment and temporary employment, relative stagnation, vast out-migration and the de-capitalization of the economy via illegal transfers, money laundering and pillage of resources.

In Poland, the former Gdansk Shipyard, point of origin of the Solidarity Trade Union, is closed and now a museum piece. Over 20% of the labor force is officially unemployed (Financial

Times, Feb. 21/22, 2004) and has been for the better part of the decade. Another 30% is "employed" in marginal, low paid jobs (prostitution, contraband, drugs, flea markets, street venders and the underground economy). In Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia, and East Germany similar or worse conditions prevail: The average real per capita growth over the past 15 years is far below the preceding 15 years under communism (especially if we include the benefits of health care, education, subsidized housing and pensions). Moreover economic inequalities have grown geometrically with 1% of the top income bracket controlling 80% of private assets and more than 50% of income while poverty levels exceed 50% or even higher. In the former USSR, especially south-central Asian republics like Armenia, Georgia, and Uzbekistan, living standards have fallen by 80%, almost one fourth of the population has out-migrated or become destitute and industries, public treasuries and energy sources have been pillaged. The scientific, health and educational systems have been all but destroyed. In Armenia, the number of scientific researchers declined from 20,000 in 1990 to 5,000 in 1995, and continues on a downward slide (National Geographic, March 2004). From being a center of Soviet high technology, Armenia today is a country run by criminal gangs in which most people live without central heat and electricity.

In Russia the pillage was even worse and the economic decline was if anything more severe. By the mid 1990's, over 50% of the population (and even more outside of Moscow and St. Peterburg - formerly Leningrad) lived in poverty, homelessness increased and universal comprehensive health and education services collapsed. Never in peace-time modern history has a country fallen so quickly and profoundly as is the case of capitalist Russia. The economy was "privatized" - that is, it was taken over by Russian gangsters led by the eight billionaire oligarchs who shipped over $200 billion dollars out of the country, mainly to banks in New York, Tel Aviv, London and Switzerland. Murder and terror was the chosen weapon of "economic competitiveness" as every sector of the economy and science was decimated and most highly trained world class scientists were starved of resources, basic facilities and income. The principal beneficiaries were former Soviet bureaucrats, mafia bosses, US and Israeli banks, European land speculators, US empire-builders, militarists and multinational corporations. Presidents Bush (father) and Clinton provided the political and economic backing to the Gorbachov and Yeltsin regimes which oversaw the pillage of Russia, aided and abetted by the European Union and Israel. The result of massive pillage, unemployment and the subsequent poverty and desperation was a huge increase in suicide, psychological disorders, alcoholism, drug addiction and diseases rarely seen in Soviet times. Life expectancy among Russian males fell from 64 years in the last year of socialism to 58 years in 2003 (Wall Street Journal, 2/4/2004), below the level of Bangladesh and 16 years below Cuba's 74 years (Cuban National Statistics 2002). The transition to capitalism in Russia alone led to over 15 million premature deaths (deaths which would not have occurred if life expectancy rates had remained at the levels under socialism). These socially induced deaths under emerging capitalism are comparable to the worst period of the purges of the 1930's. Demographic experts predict Russia's population will decline by 30% over the next decades (WSJ Feb 4, 2004).

The worst consequences of Western supported "transition" to capitalism are still to come over the next few years. The introduction of capitalism has totally undermined the system of public health, leading to an explosion of deadly but previously well-controlled infectious diseases. The Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) published a comprehensive empirical report which found that in Eastern Europe and Central Asia…"infection levels are growing faster than anywhere else, more than 1.5 million people in the region are infected today (2004) compared to 30,000 in 1995" (and less than 10,000 in the socialist period). The infection rates are even higher in the Russian Federation, where the rate of increase in HIV infection among young people who came of age under the Western-backed 'capitalist' regimes between 1998-2004 is among the highest in the world.

A big contributor to the AIDS epidemic are the criminal gangs of Russia, Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Baltic countries, who trade in heroin and each year deliver over 200,000 'sex-slaves' to brothels throughout the world. The violent Albanian mafia operating out of the newly "liberated" Kosova controls a significant part of the heroin trade and trafficking in sex-slaves throughout Western Europe and North America. Huge amounts of heroin produced by the US allied war lords of "liberated" Afghanistan pass through the mini-states of former Yugoslavia flooding Western European countries. The newly 'emancipated' Russian Jewish mafia oligarchs have a major stake in the trafficking of drugs, illegal arms, women and girls bound for the sex- industry and in money-laundering throughout the US, Europe and Canada (Robert Friedman, Red Mafiya ,2000). Mafia billionaires have bought and sold practically all major electoral politicians and political parties in the self-styled "Eastern democracies", always in informal or formal alliance with US and European intelligence services.

Economic and social indicators conclusively document that "real existing capitalism" is substantially worse than the full employment, moderate growth, welfare states that existed during the previous socialist period. On personal grounds -in terms of public and private security of life, employment, retirement, and savings -the socialist system represented a far safer place to live than the gang-controlled capitalist societies that replaced them. Politically, the communist states were far more responsive to the social demands of workers, provided some limits on income inequalities, and, while accommodating Russian foreign policies interests, diversified, industrialized and owned all the major sectors of the economy. Under capitalism, the electoral politicians of the ex-communist states sold, at bargain prices, all major industries to foreign or local monopolies, fostering monstrous inequalities and ignore worker health and employment interests. With regard to ownership of the mass media, the state monopoly has been replaced by foreign or domestic monopolies with the same homogenous effects. There is little question that an objective analysis of comparative data between 15 years of capitalist 'transition' and the previous 15 years of socialism, the socialist period is superior on almost all quality of life indicators.

Let us turn now to compare Cuban socialism to the newly emerging capitalist countries of Russia, Easter Europe and south-central Asia.

Cuban socialism was badly hit by the turn to capitalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Industrial production and trade fell by 60% and the daily caloric intake of individual Cubans fell by half. Nevertheless infant mortality in Cuba continued to decline from 11per 1000 live births in 1989 to 6 in 2003 (comparing favorably to the U.S.). While Russia spends only 3.8% of its GNP on public healthcare and 1.5% on private care, the Cubans spend 16.7%. While life expectancy among males declined to 58 years in capitalist Russia, it rose to 74 years in socialist Cuba. While unemployment rose to 21% in capitalist Poland, it declined to 3% in Cuba. While drugs and criminal gangs are rampant among the emerging capitalist countries, Cuba has initiated educational and training programs for unemployed youth, paying them salaries to learn a skill and providing job placement. Cuba's continued scientific advances in biotechnology and medicine are world-class while the scientific infrastructure of the former communist countries has collapsed and their scientists have emigrated or are without resources. Cuba retains its political and economic independence while the emerging capitalist countries have become military clients of the US, providing mercenaries to service the US empire in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq. In contrast to Eastern Europeans working as mercenary soldiers for the US in the Third World, 14,000 Cuban medical workers serve some of the poorest regions in Latin America and Africa in cooperation with various national governments that have requested their skills. There are more than 500 Cuban medical workers in Haiti. In Cuba, most industries are national and public with enclaves of private markets and joint ventures with foreign capital. In ex-communist countries, almost all basics industries are foreign-owned, as are most of the mass media and "culture industries". While Cuba retains a social safety net for basic foodstuff, housing, health, education and sports, in the emerging capitalist countries the "market" excludes substantial sectors of the unemployed and underpaid from access to many of those goods and services.

Nehru (1941) says:

I had long been drawn to socialism and communism, and Russia had appealed to me." Though he disapproves the oppression and violence which is present both in the capitalistic and socialist countries. Violence was common in both places, but the violence of the capitalist order seemed inherent in it; while the violence of Russia, bad though it was aimed at a new order based on peace and co-operation and real freedom for the masses. … In the balance, therefore, I was all in favor of Russia, and the presence and example of the Soviets was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world."

Comparative data on economy and society demonstrate that "reformed socialism" in Cuba has greatly surpassed the performance of the emerging capitalist countries of Eastern Europe and Russia, not to speak of Central Asia. Even with the negative fall-out from the crisis of the early 1990's, and the growing tourist sector, Cuba's moral and cultural climate is far healthier than any and all of the corrupt mafia- ridden electoral regimes with their complicity in drugs, sex slavery and subordination to U.S. empire building. Equally important while AIDS infects millions in Eastern Europe and Russia, Cuba has the best preventive and most humane treatment facilities in the world for dealing with HIV. Free anti-viral drugs, humane cost-free treatment and well-organized, extensive public health programs and health education explains why Cuba has the lowest incidence of HIV in the developing world despite the presence of small-scale prostitution related to tourism and low incomes.

The debate over the superiority of socialism and capitalism continues because what has replaced socialism after the collapse of the USSR is far worse on every significant indictor. The debate continues because the achievements of Cuba far surpass those of the emerging capitalist countries and because in Latin America the emerging social movements have realized changes in self-government (Zapatistas), in democratizing land ownership (MST Brazil) and natural resource control (Bolivia) which are far superior to anything US imperialism and local capitalism has to offer.

The emerging socialism is a new configuration which combines the welfare state of the past, the humane social programs and security measure of Cuba and the self-government experiments of the EZLN and MST.

The great world crisis and slump seemed to justify the Marxist analysis. While all other systems and theories were groping about in the dark, Marxism alone explained it more or less satisfactorily and offered a real solution.

Mixed Economy

A "mixed" economy is a mix between socialism and capitalism. It is a hodgepodge of freedoms and regulations, constantly changing because of the lack of principles involved. A mixed economy is a sign of intellectual chaos. It is the attempt to gain the advantages of freedom without government having to give up its power.

A mixed economy is always in flux. The regulations never produce positive results, because they always force people to act against their own interests. When a particular policy fails, it is propped up by other regulations in the hopes that more control will produce better results. Sometimes the results are so destructive they must either be removed, or the people must be violently oppressed to make them accept it.

Thus, mixed economy is an economy which combines regulated free market capitalism and a limited number of socialist institutions and state ownership of some sectors of the economy such as social security environmental regulation, labor regulation, product safety regulation, progressive taxation, public education, and health care.

Most democratic countries have mixed economies. It is nearly impossible to have pure capitalism (the government regulates nothing) or pure socialism (the government runs everything), but the term mixed economy is generally used when an economy has reasonably significant portions of both socialism and capitalism.

While, in theory, resource allocation could be undertaken exclusively through markets or exclusively through governments, in the real world all economies rely on a mix of both

markets and governments for allocation decisions. Markets allocate resources through voluntary choices made by living, breathing people. Government forces allocation through involuntary taxes, laws, restrictions, and regulations. While you might have your own personal favorite in the use of markets or government to do the deed of allocation, don't be too quick to judge. Both institutions play vital roles in a mixed economy.

An economy that uses nothing but markets to allocate resources is called a pure market economy. This is a theoretical ideal that doesn't actually exist in the real world. But it gives us an excellent benchmark for comparison with real world economies.

An economy that uses nothing but government to allocate resources is called a pure command economy. This is also a theoretical extreme that doesn't actually exist the real world. But like a pure market economy, it provides a benchmark for comparison with real world economies.

An inherent dimension of a mixed economy is the pursuit of economic goals using assorted government policies. The five basic goals that are generally desired by society are (1) full employment, (2) stability, (3) economic growth, (4) efficiency, and (5) equity. Governments take primary responsibility in the pursuit of these five goals with a wide variety of economic policies that assist, guide, control, and regulate voluntary market exchanges. Such policies take the form of (1) laws passed by legislatures, (2) administrative actions taken by elected executives, (3) rules set forth by government agencies, and (4) decisions made through the courts.

It is an economy that combines elements of capitalism and socialism, mixing some individual ownership and regulation.

Some capitalist countries, France, for example, employ what is often called state capitalism. In this form of a mixed economy, the state becomes a major shareholder in private enterprises. An alternative, employed in Great Britain (more in the past than now), is for the state to own some industries while leaving others in private hands. Australia is a mixed economy, with major state-owned enterprises in communications, transport, banking, energy generation and health services, as well as privately owned enterprises in the same areas. In common with capitalist economies such as the UK and New Zealand, Australian governments are reducing these activities by privatising state-operated businesses. Other examples are seen in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, where newly independent states have embraced the principles of private enterprise. China, too, provides a striking illustration of the transition to a mixed economy.

In economics and politics, a mixed economy is an economy which combines regulated free market capitalism and a limited number of socialist institutions and State ownership of some sectors of the economy such as social security, environmental regulation, labor regulation, product safety regulation, progressive taxation and public education.

India as a Mixed Economy

The Indian economy is a mixed economy. It has acquired this form with the growth of a large public sector since Independence. Bhabatosh Datta asserts, "In examining the Mixed Economy thus introduced, one has to remember that no economy has ever been completely unmixed. Even before Independence. India had a fairly important public sector, the most important component of which was the railway system. There may be various grades of mixture between the impracticable extremes of one hundred per cent laissez-faire and one hundred per cent socialist production. In India, the Second Five Year Plan summed up the objectives of the planned development in the phrase 'socialist pattern of society', implying that "the basic criterion for determining lines of advance must not be private profit, but social gain..." and yet the character of the economy that has emerged as a result of planned development does not resemble even remotely socialism. Nationalization of banks, setting up a number of enterprises in the public sector and such other measures may create an illusion that the economy has advanced towards socialism but in fact socio-economic relations have not undergone any such change as to warrant the conclusion that the Indian economy has drifted away from its capitalist form. According to Sukhamoy Chakravarty, "...as of now, there is no evidence that despite the growth of a large public sector, India has moved to any significant extent closer to a 'socialist society', in any meaningful sense of the term. If the present trends are not going to be reversed, it is possible that India will witness in the closing decade of this century a considerably enlarged private sector with further erosion of the role of planning in the traditional sense of the term."" Fifteen years have passed since Sukamoy Chakravarty made these, observations. In these years commitment to build a socialist economy has been completely abandoned. Even the policy measures adopted by the government have been such that they significantly undermine the role of economic planning. However, in many respects, the character of the Indian economy is different from that of the capitalist economies of the eighteenth century Europe. The two factors in the Indian economy, viz, the presence of the public sector and economic planning make it distinctly different from the capitalist economies of the West in the earlier phase of their development. Some economists taking note of the public sector and economic planning in India's economy have characterized it as state capitalism. In essence, however, state capitalism is the same thing as the mixed economy. We explain below such features of India's economy which determine its character as a mixed economy.

Private Ownership of the means of Production and Profit-induced Commodity Production

Under Indian constitution private ownership of means of production has been allowed. Moreover, the capitalist class controls the State power whereby it influences the policies of the government. These factors adequately explain why the private sector in this country remains pervasive. (The share of the public sector in the total national output is less than 25 per cent). At present a big segment of the industrial sector is in private hands. As a matter of fact, with the exception of some basic industries, all other industries, including cotton textiles, jute, sugar, cement, vegetable oil, leather, etc., are in the private sector. Lately with the adoption of neoliberal economic policy the government is hastily withdrawing from industrial sector so much so that even the profit making industrial enterprises are being handed over to private companies at prices which arc far

below their asset values. Though railways are still State owned, road transport is mostly in private hands. Agriculture, the principal economic activity in the country, is in the private sector as the ownership of agricultural land is entirely personal. These facts pointedly suggest that the production in such an economy will be done for the market and the activity of the producers "will be motivated primarily by profit. In agriculture, no doubt, small farmers do not have marketable surplus and, therefore, their behaviour as producers is generally not responsive to market changes.

Decisive Role of the Market Mechanism

Market mechanism has a predominant position in the .Indian economy. At present this country has markets not only for various products, but also for productive factors, such as labour and capital. In terms of organisation all the commodity and factor markets may not be equally integrated but there is no denying the fact that prices of most of the commodities and factors of production are determined by the interplay of demand and supply forces. Prices of various commodities and timely changes therein, along with future price expectations, influence the decisions of the producers. Factor prices, to a great extent, also determine the techniques of production. Money market in the country is also now better organised comprising diversified financial institutions. Though all major commercial banks still remain nationalised, their working as well as their business dealings with producers in the private sector are generally determined according to the laws of the market. Further, the amount of investment and its form is greatly influenced by the interest rates that prevail in the money market. In the stock market too, fluctuations in the share prices not only reflect the prospects of different companies, but they also determine whether particular companies can obtain equity capital for their expansion or not.

However, the market mechanism in India has not been completely free from State control. In 1951, Industries (Development and Regulation) Act was passed to provide a regulatory system for industrial activity in the country. The State wanted to evolve a licensing system under the provisions of the Act, as an effective instrument of industrial planning. In practice, this objective could not be realised. Jagdish Bhagwati and Padma Desai have extensively analysed the working of the licensing system of India and have noted that the Licensing Committee did not follow any fixed criteria or principle for granting licenses either for establishing new industrial units or for expanding the capacities for existing limits. The approach of the Licensing Committee was generally ad hoc. Apart from the licensing system, the government also introduced certain other controls and incentive measures for influencing the decisions that were arrived at in the markets. These controls and incentive measures, however, did not alter the basic character of market mechanism. Their importance lay only in their capacity to rectify irrationality of certain market decisions by changing them for the better. G.Thimmaiah is, however, of the view that the license and control system in this country failed in this direction. Contrary to the expectations of the Indian planners, the private sector could not be made ineffective in its exploitative motive under the license and control system. Under the structural reforms which have been carried out in this country since 1991-92 various physical controls have been withdrawn. Thus the market now operates far more freely than in the past.

Monopoly Trends

Since Independence, monopoly houses have grown rapidly and with it the concentration of economic power in the country has increased. This trend was first noted by the Committee on Distribution of Income and Levels of Living chaired by P.C. Mahalanobis. The Committee stated in its report, "It is also evident that the working of planned economy has contributed to this growth of big companies in Indian industry." Rapid growth of monopolies in the country was later on confirmed by the Monopolies Enquiry Commission. According to the Commission, there were 75 big business houses in 1963-64 controlling 44 per cent of the paid up capital of all non-government and non-bunking companies of the country. In absolute terms they had control over capital worth RA. 2,606 crore. Since then, monopoly trends appear to have become stronger and the grip of big business on the economy seems to 'have increased in spite of the governmental measures to control them. Each of the top 10 had1 net sales of Rs. 4,700 crore or more in 2001 (ranking in terms of net sales). In terms of assets, the- two largest private? sector companies of the country in 2001 were Reliance Industries and Hindustan Lever with their assets amounting to Rs. 29,875 crore and Rs. 5,735 crore respectively. The phase of economic reforms initiated in 1991 has seen the emergence of some new business companies and the manifold increase in the assets of many old companies.

Public Sector

Presence of a large public sector in India along with free enterprise makes the character of the economy as mixed. The public sector in India has not been developed for any ideological reasons. Its creation was a historical necessity. At the time of Independence the private enterprise had neither the resources nor the will to undertake the task of industrial development on a massive scale. Furthermore, country's transport system, energy sources and certain other components of the infrastructure were undeveloped. To be brief, though the economy emerging from its colonial past needed a 'big push', the conditions prevailing in the country were hardly conducive to development in general and industrialization in particular. At this Juncture an effective intervention of the State in the economy was an imperative condition to break the low-level equilibrium trap in which the economy was caught during the British period. The government recognizing this need of the time decided to take upon itself the responsibility of developing strategic sectors so as to create conditions for the development of private economic activity. Hence during the earlier four decades of economic planning around 40 per cent investments were made in the State sector. This policy is sometimes wrongly construed as a step towards socialism. In fact, in a predominantly free enterprise economy, creation of a Slate sector (however large it may be) will not alter the basic character of the economy and India is no exception to this rule.

In India's essentially capitalistic economy, creation of a large public sector is, by no means, a novel experiment. In a number of Western capitalist countries, the State has not only inter-

vened in their economies in a big way but has also engaged itself in various productive and distributive functions. The developmental role of the State has been more direct and pronounced particularly in those countries where industrialization was somewhat delayed. Therefore, the presence of the public sector in some country or an active role played by the State in promoting the development of the economy provides no guarantee that the character of the economy would not be capitalistic. At best these factors would make it a mixed economy, which, in essence, is a variant of capitalism.

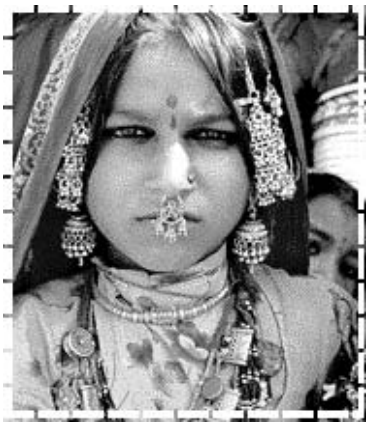
Economic Planning

Another factor in the Indian economy that often creates confusion about its character is economic planning. Economic planning has been an integral part of the Indian economy for the past five decades. Because planning was first adopted in the erstwhile Soviet Union and thereafter other socialist countries also followed the path of planned economic development, planning got so much identified with socialism that many people now mistakenly characterise all planned economies (irrespective of (lie form of planning) us the socialist economics. No doubt economic planning is an essential ingredient of a socialist economy, but all planned economies are not necessarily socialist economies. A country can adopt planning while retaining its capitalistic structure, but in its form and range planning in a capitalist economy would be different from the one in a socialist economy.

In India, economic planning has been introduced in a basically capitalistic economic framework. It has nothing to do with socialism or an egalitarian order of society. Further, not only planning in this country is limited in its range, it also very much lacks the element of compulsion. In socialist countries every possible attempt is made to implement the plans and great seriousness is attached to the realization of targets laid down in it. There are no such compulsions in the Indian planning. The Indiana-plans lay down targets even for sectors over which the State has little control. For example, the whole of agriculture is in the private sector and the government attempts to realize the targets laid down for this 'sector by providing certain incentives, which may not always work. Even for the sectors over which the government may have effective control, the measures adopted by the administration may not always be in conformity with those stated in the plans. This is quite natural in the Indian economic planning which is indicative in its form. Commenting upon the character of the Indian plans, Charles Bettelheim has aptly remarked, "The main characteristic is that they state what is anticipated or expected. They are entirely -different from socialist plans, Which lay down imperative and compulsory conditions. The latter sort of plan, once adopted, has to be implemented by administrations and enterprises, whereas the Indian plans attempt to define as precisely as possible the government's agricultural, economic and industrial policies for the following five years. The government and its administration naturally want to fulfill as much of the plan as possible, but they may adopt measures very different to those suggested by the original Plan without violating any legal obligations."

The economic planning as practiced in India over the past five decades and the development of the public sector in this period were thus meant to move a standstill economy, their purpose was not to change the basic character of the country's economy. Therefore, the character of the Indian economy has not undergone any change since Independence. It still continues to be a mixed economy. The Indian experience shows that the mixed economy framework is a feasible proposition for a developing country as it allows for a modest rate of growth, which is both steady and less subject to fluctuations in the economic activity at the international level. This requires over time substantial growth of productive capacity in the key sectors of the economy. In the mixed economy framework this can be ensured by transferring commanding heights of the economy into the hands of the State. Such a system is also consistent with an increase in the rates of saving and capital formation. India's experience over the years proves this point. It may thus be argued that the mixed economy framework which India decided to pursue after getting Independence enabled it to overcome one of its major obstacles to economic growth. As stated earlier, the pursuit of a mixed economy framework does not transform a capitalist economy into a socialist economy. Sukhamoy Chakravarty rightly states that India's experience shows that "adherence to a mixed economy does not imply that it will grow into what many people once thought to be its rationale, i.e., a socialist pattern of society. In fact, a mixed economy is an unstable blend of different features, which is dynamically compatible with different outcomes. Which outcome finally prevails depends on a changing balance of social forces and also on the ability of the political processes to find corridors of action."

The mixed economy framework in India has tended to favour relatively rich on account of their strong economic position. Suresh D. Tendulkar contends that when the feature of market based decentralized economic activity in the private sector in a mixed economy "is combined with a skew size distribution of private ownership of means of production, it implies a possible accentuation of economic inequalities. The deprived in the social system expect the government to counter this tendency by regulating the activities in the private sector and through direct participation in extensive areas of economic activities. However, in a class society like the one we have in this country the government has neither the ability nor the required will to prevent the tendency of the concentration of economic power. In India, the assumption that "the State in general and the government in particular can act as an agent of desirable socio-economic change independently of the various interest groups" does not hold good and thus accentuation of income inequalities and a rise in the absolute number of poor is inevitable.



LESSON 7:
PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To know the philosophical basis of DEVCOM

To appreciate scientific socialism, liberation theology and Gandhism

To develop a concern for the poor and oppressed.

Scientific Socialism of Marx

According to Marx, man once existed in a simple, primitive state. At that time, there was happiness and tranquility. This primitive state of happiness was disrupted, however, by the rise of economic classes where one class sought to oppress and exploit another for its own economic advantage. Marx believed all of man's problems are the direct result of this class exploitation. He portrayed capitalism as the chief culprit that gave rise to this undesirable state of affairs.

Marx was adamant that man can never be truly happy or free in a capitalistic society. Man, he said, has become an alienated being and does not feel "at home" in a capitalistic environment. However, this alienation will not last forever.

Marx believed that history is inexorably moving toward a climactic day when the oppressed workers of the world, the proletariat, will rise up and overthrow their capitalistic oppressors, the bourgeoisie. In the place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, there will be a harmonious society in which there is equity for all.

1989 saw almost the whole of Eastern Europe rise up in revolt against Marxist ideology. The major reforms occurring in the Soviet Union and East Bloc nations represent an admission that Marxism has failed.

Socialism as a philosophy got rooted in the thoughts of Saint Simon, Fourier, Sismodi, Proudhan and Robert Owen. Karl Marx gets a special place among the socialist thinkers as the founder of scientific socialism.

Marx lived at a time when Germany was just emerging as a Capitalist democracy. The entire experience of England in respect of industrial revolution and trade unionism and French experience of post-revolutionary struggle provided a fine perspective to interpret social conflict and social change. The dialectics of Hegel was the methodology. Yet unlike Hegel, for Marx economic factors rather than ideas and ideals were the determinants of social change. Individual ownership of the means of production and private entrepreneurship constitute basic features of capitalist economy. Profit is the principal incentive. However, in the course of competition, the rate of profit declines and crisis develops. Unbridled competition results in excess production-excess in relation to demand—leading to a fall in the price and a decline in the rate of profit.

There is another aspect. Labour is primarily responsible for production. Capital indeed enhances productivity of labour. In the course of competition use of capital increases involving a relative fall in the employment of labour. This development has two consequences, One fall in employment leading lo a fall in the income implying a fall in demand. Second, production is not commensurate with the enhanced productivity of the community. Both ways contradictions develop within: the system - an increase in productivity and a fall in production, an increase in supply and a fall in demand. In such a situation, a fall in the rate of profit is simply inevitable.

The Capitalist tries to maintain and increase the profit rate. That further deepens the crisis. Profit simply understood is the excess of price over cost. For profit, we need to have either a price rise or a cost reduction. A general tendency of overproduction rules out any possibility of price rise. The other way open is through reduction in cost. Wages constitute a major element in the cost. Obviously, any measure to reduce cost simply leads to wage reduction and labour retrenchment. Anyway, the incidence is on the labour and finally a way out is sought through building combine1-, forming monopolies. This corners the consumer.

Thus unemployment, wastage of productive, power, exploitation of the worker and the consumer constitute the inevitable consequences of the competitive system. Economic inequalities assume alarming proportions. Wasteful luxury consumption dictates the production programme.

Science and technology indeed enhance productive powers of the community. Growth and development rightly interpreted must ensure full Utilization of productive capacity. With private property and private enterprise as essential tenets of the system, capitalism is bound to develop inherent contradictions. History demands, Marx rightly maintains, replacement of the system by socialism where social needs, rather than personal profit, planning in place of competition would be the main governing principles. This is a historical inevitable process. However, the propertied class, capitalists, may not-almost will not — accept the change. A class conflict, a political struggle becomes inevitable. And here, Marx urges and directs labour, the principal participant in the production process, to organize into a political power to seize the State and create conditions for the establishment of socialist economy.

Church and Marxism

The Vatican said that Marxism should be avoided because it is linked to class hatred and Christian norms of charity. It strikes at the heart of Christian belief about God and about human beings. It is totally materialistic. Marxists would rubbish the Christian response to poverty and exploitation. The must not be given any foothold. If the Marxist principle of class struggle were adopted as the means of attaining liberation for the poor, then that class struggle will affect the unity of the Church itself.

Liberation Theology

Liberation Theology has biblical roots as Jesus lived and spoke for the downtrodden. The mission of liberation started in Latin America as Church began to work for the indigenous

peoples, blacks, mestizos, and the poor rural and urban masses.

The governments of the 1950s and 1960s especially those of Perón in Argentina, Vargas in Brazil, and Cárdenas in Mexico, started formulating policies favoring the middle class and the rich upper class. The poor began to struggle against it. This led to oppressing the poor all the more using police and military. Pockets of armed uprising appeared in many countries, aimed at overthrowing the ruling powers and installing socialist-inspired regimes.

Starting in the 1960s, a great wind of renewal blew through the churches. They began to take their social mission seriously: laypersons committed themselves to work among the poor, charismatic bishops and priests encouraged the calls for progress and national modernization. Various church organizations promoted understanding of and improvements in the living conditions of the people: movements such as Young Christian Students, Young Christian Workers, Young Christian Agriculturalists, the Movement for Basic Education, groups that set up educational radio programs, and the first base ecclesial communities.

The new way of living the Christian life, was theologically and philosophically supported by the —integral humanism of Jacques Maritain, the social personalism of Mounier, the progressive evolutionism of Teilhard de Chardin, Henri de Lubac's reflections on the social dimension of dogma, Yves Congar's theology of the laity, and the work of M.D. Chenu. The Second Vatican Council produced a theological atmosphere characterized by great freedom and creativity. This gave Latin American theologians the courage to think for themselves about pastoral problems affecting their countries.

There were frequent meetings between Catholic theologians (Gustavo Gutiérrez, Segundo Galilea, Juan Luis Segundo, Lucio Gera, and others) and Protestant Emilio Castro, Julio de Santa Ana, Rubem Alves, José Míguez Bonino), leading to intensified reflection on the relationship between faith and poverty, the gospel and social justice, and the like. In Brazil, between 1959 and 1964, the Catholic left produced a series of basic texts on the need for a Christian ideal of history, linked to popular action, with a methodology that foreshadowed that of liberation theology; they urged personal engagement in the world, backed up by studies of social and liberal sciences, and illustrated by the universal principles of Christianity.

At a meeting of Latin American theologians held in Petrópolis (Rio de Janeiro) in Much 1964, Gustavo Gutiérrez described theology as critical reflection on praxis. This line of thought was further developed at meetings in Havana, Bogotá, and Cuernavaca in June and July 1965. Many other meetings were held as pat of the preparatory work for the Medellin conference of 1968; these acted as laboratories for a theology worked out on the basis of pastoral concerns and committed Christian action. Lectures given by Gustavo Gutiérrez in Montreal in 1967 and at Chimbote in Peru on the poverty of the Third World and the challenge it posed to the development of a pastoral strategy of liberation were a further powerful impetus toward a theology of liberation. Its outlines were first put forward at the theological congress at Cartigny, Switzerland, in 1969: "Toward a Theology of Liberation."

The end of the 1960s, all the nations of the Western world were engaged in a vast process of development; however, it was interdependent and unequal, organized in such a way that the benefits flowed to the already developed countries of the "center" and the disadvantages were meted out to the historically backward and underdeveloped countries of the "periphery." The poverty of Third World countries was the price to be paid for the First World to be able to enjoy the fruits of overabundance.

The second general conference of the episcopate of Latin America, held at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968, spoke of the church "listening to the cry of the poor and becoming the interpreter of their anguish". The following conferences sees liberation as an integral, indispensable, essential, part of the mission of the church. The "preferential option for the poor," became a central axis of liberation theology.

The first Catholic congresses devoted to liberation theology were held in Bogota in March 1970 and July 1971. On the Protestant side, ISAL organized something similar in Buenos Aires the same years. Finally, in December 1971, Gustavo Gutiérrez published his seminal work, Teología de la liberación. In May Hugo Assmarm had conducted a symposium, "Oppression-Liberation: The Challenge to Christians," in Montevideo, and Leonardo Boff had published a series of articles under the title Jesus Cristo Libertador. The door was opened for the development of a theology from the periphery dealing with the concerns of this periphery, concerns that presented and still present an immense challenge to the evangelizing mission of the church.

Liberation theology spread by virtue of the inner dynamism with which it codified Christian faith as it applies to the pastoral needs of the poor.

Liberation of people as a theological perspective was present in the studies of the Synod of Bishops, in 1971 and 1974. In 1975, Paul VI gave his apostolic blessing to those who practice liberation theology and work towards people's integral development in his Evangeli Nuntiandi (paragraph nos. 25-39).

The Church in its "Instruction on Some Aspects of Liberation Theology, " (August 6, 1984) legitimized the expression and purpose of liberation theology, and warned Christians of the risk inherent in an uncritical acceptance of Marxism as a dominant principle in theological endeavor. The International Theological Commission, in 1977, published the "Declaration on Human Development and Christian Salvation".

Church Instruction on Certain Aspects of the "Theology of Liberation" (1984) warned that it is impossible to invoke Marxist principles and terminology without ultimately embracing Marxist methods and goals. Marxism should therefore be avoided altogether. Two years later (1986), the Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation affirmed the legitimacy of armed struggle "as a last resort to put an end to an obvious and prolonged tyranny which is gravely damaging the common good."

There were also voices against certain aspects of liberation theology in action. In 1985, a Latin American Bishop Hoyos, denounced liberation theologians, saying: "When I see a church

with a machine gun, I cannot see the crucified Christ in that church. We can never use hate as a system of change. The core of being a church is love."

Dietrich Bonhoeffer has issued a call to redefine religion in a secular context. His theology emphasizes human responsibility toward others, and stresses the value of seeing the world with "the view from below" - the perspective of the poor and oppressed.

Gustavo Gutierrez, emphasizes that theology is not just to be learned, it is to be done. In his thinking, "praxis" is the starting point for theology. Praxis (from the Greek prasso: "to work") involves revolutionary action on behalf of the poor and oppressed - and out of this, theological perceptions will continually emerge. The theologian must therefore be immersed in the struggle for transforming society and proclaim his message from that point. In the theological process, then, praxis must always be the first stage; theology is the second stage. Theologians are not to be mere theoreticians, but practitioners who participate in the ongoing struggle to liberate the oppressed.

Liberationists view capitalist nations as sinful specifically because they have oppressed and exploited poorer nations. Capitalist nations have become prosperous, they say, at the expense of impoverished nations. This is often spoken of in terms of "dependency theory" - that is, the development of rich countries depends on the underdevelopment of poor countries.

Most of the liberation theologians consider accepting oppression and abiding with it passively is sin. Attempts towards overthrowing oppression even through violent means has value.

Liberation theologians say that God is not impassive. Rather, He is dynamically involved in behalf of the poor and downtrodden. And because God stands against oppression and exploitation, those who follow Him must do likewise. Indeed, Gutierrez says that "to know God is to do justice."

Gutierrez and other liberation theologians say the church's mission is no longer one of a "quantitative" notion of saving numbers of souls. Rather, the church's mission "is at all times to protest against injustice, to challenge what is inhuman, to side with the poor and the oppressed."

Case Study : Bishop Romero

Oscar Arnulfo Romero was born in Salvador, Latin America, 1917. At 12 he began to work for a carpenter, and then went to the seminary while still very young and was ordained a Catholic Priest at Rome during the Second World War.

In 1970, Romero was appointed auxiliary bishop to Monsignor Luis Chávez Gonzales, Archbishop of San Salvador. He became the Archbishop of San Salvador in 1977.Romero was a compromise candidate elected to head the bishop's episcopacy by conservative fellow bishops. He was predictable, an orthodox, pious bookworm who was known to criticize the progressive liberation theology clergy so aligned with the impoverished farmers seeking land reform. The authorities and the establishment of the country welcomed the decision. Public opinion saw him as a moderate conservative.

But an event that took place within three weeks of his election that would transform the ascetic and timid Romero.

When he took over the archdiocese on February 22 1977, the social conflict had taken on all the aspects of civil war: the killing of campesinos was everyday news, the massacres committed by paramilitary organizations protected and sheltered by the oligarchic State (in that same month of February General Carlos H. Romero was fraudulently proclaimed winner of the presidential elections).

The new archbishop's first priest, Rutilio Grande, was ambushed and killed along with two parishioners. Grande was a target because he defended the peasant's rights to organize farm cooperatives. He said that the dogs of the big landowners ate better food than the campesino children whose fathers worked their fields.

The night Romero drove out of the capitol to Paisnal to view Grande's body and the old man and seven year old who were killed with him, marked his change. In a packed country church Romero encountered the silent endurance of peasants who were facing rising terror. Their eyes asked the question only he could answer: Will you stand with us as Rutilio did? Romero's "yes" was in deeds. The peasants had asked for a good shepherd and that night they received one.

Romero demanded an inquiry into the events that had led up to the death of the priests and set up a permanent commission for the defence of human rights. Meanwhile crowds began flocking to his Masses, especially those on Sundays. Monsignor Romero became an authority listened to and loved by the people. The diocesan radio was tuned into more than any other station.

Romero already understood the church is more than the hierarchy, Rome, theologians or clerics—more than an institution—but that night he experienced the people as church. "God needs the people themselves," he said, "to save the world . . . The world of the poor teaches us that liberation will arrive only when the poor are not simply on the receiving end of handouts from governments or from the churches, but when they themselves are the masters and protagonists of their own struggle for liberation."

Romero's great helplessness was that he could not stop the violence. Within the next year some 200 catechists and farmers who watched him walk into that country church were killed. Over 75,00 Salvadorans would be killed, one million would flee the country, another million left homeless, constantly on the run from the army—and this in a country of only 5.5 million. All Romero had to offer the people were weekly homilies broadcast throughout the country, his voice assuring them, not that atrocities would cease, but that the church of the poor, themselves, would live on.

Romero begged for international intervention. He was alone. The people were alone. In 1980 the war claimed the lives of 3,000 per month, with cadavers clogging the streams, and tortured bodies thrown in garbage dumps and the streets of the capitol weekly. With one exception, all the Salvadoran bishops turned their backs on him, going so far as to send a secret document to Rome reporting him, accusing him of being "politicized" and of seeking popularity.

Unlike them, Romero had refused to ever attend a government function until the repression of the people was stopped. He kept that promise winning him the enmity of the government and military, and an astonishing love of the poor majority.

And as the massacres were becoming ever bloodier, and governments changed, not least through coups, attacks against the Church intensified. Priests were imprisoned and expelled, a bomb went off in the offices of the archdiocese's Catholic newspaper, though it was within the Church itself that conflict exploded.

There was a storm of accusations and attacks from certain prelates against the archbishop. Among other things he was accused in May 1979, in a document signed by several bishops and sent to Rome, of inciting "the class struggle and revolution" by his pastoral activities. Monsignor Romero had written in a pastoral letter: "When the Church comes into the world of sin in the intention of saving and liberating, the sin of the world enters into the Church and splits it, separating the genuine Christians of good will from those who are Christian only in name and appearance."

"If some day they take away the radio station from us . . . if they don't let us speak, if they kill all the priests and the bishop too, and you are left a people without priests, each one of you must become God's microphone, each one of you must become a prophet."

By 1980, amidst overarching violence, Romero wrote to President Jimmy Carter pleading with him to cease sending military aid because U.S. sent $1.5 million in aid every day for 12 years. He wrote: "You say that you are Christian. If you are really Christian, please stop sending military aid to the military here, because they use it only to kill my people." His letter went unheeded.

In his sermon on 17 February 1980, he stated, "...neither the (Government) Junta nor the Christian Democrats govern this country. Political power is in the hands of the armed forces which are unscrupulous in their use of this power. They only know how to repress the people and defend the interests of the Salvadoran oligarchy."

"The church would betray its own love for God and its fidelity to the gospel if it stopped being . . . a defender of the rights of the poor . . . a humanizer of every legitimate struggle to achieve a more just society . . . that prepares the way for the true reign of God in history." He said.

"While it is clear that our Church has been the victim of persecution during the last three years, it is even more important to observe the reason for the persecution. ...The persecution comes about because of the Church's defense of the poor, for assuming the destiny of the poor."

"A church that suffers no persecution but enjoys the privileges and support of the things of the earth - beware! - is not the true church of Jesus Christ. A preaching that does not point out sin is not the preaching of the gospel. A preaching that makes sinners feel good, so that they are secured in their sinful state, betrays the gospel's call."

"When the church hears the cry of the oppressed it cannot but denounce the social structures that give rise to and perpetuate the misery from which the cry arises."

That same month, he received death threats and therefore decided that his colleagues should not accompany him when he went out, so as not to expose themselves to unnecessary risks. On Monday, 10 March...an attache case was found near the High Altar behind the pulpit, which the. …Police found had contained a bomb that had failed to go off.

On March 23 Romero walked into the fire. He openly challenged an army of peasants, whose high command feared and hated his reputation. Ending a long homily broadcast throughout the country, his voice rose to breaking, "Brothers, you are from the same people; you kill your fellow peasant . . . No soldier is obliged to obey an order that is contrary to the will of God . . . "

There was thunderous applause; he was inviting the army to mutiny. Then his voice burst, "In the name of God then, in the name of this suffering people I ask you, I beg you, I command you in the name of God: stop the repression."

Archbishop Oscar Romero promised history that life, not death, would have the last word. "I do not believe in death without resurrection," he said. "If they kill me, I will be resurrected in the Salvadoran people."

Days before his murder he told a reporter, "You can tell the people that if they succeed in killing me, that I forgive and bless those who do it. Hopefully, they will realize they are wasting their time. A bishop will die, but the church of God, which is the people, will never perish."

It was 6.30 on the evening of March 24, 1980, Romero was assassinated before the altar of the small chapel of the hospital of Divine Providence as he was saying Mass. A shot through the heart just as he was about to elevate the bread and wine for the sacrifice.

Romero's murder was a savage warning. Even some who attended Romero's funeral were shot down in front of the cathedral by army sharpshooters on rooftops.

The National Police went to the Chapel of the Hospital...to gather evidence. They did not do this properly, however, since

they failed to collect material evidence of the crime at the scene. Atilio Ramirez Amaya, the Judge of the Fourth Criminal Court, gave instructions for the Salvadoran Polyclinic to perform an autopsy on the prelate. Following an attempt to assassinate him at his home on 27 March, Judge Ramirez Amaya tendered his resignation and left the country.

The murder of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero was investigated by the UN Truth Commission in 1992. In November 1987, Amado Antonio Garay revealed to the investigators that on 24 March 1980, former Captain Alvaro Rafael Saravia had ordered him to drive a red Volkswagen to the Hospital. He had parked opposite the Chapel. His passenger, a bearded stranger, had ordered him to crouch down and pretend to be repairing something. He had heard a shot, turned around and seen the individual holding a gun with both hands pointing towards the right side of the rear right window of the vehicle. He had immediately smelt gunpowder and at that moment the bearded man had calmly told him: drive slowly, take it easy" and they [drove] off. Garay alleged that he had driven the individual to former Captain Saravia, to whom the stranger had said, "mission accomplished". Three days later, Garay had driven Saravia to a house where former Major D'Aubuisson was and Saravia had said in front of D'Aubuisson: "We've already done what we planned about killing Monsignor Arnulfo Romero".

The Commission found that Major Roberto D'Aubuisson gave the order to assassinate the Archbishop and gave precise instructions to members of his security service, acting as a "death squad", to organize and supervise the assassination.

Gandhism

Among the early pioneers of rural reconstruction schemes, Mahatma Gandhi occupies a significant place. He had a very clear perception of the problem. He conceptualised rural development in its totality, consistent with the Indian situation.

Mahatma Gandhi was at once a leader, a reformer, a missionary, a revolutionary and above all a Messiah. Gandhi was the architect of India's freedom. He has been held as the Father of the Nation. Yet Gandhian thought transcends the context of India. He viewed India's struggle for freedom in a universal frame of reference. The mankind was the context of Gandhian philosophy. Gandhi stood for a social change, fought for a new society and experimented in new ways of life.

Gandhi's Social Philosophy took shape over the years through continuous "experiments with truth". It was in South Africa that he developed his philosophy and technique of Satyagraha- an instrument for redressing the grievances of the immigrant Indian minority in Africa. On his return to India in 1915, he established an Ashram. It was not until 1919 that he began to play an influential role in the Indian National Congress.

Gandhi wrote: "There is no such thing as Gandhism, and I do not want to leave any such after me. I have tried in my own way to apply the eternal truth to our daily life and problems." Gandhi often expressed his concern for the poor peasants in villages and he desired to lead a simple life of that of the typical Indian villager in terms of dress, etc. Even during his visits to England, including his visit for the Round Table conference, he went as a typical farmer. In one of his speeches in England in 1931. Gandhi stated :"... we have nearly three hundred million unemployed and underemployed for half the year... if I appear today before the British public in my loin-cloth, it is because I have come as the sole representative of those half-starved, half-naked dumb millions".

Gandhi's development philosophy revolves around man, his society and nature and their respective and simultaneous development. He had a philosophy of work, wealth and happiness in line with the religious and ethical philosophies of the East as well as the West. His philosophy was governed by two fundamental and interrelated principles: truth and non-violence (ahimsa). In recent years, his vision of life, society and civilization has been increasingly shared and practised in various parts of the country and the world with reference to several basic and contingent problems, like poverty, violence, discrimination based on caste and religion, ecology, centralization of wealth and power. This has created a tremendous interest in the people to know and understand his philosophy of development.

Physical development depends basically on proper nutrition, treatment of ailments, healthy living surroundings, and enough clothing to protect the body from the ravages of nature. As long a minimum quantity of these are not made available to the individual, he remains much too preoccupied with the problems of survival. A person dependent on others for primary necessities of life can hardly declare that all men are equal and he is a part of a society of equals. The word "development", because of this emphasis on economic condition in the developing region particularly, has thus been regarded mainly as an economic concept concerned with the increased production and distribution of goods and services in a more or less integrated system controlled by various agencies as partners in the exercise of State power. It still means affluence and is growth-oriented. Its maturation logically aspires after affluence. This development is planned mostly by the State which, with the help of bureaucracy and technology, carries out development tasks and projects.

Affluence as a goal of development was not in Gandhi's mind. He believed that there is sufficient to meet the needs of the people, but not their greed. He, therefore, refused to accept any move towards affluence as the goal of Indian Society. He believed that the type of development that had been achieved in Europe was the result of a systematic colonization and exploitation of both the people and nature. He, therefore, rejected not only supportive mechanism of development such as bureaucracy, technology and elitist education, but also the whole idea of development as conceived by the builders of the industrial society.

His opposition to this approach should be understood in relation to his philosophy of development, which is closely linked with his life philosophy. As a great unifier not only of persons but of ideas - his social, economic and political ideas are all interrelated and interdependent.

Gandhi had a holistic view of life. Accordingly, his development philosophy revolved round man, his society and environment (nature) and their respective and simultaneous development. He believed that, instead of man exploiting the society and both exploiting nature, there is a symbolic way of life which is in harmony with each other. In his frame of reference for development, man is the centre of attention. The objective is the moral and spiritual development of man. Man is primarily his consciousness, his capacity to be self-conscious and his built-in-potentiality to judge between good and evil, between what will help him in his evolution to higher levels of being and what will obstruct his path. This gives him a leverage, not only to aspire after higher levels but to endeavors to attain the same. Gandhi believed in this self-effort and the path he outlined lay through ethical, moral and spiritual disciplines. The keynote of his ethics is love, which means near identity of interest with every sentiment. This love has to be expressed in the form of service and sacrifice. His ethics in relation to material things and property consisted in his concept of trusteeship. Every human being is a trustee not only of his faculties and attainments but of everything he comes by, and trusteeship consists not only in using his powers and goods property, but in using them selflessly and for the well-being of all others.

Purity of ends and of means formed an important aspect of his thinking. He believed that means must justify the ends and refused to accept the maxim that ends should justify the means. He stressed on means because he felt that it is within the individual's control and not the ends. It should, however, be remembered that there is no rigid dichotomy between the two; sometimes end is changed into means and means to another end. Ends and means are interrelated and interdependent. Means is the end in making, the "end in embryo". It is determined and conditioned by the end. As a man of action Gandhi, therefore, tried to work out the means to achieve his desired ends - Sarvodaya and Swaraj - the new society of his thinking, Gandhi was not only a man of ideas. He could not rest by merely enunciating his idea on development. He tried to practise it. Based on his own experiments, he then worked out the details regarding a wide variety of things which he named as "Constructive Programme" and which he considered as vital for building a new society.

Gandhi held freedom of the individual above every thing else; this, in effect, meant that "man is the measure". But one must willingly adjust his individualism to social requirements of progress. This is possible only in a non-exploitative, non-coercive social order, which is based on love, altruism, spirit of service, dignity of labour, non-violence and equality.

The premises that follow are, firstly, that the root of violence lay in exploitation. Structurally, industrialism and machine civilization of the West were powerful causes of exploitation. They caused concentration of economic power in a few hands and in the city centres and, consequently, led to the decay of the villages. The very forces also generated an infinite parabola of wants and also corruption, when these wants could not be satisfied through honest means. Therefore, there is a need for voluntary action to curb the hedonist harm, i.e., "limitation of wants".

His second premise was that private property and capital were the main sources of inequality and exploitation. Working for economic equality meant abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It meant the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the nation's luck and levelling up of the semi-starved millions.

The British conquest changed the entire socio-economic system of the country, a system that endured for nearly 3,000 years. The village community combining agriculture and handicrafts was the basis of Indian economy. Production was primarily for consumption rather than exchange. Social life was governed not so much by the laws of the State but by caste codes.

The British introduced a new land system, a new revenue system, and a new system of administration. Railways were built, trade was encouraged, and markets were widened. Transition to a money economy was speeded up. Stale law began to replace custom. Policies were formulated to introduce capitalism in India and to add revenue to British Capital. A retarded economic development, decay of peasant agriculture, general dislocation of social conditions simply accentuated the inequalities and hardships. Unemployment-open and disguised—and poverty were the two insoluble economic problems of the country.

Gandhian Approach To Rural Development

Gandhian Economic System formed an integral part of his Social Dynamics, a corollary of his Social Philosophy. His Khadi and Village Industries Programme provided a surviving support to the stagnant economy. Food and cloth, the basic necessities, agriculture and weaving, the basic occupations, should be, Gandhi insisted, within the control of the village. A self-supporting, self-reliant village community, a self-governing village was the vision of Gandhi.

Gandhi resisted economic inequalities. Yet he did not approve class war. To the rich, Gandhi advocated the Theory of Trusteeship. Beyond what one requires for personal needs, (the remainder is to be held as a Trust for and on behalf of the society). In matters of industrial disputes, Gandhi pleaded reconciliation, mutual agreement and settlement. Be it political agitation, be it constructive social work, be it rebuilding of village economy, Gandhi ever insisted on Truth and Non-violence as the basic principles of action. His was an appeal to the inner conscience and inner instinct of love and sympathy.

Gandhi visualized an economic system-where each one without exception has an opportunity to work, where exploitation is totally eschewed, where almost all wants are met through local production, where exchange is resorted to in respect of commodities not locally produced. His was a Decentralized Economy. In his Hind Swaraj, Gandhi has explained the concept of self-governing community.

He did not subscribe to the theory that economic development, was synonymous with industrial development and urbanisation. He did not view village upliftment as a transi-

tional phenomenon. Gandhiji was not for neglecting villages in any manner with urban bias. He was so clear about the crucial importance of villages that he declared, "If the villages perish, India will perish too." Gandhiji wanted villages well developed on the lines he envisaged. A band of constructive workers trained by Mahatma Gandhi worked near Wardha. The Gandhian movement of rural reconstruction consisted of eighteen items of work such as use of khadi, promotion of village industries, basic and adult education, rural sanitation, uplift of backward classes, welfare of women, education in public health and hygiene and prohibition.

Mahatma Gandhi was more practical in his approach. He understood the rural masses and their problems with the background of rural reality and advocated purely indigenous solutions for different problems of rural India. He started looking for economic activities which could be introduced in the villages without external assistance and which would create additional employment and income. He stressed on schemes of short gestation period like minor irrigation, dairying, handlooms, etc. He saw in the spinning wheel, "Charkha", a tool of promise because of its simplicity, low cost, cultural acceptance, love for manual work, etc. He was fully convinced that unless hand-woven and hand-spun cloth "Khadi" was preferred over mill cloth, it could never get a foothold in the villages. He preached strongly in favour of locally produced goods and services.

Gandhi was aware that mass production through large-scale industries would result in concentration of wealth and power in the selected people. Therefore, he wanted industrialization to be aimed at the production of tools and machinery which could help the villages to produce more goods and services for themselves and for the community. Gandhi hated monopoly and the privilege of a few and anything which could not be shared with the mass was a forbidden act to him. He wanted close association between production and consumption.

In the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, the "humble industries', such as stone-carving, stone-cutting, carpentry, brick-laying, building, boat-building, cabinet-making, the manufacture of brass, iron and copper utensils, gold, silver and ivory work, dyeing and tanning and the spinning and weaving industries, gave occupations to the people of India without any loss to their individuality. He became convinced that India's social and economic salvation lay in the termination of British domination and the revival other indigenous industries. Viewed in this perspective, his maxim that "without cottage industry, the Indian peasant is dead", was full of significance. Of Cottage industries, Gandhi ascribed paramount importance to charkha which once gave employment and livelihood to millions of Indians, men and women. The village industries such as hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, matches-making, tanning, oil pressing, etc., were only designed to serve as 'handmaids' of khadi. Thus, charkha became the symbol of the independence movement and the pivot of Gandhian economic ideas.

Gandhi believed firmly that India's economic regeneration lay in the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The reintroduction of hand-spinning and weaving was the proper solution for the problems of unemployment and poverty. It is in the Sabarmati Ashram in 1915 that we find the actual beginning of the khadi movement. The movement was started with the object of enabling the Ashram inmates to discard mill-made clothing and to use self-manufactured cloths. But, later on, Gandhi found that spinning could be adopted as national programme. It was considered not only as "a panacea for India's growing pauperism" but also as the best means for industrializing the village of India. But the industrialisation of Gandhi's conception was industrialization through cottage industries and the restricted and controlled use of machinery and not through large-scale mechanization.

A decentralized mixed economy with the State-controlled public sector, a network of enterprises ensuring productive employment to all the employables and a self-governing village community is the core of Gandhian Economic System. A stagnant economy groaning under poverty and deep inequalities was the immediate context of Gandhian Economic Thought. Traditional timeless ancient culture was the source of his social philosophy. His economic system evolved as a corollary of his philosophy.

Gandhi's Ideal Village

To Gandhi, the idea of an independent India was synonymous with the betterment of life in Indian villages. He constantly reminded the country that the soul of India is in her villages and only when the villager is awakened and rises to his full potentialities, will India be truly independent and usher in a new era of social and economic justice. His concept of rural development was not mere economic prosperity for a few at the cost of many; it was the participation of the entire population in production as well as consumption "unto the least of all." He was always fond of the concepts of "Gram Swarajya" and "Gram Vikas" and strongly advocated the establishment of a village set-up based on his doctrine.

Gandhiji wrote in the 'Harijan' in 1942: "My idea of village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus, every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children. The village will have a school, a public hall and its own waterworks ensuring clean water supply. As far as possible, every activity will be conducted on the cooperative basis. The government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat... Here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom." His own experiments is in the establishment of Ashrams (self-reliant communes) in South Africa and India had convinced him that "it is only the villages which can become the nurseries for rearing a new humanity in the practice of self-reliant, non-exploitative, truthful and healthy living."

Gandhi prescribed the following conditions for the ideal Indian village:

1. There should be orderliness in the structure of the village.
2. The lanes and roads should be orderly and must be kept absolutely clean so that "in the land of barefooted

pedestrians", nobody need hesitate to walk or even sleep in the streets.

3. The lanes should be macadamized and have gutters for draining of water.
4. Temples and mosques must be kept beautifully clean so that visitors feel an air of tranquil holiness about them.
5. The villages should be filled with shade and fruit trees.
6. They should have a dharamashala, and a small dispensary.
7. Washing and privy arrangements should be such as not to contaminate the air, water and roads of the village.
8. Every village should be self-sufficient so far as its food and clothing requirements are concerned.
9. Every village should be capable of defending itself from robbers or wild animals.
10. It should have recreation facilities and a playground for adults and children and a reserve for its cattle.
11. If space is left over, the village should grow money crops except tobacco, opium, etc.
12. The village should maintain a village theatre, school and public hall.
13. It should have its own water works, ensuring a clean water supply.
14. Education should be made compulsory up to the final basic course.
15. Caste, with its graded untouchability, should not be practiced.
16. As far as possible, all activities should be conducted on a cooperative basis.
17. Non-violence, with its technique of satyagraha and non-cooperation, should be the sanction of the village community,
18. There should be a compulsory service of village guards, to be selected by rotation from the register maintained by the village.
19. The government of the village should be conducted by a Panchayat of five persons, annually elected by adult villagers possessing the minimum qualifications.
20. Since there should be no system of punishment in the accepted sense of the term, the village panchayat would be the legislature, judiciary and executive combined.
21. Two panchayats should jointly elect one leader, and they should form a working party. Fifty such working parties should elect a second-grade leader. Parallel groups of two hundred panchayats should continue to be formed till they cover the whole of India, each succeeding group of panchayats electing a second-grade leader. All second-grade leaders should jointly serve the whole of India and severally for their respective areas. The second-grade leaders might elect a chief, whenever they deem necessary, to regulate and command all the groups.

Thus, he wanted to make each village a "complete republic independent of its neighbours for its vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity." He wanted to present the model of real village government to depict his ideal of perfect democracy based upon individual freedom and at the same time, upon the collective and cooperative action. Gandhi admitted that the conditions he prescribed apply to the ideal village of his conception, and that it might take a life-time to model such a village.

Gandhi felt that there were two obstacles to establish an ideal village of his dream. One being the foreign rule and the other, the existing evils in the society like caste divisions and communal disharmony, depression of women, excessive addition to liquor, dislike for manual work as a mark of social superiority, child marriages, widespread illiteracy, superstition about matters of health and social and religious observances.

He stressed the great importance of the village in the Indian social system and throughout his life he worked for the reformation of the Indian villages where the majority of the population lived under appealing conditions of poverty. It was his deep-rooted conviction that prosperity of a permanent and fair nature can be secured through the proper development of villages and cottage industries, based on the principles of truth and non-violence.

Need for Cooperation

Man is a social being. Without interrelation with society he cannot realize his oneness with the universe. Men should live in cooperation and work for the common good. But, according to Gandhi, cooperation should be based on strict non-violence. The secret of successful cooperative effort is that the member must be honest and know the great merit of cooperation. Gandhi emphasized that the cooperative movement will be a blessing to India only to the extent that it is a moral movement strictly directed by men fired with religious fervor. It follows, therefore, that cooperation should be confined to men wishing to be morally right. The success of the cooperative movement should not be measured by the number of societies, but by the moral condition of cooperatives. The registrars should, in that event, ensure the moral growth of existing societies before multiplying them. Gandhi also emphasized cooperative effort for protecting cattle in general and cows in particular,

Gandhi advocated cooperative farming where land would he owned and cultivated in cooperation. This would help saving of labour, capital, tools, animals, etc., as these can be owned in cooperation. Cooperative farming would change the face of the land and remove poverty and idleness from their midst. All this is only possible if people become friends of one another and live as one family.

The goal of development, according to Gandhi, is satisfaction of every man's need, but not every man's greed. Gandhi wanted that through persuasion, a wealthy person should be convinced to possess only reasonable amount of wealth and for the rest, he will act as a trustee. To Gandhi, trusteeship meant that the rich man would be left in possession of his wealth of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the rest of the society. For him, the dispossession of wealth through force or compulsion meant violence- Therefore, the only way by which economic equality could be brought about was by the non-violent transformation of society through trusteeship. It

was for the rich man to take a lead in bringing about economic equality. Gandhi would not prevent the wealthy from making money if they realised the necessity of giving away their surpluses after meeting the requirements of a simple life, or of keeping them in trust for the have-nots, and also if they adopted honest and noble means for the pursuit of wealth. Basing on the Gandhian ideology of trusteeship, if the rural rich volunteer to share their surplus wealth, including land, etc., with the rural poor, the goal of rural development is well achieved.

Education for Development

He recognized the importance of three kinds of equipment a person should have in order to be a well-integrated person. He should have a clear knowledge of the physical world in which he lives, a clear grasp of the social realities of the group in which he functions and a control over his senses and emotions. According to him, the emphasis of new education should be not to memorize the traditional knowledge and to acquire the traditional skills but to study the problems that an individual confronts and to solve them. Creativity, rather than receptiveness, should be the aim of education. This implies a great change from the present fixed curriculum confined to classroom work to exposure of the students to rural realities all around.

He was in favour of religious education which he equated with ethical education. Cleanliness of the body and clothes and purity of character had to be inculcated during the childhood at home and in the school. He emphasized the need to inculcate the feeling of oneness among the people, irrespective of differences in caste, creed and class.

He asserts that character-building is the proper foundation of education. Character-building involves reasoning. The two go together. He emphasises on the spiritual training which depends on the life and character of the teacher. Also, he feels that manual work need to be emphasised since children get the necessary bodily exercise through this. Gandhi feels that vocational training should be an important part of the educational programme.

The fundamentals of basic education as given by Gandhi are:

1. All education to be true must be self-supporting where it will pay for itself;
2. Manual skill will be utilised up to the final stage. The hands of the pupils will be working skillfully at some industry for some period during the day;
3. All education must be imparted through the medium of the provincial language;
4. There is no room for giving sectional religious training. Fundamental universal ethics will have full scope;
5. This education, whether it is confined to children or adults, male or female, will find its way into the homes of the pupils; and
6. Since millions of students receiving this education will consider themselves as of the whole of India, they must learn an inter-provincial language. This common inter-provincial speech can only be Hindustani, written in Nagari or Urdu script. Therefore, pupils have to master both the scripts. The system of basic education is known by different names, as 'Nai Talim' (New Education), the 'Wardha System' and the 'Gandhian System.' But Gandhi himself, who is the originator of the scheme, thought that "a more correct though much less attractive description would be 'Rural National Education through village handicrafts."

Gandhi insisted that education must not begin with the alphabet. Even before actual writing or drawing is begun, much information could be imparted to the children through the help of "eyes, ears and tongue" and thereby create a natural interest in acquiring more knowledge. Imparting knowledge through visual education formed an important aspect of Gandhi's educational philosophy. Instead of taking handicraft to the school and imposing it on the educational curriculum, Gandhi insisted that education must proceed from handicrafts. This alone was the natural method. His ideas could be summed in the phrases "all instruction must be linked with some basic craft" and "Academic learning must be used as a means to a greater end: character-building."

Social Concerns

Gandhi's social programme was the legacy of Swami Vivekananda. In matters religious and spiritual he was Ramakrishna Paramhamsa virtually reborn. While deeply dedicated to his own Hindu faith, Gandhi recognized the unity and equality of all religions. He brought social significance to virtues held supreme in personal life. Love and sympathy, devotion and dedication, suffering and sacrifice were now supreme social values. He preached the principles more through example than through precept. A great Karmayogi, modelled after the Gita. He influenced the people not so much by teaching, not even by his programme but by his character. To the masses Gandhi was not simply a political leader, a social reformer, a friend of the poor but a man of God, a Saint, an Apostle of Peace and Non-violence. A man with a divine mission!

Equally significant was Gandhi's constructive programme. Removal of untouchability, elevation of the status of women, protection of village industries constituted the social and economic content of this constructive programme. Craft education, cultivation of mother tongue and a common national language made up the core of his educational programme. A comprehensive constructive programme ensured sound foundation for the superstructure of the Nation. Besides, it provided an opportunity to the rich and the elite for a fruitful positive participation in the social work.

Gandhi considered untouchability as the sin of Hindus. Swaraj, he maintained, was a meaningless term if about 40 million people were kept under perpetual subjection and deliberately denied the fruits of national culture.

He was against child marriage. The custom of child marriages indicated physical and moral degeneration, "recession from God as well as Swaraj." He was in favour of inter-communal marriages and simplifying the marriage ceremony.

He stated that "Widowhood imposed by religion or custom is an unbearable yoke and defiles the home by secret vice and degrades religion." He wanted parents or guardians of girl-

widows to take the courageous step of getting these child-widows 'well-married' because he refused to believe that they had been really married.

Gandhi supported divorce when acts of cruelty existed between couples, and when there was no other alternative. Hindu society has always discouraged divorce.

He stated that the parents should so educate their daughters that they would refuse to marry a young man who wanted a price for marrying and would rather remain spinsters than be a party to degrading terms. The only honourable terms in marriage are mutual love and mutual consent.

Gandhi regarded legislation to remove the inequalities of women as essential. He could visualize woman only as a man's companion, gifted with equal mental capacities, possessing "the right to participate in every minute detail in the activities of men and an equal right of freedom and liberty".

Methods of Social Transformation

Gandhi was emphatic on this issue. "A non-violent system of government is dearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of Delhi and miserable hovels of the poor labouring classes cannot last one day in free India, in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the rich of the land. Violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for common good."9 Apart from the faith that Gandhi seems to place on the power dynamics of universal adult suffrage, it is very clear that the eventual threat of a violent revolution is directed towards the rich. "As far as the present owners are concerned, they would have the choice between class war and voluntarily converting themselves into trustees of their wealth."

Now, coming to Gandhi's approach to rural development, the city-village antagonism becomes the overriding issue — "exploiting the villages itself is organised violence". He dramatized the problems: The blood of the villages is 'the cement with which the edifice of the cities is built. I want this blood that is today inflating the arteries of the cities to run once again in the blood vessels of the villages". His opposition to industrialism and his plea for radical decentralization, and village self-sufficiency were geared to the liberation of the villages from city exploitation.

But Gandhi did not talk simply in terms of city-village dichotomy. In addition to referring to the village-exploitation role of the city, he spoke of "alienation" of the city dweller. He referred to the village as a "community", rather than as a socially and culturally structured unit.

However, Gandhi clearly indicated his priority, which would closely resemble the "target group" approach that is coming into vogue. To repeat, he said, "If India is not to perish, we have to begin with the lowest rung of the ladder. If that was rotten, all work done at the top or at the intermediate rungs was bound ultimately to fail".

Removal of rural poverty was Gandhi's most urgent concern and it appears to be his ultimate concern also. "If you went to the villages of India you would find utter despair in the eyes of the villagers, you would find half-starved skeletons; living corpses". He immediately diagnosed the cause of the disease as well: "If India could revive them by putting life and blood into them in the shape of work, India would help the world." The degradation is due to unemployment. The reason of our poverty is the extinction of our industries and our consequent unemployment." "There is no other country in the world with the possible exception of China that is potentially so rich as India with its inexhaustible resources of manpower. Tap these resources, and you at once banish poverty from the country."

Finally, and most importantly, the role that Gandhi assigned to the people for their own development should be remembered. "I believe that real freedom can only be realised by the awakening of Lok Niti (the politics of the people), that is to make the people aware of their own inner strength and encourage them to solve problems for themselves. Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority."

Mahatma Gandhi believed in using good means to achieve good ends in making the villages of India completely self-reliant. His idea of Gram Swaraj meant planning from the grassroots level and in placing individuals at the centre of all developmental activities. It opposed centralization of economic and political power in the hands of the State. He wanted special privileges for the economically backward and socially oppressed people of India.

Approaches of Gandhi and Karl Marx

Marx was a historian, a philosopher, an economist, a sociologist, a social scientist and above all a revolutionary. He was at once an analyst and a prophet—a prophet with positive message. Marx viewed society as a moving entity and developed a sharp theory of social change, a theory of conflict and a theory of conflict-resolution; Gandhi (1869-1948) and Karl Marx (1818-1880) are among the greatest lovers of humanity as observed by Vinobha Bhave, The hearts of both always went in sympathy of the submerged, depressed and downtrodden humanity. Both of them sincerely looked for a new socio-political order in which the common mass would enjoy full human rights without any hindrances, suppression or exploitation. Each of them prescribed his own method based on his own ideology to achieve the goal of human equality and human brotherhood.

Gandhi stood for Sarvodaya, the greatest good of all. His ideal state is Ramarajya in which exploitation of man by man will be unknown. This goal is to be achieved by purifying the heart of man and persuading a wealthy man to keep with him a reasonable amount of wealth and for the rest, he will act as a trustee.

Karl Marx, on the other hand, dreamt of a classless society through necessarily a class war. He argued that the privileged classes will not voluntarily surrender their power and privileges and hence the necessity of a class conflict between the plutocrats and the proletariat, between the rich and the poor, which will result in the liquidation of the rich class. The victorious proletariat will capture the state machinery and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat, which will disappear in the fullness of time and with it, the state also will wither away. Marx believed in

coercion, while Gandhi in persuasion. It is rightly observed that "Gandhi is an apostle of love and peace, Marx, an exponent of class hatred and class war." Gandhi, however, predicted that "a violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day, unless there is voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches gives, and sharing them for the common good."

In fact, some writers have discovered so great a similarity between the Gandhian and the Marxist ideologies that to them Marxism is Sarvodaya minus God. In other words, Sarvodaya is Marxism plus God.

Marx believed that all evils of society could be traced to economic or material possession of wealth by way of individual property. Gandhi did not subscribe to this line of thinking, even though he expressed deep concern over the economic inequality within the nation and among the nations. Gandhi saw in the existing pattern of foreign trade and capital flow based on comparative advantage and the principle of free international mobility of capital, an exploitative element. To minimize the exploitation of the poor countries by the rich countries and to prevent transfer of income from the poor to the rich countries associated with foreign trade and investment, Gandhi offered two doctrines, viz. (i) Swadeshi Doctrine and (ii) the Doctrine of International Cooperation. The first was to replace the principle of comparative advantage and the second to displace the principle of international competition. The Swadeshi principle stressed self-reliance of the basic unit of Indian society, the village. The same principle extended to international economic relations stresses maximum economic self-sufficiency or minimum economic dependence among nations as a means to minimise exploitation of one nation by another.

Gandhi firmly believed that means are as important as ends. He asserted that "If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself." Violence, falsehood, terror and deception, etc., may help to get quick results and may triumph for a time over truth and justice. In Gandhi's view, victory achieved by these means is partial and transient. Lasting good and peace of the individual, of the community and of humanity can be ensured by honest means alone. On the other hand, Marxism believes that the end justifies the means. It is observed, "Marxists do not hesitate to fight for a cause by all the means — fair and foul — at their disposal, if they are convinced that the cause is a just one. To them, the cause is more important than the means".

The more we read and hear of Gandhian works and views, the more insight we get into his deep concern for rural development in its totality, and therefore, Gandhian approach to rural development needs serious consideration in the present context of accelerating the pace of rural development.

Karl Marx built up his theory of Social Change almost with a mathematical precision. He gave a clarion call, "Workers of the World Unite. They have nothing to lose but their chains". Marx awaited the impending economic crisis and the consequent revolution. He passed away without the realization of this revolution in his own lifetime.

Mahatma Gandhi "experimented with truth". A pilgrim of peace, he was a freedom fighter, "Do or Die" was his call. Power to the grassroots was his message. In his search for communal harmony, Gandhi embraced martyrdom with a smile.

Humanity hopefully awaits a meeting of Marx and Gandhi to ensure a peaceful social change.

Gandhi and Socialism

Gandhi never approved the inhuman aspect of Capitalism. He was aware of the rise of labour and socialism in India. In 1908, Lenin referred to the emergence of the Indian Proletariat as matured sufficiently to wage a class conscious political mass struggle, Lenin based his judgment on the Bombay Mill Workers' political strike in protest against the imprisonment of Tilak In 1920, the Indian Trade Union Congress was founded. Soon the Communist Party of India began to make its way. Gradually, the left elements in the Indian National Congress started mobilizing within the Congress fold itself. And in 1934 emerged the Congress Socialist Party.

Gandhi - essentially a man of the masses - had full sympathy with the new trend. Yet his adherence lo nonviolence led many to regard Gandhi as a champion of the Capitalist, a Mascot of the bourgeoisie. This was far from the truth. Gandhi stood for socialist ideals as an end. All the same, he insisted on non-violence as a means. Socialism and non-violence were for him closely interrelated. "No man could be actively non-violent", Gandhi said, "and not rise against injustice no matter where it occurred."

Gandhi was fully aware of the impact of science and technology. He appreciated its contribution to the social progress. Total rejection of industrial and machine civilization, Gandhl conceded, was totally impossible. What he protested was the debasement of humanity. His views on machine deserve careful attention. To him, even his physical "body" was the most delicate piece of machinery. The spinning wheel and the oil press are also machines. When the machine is worked by human power, it is directly under human control. The possibility of its abuse is strictly limited. On the other hand, with the large-scale machinery man tends to become a cog in the machine. The process tends to become important than the producer and the produce. The situation turns out impersonal and machine dehumanizes man.

It was the craze for machinery, not machinery as such, that Gandhi objected to. Machine indeed saves labour. Yet Gandhi wanted to save time and labour not for a fraction of mankind but for all. The supreme consideration for Gandhi was man. "The machine is like the body," he declared, "useful and only to the extent that it subserves the growth of the soul." He did recognize (he importance of basic and key industries - which are bound to be highly mechanized and on a large scale. However, he wanted these to be nationalized and State controlled.

On the Lighter Side

Political Ideologies

BUREAUCRACY: You have two cows. At first the government regulates what you can feed them and when you can milk them. Then it pays you not to milk them. Then it takes both, shoots one, milks the other and pours the milk down the drain. Then it requires you to fill out forms accounting for the missing cows.

BUREAUCRATIC SOCIALISM: You have two cows. The government takes them and puts them in a barn with everyone else's cows. They are cared for by ex-chicken farmers. You have to take care of the chickens the government took from the chicken farmers. The government gives you as much milk and eggs the regulations say you should need.

CAMBODIAN COMMUNISM: You have two cows. The government takes both and shoots you.

DICTATORSHIP: You have two cows. The government takes both and drafts you.

FASCISM: You have two cows. The government takes both, hires you to take care of them, and sells you the milk.

FEUDALISM: You have two cows. Your lord takes some of the milk.

ISRAELI "KIBBUTZ": The kibbutz has two cows. You milk and take care of them. The kibbutz gives you a glass of milk at dinner.

LIBERTARIAN: ANARCHO-CAPITALISM: You have two cows. You sell one and buy a bull.

PURE ANARCHY: You have two cows. Either you sell the milk at a fair price or your neighbors try to take the cows and kill you.

PURE COMMUNISM: You have two cows. Your neighbors help you take care of them, and you all share the milk.

PURE DEMOCRACY: You have two cows. Your neighbors or their representative decide who gets the milk.

PURE SOCIALISM: You have two cows. The government takes them and puts them in a barn with everyone else's cows. You have to take care of all the cows. The government gives you as much milk as you need.

REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY: You have two cows. Your neighbors pick someone to tell you who gets the milk.

RUSSIAN COMMUNISM: You have two cows. You have to take care of them, but the government takes all the milk.

SURREALISM: You have two giraffes and the government ask you to consider them as cows. The government trains you in music and expects you to play piano when your neighbor milks the giraffes. (From the Internet)

Note

LESSON 8:
HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To study the origin and growth of DEVCOM as a discipline

To define Development communication

In the fifties an increasing number of countries in Asia and Africa, hitherto under colonial domination, attained independence and as free countries dedicated themselves to development. They looked upon their 'political freedom' as a means of 'economic freedom' and economic freedom was expected to follow a successful programme of economic development.

The development scientists of that time thought that if the developing countries adopt technology used by the developed countries, they could develop faster by increasing productivity. The profit from the surplus production can accelerate further development. This will increase the purchasing power of people which leads to more demand, more production, more employment, more income and thus better standard of living.

When new born countries tried to adopt the developmental technologies of the developed countries the effect was negative. Because the context of the countries were different compared to the environment where these policies were implemented by the developed countries for their initial development. Rather these new technologies needed technical expertise that the developing countries lacked. They had to seek the help of foreign technicians at huge expense. This further made these poor countries to seek for loans from the developed countries. Foreign aid makes the nations slaves and always leaves them in an aftermath of debt. Thus, foreign loans, aids and technology became a burden rather than an asset. It would be almost impossible for the developing countries to reach abreast with the developed countries, because, the countries that comes late have less chance for quicker development.

Some Latin American sociologists headed by Romero Beltran, Diaz Bordenave and Reyes Matta came against Wilbur Schramm and Lerner. They suggested that for true economic development it is necessary to have;

1. Just distribution of products,
2. People's participation in decision-making and execution
3. Strategies should not be capitalistic, which is immoral, and promote acquisitiveness and individualism.
4. Social, economical cultural equality.

The exponents of these measure agreed, "The condition of the large proportion of the people in the developing world was at best, not much better in 1975 than in 1964. (Communication and change- The last ten years and next - Wilbur Schramm & Daniel Lerner, 1974)

The eleventh World Conference of the society for International Development, held in New Delhi in 1969, Dudley Seers specified the meaning of development as essentially that of having enough food, a job, social equality and freedom. Its ultimate goal is the realization of the human personality or potential. Seers elaborated that economic development must be accompanied by social, political and moral development as well.

Dudley Seers (1969) has pointed out quite rightly the essence of development in the following comment: The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore; What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to inequality? What has been happening to unemployment? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond a doubt, this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result 'development' even if the per capita income doubled.

This statement reflects clearly the newer attitude to development. Development is no more a synonym for economic growth, but as a term, also includes distributive justice and human fulfillment.

The French school of thought headed by Denis Goulet (Development or Liberation? - 1971) and Paulo Friere (Cultural Action for Freedom - 1972) emphasized that the goal of development must be nothing other than integral liberation of the human-kind.

In 1975, in the East West Centre Conference, its president, Everette Kleinjan defined development as the 'new growth of consciousness, movement of the human mind, uplifting of the human spirit, and the infusion of the human confidence.'

Stover William J said, "It must aim at creating the whole man and woman, and deal beyond economic needs, with the human necessity for expression, creativity and conviviality. It must begin by meeting the basic needs, particularly of the poor.... It must aim at agricultural and urban reform, redistribution of wealth and the means of production, decentralization of the poor, democratization of the decision-making, self-management and the curb of stifling democracy".

Development Communication Defined

Sociologists, psychologists, economists and communication experts agree that the proper use of communication can foster the pace and process of development. In general terms, communication means interaction between two individuals or within a group or a community or a nation. In communication, the four principle elements are communication source, a message, a channel or medium and a receiver or audience. But in development communication it becomes the process of affecting or influencing behavior of individuals or groups towards certain desired goals and objectives, necessarily for the benefit of the entire society. Thus, the receiver is expected to show the behavior desired by the source of communication.

Development communication is mainly concerned with the role of information and communication in social and economic development of an individual, society and nation. It identifies what mass media can do directly or indirectly to improve the quality of life to both urban and rural masses.

This describes an approach to communication, which provides communities with information they can use in bettering their lives, which aims at making public programmes and policies real, meaningful and sustainable. Such information must be applied in some way as part of community development but it must also address information needs which communities themselves identified. The outcome of this approach, in short, is to make a difference in the quality of life of communities.

Nora C. Quebral, a leading academic in this field defines Development communication as the "art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential." (Quoted in *Development Communication - rhetoric and reality* by Pete Habermann and Guy de Fontagalland.)

F. Rosario Braid is of the opinion that development communication is "an element of the management process in the overall planning and implementation of development programs". Development communication is, in a broad sense is thus, "The identification and utilization and utilization appropriate expertise in the development process that will assist in the increasing participation of intended beneficiaries the grassroots level."

Growth of Development Communication

The growth of the concept of Development Communication can be attributed to the following factors:

- Rethinking on the concept of development.
- Growth of mass media,
- Critical review of the role of Communication in Development,

In the 1960s, development was considered to be the domain of economists and it was synonymous with the process of modernization modeled on the industrialized societies of the North. Economic growth was regarded as the rain index of development. The paramount concern was to transfer knowledge to rural population. As the time passed, it became evident that far more complex forces were at work. The knowledge transfer led to lop sided development. The rich farmers became richer and the poor poorer - and the gap between them widened. Research studies and evaluation reports revealed that centrally planned interventions did not ultimately benefit the intended beneficiaries - the poorest. Development experts began to talk about income distribution and social justice apart from economic growth. Development began to be seen as improvements in the quality of life. It became increasingly clear that for development to take place people themselves must be involved in planning and implementing projects aimed at improving their lot.

The decades of 60s and 70s saw dynamic world-wide growth of electronic media which produced so-called "information explosion". The idea of using mass media grew out of the notion that media had exceptional power to change human behaviour. Communication experts began to advocate the use of media for accelerating the transfer of technology. While some communication experts called media as "Magic Multiplier" others advocated that it is a great "lubricator" of the development process.

One of the earliest studies in this was that of Lerner who found high co-relation between media participation and such indices of development as organization, literacy and political participation. In a UNESCO study conducted in developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, strong correlation was found between mass media and economic development. Similar findings have been reported by, among others, Cutright, Nixon, Millikan and Blachmer, Fagen, Farrace, Schramm, Carter, Schrone, Deatschmann and McNelly. All these studies give direct or Implied support to the view expressed by Millikan and Blachmer that a modern mass media system is an important part of social overhead capital of a developing country and that, for example, "a major breakthrough for development would be the creation and production of cheap, long-lived radio or television sets designed to bring mass communication into villages by passing the pre-requisite of literacy and electricity".

Micro level studies have examined the co-relation between media exposer and modernization variables. In their studies, Rogers, Keith, McNelly and others found significant interplay between communication variables and modernization variables. That "information of certain kind, once released awakens appetite for the things or new ways of doing things" and that mass communication produces a "demonstration effect" and strikes a "psychic spark of modernization".

This contention was, however, was subjected to scrutiny by many researchers. In fact the myth was debunked by Klapperin 1960. He argued that "mass media ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences". He argued further that "these mediating factors are such that they typically render many communication a contributing agent but not the sole cause in a process of reinforcing the existing conditions".

In recent years a few communication scholars have expressed doubt that more availability of any kind of mass media is not likely to be useful in technological change - that is in influencing the peasants to adopt new ideas. They argue that "for the mass media, to aid in technological change, the information transmitted should be functionally relevant". They further argue that "the influence of communication system involves more than simply physical availability of media, and that it certainly relates to the patterns of content placed before readers, viewers and listeners". It is implied in these arguments that the mass media in order to aid modernization, rust carry functionally and locally relevant information. Any mass media with any kind of message would not bring miracle in the developing countries, as some scholars often argue it.

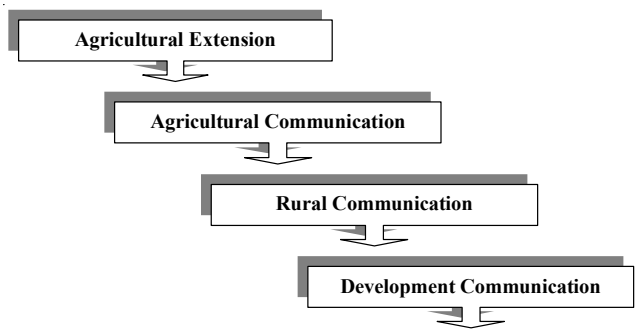
The interplay of the three factors namely rethinking in the concept of development, dynamic-growth of electronic media and redefinition of the role of communication in development

led to the emergence of the concept of Development Communication.

Terms like Project Support Communication, Development Support Communication and Development Support Communication began to appear in the development literature in early 70s. Although UN agencies - UNDP, UNICEF and FAO were the first to use these terms, the first attempt to define it was made by Nora C. Quebral. She says, "development communication grew out of the field of agricultural communication in the same way that agricultural communication had evolved from agricultural journalism". It is quite clear from her paper that the term development communication was coined to enlarge the scope of agricultural communication and to include under it, apart from agricultural development* other areas of national development such a s population, nutrition, health, education, housing and employment etc.

Since all these areas are inter-linked and the development efforts in all these areas require communication input, development communication was considered to be an appropriate term to describe the scope, the direction and the structure of the discipline. Quebral defines Development Communication as "the art and science of human communication applied to speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential".

This definition of Development Communication encompasses all national development activities, cutting across many disciplines and extending beyond the rural-urban dichotomy. In a paper entitled "Towards a Definition of Development Communication", P.R.R. Sinha describes in detail the two components of development communication, namely, development and communication. He also describes the genesis of the term. its relationship with other tends and its parameters. Sinha says that "its (development communication) genesis can be traced to the Introduction and application of agricultural extension". A graphic presentation of the genesis would be as follows:



The interesting point to note here is that the main emphasis behind coining a new term appears to be the concern for enlarging the scope of the discipline or in the words of Nora C. Quebral, "to acquire a 'bigger umbrella".

Communication is the lifeblood of human society; without it, no society can function. Therefore, in any development effort, we must pay very close attention to the role of communication. Indeed, one of the fundamental defects of early development plans of the less-developed countries was the woefully inadequate role assigned to communication. Pye (1963) is surely right when he says: Communication is the web of human society. The structure of a communication system with its more or less well-defined channels is in a sense the skeleton of the social body, which envelops it.

The content of communication is of course the very substance of human intercourse. The flow of communication determines the direction and the pace of dynamic social development. Hence it is possible to analyze all social processes in terms of the structure, content and flow of communication.

In the Design of Rural Development (1975), World Bank economist Uma Lele designates a number of key areas where improvement would impact the productivity and income of farmers-the backbone-of most Third World countries. These are Agricultural Extension, local farmer participation, credit, marketing, social services, project administration, and training.

If these areas are analyzed carefully, in each activity is found an information component that is assumed by the author but is hardly touched upon in the text. In extension, for example, the agent is basically the source of new information. In most of the Third World, these agents are in such short supply that they reach only a fraction of the farmers, yet there may be other ways, such as mass media, of diffusing the same information to a much larger portion of the target population. Local participation when it is a built-in goal of a project, can be promoted by both interpersonal and mediated communication. It also depends upon a feedback mechanism, so that information flows in both directions.

Credit is obviously a resource; but it is also often an underused service m rural areas, because the poor isolated farmers may not know about it. Information about the availability of credit could change this. Marketing depends, in an intimate way, on information, and if the communication system is strictly a proprietary one, its benefits go to those who control it. A more open market-information system, on radio perhaps, would help to promote equity. Social services in rural areas are a mix of material resources and information, whether they are concerned with adult education, health, family planning, nutrition, or community development. Administration of rural services also heavily depends on communication. For example, a two-way communication system, often missing entirely in rural areas, could keep field personnel in touch with central project leaders. Finally, training is obviously a largely information-based activity.

Thus, almost every activity considered vital to rural development is information related or information dependent in some way. The argument for paying increased attention to this aspect of rural development should not be taken to mean that communication can be substituted completely for other resources but only that a better mix of material and Information resources can achieve a better result, perhaps at less cost.

There are a number of assumptions about information's role that need to be carefully examined within the context of the new approach, alluded to above, in which governments are placing more emphasis on mobilizing national information

resources for national development goals, especially regarding the poor rural majority. Planners consider media as cost efficient, feasible and would change the society fast.

The Four Approaches

Dissanayake (1981) describes the approaches in his study of development and communication.

Approach I

During the late 50s and the 60s development was understood as rapid economic growth by means of industrialization. Heavy emphasis was laid on capital-intensive technology and centralised planning. The guiding principle seems to have been that the only way in which the less-developed countries could make progress is by emulating the industrially-advanced countries and taking the same historical path that they had traversed. Rostow's influential work The Stage of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (1960) had a profound impact on this type of thinking. In his book, Rostow identified five stages:

1. Traditional society
2. The precondition for take-off
3. The take-off
4. The claim to maturity
5. Age of high mass-consumption

This theory is predicated on the belief that capital accumulation through the mechanism of savings and investment is the engine of development. Accordingly, much emphasis was laid on heavy industries and capital intensive technologies and urbanisation. And, the development of a society was to be measured by the GNP.

This line of thinking was endorsed by the development communication scholars in the 60s. Each social and economic philosophy emerges out of a definite social and intellectual milieu. As Rogers rightly points out, this concept of development grew out of certain historical events like the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the United States, the colonial experience in Latin America, Africa and Asia, and the qualitative empiricism of North American social services and capitalistic economic/political philosophy (1976).

The communication scholars who most strikingly emblematize this model are Wilbur Schramm, Daniel Lerner and Lucian W. Pye, Their books like Mass Media and National Development (Schramm 1964), The Passing of Traditional Society (Lerner, 1958), Communication and Change in the Developing Countries (Lerner and Schramm, 1967), Communication and Political Development (Pye, 1963), had a far-reaching influence in winning recognition for this approach, both among academics and laymen. These writers maintained that the mass media could play a significant role in creating the climate conducive for development to take place.

According to this approach, the focus was on increased productivity through rapid industrialization. It was felt that productivity is the key to development and that the most productive sector of modern society is the industrial sector. It was argued that an industry has built a great engine to produce more and more with fewer and fewer workers, greater attention should be paid to mechanization and automation (Schramm, 1964), For this to happen, the modernized elite has to play a crucial role in leadership. Therefore Pye went on to suggest that in those countries with a small modernized elite, the weight of communication policies should be on the side of protecting the freedom of these leaders and strengthening their influences through society (1963).

Role of Communication

Communication can be employed to disseminate new knowledge, impact new skills, introduce new values, raise aspirations of the people, create a sense of nationhood which transcends parochial boundaries, reassure people in a state of transition which development clearly entails — in a word, communication should create the right ambience for development.

Despite the optimism expressed by the advocates of this approach, it was clear by the 70s that the strategy had not worked. Although the GNP had increased, the exports were up, many new problems were created in the process: increase in unemployment and underemployment, urban congestion, etc. Moreover, the advocates of this approach maintained that the benefits occurring by the adoption of this strategy would have a 'trickle-down' effect. This, too, did not materialize. Indeed, the gap between the rich and the poor in the less-developed countries began to widen. As Adelman (1975) shrewdly pointed out, "Not only is there no automatic trickle-down of the benefits of development; on the contrary, the development process leads typically to a trickle-up in favour of the middle classes and the rich".

Philosophies

It is indeed interesting to observe that this approach assumed not only a certain philosophy of development, but a philosophy of communication as well. The philosophy of communication drew heavily on the Aristotelian model of communication. In Aristotle's model of communication — which is perhaps the earliest model found in Western culture — there were four components: communicator-message-receiver-objective. According to Aristotle the communicator is supreme, and it is his function to persuade his potential receivers in a manner that he desired. To him 'manipulation' was the primary concept. Indeed this model of communication survived into modern times as is evidenced by Lasswell's model as well as Shannon and Weaver's model. There were, to be sure, certain modifications effected. But, basically, these models operate within the Aristotelian framework.

The champions of the first approach to development communication more or less were guided by this philosophy of communication. Hence, the emphasis on the communicator (mass media) and the notion of manipulation, and little regard for the receiver and the social structure in which he finds himself. With the formulation of the second approach, as we shall presently see, this philosophy of communication was superseded by a newer one.

By the 70s, many development communication scholars began to criticise this approach for a variety of different reasons. Their main arguments against this approach were;

1. It was ethnocentric: That it helped up the Western experience as a model to be emulated by the less developed countries ignoring the uniqueness of historical background, cultural matrix, etc. of the developing countries.
2. It posited a unilinear view of history: This is closely related to the first argument. It was maintained that there was not one, but many paths to development, and the paths traversed by the industrially-advanced countries was not the only one.
3. It concentrated only on endogenous factors of development: The critics expressed the view that we live in a highly interdependent world and that the problems and privations of the Third World countries could be meaningfully comprehended only in terms of both endogenous and exogenous factors. They argued that the endogenous factors were very largely the consequence of exogenous factors,
4. It placed too much emphasis on the individual and laid the blame at his door without taking into sufficient consideration the social structure: Advocates of the first approach often accused the peasants in the less developed countries of being too traditional — conventional — superstitious — fatalistic — and lacking skills of entrepreneurship and not being motivated by the 'protestant work ethic'. The critics of this approach maintained that not only was this criticism misplaced, but that it totally ignored the social structure which would explain more cogently some of these deficiencies.

Looking back somewhat wistfully seventeen years after he wrote his seminal work Mass Media and National Development, Schramm said: I should have been more sceptical about the applicability of the Western model of development. I should have paid more attention to the problem of integrating mass media with local activity. Above all, I should have given more thought than I did to the social requirements and uncertainties of development and in particular to the cultural differences that make development almost necessarily different, culture to culture, country to country (1979).

Perhaps the most productive way of coming to grips with the second approach is to see it as a reaction to the first.

The first approach to development communication came under very heavy fire from academics in the 70s. And most of their criticisms are justified. However, in fairness to those who favoured the first approach, three points need to be stated:

1. Their's was the first serious attempt to conceptualize the role of communication in development.
2. A sense of consistency pervaded their writings as they emerged from a well-defined social philosophy.
3. They gave much thought to how these ideas could be realistically translated into practice.
4. Rather than talking in vague generalities and hiding behind impressive rhetoric, they sought to come up with testable propositions.

Approach II

Perhaps the most productive way of coming to grips with the second approach is to see it as a reaction to the first — an attempt to remedy the deficiencies discernible in the earlier approach. Everrette Rogers, who was initially identified with the first approach, has laid out very clearly the central concerns and preoccupations of the second approach (1976). He calls one the 'old' paradigm, and the other the 'new' paradigm.

The first approach, stressed economic growth — capital intensive technology — industrialization — centralized planning and endogenous factors of development. The second approach, on the other hand, called attention to income distribution — labour intensive technology, decentralized planning — endogenous as well as exogenous factors of development. Along with this shift of emphasis was seen an attempt to focus attention on the quality of life — the need to blend modern and traditional media of communication — appropriate technology — popular participation in the decision-making process.

In discussing what he calls the 'new' paradigm, Rogers mentions four world events which had a shattering impact on the validity of the old paradigm. They are the problems of environmental pollution, the oil crisis, the expansion of the People's Republic of China and the failure of the less-developed countries to develop (1976).

During the 60s, there was an average annual increase of 5% in the GNP of the developing countries. This was indeed a notable achievement. However, the important point was that the benefits of this economic growth was not reaching the mass of people. In other words, there was a compelling need to focus attention on income distribution. As a result, as Henriot points out, another view of how to define the problem of development began to emerge. It became more and more clear that the problem of development was not the degree of capitalization, but the relationship any increase of GNP had to the poor — especially those poorest 40% of the population in the developing countries (1979).

Consequently, the new strategies of development communication scholars began to centre on ways of meeting this challenge. In this attempt, they had to address their minds to the following questions:

1. How can distributive justice be achieved? The old approach seemed to favor the richer segments of society at the expense of the poorer.
2. How can the ideals of self-reliance, self-management, self-development and popular participation be fulfilled? The old approach seemed to advocate a top-down strategy, and as a result, the generality of the people were not involved in the decision-making process.
3. How can the old and the new media of communication be purposefully integrated? The old approach seemed to stress unduly on the efficacy of the new and cosmopolitan media.
4. How best can culture be made an ally and a facilitator of development? The old approach seemed to pay very little attention to the role of culture in development.
5. How can one construct more history-conscious and society-specific models of development communication? The old approach was largely a historical and posited a universalistic model of communication based on the Western experience.

6. How can one take into account the structural factors which constrain development? The old approach discussed this largely in terms of individual deficiencies.

The problem of development was not the degree of capitalization' but the relationship any increase of GNP had to the poor.

Along with this shift of emphasis on the meaning of development was seen a parallel shift of emphasis on the meaning of communication. Instead of the old mechanistic, linear, one-way model of communication, a process oriented, two-way model began to take shape and gain currency. In the old model, which I earlier designated by the term 'the Aristotelian model,' the communicator was supreme; it was a communicator-based model. With the spread of the concept of the diffusion of innovations, the channel assumed a greater importance. However, it was still a model in which the receiver did not figure prominently. With the writings of scholars like Berlo (1969, 1979) and Barnlund (1970), the idea of communication being an interactive process where the communicator and the receiver share an equal responsibility, was endorsed by many of the communication researchers. This newly-emerged philosophy of communication fitted well into the newer framework of development. The birth of the so-called 'new' paradigm can be attributed to these factors.

The second approach to development communication contains within itself many useful insights and represents a definite step in the right direction. Many of its strengths can be studied in relation to the older approach. However, one has also to take note of some of its deficiencies. It does not spring from a consistent social philosophy as does the first approach and seems to present many conflicting trends of thought. Indeed, the 'new' paradigm, the 'second approach' seems to represent not one, but many paradigms. For example, this approach on the one hand talks of the interdependence of the developed and developing countries, and how they all constitute a world-system. On the other hand, great emphasis is placed on self-management and self-reliance. However, these notions are not developed in a sufficiently comprehensive manner that would enable us to come to terms with their full implications and take cognizance of the conflicting demands.

Role of Communication

The role of communication, too, needs to be explained more fully. The communication strategy urged by this orientation seems to be to make use both of the cosmopolitan and the indigenous media of communication to effect a two-way communication process between the policymakers and the public. However, the problems and constraints that one would necessarily encounter in this effort needs to be analysed more deeply.

These deficiencies, however, should not unduly detract from the very positive achievement represented by this second approach. It has paved the way for the evolution of a model of development communication that would be useful in eliminating many of the problems that the less-developed countries encounter in their march towards development.

Approach III

This approach is characterised by its insistence on the interdependence of the developed and the developing countries, and the need to make this aspect its central concern. However, it needs to be stressed at the outset that when the architects of this approach employ the term 'interdependence', they are talking of a viciously asymmetrical relationship in which the developed countries thrive at the expense of the developing countries. Hence, a fundamental precondition for development, is the elimination of this asymmetrical relationship.

The spokesman for this approach to development pointed out the futility of discussing communication and development in an essentially national setting, without taking into consideration the historical evolution of each society and the way in which the world economic system conditions and regulates its development. To do otherwise is to ignore the determining reality.

Nordenstreng and Schiller, while complementing the proponents of the second approach, make the observation that they have not totally abandoned the old paradigm of the 60s (1979). In the opinion of these two authors, the notion of a relatively isolated nation developing in accordance with the conditions determined mainly within the society remains almost untouched. To them, this is a fundamental consideration that cannot be overlooked. Nordenstreng and Schiller make the point that while advocates of the second approach to development and communication like Rogers talk of 'external causes of underdevelopment' and 'dependence theory', such notions do not significantly influence their conceptualization.

Approach III is characterized by its insistence on the interdependence of the developed and developing countries.

Having commented on the first and second approaches, Nordenstreng and Schiller observe that: Another paradigm is emerging, leading to what may be called the third generation of communication and development research. Characteristic of this perspective is an emphasis on global structure, whereby it is in precisely the international sociopolitic-economic system that decisively determines the course of development within the sphere of each nation. In this approach, the rational conditions — including class contradiction — serve as more or less intervening variables on influences emanating from the historically determined global design (1979).

Reviewing the efforts of communication scholars who grappled with the problems of communication and development, Nordenstreng and Schiller maintain that which the second approach dispelled: the myth of a unitary Western model of development within the society. The third approach is seeking to point out the error of conceptualizing development as the interaction of an international system of sovereign states operating without a basic structure which determines the relations between countries.

The seminal works of a number of scholars served to crystallise this approach and gain wide recognition in the academic community. Frank (1969), Don Santos (1970), Galtung (1971), Amin (1974), Wallerstein (1974), Barnett Brown (1974), Kaufmann (1975), and Petras (1978) are but some of them. These scholars start out with the assumption that development and underdevelopment are only two facets of the same process

and that one cannot understand the nature and essentiality of one in isolation from the other.

The colonial experience of the less-developed countries is central to this line of thinking. The factors that developed industrially advanced countries are said to be also responsible for the state of poverty in the less-developed countries. The gaining of political independence does not seem to have significantly altered the picture. Writers like Galtung (1971) argue that the colonial structures still persist, only that the systems of control are exercised in a subtler fashion. Economic aid, transnational corporations and the international monetary institutions are cited as examples of this subtler form of control.

Similarly, Frank, in discussing the development of underdevelopment remarked: It is generally held that economic development occurs in a succession of capitalist stages, and that today's underdeveloped countries are still in a stage, sometimes depicted as an original stage of history, through which the now developed countries passed long ago. Yet even a modest acquaintance with history shows that underdevelopment is not original or traditional and that neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped countries resembles in any important aspect, the part of the now developed countries. The now developed countries were never underdeveloped, though they may have been undeveloped. It is also widely believed that the contemporary underdevelopment of a country can be understood as the product or reflection solely of its own economic, political, social and cultural characteristics or structure. Yet historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries (1972).

Wallerstein in developing his world-system perspective says that the modern world comprises a single capitalist world-economy, which had emerged historically from the sixteenth century onwards and which exists today. Based on this premise, he asserts that national states are not societies that have separate, parallel histories, but parts of a whole reflecting the whole (1979).

The dependency relationship is not one of merely economics. Writers like Freire (1968) and Rayan (1971) have pointed out that the ideologies, belief systems, value conglomerations, etc., of the metropolitan countries are disseminated in the satellite countries as a way of legitimizing the existing power structures. Moreover, the role of media in this endeavour too has been amply demonstrated by Nordenstreng and Varis (1970), Schiller (1969, 1973, 1974) and O'Brien (1974).

Role of Communication

Firstly, it is a matter of education. The vast majority of the people living in the less-developed countries need to be educated into a new awareness of their plight. The vicious nature of the world system and the stifling dependency relationship has to be unambiguously pointed out to them. This is obviously an exercise in education.

And, the second component of the communication strategy would be one of mobilizing support for a structural rearrangement of society. In order to achieve, one has to think in terms of both national and regional efforts.

The vast majority of the people living in the less-developed countries need to be educated into a new awareness of their plight.

The advocates of the first approach placed heavy emphasis on mass media; those of the second on a mix between mass media and interpersonal channels. The supporters of the third approach to development communication emphasize the interpersonal channels. The argument seems to be that the mass media systems in the developing countries are caught up in the dependency relationship, and at times active supporters of it. Hence to rely on them would be an act of folly. What is advocated, therefore, is a strategy of communication that would serve the aforementioned educational and mobilizing functions. It is only after a structural transformation of society has taken place that the mass media could be employed purposefully.

Once again, it needs to be stated that the role of communication is not clearly defined as is the case with the first approach. Another defect, which characterizes this mode of arguing, is the propensity to exaggerate. At times, one gets the impression that Frank tends to overstate his case and ignore some crucial distinctions that need to be made. Laclau makes the point that Frank does not adequately differentiate the two terms 'capital' and 'capitalism'. He asks.

Did the structural conditions of capitalism exist in the sixteenth century when, according to Frank, the process of capital domination started in Latin America? Could we consider free labour to be the rule then? By no means. Feudal dependence and urban handicrafts remained the basic forms of productive activity (1971).

Approach IV

The fourth approach to development communication that is currently gaining wide recognition is characterized by its explicit emphasis on the idea of self-reliance. This approach reflects the desire to integrate strategically a host of ideas related to development that has emerged in recent times. They are:

- popular participation
- grassroots development
- integrated village development
- use of appropriate technology
- fulfillment of basic needs
- productive use of local resources
- maintenance of the ecological balance
- development problems to be defined by the people themselves
- culture as a mediating force in development

The idea of self-reliance in development can be analyzed at two levels. Firstly, there is the self-reliance at the national level. Here, by self-reliance is meant the reliance on the natural and human resources available to a country, and the ability to define developmental problems, set goals, devise strategies and make decisions independently and in accordance with one's own social

and cultural ethos. Self-reliance is seen as a way of eliminating or at least minimizing the exogenous political pressures and trade patterns that are associated with exploitation. Self-reliance, however, does not mean autarchy. There will be international cooperation and interdependence, but according to a newer set of rules, that would guarantee a more symmetrical relationship between the developed and the developing countries.

Galtung outlines the rationale for the strategy of self-reliance in the development effort in the following manner: Self-reliance is not merely an abstract recipe, a way of organizing the economy with heavy emphasis on the use of local factors, but a highly concrete fight against any kind of centre-periphery formation with the ultimate goal of arriving at a goal where "each part is centre". As the essence of centre-periphery formation is vertical division of labor with exchanges across a gap in level of processing where trade is concerned, a gap in the level of initiative where politics is concerned and so on — the difference between the sender and the receiver, the leader and the led — the basic idea of self-reliance is to get out of this type of relationship (1980).

Self-reliance is a dynamic movement from the periphery, at all levels — individual, local, national, regional. It is not something done for the periphery; basically it is something done by the periphery. Thus, control over the economic machinery of a country by national and even by local, state or private capitalists in order to produce for the satisfaction of basic needs is not self-reliance. It may be to "serve the people," but it is not to "trust the people" — to use the Chinese jargon. Self-reliance ultimately means that the society is organized in such a way that the masses arrive at self-fulfillment through self-reliance — in participation with others in the same situation (1980).

Self-reliance is seen as a way of eliminating or at feast minimizing the exogenous political pressures and trade patterns.

This, no doubt, seems an idealistic proposition. And, as Galtung himself has pointed out, there is as much economics as there is psychopolitics involved in this concept. This approach to development communication discourages the common tendency prevalent in the less-developed countries to imitate the goals and strategies of Western countries and engage in an unreal battle of trying to catch up with them. Instead, it encourages a radical rethinking of the implications of development.

For the strategy of self-reliance to succeed, it must operate both at the national and local levels. At the local level, people need to involve themselves more closely in the process of defining problems of development and devising strategies based on local resources and in consonance with the cultural ethos. Indeed, this is not something new. Some of the experiments of Gandhi in India point to this need. In more recent times, the 'ujamaa' project of Nyerere in Tanzania served to focus attention on this aspect. In explaining the relationship between his concept of 'ujamaa' (familyhood) to social development, Nyerere said the basic assumptions underlying his concept are:

1. respect — each member of the family recognizing the place and rights of the other members;
2. common property — acceptance that whatever one person has in the way of basic necessities, they all have;
3. obligation to work — every member of the family, and every guest who shares in has the right to eat and have shelter, taking for granted the duty to join in whatever work needs to be done (1968).

According to Maeda, there are eight main objectives that this strategy sought to achieve. They are establishment of self-governing communities, better use of rural labor, taking advantage of economies of scale to increase production, dissemination of new values, avoidance of exploitation, increasing the standard of living of the peasant, mobilization of people for national defence by using the villages as paramilitary organizations and facilitation of national planning (1976). It is indeed true that Nyerere's experiment is not totally successful. However it opened the eyes of development theorists to possible alternative pathways. Similarly, the Sarvodaya Movement of Sri Lanka is also proceeding along an analogous path.

Approaches	Main Emphasis	Means	Communication Channel	Function of Communication Channel
I	Economic Growth	Capital Intensive Technology -Industrialization- Centralized Planning	Mass Media	Mobilization of People for Development
II	Social Growth	Labour Intensive Technology Integration of Traditional and Modern Systems -Decentralized Planning	Mass Media and Interpersonal Channels	Facilitation of Information Exchange Related to Development
III	Structural Transformation of Society	Elimination of Dependency Relationships	Mainly Interpersonal Channels	Education of Masses Leading to a New Awareness
IV	Self-Development	Harnessing Local Resources -Self-Reliance	Mainly Interpersonal Channels with Support of Mass Media	Forging of Common Identity and Encouragement of Participation through Emphasis on Shared Values Experience

For self-reliance lo succeed, popular participation is absolutely essential. It is indeed a self-evident truth that in the less-developed countries the greatest resource for development is the people themselves. Many of the efforts to bring about rapid change in living conditions of rural poor have not met with much success because of the highly centralised nature of the enterprise. The experience and the cumulative wisdom of the peasantry, their cultural ethos, their perception of problems, and solutions hardly entered the calculation of rural development. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the new breed of development thinkers are paying more and more attention to this vital aspect. A development strategy which stresses self-reliance must put the highest premium on popular participation.

The notion of integrated rural development is as central to this approach as popular participation. A mistake made by the early development thinkers was to conceptualize rural development in terms of fragmented categories — agriculture, health, nutrition, etc. However, it is apparent that all these are inextricably linked, especially in the village environment.

The new approach advocates a systems perspective where attention is focused on the functional relationships existing between the various components of any development programme. Coombs says: Many rural programme have low effectiveness because they are incomplete systems, much like an automobile lacking spark plugs, or a wheelbarrow without a wheel. A common example of this is when a visiting engineer helps a village to install a safe water supply but no one explains convincingly to the villagers what they must do thereafter to keep it safe. A month later the engineer returns to find the fence down and the bullocks once again polluting the "protected" water supply. Another example of an incomplete system is the health service — and unhappily there are many like this — that concentrates on curative services and neglects preventive and promotive health measures. Without attacking the root causes of illness and disease, such a system can never catch up with the mounting curative load (1980).

The changes in the approaches to communication and development shifted the main thrusts of development.

1. From quantitative approach to qualitative approach.
2. Capital intensive to Labor intensive
3. Industry to agriculture
4. Strategies fitting to the environment
5. Basic needs of the people prime importance
6. Holistic approach
7. Structural changes as Land reforms
8. Self-reliance than depending on foreign aids.
9. Traditional culture for development.
10. Selecting communication strategies than development strategies for development.

Primary Roles of Development Communication

a) A transforming role, as it seeks social change in the direction of the higher quality of life. The higher quality of life can be achieved in various ways. Might be by adopting all the required vaccines for the infants of each family of the society. Some countries might adopt techniques of producing enough food for the citizen. Some countries might systematically and scientifically break all the myths surrounding various religious and social customs. And communication could be a marvelous instrument to achieve these objectives.

b) A socializing role, by seeking to maintain some of the established values of the society. In playing these roles, development communication seeks to create an atmosphere for change as well as providing innovation through which society may change. Each and every society has some traditional values. These values give the people of each society an identity and a sense of belonging. The aspirations of a society sometimes are embedded in these values. Now, the values, customs and beliefs of other societies might make inroads into other societies. If, the people are not careful, they might be taken off their grounds by the new incoming sets of values. Communication can play a very vital role by making the people aware about this pitfall. It can also help immensely by drawing the attention of the members of a society to the richness of their own values, customs, beliefs and, above all, aspirations.

Note

LESSON 9:
INFORMATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To know the power of information in development

To learn how information can be used for rural development

The relationship between information flows and national or local-level development have become better understood in recent years; as has the role of communication processes in mediating social and individual change. However, in most African countries these relationships are not widely discussed or easily accepted, especially by development planners.

Basically, communication is a social process that produces changes in the knowledge, attitudes and behaviours of individuals, and groups, through providing factual and technical information, through motivational or persuasive messages, and through facilitating the learning process and social environment. These results might then lead to increase in the mastery of crucial skills by the individual, and to enhancing the achievement of various instrumental goals. Other possible consequences of communication include enhancement in self-esteem and well being through participation in community and social life, increasing the individual's perceived efficacy in dealing with other people, reinforcing mutual respect and enhancing confidence among social groups and building trust within communities. These outcomes are the ingredients that contribute to the creation of those positive individual, community and societal changes that together are often referred to as development. Communication can thus positively influence development.

But using 'communication for development' means different things to different people. It has even been viewed differently in different eras, considered variously as «social engineering» or 'giving voice to the voiceless'. Both as idea and as practice, the relationship of communication to development has been problematic, as it has raised many questions. Can we show that communication has a place in the development process? What kind of communication has what kind of effect on what aspects of development? The questions are intriguing and intractable. Often the gains from communication become apparent only when something goes wrong in society.

Although the relationships are not clearly established, the Human Development Index, HDI, shows marked differences in the communication profiles of countries of high, medium and low human development. The indicators generally employed in the HDI are mostly infrastructural and technological, e.g. «access to: radio; television; book titles published; post offices; main telephone lines; fax machines; mobile cellular telephone subscribers, Internet users, personal computers». It is probably the case that the opportunities that these channels provide for carrying information and messages and for allowing multiple social interactions, that «drive» social progress, are a crucial contribution to the level of socio-economic development of societies. Yet even if communication is only a necessary and not a sufficient ingredient for development, that potential contribution has provided a motive for continuing to search for more effective ways of relating communication processes with development processes, and for justifying investments in information and communication ideas and practices. That is why a policy approach is needed to support the integration of information and communication thinking and practice into national development and governance plans.

Information Environment of the Rural Poor

Among the interpersonal forms of communication through which rural people will be likely to receive and give Information are the family sad neighborhood, markets and washing areas* and festival gatherings for the village. Institutional networks would involve the church or religious network, the administrative structure, the political party, the school, police or army, and such government service agencies as agricultural extension, health, and family planning— among others that might operate in the village.

For the mediated forms of mass communication, there are radio, film, posters, printed materials (such as newspapers and pamphlets), and television. Among the person-to-person media there are the telephone, telex or telegraph, and mall systems.

There are two sets of questions concerning these forms of communicating information in the rural environment. What functions do the various kinds of media perform in different rural environments? and How widespread are the various communication structures? There is no empirical evidence to make any useful generalizations about either of the questions, so the form information takes in rural environments must be speculative, for the most part.

On the interpersonal level the communication of a variety of information can be traced through social networks. The role of networks in the study of communication is increasingly recognized by scholars (Rogers 1977). A number of social networks—such as neighborhoods, traditional markets, and wandering merchants or performers—are part of the traditional structure of rural communications and still function, for the most part, as they always have. They serve as communication networks for the kinds of content that usually flow in each neighborhood, such as news and gossip, cultural information reinforcing traditional values, and price information on local goods. Although such networks, as well as folk media, could be used to transmit other kinds of development information, no successful formula has yet been devised to tap into this potentially rich resource on a large scale.

The social and political institutions typically serving rural areas have important communication functions to perform. Usually, the information serves to promote the continuation of the

structures of society (one thinks of such institutions as schools, churches, armies and political administrations in many rural areas). However, there are some types of information that directly benefit people—as, for example, information to farmers concerning available credit or to rural women concerning health or nutritional practices.

The mass medium that one is most likely to encounter among poor rural people is radio. There may be a few printed materials, such as the Bible or the Koran and perhaps a pamphlet or two. It is unlikely that newspapers come regularly to the Isolated village, at least to more than a few households; nor is it likely that there is a cinema, television, posters, telegraph, or telephone available (although some form of mail service may bring letters to local officials).

Looking at the hypothetical rural information environment, then one can conclude that probably there are not many channels functioning to bring development information to rural people. There are a number of traditional networks, but these Sanction for traditional purposes. Modern media, with the exception of radio, are almost nonexistent This leads analysts to one of several strategies in efforts to help the rural poor: (1) an attempt to use traditional media and networks to Introduce new information and behavioral change; (2) an attempt to place more information agents in the service Institutions of agriculture, health, education, and community development; and/or (3) an attempt to increase the availability of information through radio or other mass media, if they can be more widely and equitably distributed.

Constraints on an Information / Communication Approach

The problems or constraints that face attempts to improve the economic and social levels of the rural poor are numerous. Only a few of the more general ones can be alluded to here.

Political Constraints

One very good indicator of a government's priority for a social program is the size of the budget it allocates to the effort. The rural poor are not often high on anyone's priority list, but when they are, they are so numerous that projects, which are often pilot programs, have little impact on the overall problem. They are, by definition, that proportion (whatever the percentage one wishes to choose—30, 50, 70. or 90 percent) of the population that is the hardest to reach and has the least education, the worst health conditions, the least cast income, and the least number of material resources, such as land. This immediately makes it not only much more difficult to communicate with the rural poor but also—though politicians often do not wish s to recognize it—much more costly. For most governments, the first problem encountered in serving the rural poor is the dilemma of cost. Communication projects for these people may promise to save money, but often these costs are based upon comparisons with delivering information to urban audiences or the highly motivated rural elite, not to the hard-to-reach mass of rural people.

The second problem is knowing how much difference information can make on the structural constraints of rural areas. Agricultural knowledge, as has been mentioned, may not be-able to make any significant impact on the productivity of very small farm holdings, already at almost a maximum of efficiency (Dames 1975; O'Sullivan l978b). Another structural problem related to land tenure is the increasing number of landless laborers in rural areas. For them much information concerning agriculture may be useless. They are act needed on very small farms, where the owner and family do the work; and they cannot be absorbed into larger farms, where investment is in more technology rather than more labor. Even if they are not pushed toward the city, the usual kind of agricultural information is irrelevant because any Increased productivity that may result from applying new knowledge will go to their employer, not to themselves.

The third problem is that of the credibility of the source of information. If the poor are at the bottom of the social system, they will have a built-in bias against information from a government source, unless that government has taken some clear steps to improve their situation. The danger that the poor may see in government information is that it can be self-serving and political and may simply be a device to substitute words for concrete actions in helping rural people.

These first three constraints suggest that the approach to a 'solution' to the problem of the rural poor is a political one, rooted a-the history of the country and the structures that continue to support the status quo; however, the political solution is not the only aspect of importance, and a look at the technical constraints must be considered as well. How much of a technical solution is possible within a given set of political constraints is what has been referred to above under the assumption of the change ratio. How much room for maneuver is there in a situation?

Technical Constraints

It is correct to assume that the government is willing to invest a reasonable amount of money in rural areas, but is unable or unwilling to make basic structural changes, there are some technical constraints that can hinder even the relative amount of change possible. These constraints are primarily internal to the project and concern the efficiency and effectiveness of its operation, whereas the constraints discussed above are external and concern not the short-term objectives but the longer-term goals of projects.

At the level of planning, developing communication projects often ignore the most elementary principles in defining their goals as based on the objective needs of the people. Moreover, the goals are often unrealistic to their ambitions. There are often a series of empirical assumptions underlying the ultimate goal of a project for which there is little empirical evidence. Thus, a radio project in agriculture may assume that the rural poor own sufficient radios to listen in great numbers to radio messages, that most people speak the language of broadcast well enough to receive the messages, or that the information, once applied, can lead to increased productivity regardless of the land size of most of the farms in the area. With careful planning, many of these assumptions can be checked before going ahead with implementation, but such planning research is frequently not done.

Lack of significant leadership within a project may be an important constraint hindering both planning and implementation. One project in Guatemala, which lost its original leader, failed for two years to clearly decide on the objectives it wished to pursue. In contrast, the success of Columbia's Accion Cultural Popular (ACPO) radio project during the 30 years of its existence is in large part due to the leadership of its founder.

At the institutional level, communication projects often cut across a number of rival bureaucracies—such as broadcasting, education, agriculture, and health, to mention only the most common. Attempts to get coordination have not worked well in rural education in projects in Brazil and Guatemala (McAnany and Oliveira, forthcoming; O'Sullivan 1977) and in the Ivory Coast (Lenglet, 1976). It seems easier to define goals narrowly under the jurisdiction of one institution than to broaden the scope of rural communication and risk the problems caused by shared responsibility sad bureaucratic rivalries. Yet, the integrated approach to rural development could have important benefits if institutional constraints could be overcome. Some small, self-contained private groups often can achieve a more integrated approach, although on a more limited scale (White 1976).

Carefully planned and executed teaching/learning strategies that have had success In formal schooling have not had comparable development for rural adults in the less formal learning areas of agriculture, health, nutrition, and the like. There are questions of sequential versus nonsequential programming, organized versus open audiences, motivational versus didactic approaches and active versus passive response modes of reception that all need testing among rural adult audiences.

How best to organize the audience for reception and follow-up action is both as obvious need, in most cases, and a basic constraint. Esman (1974) sees the organization of small farmers into cooperative groups as an essential element in successfully helping them to increase their agricultural productivity. But organizing the rural poor runs into the technical problems of creating a structure, where none has existed, and financing it, as well as winning the trust and loyalty of persons long suspicious of external agencies. But there is a major political problem, as well, of organizing a group—the rural majority —that is usually very sensitive. There is a fear of widespread mobilization of the rural poor. Elliot (1974) speaks of the difficulty that creating animation groups in the rural Ivory Coast caused the government, and of their eventual elimination.

Many rural projects are constrained by a lack not only of leadership but also of trained persons in such areas as educational planning and broadcast production and evaluation. This i3 in part due to the general scarcity of trained persons for any kind of rural development project and, in part, to the specialized skills in broadcasting and communications that are demanded in this case. Once people have received some training in these areas, they often are hired away by the private sector or other government agencies. It is also clear that unless people are personally committed to the work, they are less likely to want to stay in rural, rather than urban-oriented, projects.

The bureaucratic constraint is a significant one for the administration of rural projects and may account for a large part of the inefficiency and failure that is reported in the literature of rural development projects. How this might be avoided or improved has no easy answers. The size of the project may be one aspect of the problem, but commitment to a set of common goals may be a significant element as well. Such commitment is rare across government bureaucratic structures.

A final constraint is one already touched upon above but worth mentioning separately; this concerns the participation of rural people in projects directed toward them. There are a number of policy statements by lending institutions, as well as by politicians from third world governments, concerning participation of rural people in their n development. There are many meanings and degrees of participation and ways to measure it. But the basic starting point concerns who and how many of the target audience take part m the project. Many rural projects simply have reached too few of the right people to have made any significant impact on the problems of the rural poor. Self-selection is the problem with most projects of this kind. Where information is available, those who are most likely to take advantage of it are the relatively better off. This phenomenon is clear in communication projects where information or education may be freely available to all, but taken advantage of by few; the result is a widening of a knowledge gap among different social classes. The same thing happens in other kinds of interventions where services or other public goods are offered, as is the adoption of innovations (Roling, Ascroft and Chege 1976). Unless some way is found to overcome the structural bias against participation of the rural poor, by some-carefully planned strategy to diminish the self-selection bias, the result of programs for the rural poor win be not only unsuccessful but often even counterproductive, making the poor relatively worse off than before.

A good deal of space has been devoted to constraints, here, because the topic is focused on poverty, which is the underlying constraint in the situation. Also, a balanced emphasis on the constraint side of the picture will help keep the effectiveness side, which follows, in proper perspective.

Impact of Information: Potential and Real

Education is sometimes thought of as training in how to process a wider spectrum of information. One problem with simply making more information available in rural areas is that the rural poor are generally illiterate or without much formal education, and their ability to take advantage of new information may be limited. With the spread of the nonprint mass media, such as radio and television, however, information can be made more accessible in verbal and audiovisual-based messages, instead of those coded to printed language.

A second consideration is the possibility of substituting mass media for expensive extension agents in rural areas. Agricultural productivity, for example, could be significantly improved by the regular visits of an extension agent to farmers; but when the agent can visit only a small fraction of the potential clientele, as often happens, radio might provide the Information more widely. In health or nutrition education, information vital for preventive medicine may be substituted for health educators,

who are in chronic short supply. The same analysis can be made for nutrition, education, and community development.

As a support to field agents, information in the form of non-formal didactic messages, appropriately organized and presented, can supplement a poorly trained group leader or field agent. This is especially true in educational programs where a teacher's skills may be limited yet the teacher can guide the students in a form of self-education that can be quite effective.

These two strategies of substitution for development agents or support of development agents with added media messages are important to consider seriously because their successful application could mean a substantial saving in the cost, as well as in the unproved effectiveness, of rural projects.

It must be asked what evidence there is, or might be developed, to test the validity of either of the two strategies of substitution or supplementation suggested above. In agricultural productivity, we find in Lockheed, Jamison, and Lau (forthcoming) and Ashby et al (1977) evidence that there is a consistent, although small, positive relationship between education and agricultural productivity. The same is true, to a lesser degree, for information, extension agent visits, and some forms of nonformal education (for example, literacy). If projects can massively provide appropriate agricultural information via radio to a significant number of rural listeners, then some benefits may accrue from this exposure. Some evidence for this appears in a rural project in Guatemala (Academy for Educational Development 1978).

In the field of health care, health and nutrition education, and family planning, there is much less evidence, although the potential would seem greater than for agriculture. This is true because health practices may be adopted without as many resource inputs as in agriculture, where results depend not just on practice but resources (credit) to buy fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, tools, and the like. White (1977), for example, found that in a group of Honduran villages that received health and agricultural information from a local radio station, the health practices were employed significantly more often than were the agricultural practices—presumably, as the author believes, because it cost little or nothing to adopt the health practices.

Nutrition and environment education (concerning latrines, water supply, and the like) are two high-potential areas where slight improvements would have much wider consequences on the quality of life than may appear. Improved nutrition practice may have an indirect but significant impact on size, mortality, and cognitive growth of children, while improved water and latrinization can help improve health, as well as raise agricultural productivity and the level of employment. Hall (1978) provides a case study of a massive mobilization of almost two million-rural people in Tanzania for a public health radio campaign, the short-term benefits of which Included an estimated 750, 000 latrines built. Experimental efforts to use radio spot announcements in several Third World countries (that is, Ecuador, the Philippines, and Nicaragua) to get mothers to adopt simple nutritional practices also seem to have had some success (Cooke and Romweber 1977).

Finally, in the area of nonformal education for agriculture, health, literacy, and the like, we come closer to a relatively information-weighted practice. There have been a number of efforts to use low-cost communication technologies, especially radio, in the education of rural people (Spain, Jamison, and McAnany 1977; Jamison and McAnany 1978). There are several examples in the Dominican Republic (White 1976), Nicaragua (Suppes, Searle, and Friend 1979), and Tanzania (Hall 1978) where results nave been encouraging.

Some examples of rural projects nave been mentioned that have had success in providing better information to rural areas, but there is a need to review the circumstances of each project carefully and to estimate the potential impact it has for improving the lives of the rural poor. The structural context is something that enters into the outcome of any communication strategy and considerably modifies the potential benefit of most projects. For example, Spain (1977) argues that even if we could educate rural children in Mexico to finish primary school, the rural environment would not provide employment for those graduates. The positive impact of education and information on agricultural productivity may be considerably lessened when we look at traditional subsistence farms separately and not lump together large and middle-sized farms with very small plots. Mexican researchers found that in a second trial of the impact of their version of "Sesame Street" in rural Mexico, there was no replication of the positive findings among the poor of Mexico City (Diaz-Guerrero et al. 1976). Grunig (1971) found—among Colombian peasants—that although information can help an individual adapt to a changing situation "it can do little to change the situation." The small subsistence farmers may not lack for information but often cannot use it in any productive way because of structural constraints such as land size or lack of credit. The principle for planning information strategies that pay off for the poor seems to be a careful estimate of the ratio for potential change in the target area of each project.

Policy Alternatives For Information's Role

There are, as have been pointed out above, two ways to analyze the problems of the rural poor—a political analysis of the factors that have caused and continue to help keep the poor "in their place", and an analysis of the problem that looks for a technical solution to the situation. In neither case is the author satisfied with the solution offered in isolation from the other. It has been suggested that both kinds of analysis be made and that, ultimately, the problem demands an integrated solution, both political and technical. Thus, for countries that, politically, have made serious choices to put equity into practice, the technical analysis may be a help in carrying out such development goal more effectively. Tanzania, for example, has tried to further the benefits of its equity principle for the rural masses through radio mobilization campaigns. For those countries that do not pot priority on equity, there may be some benefit for the rural poor in a careful technical approach to an information strategy. Thus, at given historical moments even status quo-oriented governments may allow their own agencies or private groups to promote programs that try to mobilize rural people for development. But contents of the campaign may make political differences, so that a rural health and nutrition education campaign might clash less with vested interests in

rural areas than an agricultural campaign that may quickly arrive at the fundamental necessity for land reform.

There are two sets of policy recommendations that must be briefly mentioned m this context—those that help ensure IEC projects of benefiting the right people in rural areas (that is, the poor, not the relatively better-off farmers) and those that ensure IEC projects of achieving a more effective outcome, regardless of selection.

At the political and administrative level should be placed certain preconditions for the planning of IEC projects:

1. There should be a serious political commitment of the government to improve the conditions of the rural poor (an important but not exclusive measure is the budget commitment).
2. The project should not be a pilot project but involve enough people so that it will be more difficult, if the project succeeds, for a future government to cut it off.
3. There should be a clear-cut mechanism for involving the target audience itself (participation in planning, implementation, definition of needs, and sharing in benefits).
4. There should be an integrated approach covering several areas of rural need (for example, health education, agricultural practice, nutrition education, environmental hygiene) so that a broader participation of rural people is encouraged.

All of these provisions are applicable to governments that have sought political and technical solutions to rural poverty and those that seek only a technical solution. At the technical planning level, there are several recommendations to be made:

1. There should be an analysis of different substantive areas for rural change projects (for example, health and nutrition, agriculture, literacy, small industry, and the like) in which the physical resource/information trade-off is most clear.
2. There should be a careful task analysis within those areas that hold the most promise for an information substitution or supplementation strategy to see what part may benefit most from Information (for example, in health, information may help more in reducing infant diarrhea than river blindness).
3. There should be a study of the self-selection mechanisms of rural audiences and a subsequent monitoring of the Information/ resource delivery to assure the project planners that not only the right people are selected but also that they continue to receive the services.
4. There should be a policy study to decide whether investment in a greater number of smaller, private projects or m fewer, large-scale government projects in rural development would be more beneficial.
5. There should be an evaluation not only of the shorter- but also of the longer-term benefits of IEC projects for their impact on rural equity.

Currently, there is much attention being given to the question of a new international economic order and to a new information -world order. If Third World countries succeed in freeing their communication systems from undue influence and control by metropolitan countries, they face the vital stage of transforming their communication infrastructure into a system that will, in turn, help to create a better economic base for their people. A major task that confronts most countries is to try to equalize the difference between their urban and rural populations. The role that information might; play in this task of helping rural people to lead more productive, healthy lives depends not only on political decisions concerning the struggle to eliminate structural blocks to growth but also on a decision to use their own information resources in the most appropriate way in that struggle.

Characteristics of Development Communication

Ever since the third world countries gained their independence from their colonial powers, media played a vital role in the development of these countries. The revolution started by the developing countries in the sixties accelerated the pace of development, in all fields as agriculture health and nutrition, education, family planning, environment. Lerners, in his "The passing of the traditional society', wrote, "The quickest way to change traditional societies is to is to introduce and use mass media."

Purposive

Communication for development or development communication is purposive communication. It is the purposeful sharing information to bring about desirable change. Desirable means the greatest good of the greatest number of people in a society, and for the individual, the fulfillment of the human potential. The whole communication activity is aimed at social economic political and cultural development.

Development communication disseminates useful and crucial information to people which will inspire, encourage, support and lead in their decisions in their path to development. It alters according to the feedback, The messages are prepared in a participatory manner.

The message must not be dull and boring but show clearly how the information transmitted will make a difference in the life of the recipient - it must not instill doubt or disbelief, but trust and confidence (look for local adopters). Development Communication workers should, however, balance creativity with an understanding of what communities would be prepared to accept and where consideration has been given to the norms and prevailing values of that community.

It never dumps information in a community. Development Communication has specific behavioral objectives, such as getting farmers to go in for a specific variety of seed, pesticide, etc.

Sustainable

Therefore the role of development communication is to work for sustainable development, "Which involves benign designs and management procedures that work with natural processes to conserve all resources, minimize waste, and environmental impact, prevent problems and promote agro-eco-system resilience, self regulation, evolution and sustained production for the nourishment and fulfillment of all." Mac Ray.

People Participatory

In the process of development, the main participants and the beneficiaries are the people. Rejection or acceptance of development messages depend on the patterns of socialization and cultural context of the people. Though beneficiaries may not have the ability to articulate their views as concretely as the thinkers could, they can provide much to the planning, implementation and monitoring of the development project. Further, possibility of the abuse, misuse and unjust dispersal of the fruits of development is likely to decrease.

Development programmes which plan for communities or supply information which planners feel communities need, fail to be relevant initiatives and more often than not fail to be sustainable. A primary emphasis of this approach is to plan with communities, create structures which offer communities and developers equal power, and use communication methods which are fundamentally participatory in nature. This often requires that government planners, developers or community workers have to listen to the advice of communities and change the views they themselves hold.

The economical strategies and plans before the 70's were hierarchical or top down planned. The voice of the majority poor were not listened to. 'People above' decided everything for them. They were never consulted. This made the plans theoretical and far away from the actual needs and practicability.

But by 70's a new era was rising. Communication scientists and development activists began to receive a new view. People's participation in the decision making and executing became unquestionable and unavoidable.

Development communication is people oriented, and enable to people to design their own pace of development. It believes in the people's ability to change and to participate. The people are more aware of the problems they are facing, but often fail to tackle it. The change agent's role is to make them find out methods by themselves and to assist them in this process. Further people oriented development brought out the inborn talents and abilities of the people that could be utilized for the development programs. The early concept, education for employment was extended to education for self-renewal and self-reliance.

People Empowerment

Abraham Maslov in his Transpersonal Psychology said that the goal of all human beings is self-actualization. Development communication makes it possible through mutual sharing of ideas. Since the goal of communication is the full realization of the human being, the chief function of both interpersonal and mass media is to promote critical self-awareness and help people to empower their situation.

Participatory approach builds up self-confidence of the people.

Human development, empowerment, self-reliance and participatory development are very closely connected. It development implies that people must get the opportunity to shape their own development, it means that target beneficiaries of development should have control over the planning and execution of development activities as well as the resources. This leads to participatory action programs in which land reform, redistribution of assets etc. get the change for the poor to take control of their own development.

In participatory development and self-reliance, communicator is expected to stimulate and to contribute to the process of empowerment. Communications has the role of making people aware of their own situation and potential and pave the way for action. Priority is given to interpersonal communication channels and horizontal flow of ideas.

Holistic Approach

For integral development it may be necessary to adopt a holistic approach. The society functions as a mega system, where every sub system affects and gets affected by the other. Therefore an integral or holistic approach is needed.

Dr. Jamias in her book "Readings in Development Communication" says, "To achieve agricultural development objectives, communication should not be viewed as a lone, self-actualizing factor but as a part of a larger system, composed of multiple interacting factors in development." "The intended outcome of a communication act may fail or at most succeed only in a limited way due to a crucial weakness in one or more factors in the system."

Various disciplines like, psychology, sociology, political science and anthropology has to work side by side to ensure development. The help from all these branches may be necessary to bring in essential changes or groundwork to execute the development plans.

Stover opined that human development must aim at creating the "whole man and woman and deal beyond economic needs, with the human necessity for expression, creativity, conviviality. It must begin by meeting basic needs, particularly of the poor."

Therefore, changes in the individual, structural changes, and organizational changes must go side by side in economic development. For example, a farmer will be affected both by internal structural changes such as land reforms, and also by the external structural changes such as trade relationships. To have a certain socio economic equality, equitable distribution of social product was necessary.

Local Culture Bias

Culture is the expression of the collective mind of a society.

In the early decades all the communication scientists headed by Daniel Herne believed that culture is an obstacle to development. So they taught that traditional cultures must give way to the western culture which created faster economic development in the developed countries. As all the early scholars belonged to US, they taught that only capitalist model of development is

desirable and promotable. As a result, profit motive and individualism became guiding factors for development.

However by the 90's it was proved that capitalist ideal was neither desirable nor even attainable. Tendency to "romance with traditional cultures" started.

Traditional cultures had within themselves the paths to development. Folk theatre, dance and music began to play key roles in disseminating development plans. They did not need expatriate expertise to operate and they were locally available. The thinkers agreed that the 'Small and local are also beautiful.' The use of local media is stimulated because people are familiar with them and it strengthens cultural tradition and can be managed by people themselves.

But a problem with traditional culture is, left to themselves, they do not promote material well- being. But they can be of good use to support communication strategies of DSC plans. They are not an alternative but a support.

As each culture enjoys a monopoly of shared experience, customs, traditions and belief systems, their receptivity can be shaped by them. If not careful the effect can be just negative compared to the intended effect.

There lies a danger in synthesizing local culture to western culture. The richness and beauty of the culture, when come to horns with the capitalistic and modern culture of the western people, either it gets annihilated and undergo a cultural domination or cultural synchronization. The beauty of the humanity lies in the variety. When this goes and a single capitalistic culture grows, this sudden change will make life dry, immoral and ego-centered.

Mass media opened the doors of the third world 'forts', welcomed the western capital, expertise and technology and let loose their possibility of self-reliance and valued cultural heritage and values.

The role of development communication in cross boarder development project is to preserve the rich heritage of different cultures and to make use them as development support communication tools to disseminate the new information. It is possible through participatory process.

Self Reliance Oriented

Self-reliance and public participation are musts for the planning and implementation of the development program. Self reliance also implies the determination of a people or a country to build, using their own resources and appropriate or intermediate technology espoused in Schumacher's notion, "Small is beautiful." Rogers in 1976 viewed development as a participatory process of social change in a society intended to bring about social and material advancement (Involving greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining control over their environment.

Communication as social service

Development Communication is philanthropic. It seeks no profit but only development for the target beneficiary. Take the example of the high yielding variety of seed. Once adopted, the farmers can increase their harvest manifold. This means more income, which can be utilised to buy land, cattle or equipments. This is what we mean by positive value attached to development communication.

Note

LESSON 10:
GENDER DIMENSION OF DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To understand why gender concerns are necessary

To know the situation of women in India

To learn the role of women in development

To study the need for women empowerment

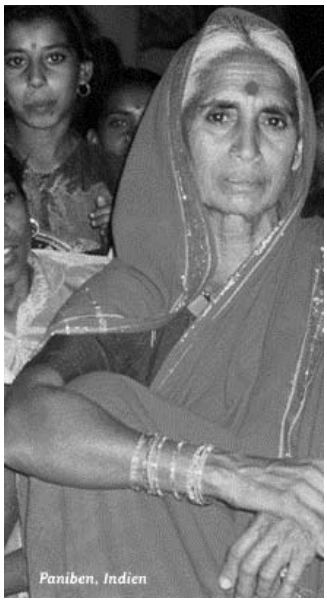
Rights-based approaches to development emphasize non-discrimination, attention to vulnerability and empowerment. Women and girls are among the first victims of discrimination. They are the most vulnerable and the least empowered in many societies.

To protect women's rights, the international community has created specific standards. In 1979, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

The Convention, which entered into force on 3 September 1981, establishes women's right to non-discrimination on the basis of sex and affirms equality in international law. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) monitors it.

Recent world conferences, including Vienna (1993), Cairo (1994) and Beijing (1995), have confirmed the strong link between the
: of violations of human rights and the
f women's rights.

ıa Declaration and Programme of Action
man rights of women as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of human rights and demanded that the equal status and human rights of women be integrated into the mainstream of United Nations system-wide activity.


Paniben, Indien

Gender mainstreaming has been defined by the United Nations as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in any area and at all levels (ECOSOC Agreed Conclusions 1997/2).

In 1998, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) adopted resolution 1998/11 on mainstreaming a gender perspective into the policies and programmes of the United Nations system, and decided to pay particular attention to what has been called the "feminization" of poverty, its causes and remedies. The Organization has now committed itself to integrating a gender perspective into all areas of United Nations work, including development.

In resolution 2000/5 the Commission on Human Rights affirmed the need to apply a gender perspective in the implementation of the right to development, inter alia by ensuring that women play an active role in the development process. It emphasized that the empowerment of women and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society is fundamental for society.

At its fifty-fifth session, the Commission requested all human rights treaty bodies, special procedures and the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights to adopt a systematic gender perspective when implementing their mandates (E/CN.4/RES/1999/41).

In accordance with this resolution, OHCHR is endeavouring to mainstream gender issues both within and outside the Office. Gender concerns will be reflected in the conceptualization, implementation and evaluation of human rights policies, strategic planning, and the setting of priorities and objectives.

Development and Gender Related Crime

Crimes by and against women attracts focused public attention due to the special status of women in the Indian social structure, and needs to be scrutinized against the backdrop of their socialization in our society. The subject of women and crime also needs to be discussed in accordance with the changes that Indian society has registered in the last four decades The conflicts generated in the values and norms, roles and responsibilities, expectation and reality, etc., have further complicated the issue of women and crime Both, crimes by and against women may have various dimensions with a resemblance to the general crime trends of a society. However, the crimes against women must not be judged in accordance with their intensity but against the background and status of the victim or perpetrator in the social order.

In India, where the almighty is worshipped in feminine form as Shakti by many, crime against women is becoming common place and is on the increase. Crime statistics - with all their imperfections - paint a dismal picture. They point out that in this country, a rape takes place once in every 54 minutes; eve - teasing once in every 51 minutes; molestation once in every 26 minutes; and a dowry death once in every hundred minutes. Crime against women reported to police has increased by over 37 per cent in the past seven years. (Dr.S.Subramanian, IPS (Retd.)

Given the well known fact that only few crimes get reported to the police and that official statistics do not take note of less well known and yet frequent crimes of foeticide, infanticide, sati, with hunting, indecent overtures, verbal and physical abuse within the family, these statistics indicate only the tip of the

iceberg. Added to this, the fatalistic attitude of Indian women who suffer silently all abuses and hardships as part of their karma, and the social taboos which look down upon the victim of a sex crime, prevent many instances coming in the open. While the 'cases known to the police' represent only a fraction of actual incidence, the tardy disposal given to them both by the police and judiciary undermines the confidence of the women in the criminal justice system.

Women, who constitute about half of our population are entitled to a fair deal from the society and the criminal justice system to save them from these crimes. While the feudal past of our society and societal values create an atmosphere of tolerance for crime against women, the course of justice is deflected and made ineffective due to the indifference and lack of cooperation from the public; inadequate law enforcement efforts; a sluggish and unresponsive judicial system resulting in delayed trials; and the consequent pressure on witnesses to turn hostile. Remedy lies in implementing a multi-pronged strategy aimed at sensitizing the public, police and judiciary to gender justice so that prevention, detection and investigation, speedy and effective trials and deterrent punishment for crime against women become more effective and result-oriented.

Prevention of crime against women calls for a general awareness in the population to give the women their due. Massive educational campaigns and propaganda efforts to highlight the need to eradicate the existing social evils which lead to the crime against women are to be launched. Eve-teasing, a precursor and a catalyst to many types of serious offences against women, takes place due to adolescents picking up wrong signals and ideas from the media and the films. They are in an age where they can not shift the facts of life from friction. Demystification of sex and proper sex education are likely to remove the urge and impetus for the adolescents, will ensure that sexual harassment of women do not take place and if it does, severe disciplinary action is initiated against the guilty. The need to educate women to realise that their lot is not to suffer in silence but they should fight for justice can not be over-emphasized. Measures to protect them against social ostracisation and harassment are to be conceived. Psychological support, guidance and counselling are needed for the victims of crime and many women may need shelter and sustenance in their hour of distress. Women social service organisations with the active support of the government can play a vital role in the area of prevention.

To protect themselves against physical attacks women students, working women and housewives are to be given training in elementary steps of unarmed combat for self protection. Safety gadgets like miniature tear smoke canisters that can be carried in hand bags and whistles to draw attention are to be supplied free of cost. These are standard practices in advanced countries. Law enforcement agencies, by organising beats, patrols, escorts etc. in areas prone to crime against women, can promote the cause of prevention.

The criminal justice process is initiated by the police. Unless police are sensitised to gender justice, they are not likely to give high priority to the crimes against women and consequently criminal justice system cannot swing into action. The responsibility of police in India are onerous. Much of their time and energy are consumed in order maintenance duties. Crime as a rule is now receiving a low priority in police activities and it is unrealistic to expect the police to concentrate on this areas as the focus of the public is on order maintenance. Therefore, there is need to set up special police units to exclusively deal with crime against women. To begin with, these special units could be established at all towns and cities having a population of over a lakh and in rural areas with a history of such crime.

Crime against women are of personal and intimate nature. To investigate the same, the police officer should have the confidence of the victim. In our social conditions, a woman is unlikely to confide to a male, intimate details of the crime against her. Therefore, these special units to deal with crime against women should be staffed with women police officers. As the work will be primarily of investigation, these units should be officer-intensive i.e., they should have more inspectors and sub-inspectors than the constables.

At present women police officers are recruited on almost on the same criteria as their counterparts. When entrusted with work relating to women and children, they are given some training in a capsule form, the rationale being that there should be no discrimination on sex at the stages of recruitment and training. Since, there is need for specialist officers to deal with crime against women, ladies with a degree in psychology should be recruited and given specialised training in the nuances of investigation of crime against women and also in counselling, guidance etc.

In addition to dealing with women as victims of crime, police also deal with women as accused and criminals. Often one hears complaints of custodial violence against women perpetrated by male police officers. To eliminate this possibility, the special units dealing with crime against women could also handle all women accused of crime and assist in the interrogation of women suspects and witnesses. These special units could also serve as pre-trial detention centres for women under-trials and suspects in the police remand. This would help in minimising custodial violence against women.

The need to have more women in police cannot be overemphasized. 'All women police stations', particularly in urban areas is the crying need of the day.

While the higher courts have displayed commendable initiative to render justice to women victims of crime, the same is unfortunately not true of lower courts. Law is not justice. Justice is dispensed by courts in a humane and fair manner in accordance with the spirit and letter of law. Judiciary has an important role to play in preventing the crime against women. Without prejudice to the sacred principles of natural justice and due process, it can play a pro-active role. Justice delayed is justice denied and it is within the powers of judiciary to expedite trials, protect women witnesses from harassment by the counsel. Deterrence lies in the certainty of punishment and not in its severity. Acquittals on flimsy grounds of procedure embolden the perpetrators and demoralise the victims. Special courts are to be set up.

Though, there have been some legal reforms pertaining to the crime against women, due to the initiative of women's organisations and the law commission, there is much remains to be done to amend procedural laws, prescription of minimum punishment for offences etc.

Role of women NGOs

Women NGOs should realise that crime against women to a large extent can be prevented by educating the possible victims. They should concentrate on pro-active steps to make women aware of their rights and the fact that their person can not be violated with impunity by men; train them in self defence; establish legal aid cells run by women; provide counselling and advice, make their services available to police stations to deal with women-complements, witnesses and victims. They should also follow up cases in courts. Mere agitational approach may give publicity but seldom enduring results.

Crime against women is not a mere gender issue. It is a slur on the good name of this great democracy. It is incumbent on everyone of us - Indians - to see that effective steps are taken to prevent and control the same and ultimately eliminate them. No effort can be considered excessive to achieve these.

Dowry: Statistics

Dowry Deaths

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
No. of Deaths	4836	5157	34962	5817	4935	5092	5513	6006

Incidence of Female Suicides Cause: Dowry Dispute

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
No. of Suicides	1298	1310	1370	1486	1613

Incidence and Rate of Cognizable Crimes under Special and Local Laws (SLL) by Crime Head, India - 1989 – 94

Crime Head	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	Quinquennial Avg. 1989-1993
Dowry Prohibition Act	1918	2155	1841	2102	2679	2709	2016

Incidence of Crimes Against Women by Crime Head 1990-94

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Torture	13450	15949	19750	22064	25946

Number of suicides by sex and cause, India 1994

Cause of Suicides Male Female

Cause of Suicides	Male					Female				
	< 18	18-30	30-50	>50	Total	< 18	18-30	30-50	>50	Total
Dowry Dispute	10	47	11	6	74	149	1267	194	3	1613

Source: Women in India: a statistical profile - 1997. New Delhi: Department of Women and Child Development, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, 1997.

Domestic Violence

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
No. of Deaths	13450	15949	19750	22064	25946	31127	35246	36592

Disposal of Crimes Against Women cases by Police during 1996 & 1997

Crime Head	Total No. of cases for investigation including pending cases		Percentage of cases investigated		Percentage of cases charge-sheeted		No. of cases pending investigation		Percentage of cases pending investigation	
Year	1996	1997	1996	1997	1996	1997	1996	1997	1996	1997
Rape	19963	20736	72.5	71.7	63.4	62.4	5463	5828	27.4	28.1
Kidnapping and Abduction	21765	23448	64.0	62.8	37.1	36.1	7761	8586	35.7	36.6
Dowry Deaths	6758	7543	77.5	72.3	69.9	63.5	1430	2048	21.2	27.2
Molestation	32479	34937	87.1	86.8	78.8	79.0	4148	4528	12.7	13.0
Sexual Harassment	5879	6131	94.1	92.4	91.0	89.3	347	461	5.9	7.5
Cruelty by Husband and relatives	40197	43130	83.4	80.5	71.0	67.9	6422	8268	15.9	19.2
Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act	8189	9076	90.8	86.8	90.7	96.5	748	1198	9.1	13.2
Dowry Prohibition Act	3863	3853	67.7	70.8	58.2	59.3	1216	1100	31.5	28.5
Indedent Rep. of women(P) Act	113	96	79.6	85.4	77.0	81.3	23	14	20.4	14.6
Sati Prevention Act	0	1	-	100.0	-	100.0	0	0	-	0

Source: Crime in India 1997 /by National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

Table 3: Disposal of Crime Against Women cases by courts during 1996 & 1997

Crime Head	Total No. of cases for investigation including pending cases		Percentage of cases investigated		Percentage of cases charge-sheeted		No. of cases pending investigation		Percentage of cases pending investigation	
Year	1996	1997	1996	1997	1996	1997	1996	1997	1996	1997
Rape	51734	55863	16.3	17.4	4.5	4.9	43016	45955	83.1	82.3
Kidnapping and Abduction	42978	44262	13.9	14.7	4.0	3.9	36470	37254	84.9	84.2
Dowry Deaths	16517	19435	13.8	14.8	4.8	5.2	14133	16455	85.6	84.7
Molestation	92398	100654	15.3	17.1	4.7	6.3	72539	78200	78.5	77.7
Sexual Harassment	13327	14130	31.1	29.5	22.1	18.0	8656	9437	65.0	66.8
Cruelty by Husband and relatives	99542	113181	12.2	13.0	2.3	3.1	83195	95409	83.6	84.3
Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act	13407	12660	61.3	54.1	54.2	49.4	4799	5505	35.8	43.5
Dowry Prohibition Act	7856	8295	19.6	22.7	6.9	8.3	6175	6186	78.6	74.6
Indedent Rep. of women(P) Act	625	578	19.8	13.3	9.4	6.2	500	499	80.0	86.3
Sati Prevention Act	3	4	0	0	0	0	3	1	100.0	25.0

Definition of Torture (Cruelty by Husband and Relatives): It is covered under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) along with Crimes Against Women: Dowry Death, Cruelty by Husband or Relatives, Molestation, Sexual Harassment and Importation of Girls. [The Indian Penal Code /by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal, p.677. (28th Edition 1997)]

Media Portrayal of Women

Television

Television is widely known to represent and reinforce the mainstream ideology of contemporary western culture: patriarchy. While television representations of women have changed greatly in the last twenty years alone, in order to accommodate the changing role of women in society, one is led to ask how much the ideology has changed behind the more modern representations of women. Television is regarded by many viewers to be the most 'real' form of media. If this is the case, then it is important for us to question how real the representations of women are on television and how this affects the attitudes of those who watch.

Some of the most watched, and perhaps influential genres of television viewing are advertisements and soap operas, and it is these two forms of television that I will be largely focusing on throughout this essay.

In a world where women are numbered greater than men, can television be said to reflect the world as it is, or dictate to it?

Sexism is the systematic oppression of women by men, and so the amount of sexism, if any, will be investigated as various representations of women are investigated.

As mentioned above, there is a higher number of women in the population than men, so if television is more realistic, this should be reflected. Yet women are typically seen less often than men on television and much less frequently in central dramatic roles. For example, figures show that in television drama women are outnumbered by men 3:1 or 4:1, in cartoons women are outnumbered 10:1 and in soaps women are outnumbered by as much as 7:3 which is quite surprising when one considers that this genre of television viewing has a very high proportion of female audience. Even children's television is dominated by males: 70% - 85%. Men also dominate the production side of television, so it is hardly surprising then, that the masculine or patriarchal ideology is presented as the norm, when women are so outnumbered by men on screen , and behind the scenes in television.

So we can see then, that television presents its audience with a very masculine perspective.

Gunter argues that televisions sex stereotyping occurs in relation to various roles in which men and women are portrayed and which have a connection with the personality attributes they typically display. He therefore divides stereotyping into sex role stereotyping and sex trait stereotyping.

Sex role stereotyping reflects the changes in beliefs about the value of family, child care, the role of the woman in marriage and the possibility of self-fulfilment through work. Generally, in the world of television, women tend to be confined to a life dominated by the family and personal relationships far more than men, outside the home, as well as in it. For example, according to a study by McNeil, about 75% of men are depicted as employed whereas less than 50% of women are (Gunter, 1986: 11).

Sex trait stereotyping, on the other hand, Gunter argues as reflecting more commonly held stereotypes about women's characteristics; for example, that women are more emotional than men. But the word 'emotional' isn't used in association with aggression or dominance, it is more often than not used in association in reference to the neuroticism commonly associated with women and femininity. Examples of these forms of stereotyping will become apparent as various genres of programming are investigated.

Advertising is probably one of the most important and influential products of television. Indeed, the average adult spends one and a half years of his or her life watching television adverts. For the amount of time we spend watching adverts, it

stands to reason that it will have some kind of effect on those who watch.

Paul Trowler sites a study of women in advertisements, which found that women were seven times more likely to appear in personal hygiene product adverts than to not appear; 75% of all adverts using females were for products used in the bathroom or kitchen, 56% of women in adverts were shown as domestic housewives and only eighteen different occupations were shown for women, in comparison to forty three for men (Trowler,1988: 96). Behind these figures then, we can see how advertising is prescribing the role of a woman as being very much a family and home orientated one.

When a mother and wife goes out to work leaving her family to fend for themselves, she is often punished. For example, an *OXO* advert, where we see the mother just come in from work to find that her family has eaten all the dinner without leaving her any. She looks into the camera with a resigned smile, portraying that she knows that this is her punishment and she's accepting it. Even when women are shown in a position of power, it is still shown through a very patriarchal ideology. If we use the *Kenko* advert as an example; a woman is looking at the quality of coffee beans and says to the man (seller) that she'll take them all. Seeing her (male) assistant, he says; "I'd better o.k it with the boss." to her reply of; "You just did.".

Often when women are shown in a position of power, it is portrayed as being unnatural, because from the dominant ideology, it is the men who are the most powerful and so having a male working for a female is made an issue of because it goes against the grain. This is one of the reasons why so many women are shown in domestic situations.

Jean Kilbourne in "Beauty and the Beast of Advertising", recognises that a number of studies have reached the same conclusion in that a large number of advertisements portray women as housewives or sex objects. The housewife is married, usually with children, and is shown to be obsessed with cleanliness and alpine fresh scents. Indeed, the housewife's life is shown to revolve around products which will make her house dust-free, germ-free, and dirt-free. Knowing that cleanliness of the house is her job, she usually does it with a smile, providing that she has the latest product to give her a helping hand.

When men are shown in domestic situations, they are usually portrayed as being incompetent or are shown to be manipulative: smarter than the female. Examples of this would be in the *Persil* advert, where the young man has no clean shirts and has to wash one. First, he has problems discovering which of the kitchen appliances is the washing machine, then, while he's reading the instructions on the side of the Persil packet, the powder spills all over the floor, to which his reaction is "Mum!". Finally we see him walking along wearing a whiter than white shirt.

The second advert is for *Flash multi-purpose cleaner*. The husband offers to take over the scrubbing of the floor, much to the surprise of his wife who leaves him to it. The husband then uses Flash in order to show how 'effortless' cleaning can be. When his wife returns, he grabs the scrubbing brush again so that it appears that he's scrubbed the whole floor. In response, his wife congratulates him and starts rubbing his back.

In both of these adverts, men are portrayed as not often using a kitchen. The first demonstrates this as the young man makes a mess and even blames his mother for not being there to clean for him. The second represents this in the way we see the husband sitting on a chair, sweeping the mop across the floor, and the way in which his wife rewards him with affection for doing something which is more often than not seen as her task. The second even goes so far as to imply that women are gullible and not as intelligent as men through the way that the wife is scrubbing the floor and how in contrast, the husband uses a mop and Flash. It portrays that the wife is ignorant of modern products that can make the job easier, but the husband doesn't tell her , because he can use it to manipulate her into giving him affection for a task which she thinks he has worked as hard as her on.

The sex object, according to Kilbourne, is a "mannequin" whose only attribute is conventional beauty. She is tall and thin, with very long legs, perfect teeth and hair, and skin without a blemish in sight. Underneath the surface, there is nothing. The mannequin's beauty is merely superficial. She is used to advertise cosmetics, health products and anything that works to improve the appearance of the body.

Often, these mannequins are dismembered in adverts showing the parts of the body that are in need of change or improvement. An example of this is in the *Neutralia* shower gel advert where a young blonde woman is portrayed running along a deserted beach naked representing the 'naturalness' of the product, and then different parts of her body are shown at a time, being washed. The woman has an expression of pleasure on her face as if she knows that this product will bring out her natural beauty. She is made to look somewhat virginal, with little obvious make-up, blonde hair, blue eyes and in a state of nudity, but seemingly unaware of it, like Eve, before she took the apple. This advert emphasises the naturalness of the product and the woman, and implicitly reinforces the 'naturalness' of a woman being a virgin, which is very much a part of the dominant ideology, but does not apply to men.

In contradiction to this, women in adverts are also represented as sexual objects used for the sole purpose of giving men pleasure. If we look at the most recent *Lion Bar* advert, we see a young man in his early twenties get up and get dressed, noting that his jeans and T-shirt have large rips. He goes out to buy some Lion Bars, and as he returns, the camera pans around the room to reveal claw marks on the walls and furniture. It is then we see a beautiful young woman lying on the bed, and as the camera zooms in, she opens her eyes, revealing cat-like pointed irises. At the end of the advert, when she sees the Lion Bars, she roars (like a lion).

This advert, one might find particularly derogatory towards women in the way that it likens them to animals and possessions; and the way in which the woman is placed on the bed in the advert portrays women as being only objects used for sex; void of any personality or feelings. Both these adverts succeed in dehumanising women in that the first divides the woman up into parts of a body, implying that she is nothing more than say, a car, something which is only a number of parts put together. The second advert dehumanises the woman by

showing her as an animal with little control over herself and led by sexual instinct. It also shows her as being a possession, as is a cat or dog, through the way the man has to feed her with Lion Bars, and as we see from their room, if she doesn't get her Lion Bars, She'll destroy it, just as an ill-trained dog might, if left unfed.

We can see then from these two examples the contradictory messages that women are given. They are expected to be sexy and virginal, experienced and naive, seductive and chaste. They are made to feel that they have to achieve this ideal, by constantly being presented with these images and are made to feel guilty and ashamed if they fail. Rita Freedman found that:

"When *Glamour* magazine surveyed its readers in 1984, 75% felt too heavy and only 15% felt just right. Nearly half of those who were underweight reported feeling too fat and wanting to diet. Among a sample of college women, 40% felt overweight, while only 12% were actually too heavy" (Dines, Humez, 1995: 346).

It can thus be concluded that adverts create a climate in which sexual sell and dismemberment teamed with impossible body images is seen as acceptable.

In the world of soap operas, on may be inclined to feel that women are represented more fairly, as this is a genre of television watched mainly by women. With soaps, production is created cheaply because no other competition incorporates women's perspectives and is seen as accessible, costs as little, doesn't take women out of their homes, and could later be shared with friends.

The majority of soap operas are set in a domestic situation, because the home is a place where women's expertise is supposedly valued, and is also a place of comfort. Often, the central characters are female, and the ultimate achievement for these women in soaps is to get married and have children. So it could be argued that the myth of never ending maternalism actually conceals the subordination of women. In fact, the subliminal messages often tend to be male dominated. In one episode of *Home and Away* for example, there was a disagreement about Jack and Sam having to share a room. Sally says to Sam, who is about ten years old; "So what? Me and Shannon share a room all the time.", to which he replies; "Yeah, but you girls like sharing rooms, trying on each others clothes. Us men need our space.". This implies that women always need other people, compare themselves with others, and cannot cope on their own like 'men' can. Even though this line came across somewhat humorously, being delivered by a ten-year-old boy, it still portrays the patriarchal ideology that women have a need for companionship that men don't. Indeed, it is companionship and relationships which are emphasised in soaps, with relationships being portrayed between women as important, but not as important as the relationship between a woman and a man. This is often portrayed through the central female character being a wife and usually a mother, if not wanting to be one, for example, Pippa in Home and Away fills the role of the selfless mother and wife; the good wife who, according to Meehan; "is domestic, attractive, home centred and content. She does not wish to become involved with the world outside the home, leaving this to her husband" (Trowler,1988: 96).

It used to be the case that such women were presented as sexless, that once they have had a family, they lose all sexual desire and attraction. This is still the case in much of prime time television, but in recent years, has changed to accommodate the housewife's sexuality. A good example would be Cheryl from *Neighbours*. But while the subject is spoken about openly between herself and her husband, she comes across more as a bimbo owing to the way she seldom speaks of much else except for that and her baby. However, in domestic soaps, there are still women who are shown as being sexless because they have a family. If we take the example of Pippa again, this is shown through her appearance (she always looks as if she's wearing maternity dresses), and how infrequently the subject is raised between herself and her husband. It is very rare for these main characters in such soaps to mention sex, and the viewers often see little more than a rare hug and a peck on the cheek between them, yet with the young single women characters, we often see them initiate what we are led to believe will lead on to sex, and the subject is broached much more frequently.

The young, single woman characters tend to conform to the mannequin image, being tall, slim, conventionally beautiful, and usually they are portrayed as being the 'girl next door' type character, friendly, happy, not very intelligent, and seldom aiming high in a career. Examples would include; Annalise - Neighbours, Donna - Home and Away, Fiona - Coronation street and Samantha - Eastenders.

When these characters do try to further themselves in a career, they invariably seem to fail; for example, Samantha from Eastenders left her husband to pursue a career in modelling, but was unsuccessful. In this way, women are often punished for pursuing their careers at the expense of their men. There is, however, a lot of images of men and women working together to achieve things, usually a husband / wife, girlfriend / boyfriend relationship. In fact, men and women in soaps are probably more equal than in any other genre of television programming. By playing down male domination, soap operas make the family more palatable.

In the more glamorous American soap operas, women of all ages use their sexuality to gain power and the middle-aged women are presented much more frequently as being desirable sexually in comparison to those in the more domestic soaps. We also see women in a position of power more regularly, although these characters tend to be invariably aggressive, and are often portrayed as the villainess; a woman who turns her traditional feminine characteristics into a source of strength. Often she will use pregnancy and / or insight to manipulate people. She uses her sexuality for herself, and not for the pleasure of men. An example of such a woman would be Alexis from *Dynasty*. She is a reversal of male and female roles. Indeed, Modleski argues that the final control the villainess strives for is control over passive femininity rather than control over men.

In soaps the more positive features that the villainess possesses are portrayed in a morally disapproving manner, and so ultimately, success is denied. The female viewer both loves and hates this character, sides with her, yet at the same time, desires her downfall. As John Fiske argues;

"The contradictions in the text and its reading position reflect the contradictions inherent in the attempt to assert feminine values within and against a patriarchal society." (Dines, Humez,1995)

So the villainess is portrayed in both a positive and a negative light at the same time; positive because she does things for herself rather than men, and negative because she is shown to ultimately fail, which implicitly warns women not to follow this example of a woman.

Therefore, while soap operas do portray women in a more positive way than advertising and other forms of television, it still ultimately respects and conforms to the broader mainstream cultural demands, through the way in which it still tends to put women in a domestic setting, especially if she has a family. Soaps often show women as having jobs, but rarely pursing their careers, and if they do, more often than not, they are unsuccessful. Thus we can see how even a form of television programming aimed at a majority female audience contains subliminal messages reinforcing the dominant male ideology.

One point of interest would be how people respond to the representations of women embodied through television. I have interviewed four people concerning their personal opinions of how fair these representations are.

Person *A* is female and nineteen years old, person *B* is female and twenty-years old, person *C* is male and fifty years old, and person *D* is male and twenty-four years old.

When asked to think of five stereotypes for women, the one stereotype that all respondents gave was the bimbo, a conventionally beautiful young woman with little intelligence and who they considered would usually be found on soaps and quiz shows. All the stereotypes that the respondents gave were from soap operas, dramas and adverts. None of the respondents felt that women are represented in a wholly accurate manner.

But what is interesting, however, is the fact that *C* and *D* thought representations to be more true than *A* and *B*. *A* and *B* both rejected the majority of images they spoke about, and even said they felt angry at what television portrays as a woman. The messages that the men and women received were different, but still not constructive. *A* and *B* both said that they felt television telling them that their place is behind men and that there is a pressure to always look good. Respondent *D* said he felt that television dictates what type of woman he should be attracted to, but despite that, he felt that the representations of women are getting better all the time. *C* Thought that the numbers of women involved in television programmes are representative of the number of women in the population. On referring to the roles of men and women, he states that; "..generally, the men are the hunters and have to provide, and women are the carers." He also stated that he tends to associate shallowness with beautiful women (the mannequin), but denied that this view came as a response of the women portrayed on television.

One might argue from these interviews that men consider television representations of women to be more true than do the women. Even though everyone admitted that they are not wholly representative, these portrayals still have some effect on the views that the respondents hold about women.

Therefore we can see the different roles that women are shown to fill, and in some aspects they *are* representative; there *are* domestic women, career women, single mothers, beautiful women etc. While television can be said to reflect the changing roles of women, it seems to portray them in a light of approval or disapproval, positive or negative according to the roles that patriarchy favours: the housewife is favoured, whilst the woman in power is often shown to be the villain. More importantly, women are often represented as not being so intelligent as men, and having to rely on them. It is also shown that a woman is either intelligent or beautiful; but rarely both. It is important to note also, the effects that these portrayals have on people, and while these interviews are by no means representative of the population, it proves that they do affect peoples views of what women are really like.

Women in Advertisements

Short skirts and noodle-strap tops, see-through shirts with shorts that barely cover her derriere, hard drinking and hard partying. Impossibly slim and dizzyingly tall, a go-getter career girl with snazzy mobile phones to match every outfit. Anything-but-black hair colour that comes out of a bottle, green and blue eye lenses.... And she's selling soap, jeans, shoes, cars, mobiles, washing machines, skin whitening creams and lotions, perfumes and watches.

There's a revolution "happenin" and we barely notice. Slowly but surely, our advertising industry is fashioning out a new woman for us. In the war of the image between Tulsi (of the serial 'Kyunki Saas Bhi Kabhi Bahu Thi') and the Nokia girl, the latter is clearly everywhere. Advertisers have found it far easier to clone the young and 'mod' party-happy girl. "If you look at only one advertisement or two, it doesn't hit you," says Bishaka Datta, head of Point of View (POV), a Mumbai-based NGO that works to promote the points of view of women, through creative use of the media. "But if you look at advert after advert, the pattern emerges clearly. There's no doubt that the advertising industry is aiming to create a different look - that of a westernised, fair, blonde, light-eyed, slim and high-cheek-boned young woman."

However, it isn't only the look that bothers the members of POV. It is also the messages implicit in advertisements. In a major exercise, members of the NGO began collecting adverts in which women have been used to sell different products or those in which they appear as mere appendages.

The idea was to design an interactive curriculum that young college students would use, to critically explore the relationships between women, beauty and advertising. Entitled 'The Beauty Spectrum', the multimedia curriculum has been developed by a POV team. The team includes Datta, Shilpa Phadke (a sociologist currently working on a PhD on media and sexuality), and Alexis Kort (a student of Middle Eastern Studies from Canada who did an internship with POV).

According to Kort, their purpose was to show that there is little diversity in the image of women's beauty. "These women are often portrayed in stereotypical roles (mothers, wives, or just

something pretty to look at). We gathered adverts from a range of English magazines available in Mumbai, mostly Indian publications and a few international publications (like Cosmopolitan). We had about 200 ads of a huge variety of products, from cosmetics to cars."

The basic criterion was simple: Anything that used an image of a woman to sell the product. The ads were categorised into those that used women in traditional roles (mothers and wives); ads that used the image of a beautiful woman somewhat out of context (like a bikini clad young woman selling a car); and of course, a category specifically selling beauty products.

What came across was the insidious change in the overall 'look' of the women in the adverts. Both Kort and Datta were struck by the preponderance of the 'westernised' look of the women models. Besides, says Phadke, 'contradictory messages' continue to co-exist - the sari-clad, large bindi, magalsutra and sindhoor sporting women, and the sex symbol images in which the bodies of motorcycles and women are placed side by side in a comparison of curves!

There is little diversity in the image of women's beauty. The message seems to be: be Indian, be sexy, be thin, be glamorous even when your back aches, be a superwoman but what ever you do - don't think!

There is little diversity in the image of women's beauty. The message seems to be: be Indian, be sexy, be thin, be glamorous even when your back aches, be a superwoman but what ever you do - don't think!

For the advertising, film and television world, the sari-clad image has - weirdly enough - become a pan-Indian symbol of marriage for women. Some details connected with the sari-clad image don't conform to the traditional image in certain communities. For instance, says Phadke, Gujaratis don't wear the mangalsutra traditionally. But in all the 'saas bahu' (mother-in-law, daughter-in-law) serials on TV, the women wear huge and conspicuous mangalsutras in Gujarati families.

The message, she said, seems to be: be Indian, be sexy, be thin, be glamorous even when your back aches, be a superwoman but what ever you do - don't think!

The curriculum is being tested in a few colleges in Mumbai (beginning with St Xavier's College in July), primarily with students of media courses as POV felt that it would help to work with students undergoing training as media professionals. In eight parts, the curriculum covers a gallery of beautiful women, clocking the changes in images of beauty over the years. Besides this, there is a body image survey; a fun board game called the beauty challenge; films that examine the body and look at alternative images of the body; and a debating session to confront one's own myths and gain other perspectives. The curriculum also includes an examination of implicit statements made in advertisements; attempts to devise creative but non-sexist advertisements; and a case study of adverts like the Fair and Lovely series.

According to Kort, the students enjoyed the curriculum very much. There was a debate in which students had to agree or disagree with a given statement. The statement 'women who dress provocatively are asking to be sexually harassed' generated a heated debate. One young man said a girl walking around dressed 'sexy', was like going into a fireworks store with a book of matches.

But most women students felt the culture they lived in provided a permissive environment for men to sexually harass women. This, they said, needed to be changed and that they should be free to wear whatever they wanted wherever they want. They also pointed out that they could be victims of sexual harassment whether they were wearing a miniskirt or a conservative salwar kameez.

The students, Phadke adds, felt a sense of identification with the themes in the curriculum. They had a forum to discuss issues, articulate confusions and be provocative without the fear of being ridiculed. In this sense, she said, the exercise was a rather successful one.

The POV team did not intend a watertight agenda of indoctrination. The aim was to expose the changing visions of 'beauty' and the inconsistencies that operate across time. The hope was to encourage reflection on the constructed nature of 'beauty', and to illustrate how much it is dependent on imagery within a patriarchal culture. The team did not tell the students "what to think", instead they created a space where they could think for themselves and arrive at perceptions that were informed.

Phadke herself is anxious and concerned about the prevailing culture among youth today - when visions of modernity and liberation are being increasingly tied to looks rather than other kinds of achievement. However, the POV curriculum sought to show students the advertising industry's monolithic image of women and beauty and the stereotypes used to sell products.

As the POV team said, "We wanted students to think more about beauty and power and how they can shake up the status quo. They were receptive to our ideas and most important, we gave them a forum to discuss their feelings and perceptions about the image of women used by the mainstream media in India."

Development Communication and Women Empowerment

(Declaration to UNGASS of the NGO Caucus on Women and Media, New York, June 7, 2000)

A mind-boggling revolution in communication is taking place across the world. Much has changed even in the five years since the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action.

These changes have huge potential, both negative and positive, for furthering or impeding a more just and equitable gender order. Depending on how they are deployed, they can become a key factor for women's empowerment, for they could drive an irreconcilable wedge between the digitally powerful and the digitally deprived multitude of women and other marginal groups.

Communication is fundamental for achieving the objectives in the Platform for Action. How can women better the development of their communities or play an informed role in public life, without access to pluralistic information, the means of public expression and sharing knowledge? How can women work towards a new geo-political order governed by norms of

peace and mutual respect without channels of communication for dialogue and exchange of information?

Yet the booming communications industry—the fastest growing sector of the economy—is becoming increasingly concentrated in national and transnational monopolies, which are driven overridingly by profit. Information becomes a commodity and the function of media as a public service is swept aside. Under the sway of the mass media, women are portrayed to the public view in a highly selective and disempowering manner, and a majority of the world's women are simply invisible. Their viewpoints and concerns are grossly underrepresented.

Meanwhile, international communications regulation and policy are concentrated in bodies such as the World Trade Organization and International Telecommunications Union, which are dominated by business interests. Women's access to the means of communication is not represented in their decisions and is given little weight.

As codified in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all people have the right to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontier." This implies that it is essential for women and marginalized groups to gain access to all means of communication and public expression, including the mass media; noncommercial access to broadcasting spectrum and communications technology; and a say in the direction of technology development.

To guarantee women the fundamental human right to communicate, civil society must be empowered to hold national and international media accountable. Full, gender-balanced participation of civil society in regulatory bodies must be ensured. Codes of ethics must be articulated that respect the vital norms of pluralism, human rights and gender balance. Both gender mainstreaming and special programs are required to create an enabling environment that fosters women's equality in the media professions.

Any serious review of Section J (Women and Media) of the Beijing Platform for Action has to address the emerging scenario at the global, regional, national, and local level. It must recognize the strategic weakness of Section J, which failed to articulate the structural constraints and impediments that women and other marginal groups face due to commercialization and globalization of media and the concomitant decline of public broadcasting media in societies with democratic and pluralistic traditions.

Not only has the Beijing Plus 5 review failed to meet this challenge, but the Outcomes document scarcely refers to media and communications at all. We call upon the United Nations to create the conditions for a broad and inclusive debate on communication issues and their implications for democracy and social justice. We also call for a World Conference on Communication with 50% female participation — in which women and other marginalized citizens must have an equal voice with governments and the private sector, as a fundamental contribution to gender equality, development and peace.

Information and Communication Technology for Women Empowerment

In today's world, information means power. Because ours is a so-called Information Society, where the influence of information and communication technology (ICT) is predominant and influential, much power lies in those with access to information and control over the channels of communication.

However, many of these channels of communication are controlled by organizations whose prime motivation is profit, with nary a care about the concerns of developing countries and the marginalized sectors of the society.

Isis International, a woman liberation movement, started in 1974 in Rome, Italy, primarily to create opportunities for women's voices to be heard, strengthen feminist analyses through information exchange, and promote solidarity and support feminist movements across the globe. Rome office eventually moved to Manila in 1991. It is named after the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis who symbolizes wisdom, creativity and knowledge.

Isis believes that information and communication are vital to bringing about awareness. "Information provides knowledge, and communication allows knowledge to be shared. Together, they enable the exchange of experiences, analyses and strategies and the building of networks and movements. Together, they make possible individual and collective action for social transformation."

As a feminist communication organization, Isis is "committed to challenging this elitist and patriarchal control of information and communication by creating and strengthening alternative networks and channels for women's advocacy." The organization states that "Having access to and control over information and channels of communication can mean a survival difference in today's globalised societies. Yet, many women do not have access to even basic services, let alone these new technologies. What information we do receive is largely biased, promotes hegemonic norms and values, and does not consider our perspectives and needs. Similarly, while more and more women are creating or maximizing opportunities to utilize communication tools, most remain excluded."

Isis maintains database of over 4,000 women's groups and networks, individuals and institutions supporting women's activities worldwide. The group also provides ICT training at least twice a year to women belonging to different organizations. "ICT allows for fast networking and distribution of information. Mobilization of people is also easy nowadays. The response is also quick".

Women Empowerment through Panchayati Raj

Women face multiple hurdles and find it difficult to participate in the political process that has hitherto been a male bastion. The reasons for this are gender specific. Women are less mobile than men are. They have domestic responsibilities, which puts limits on the time they can spend in such processes. There are historical prejudices. Consistent efforts will have to be made over a period of time to engender the political process and institutions and issues that are critical to this process. This paper

explores some aspects of this process in the context of decentralised governance ushered in by the 73rd Constitutional amendment in India in the last five years.

Recognising this limitation where gender is concerned, India has passed laws that make it mandatory for local governments to include women. [These laws do not apply to state and national level legislatures.] One third of the seats in local bodies—gram or village panchayats, municipalities, city corporations and district bodies—are "reserved" for women. This means the contests can only be between women in these constituencies. The first step in enabling women to participate has been taken. This reservation of seats, in the 1993-94 elections, has brought in about 800,000 women into the political process in a single election. They are now just about completing their first term [of five years] in elected office. Elections for the second round will soon have to be held. What has been the experience with this experiment in social engineering?

As may be expected, the experience of women in panchayati raj has been varied. Many are surrogates for husbands and fathers who could not contest because of the reservation. Some were put in place by the wealthy and powerful, for their malleability—a kind of puppet to serve the vested interest while appearing to be an elected representative. This has led to many problems that have been extensively discussed in the literature and form the basis for an excellent film, sponsored by UNICEF, called Shansodhan.

There have also been many efforts to train the women who have been elected. Interestingly enough, the state government has undertaken some of these. In Karnataka, the Department of Women and Child Development co-operated with professionals in what has come to be known as the Gramsat Programme. This had two parts. The first was an interactive session, using satellite technology to link the different district headquarters to Bangalore. This session used material generated through meetings of women elected to gram panchayats. The impact was immediately visible, and even today, its role in giving these women self-confidence to face a big challenge cannot be underestimated.

The second part was training material developed as an extension of the first, including issues of concern to women—nutrition, water, primary education, basic health services, immunisations, common property resources, etc, which were used in training programmes across the state. The objective here was two fold—to raise certain questions in their minds on these issues and also to provide them with some basic information that would enable them to play their roles in the GPs. The impact of this so far as we know, has yet to be assessed.

Yet, it must not be forgotten that this experiment in local self-government is being undertaken in a society that is predominantly illiterate. Many of the people elected, especially those in the reserved categories are very poor. In attending meetings of the GP, they often have to give up a day's wages. To use terms popularised by Amartya Sen, the entitlements of the actors in this great drama of democracy are way below what they should be. As a result, their capabilities to play these roles are low as these are in uncharted territory.

Case Study

Haleuru gram panchayat is located between Malgudi, the district headquarters, and Balgudi, the taluk HQ—it is 17 km from each on the main highway. The total population is over 4000. There are 490 houses and 580 families. The GP is divided into 7 wards, and has 8 members. Two positions are reserved for SCs and one for STs. Out of the 8, 4—four—are women.

When the elections to the GP were held in 1993, there was considerable discussion in the village. Under the guidance of the elders of the village, it was decided that only one candidates' name would be proposed for each post. So each member was declared elected without a contest.

After the election, the post of GP President was reserved for an ST woman. Smt Gangamma Jayakar, the only eligible candidate, thus became the President. She has passed her 4th standard.

The other members who did not mind her being an 'ordinary member', could not accept her in the role of the President of the GP. They asked her to resign, so that one of the others could take over as President. This she was not willing to do. The others refused to co-operate with her.

She sought the advice of the officials at the taluk and zilla levels. She was told that she need not resign: the post was hers by right. She was also told that the quorum for meetings was 3 members, and that she and two other members could take decisions. With the help of the two SC members, she conducted the meetings. When the others protested against this, as advised by the officials she went to the High Court in Bangalore, which ruled in her favour. After that, the three members have been conducting meetings for the village. The others attend every third meeting, sign the register and leave (just to retain their membership]. They refuse to co-operate in the running of the panchayat so long as she remains President. She can be a "number", but not a "member"!

These members also argue with the GP secretary, who therefore seeks an excuse to ask for a transfer. The present Secretary is the third one in this term. Gangamma is not happy with him.

Ms Jayakar feels that she could have achieved a lot more if the others co-operated. As it is, in getting works like gutters dug, she has effectively to work alone. But she is proud that she could get a bus stand constructed. She could do all this because of the support of officials at the TP and ZP levels.

Discuss

Does a mere reservation for women bring in social change?

What is the relation between caste and class?

Here, reservation has brought to prominence a person who would never have attained such a position under "normal" conditions. Would a man have fared differently in this situation?

Can officials make the difference to the functioning of local governments to this extent? If so, under what conditions will they play a positive role, as in this case?

A Conclusion

One, the grinding poverty in which most of the people live makes abstract notions of democracy and ethics rather distant concepts. Exploitation of different sorts is a reality. Corruption

is a matter of routine, where payment of a bribe is at best seen as a minor nuisance to getting something, never mind that it is a right, done. It is into this situation that local self-government has been introduced from the top. If one goes by the spirit of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee report, nothing loftier than an efficient local tier of development administration was intended. This is what the higher level would like to see. It is important to remind ourselves of this basic truth.

Added to this is the fact that the women who have come in under caste reservation have come in 'with their social and economic disadvantages' – mostly non-literate, with little productive assets, largely dependent on wage labour and into a rural society that has fixed places for various castes and gender. These cannot be changed by a wave of the constitutional amendment wand!

Two, while people have a clear sense of survival, they are prepared to cope in a feudal type system in which direct action does not work. Rural reality is complex—being freed from bondage has often not meant freedom as many expected it to. Experience has taught them to go slow, to approach their goal indirectly. They have to decide if attending PR meetings is sometimes worth missing their daily wage. This is even more so in the case of women, who have to worry about crying babies and hungry husbands.

This is how they see the new system of PRIs. Thus, it is unrealistic to expect much in terms of their response. It has first to be demonstrated that the system is indeed here to stay. In West Bengal, it is only after one or two rounds of elections had been held that the system settled down as a permanent part of the rural countryside. In Karnataka, the constant tinkering with the system has meant that people are still cautious about this system. No one is sure it will not be overturned tomorrow! Why then should anyone take a risk?

Three, the new system co-exists with traditional institutions. The elders wield power in a way the Constitution may not have foreseen. If the PRIs are to succeed in their main goals, then they must work in harmony with these traditional institutions, not confront them head-on. This is easier said than done.

The traditional institutions have not given space for women. The pros and cons of this are beyond the scope of this paper. It is enough to note that many of the factors that hindered women in the earlier systems continue to exist and operate in rural areas—and legal changes cannot change them. 	

Four, giving women positions in the panchayats is good in itself. But it would be naïve to believe that it would address social injustice or issues of poverty. Women have class and caste identities, not just a gender identity. In fact gender as a phenomenon hardly ever appears in a pure form. It is almost always alloyed with caste, class and religious factors. In matters where there is a clash between gender and caste or class, we cannot expect women to align themselves with other women, going against their caste or class loyalties.

Some women have developed political ambitions too, especially when it is seen as a quick means for upward mobility. And political survival will be difficult if they "betray" class and caste interests. This is why the reservation of the posts of President to the SC/ST category is so resented. They can be members of the panchayat, but not its President or Vice President. And if they are in such posts then a conflict between their different roles is inevitable. Different individuals will cope in different ways. The problem is in society, not in the panchayat that only reflects social reality.

Five, it is essential that the panchayat system be stable. In Karnataka, the state began well in the 1980s. But since then the spirit of local democracy has taken several steps backward. The state Act passed after the 73rd amendment is far less progressive than the earlier one. Given that both were imposed from the top, the withdrawal can be seen as a response of politicians at the higher level to the backlash on the ground—from politicians and the civil servants. But the continuing tinkering with this Act has done little to convince people that the system is here to stay. In this situation, women in particular will choose to play safe. What is the point of risking one's local position with powerful people if the system itself is likely to undergo changes? The experience of West Bengal provides a strong contrast to Karnataka.

March 8 - International

Women's Day

A day of hope; a day of courage, of celebration. A day when thousands of women textile workers launched the struggle in Chicago for an eight hour working day and won their demands; even though many paid for it at the cost of their own lives. A day which from then on, has seen millions of women in different parts of the world, come together to speak out against violence against women. A day which has seen women collectively speaking out for a transformed society - through their visions, their wisdoms.

Six, the power enjoyed, and exercised by line departments of the state government, will have to be reduced. Today, it is they who decide major matters. And officials, who belong to these departments, treat district postings—and panchayat authorities—as minor nuisances. This administration is quite gender insensitive. It is just not enough that there are women in the civil service—the service has to be sensitised. While an effort has been made in Karnataka to reduce diarchy in administration by giving the Chief Executive Officer a co-ordinating role in the ZP, much more needs to be done. Capabilities have to be developed at this level. It is only when ZPs develop their own

[gender sensitive] expertise that they can begin to chart their own path. Important in this will be co-ordination amongst themselves. For example, they could get together to form an Inter-District Council on the lines of the Inter-State Council. It is important that, in such a body, the Chief Minister remains one among equals, not a superior. This kind of body does not exist at all at the moment. Much needs to be done.

In conclusion, for fundamental changes in society, much more than PRIs are required; but that does not mean PRIs are not important. That the PRIs as they are now are limited does not mean that they cannot be improved. PRIs as grassroots democratic governance institutions are a necessary, but not sufficient condition in the transformation to a better social order. And in that transformation, enabling women's participation through reservations is a first and important step.

In this process of social transformation, there may be some negative unintended consequences - sub-optimal utilisation of resources, weakening of other bodies of governance...not all these will automatically mean empowerment of women or engendering of the PRIs.

Much more will be needed if gender justice is to become the norm. And it will take time. We must not be impatient. But it is important to support this fledgling experiment in every way we can—if we believe in democracy at the grassroots.

Some Case Studies

C.K. Janu: The Fire of the Tribals

She is the first prominent leader to rise from among the three lakh tribals in Kerala. And also the first from her community to instill fear in the establishment. Janu, the firebrand convener of the Adivasi Ekopana Samithi (tribal coordination committee), has galvanized the tribals into the first major movement against their organized exploitation.

She is spearheading the agitation against the Kerala government's 1996 legislation that seeks to legalize the encroachments made into tribal lands. "We have lost faith in all mainstream political parties and feel that our problems can be solved only by organizing ourselves." says the illiterate Janu who was Invited to speak at the UN General Assembly in 1993.

Her struggle has not entirely been fruitless: on December 16,1999, the Kerala High Court held the state Government guilty of contempt of court for not implementing its 1993 order to restore to tribals their, alienated lands. The court then fixed a deadline of six months.

Bhanwari Bai: Truth Betrayed, Justice Denied

Bhanwari Bai a government social worker of Bhateri, Rajasthan was gang raped in the presence of her husband on 22 September 1992 by five men of the socially and politically strong Gujjar community. In the course of her work, Bhanwari had challenged the authority of the dominant castes that wanted to continue certain practices tike that of child marriages without being questioned.

Bhanwari Bai dared to question and so they vowed to teach her a lesson.

And this rape was only the beginning. When Bhanwari Bai went to the police and the courts for justice, she was met with greater humiliation. By the police deliberately delaying the investigations, crucial evidence was lost; while the sessions court of Jaipur acquitted the five rapists in a judgment, stating "The rapists are middle aged and therefore respectable citizens while rape is usually committed by teenagers … Since the rapists are upper caste men, they would not stoop to rape lower caste women."

The dishonoring of Bhanwari Bai was complete when the local BJP unit, whose parties and leaders claim to protect women [especially Hindu women], upheld the judgment by honoring the five acquitted rapists in a public felicitation.

March 8, 1996, women and women's groups all over the country came together to condemn the horrendous violence and injustice done to Bhanwari Bai; a violence done to her not only by her violators but also me judiciary that failed to give her the justice she deserved.

In Karnataka, in the case of the gang rape and murder of Sharanavva the anganwadi teacher, Tahsildar and his four accomplices who committed the crime were not only not prosecuted but they too were publicly felicitated by members of their community.

Note

LESSON 11:
UNDP: UNITED NATION'S GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT NETWORK

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To understand the role of UNDP in development

To know what UNDP does to develop the countries

It advocates for change and connects countries to knowledge, experience and resources to help people build a better life. It is spread in 166 countries, working with them on their own solutions to global and national development challenges. As they develop local capacity, they draw on the people of UNDP and our wide range of partners. It helps the UN system and its partners to raise awareness and track progress, while it connects countries to the knowledge and resources needed to achieve these goals.

World leaders have pledged to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, including the overarching goal of cutting poverty in half by 2015. UNDP's network links and coordinates global and national efforts to reach these Goals. The focus is helping countries build and share solutions to the challenges of: Democratic Governance, Poverty Reduction, Crisis Prevention and Recovery, Energy and Environment, and HIV/AIDS. UNDP helps developing countries attract and use aid effectively and integrates information and communications technology for development into its work in democratic governance and poverty reduction. In all our activities, we promote the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women.

From politics to security to public health, from crime to the environment, a growing agenda of development issues can no longer be managed within the boundaries of any single nation. Global, regional and national coalitions for action are emerging centred around the United Nations' indispensable role. The UN can bring together governments, civil society, multinational corporations and multilateral organizations - coming together around particular issues of concern and looking for innovative ways to address them", says Mark Malloch Brown, Administrator of UNDP

Promoting Democracy through Reform

More countries than ever before are working to build democratic governance. Their challenge is to develop institutions and processes that are more responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens, including the poor. UNDP brings people together within nations and around the world, building partnerships and sharing ways to promote participation, accountability and effectiveness at all levels. We help countries strengthen their electoral and legislative systems, improve access to justice and public administration, and develop a greater capacity to deliver basic services to those most in need.

The critical importance of democratic governance in the developing world was highlighted at the Millennium Summit, where the world's leaders resolved to "spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development." A consensus was reached which recognized that improving the quality of democratic institutions and processes, and managing the changing roles of the state and civil society in an increasingly globalised world must underpin national efforts to reduce poverty, sustain the environment, and promote human development.

Democratic Governance

UNDP's work in democratic governance is reinforced by its network of over 166 offices and its global partnerships with democratic governance institutions. No organization has a wider reach.

UNDP's core services to support national processes of democratic transitions, focus on: (1) Policy advice and technical support; (2) Capacity development of institutions and individuals; (3) Advocacy, communications, and public information; (4) Promoting and brokering dialogue; and (5) Knowledge networking and sharing of good practices.

UNDP's work in democratic governance can be summarised into the following categories:

- Parliamentary Development
- Electoral Systems and Processes
- Access to Justice and Human Rights
- Access to Information
- Decentralization and Local Governance
- Public Administration and Civil Service Reform

Promoting National Initiatives to Empower the Poor

Through the Millennium Development Goals the world is addressing the many dimensions of human development, including halving by 2015 the proportion of people living in extreme poverty. Developing countries are working to create their own national poverty eradication strategies based on local needs and priorities.

UNDP advocates for these nationally-owned solutions and helps to make them effective through ensuring a greater voice for poor people, expanding access to productive assets and economic opportunities, and linking poverty programmes with countries' international economic and financial policies. At the same time, UNDP contributes to efforts at reforming trade, debt relief and investment arrangements to better support national poverty reduction and make globalisation work for poor people. In doing so, we sponsor innovative pilot projects; connect countries to global best practices and resources; promote the role of women in development; and bring governments, civil society and outside funders together to coordinate their efforts.

UNDP promotes the concept of human poverty as a complement to income poverty, emphasizing that equity, social inclusion, women's empowerment, and respect for human rights matter for poverty reduction. Developing countries are working to create their own national poverty eradication strategies based on local needs and priorities. UNDP advocates for these nationally owned solutions and helps ensure their effectiveness. We sponsor innovative pilot projects, including those relying on ICT to help enhance service delivery; connect countries to global best practices and resources; promote the role of women in development; and bring governments, civil society and outside funders together to coordinate their efforts.

Crisis Prevention and Recovery

Many countries are increasingly vulnerable to violent conflicts or natural disasters that can erase decades of development and further entrench poverty and inequality. Through its global network, UNDP seeks out and shares innovative approaches to crisis prevention, early warning and conflict resolution. And UNDP is on the ground in almost every developing country — so wherever the next crisis occurs, we will be there to help bridge the gap between emergency relief and long-term development.

Energy and Environment

Energy and environment are essential for sustainable development. The poor are disproportionately affected by environmental degradation and lack of access to clean affordable energy services. These issues are also global as climate change, loss of biodiversity and ozone layer depletion cannot be addressed by countries acting alone. UNDP helps countries strengthen their capacity to address these challenges at global, national and community levels, seeking out and sharing best practices, providing innovative policy advice and linking partners through pilot projects that help poor people build sustainable livelihoods.

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- Biodiversity for Development
- Drylands Development Centre
- Energy for Sustainable Development
- Equator Initiative
- Global Environment Facility (GEF)
- Montreal Protocol Unit
- Poverty and Environment Initiative
- Public Private Partnerships for the Urban Environment (PPPUE)
- Water Governance

Prevent the Spread of HIV/AIDS

To prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS and reduce its impact, developing countries need to mobilize all levels of government and civil society. As a trusted development partner, UNDP advocates for placing HIV/AIDS at the centre of national planning and budgets; helps build national capacity to manage initiatives that include people and institutions not usually involved with public heath; and promotes decentralized responses that support community-level action. Because HIV/AIDS is a world-wide problem, UNDP supports these national efforts by offering knowledge, resources and best practices from around the world.

In each of these five practices, UNDP advocates for the protection of human rights and especially the empowerment of women. Through our global network, we seek out and share ways to promote gender equality as an essential dimension of ensuring political participation and accountability; economic empowerment and effective development planning; crisis prevention and conflict resolution; access to clean water, sanitation and energy services; the best use of new technologies for development purposes; and society-wide mobilization against HIV/AIDS.

Human Development Reports

UNDP also engages in extensive advocacy work. The annual Human Development Report 2003, commissioned by UNDP, focuses the global debate on key development issues, providing new measurement tools, innovative analysis and often controversial policy proposals. It is guided by the belief that development is ultimately "a process of enlarging people's choices", not just raising national incomes. The independent team of experts who write the Report draw on a worldwide network of leaders from academia, government and civil society who contribute data, ideas, and best practices. Developing countries and their international partners use the Report to gauge results and shape new policies.

The global Report's analytical framework and inclusive approach carry over into regional, national and local Human Development Reports, also supported by UNDP. So far, more than 420 National Human Development Reports have been published in 135 countries. These Reports are created by national experts and intellectuals who draw on UNDP's global network for advice and inspiration; their success shows how quality research and advocacy can spur policy debates, draw political attention to pressing issues, and help countries build their own development solutions.

Unesco and NWICO

The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)

UNESCO's new look at worldwide communications has its roots in the formation of the Third World concept itself. In 1956 the leaders of most of the former colonies met in Bandung and organized a "nonaligned" movement. They understood their group as a third force to act as a buffer between proponents of capitalism (First World) and those of communism (Second World). This Third World group pressed

immediately for a new economic independence from both First and Second Worlds. The United Nations was their forum.

NWICO was a 1970s era project that represented an attempt to act on the criticisms aimed at development, particularly the modernization model, and neo-colonialism as offered by the dependency theorists (Schiller, Gunder Frank, Mattelart and Dorfman, etc.), and to restore some balance and equity to world communications dominated by Western news syndicates and media transnationals.

NWICO was an initiative of the UN agency responsible for media and cultural issues, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), with the particular support of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), a group of Third World nations that aligned themselves formally neither with US or Soviet Union in Cold War. It was frequently paired with a parallel attempt to reconstruct global political economy, and known as the New International Economic Order (NIEO), as part of a comprehensive plan to eliminate underdevelopment

(The NWICO is sometimes referred to as the "NWIO" or "New World Information Order" - but they're one and the same.)

During the 1950s and 60s, UNESCO had largely been a mouthpiece for the First World great powers, and much of the media and cultural research had been filtered through modernization and "media effects" research models.

Issues leading to the NWICO:

- One-way flow of ideas and images from First to Third World
- monopolization of information resources (e.g., control of Newspapers) by Third World elites
- Need to reconceptualize cultural independence and freedom of information access

The number one issue at stake in the NWICO debates was the flow of information from First World to Third World. The "free flow" doctrine was the key element of modernization's ideas as to how media and culture should be managed as development happened. The problem is that a "free flow of ideas" (and corresponding free market in cultural commodities, e.g., sale of news by major news agencies like Agence-France Press, Reuters, Associated Press, etc.) put Third World countries at a disadvantage insofar as they were not competitive with First World news syndicates and other cultural industries.

Third World countries called for a "balanced" flow of information, whereby they could contribute to ideas and pictures of reality in circulation in world media system, and have means to controlling access of First World news syndicates, film and TV producers, among others, into Third World.

In May 1974 the UN General Assembly adopted a Declaration of the Establishment of a New International Information Order. At the same time, Third World leaders began pressing for similar action in the areas of news and information. Mustapha Masmoudi, Tunisian secretary of state for information, issued a call for the development of a New International Information Order (NIIO), asserting that the Western concept of a "free flow" of information, like freedom of the seas, free markets and free trade, in fact conceals the real nature of neoimperial control.

MacBride Commission

In 1976 UNESCO's Director General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow was authorized to appoint an International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. UNESCO commissioned a massive research project organized under Irish journalist (and a founder of Amnesty International, the human rights organization, for which he won the Nobel Peace Prize), Sean MacBride, in 1976, to study global inequalities in media and cultural production.

Sean MacBride (1904 – 1988)

Dr. Sean MacBride was born on January 26, 1904. His father was Major John MacBride, who was responsible for the Irish Brigade in 1899 which fought for the Boers against the British in the unsuccessful Transvaal (Boer) War of 1899 - 1902. Major MacBride fought the British at Jacob's factory during the Easter Week Rebellion. He was sentenced to death by the English and executed at Kilmainham Jail on May 5, 1916. The mother of Sean MacBride was Maud Gonne MacBride, a beauty and one of the strongest advocates of Irish Nationalism. W. B. Yeats idolized her in many of his poems.

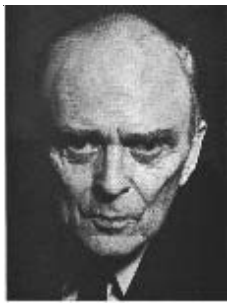
Sean MacBride grew up in France but finally was able to permanently return to Ireland with his mother in 1918. He immediately joined the Fianna. In 1921, he was with Michael Collins in London during the negotiations for the Anglo-Irish Treaty. When the treaty was ratified in 1922, Sean MacBride exhibited his Anti-Treaty philosophy primarily because of the partition of Ireland. Sean fought against the Irish Free State and was captured and Jailed with Ernie O'Mally in the Four Courts Battle. Years later, Sean MacBride succeeded Moss Twomey in 1936 as Chief of Staff of the IRA.

Thereafter, a change in his life occurred and he departed the IRA. He was admitted to the Bar and became a Senior Barrister in 1943. From 1948 to 1951, he was Minister for Foreign affairs for the Irish Government. He was responsible for declaring Ireland a Republic. He appeared in many leading civil and criminal cases in Ireland, Africa and before International Courts. In 1958, he acted as adviser to the Greek government. He was cofounder of Amnesty International.

In 1974, Sean MacBride was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for Peace and he was awarded the American Medal of Justice by President Carter in 1978. His receipt of these awards is quite unique in human history. His work in defense of human rights called him to many parts of the world. He was United Nations Commissioner from 1973 to 1976 and in Iran in 1979 in an effort to secure the release of hostages. One could go on for many pages listing the various international organizations in which he played a significant role and which honored him with high office awards and distinctions.

Sean MacBride died in Dublin on January 15, 1988. He was the author of the MacBride Principles, and anti-discrimination code, which has been opted by many states in America. The MacBride Principles are aimed at forcing American companies operating in Northern Ireland to ensure equal employment opportunities for Catholics who are denied equal rights by the British.

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems or the "MacBride Commission", as it was popularly called, was given a four- part mandate:



MacBride commission's mandate:

a. to analyze the current state of world communications
b. to study the meaning and consequences of the free versus balanced flow positions
c. draft terms by which an NWICO might be created
d. suggest how people might be better educated as to media issues, e.g., media literacy

MacBride Commission worked for about five years on the problem, and published a now famous and often cited study called Many Voices, One World in 1980.

The commission, under the leadership of Sean MacBride (former foreign minister of Ireland and recipient of both the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes), completed its work in time for the General Conference in Belgrade, October 1980.

Some of the Portions which are of relevance are given below:

Recommendations: Parts II-VII.

Social Consequences and New Tasks

Integrating Communication into Development

Development strategies should incorporate communication policies as an integral part in the diagnosis of needs and in the design and implementation of selected priorities. In this respect communication should be considered a major development resource, a vehicle to ensure real political participation in decision -making, a central information base for defining policy options, and an instrument for creating awareness of national priorities.

We recommend:

1. Promotion of dialogue for development as a central component of both communication and development policies. Implementation of national policies should be carried out through three complementary communication patterns; first, from decision-makers towards different social sectors to transmit information about what they regard as necessary changes in development actions, alternative strategies and the varying consequences of the different alternatives; second, among and between diverse social sectors in a horizontal information network to express exchange views on their different demands, aspirations, objective needs and subjective motivations; third, between decision-makers and all social groups through permanent participatory mechanisms for two-way information flows to elaborate development goals and priorities and make decisions on utilization of resources. Each one of these patterns requires the design of specific information programs, using different communication means.
2. In promoting communication policies, special attention should be given to the use of non-technical language and comprehensible symbols, images and forms to ensure popular understanding of development issues and goals. Similarly, development information supplied to the media should be adapted to prevailing news values and practices, which in turn should be encouraged to be more receptive to development needs and problems.

Facing the Technological Challenge

The technological explosion in communication has both great potential and great danger. The outcome depends on crucial decisions and on where and by whom they are taken. Thus, it is a priority to organize the decision-making process in a participatory manner on the basis of a full awareness of the social impact of different alternatives.

We recommend:

3. Devising policy instruments at the national level in order to evaluate the positive and negative social implications of the introduction of powerful new communication technologies. The preparation of technological impact surveys can be a useful tool to assess the consequences for life-styles, relevance for under-privileged sectors of society, cultural influence, effects of employment patterns and similar factors. This is particularly important when making choices with respect to the development of communication infrastructures.
4. Stetting up national mechanisms to promote participation and discussion of social priorities in the acquisition or extension of new communication technologies. Decisions with respect to the orientation given to research and development should come under closer public scrutiny.
5. In developing countries the promotion of autonomous research and development should be linked to specific projects and programs at the national, regional and inter-regional levels, which are often geared to the satisfaction of basic needs. More funds are necessary to stimulate and support adaptive technological research. This might also help these countries to avoid problems of obsolescence and problems arising from the non-availability of particular types of equipment, related spare parts and components from the advance industrial nations.
6. The concentration of communication s technology in a relatively few developed countries and transnational corporations has lead to a virtual monopoly situations in this field. To counteract these tendencies and international measures are required, among them reform of existing patent laws and conventions, appropriate legislation and international agreements.

Strengthening Cultural Identity

Promoting conditions for the preservation of the cultural identity of every society is necessary to enable it to enjoy a harmonious and creative inter-relationship with other cultures. It is equally necessary to modify situations in many developed and developing countries which suffer from cultural dominance.

We recommend:

7. Establishment of national cultural policies which should foster cultural identity and creativity and involve the media in these tasks. Such policies should also contain guidelines for safeguarding national cultural development while promoting knowledge of other cultures. It is in relation to others that each culture enhances its own identity. (1)

Comment by Mr. S. MacBride: "I wish to add that owing to the cultural importance of spiritual and religious values and also in order to restore moral values, policy guidelines should take into account religious beliefs and traditions".

8. Communication and cultural policies should ensure that creative artists and various grassroots groups can make their voices heard through the media. The innovative uses of film, television or radio by people of different cultures should be studied Such experiments constitute a basis for continuing cultural dialogue, which could be furthered by agreements between countries and through international support.
9. Introduction of guidelines with respect to advertising content and the values and attitudes it foster in accordance with national standards and practices. Such guidelines should be consistent with national development policies and efforts to preserve cultural identity. Particular attention should be given to the impact of children and adolescents. In this connection, various mechanisms such as complaint boards or consumer review committees might be established to afford the public the possibility of reacting against advertising which they feel inappropriate.

Reducing the Commercialization of Communication

The social effects of the commercialization of the mass media are a major concern in policy formulation and decision-making by private and public bodies.

We recommend:

10. In expanding communication systems, preference should be given to non-commercial forms of mass communication. Promotion of such types of communication should be integrated with the traditions, culture, development objectives and socio-political system of each country. As in the field of education, public funds might be made available for this purpose.
11. While acknowledging the need of the media for revenues, ways and means should be considered to reduce the negative effects that the influence of market and commercial considerations have in the organization and content of national and international communication flows.
12. That consideration be given to changing existing funding patterns of commercial mass media. In this connection, reviews could be made of the way in which the relative role of advertising volume and costs pricing policies, voluntary contributions, subsidies, taxes, financial incentives and supports could be modified to enhance the social function of mass media and improve their service to the community.

Access to Technical Information

The flow of technical information within nations and across national boundaries is a major resource for development. Access to such information, which countries need for technical decision-making at all levels, is as crucial as access to news sources. This type of information is generally not easily available and is most often concentrated in large techno-structures. Developed countries are not providing adequate information of this type to developing countries.

We recommend:

13. Developing countries should pay particular attention to: (a) the correlation between education, scientific and communication policies, because their practical application frequently overlaps; (b) the creation in each country of one or several centers for the collection and utilization of technical information and data, both from with the country and from abroad; (c) to secure the basic equipment necessary for essential data processing activities; (d) the development of skills and facilities for computer processing and analysis of data obtained from remote sensing.
14. Developed countries should foster exchanges of technical information on the principle that all countries have equal rights to full access to available information. It is increasingly necessary, in order to reduce inequalities in this field, to promote co-operative arrangements for collection, retrieval, processing and diffusion of technological information through various networks, regardless of geographical or institutional frontiers. UNISIST, which provides basic guidelines for voluntary co- operation among and between information systems and services, should further develop its activities.
15. Developing countries should adopt national informatics policies as a matter of priority. These should primarily relate to the establishment of decision-making centers (inter-departmental and inter- disciplinary) which would inter alia (a) assess technological alternatives: (b) centralize purchases; (c)encourage local production of software; (d) promote regional and sub-regional co-operation (in various fields, including education, health and consumer services).
16. At the international level, consideration should be given to action with respect for (a) systematic identification of existing organized data processing infrastructures in various specialized fields; (b) agreement on measures for effective multi-county participation in the programs, planning and administration of existing or developing data infrastructures; (c) analysis of commercial and technical measures likely to improve the use of informatics by developing countries; (d) agreement of international priorities for research and development that is of interest to all countries in the field of informatics.
17. Transnational corporations should supply to the authorities of the countries in which they operate, upon request and on a regular basis as specified by local laws and regulations, all information required for legislative and administrative purposes relevant to their activities and specifically needed to assess the performance of such entities. They should also provide the public, trade unions and other interested sectors of the countries in which they operate with information needed to understand the global structure, activities and policies of the transnational corporation and their significance for the country concerned.

Professional Integrity and Standards

Responsibility of Journalists

For the journalist, freedom and responsibility are indivisible. Freedom without responsibility invites distortion and other

abuses. But in the absence of freedom there can be no exercise of responsibility. The concept of freedom with responsibility necessarily includes a concern for professional ethics, demanding an equitable approach to events, situations or processes with due attention to their divers aspects. This is not always the case today.

We recommend:

18. The importance of the journalist's mission in the contemporary would demands steps to enhance his standing in society. In many countries even today, journalists are not regarded as members of an acknowledged profession and they are treated accordingly. To overcome this situation, journalism needs to raise its standards and quality for recognition everywhere as a genuine profession.

19. To be treated as professionals, journalists require broad educational preparation and specific professional training. Programs of instruction need to be developed not only for entry-level recruits, but also for experienced personnel who from time to time would benefit from special seminars and conferences designed to refresh and enrich their qualifications. Basically, programs of instruction and training should be conducted on national and regional levels.

20. Such values as truthfulness, accuracy and respect for human rights are not universally applied at present. Higher professional standards and responsibility cannot be imposed by decree, nor do they depend solely on the goodwill of individual journalists, who are employed by institutions which can improve or handicap their professional performance. The self-respect of journalists, their integrity and inner drive to turn out work of high quality are of paramount importance. It is this level of professional dedication, making for responsibility, that should be fostered by news media and journalists' organizations. In this framework, a distinction may have to be drawn between media institutions, owners and managers on the one hand, and journalists on the other.

21. As in other professions, journalists and media organizations serve the public directly and the public, in turn, is entitled to hold them accountable for their actions. Among the mechanisms devised up to now in various countries for assuring accountability, the Commission sees merit in press or media councils, the institution of the press ombudsman and peer group criticism of the sort practiced by journalism reviews in several countries. In addition, communities served by particular media can accomplish significant reforms through citizen action. Specific forms of community involvement in decision-making will vary, of course, from country to country. Public broadcasting stations, for example can be governed by representative boards drawn from the community. Voluntary measures of this sort can do much to influence media performance. Nevertheless, it appears necessary to develop further effective ways by which the right to assess mass media performance can be exercised by the public.

22. Codes of professional ethics exist in all parts of the world, adopted voluntarily in many countries by professional groups. The adoption of codes of ethics at national and in some cases, at the regional level is desirable, provided that such codes are prepared and adopted by the profession itself — without governmental interference.

Towards Improved International Reporting

The full and factual presentation of news about one country to others is a continuing problem. The reasons for this are manifold; principal among them are correspondents' working conditions, their skills and attitudes, varying conceptions of news and information values and government viewpoints. Remedies for the situation will require long-term, evolutionary action towards improving the exchange of news around the world.

We recommend:

23. All countries should take steps to assure admittance of foreign correspondents and facilitate their collection and transmission of news. Special obligations in this regard, undertaken by the signatories to the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, should be honored and , indeed liberally applied. Free access to news sources by journalists is an indispensable requirement for accurate, faithful and balanced reporting. This necessarily involves access to unofficial, as well as official sources of information, that is , access to the entire spectrum of opinion within any country. (1)

24. Conventional standards of news selection and reporting, and many accepted news values, need to be reassessed if readers and listeners around the world are to receive a more faithful and comprehensive account of events, movements and trends in both developing and developed countries. The inescapable need to interpret unfamiliar situations in terms that will be understood by a distant audience should not blind reporters or editors to the hazards of narrow ethnocentric thinking. The first step towards overcoming this bias is to acknowledge that it colors the thinking of virtually all human beings, journalists included, for the most part without deliberate intent. The act of selecting certain news items for publication while rejecting others, produces in the minds of the audience a picture of the world that may well be incomplete or distorted. Higher professional standards are needed for journalists to be able to illuminate the divers cultures and beliefs of the modern world, without their presuming to judge the ultimate validity of any foreign nation's experience and traditions.

25. To this end, reporters being assigned to foreign posts should have the benefit of language training and acquaintance with the history, institutions, politics, economics and cultural environment of the country or region in which they will by serving.

26. The press and broadcasters in the industrialized world should allot more space and time to reporting events in and background material about foreign countries in general and news from the developing world in particular. Also, the media in developed countries — especially the "gatekeepers", editors and producers of print and broadcasting media who select the news items to be published or broadcast — should become more familiar with the cultures and conditions in developing countries. Although the present imbalance in

news flow calls for strengthening capacities in developing countries, the media of the industrialized countries have their contribution to make towards the correction of these inequalities.

27. To offset the negative effects of inaccurate of malicious reporting of international news, the right of reply and correction should be further considered. While these concepts are recognized in many countries, their nature and scope vary so widely that it would be neither expedient nor realistic to propose the adoption of any international regulations for their purpose. False or distorted news accounts can be harmful, but the voluntary publication of corrections or replies is preferable to international normative action. Since the manner in which the right of reply and correction as applied in different countries varies significantly, it is further suggested that: (a) the exercise of the international right of reply and correction be considered for application on a voluntary basis in each country according to its journalistic practices and national; ;legal; framework' (b) the United Nations, in consultation with all concerned bodies, explore the conditions under which this right could be perfected at the international level, taking into account the cumbersome operation of the 1952 Convention on the International Right of Correction; (c) media institutions with an international reach define on a voluntary basis internal standards for the exercise of this right and make them publicly available.

28. Intelligence services of many nations have at one time or other recruited journalists to commit espionage under cover of their professional duties. This practice must be condemned. It undermines the integrity of the profession and in some circumstances, can expose other journalists to unjustified suspicion or physical threat. The Commission urges journalists and their employers to be on guard against possible attempts of this kind. We also urge governments to refrain from using journalists for purposes of espionage.

Protection of Journalists

Daily reports from around the world attest to dangers that journalists are subject to in the exercise of their profession: harassment , threats, imprisonment, physical violence, assassination. Continual vigilance is required to focus the world's attention on such assaults on human rights.

We recommend:

29. The professional independence and integrity of all those involved in the collection and dissemination of news , information and views to the public should be safeguarded. However, the Commission does not propose special privileges to protect journalists in the performance of their duties, although journalism is often a dangerous profession. Far from constituting a special category, journalists are citizens of their respective countries, entitled to the same range of human rights as other citizens. One exception is provided in the Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, which applies only to journalists on perilous missions, such as in areas of armed conflict. To propose additional measures would invite the dangers entailed in a licensing system since it would require some body to stipulate who should be entitled to claim such protection. Journalists will be fully protected only when everyone's human rights are guaranteed. (1)

30. That Unesco should convene a series of round tables at which journalists, media executives, researchers and jurists can periodically review problems related to the protection of journalists and propose additional appropriate measures to this end. (2)

Democratization of Communication

Human Rights

Freedom of speech, of the press, of information and of assembly are vital for the realization of human rights. Extension of these communication freedoms to a broader individual and collective right to communicate is an evolving principle in the democratization process. Among the human rights to be emphasized are those of equality for women and between races. Defense of all human rights is one of the media's most vital tasks;

We recommend:

31. All those working in the mass media should contribute to the fulfillment of human rights, both individual and collective, in the spirit of the Unesco Declaration on the Mass Media and the Helsinki Final Act, and the International Bill of Human Rights. The contribution of the media in this regard is not only to foster these principles, but also to expose all infringements, wherever they occur, and to support those whose rights have been neglected or violated. Professional associations and public opinion should support journalists subject to pressure or who suffer adverse consequences from their dedication to the defense of human rights.

32. The media should contribute to promoting the just cause of peoples struggling for freedom and independence and their right to live in peace and equality without foreign interference. This is especially important for all oppressed peoples who while struggling against colonialism, religious and racial discrimination, are deprived of any opportunity to make their voices heard within their own countries.

33. Communication needs in a democratic society should be met by the extension of specific rights such as the right to be informed, the right to inform, the right to privacy, the right to participate in public communication — all elements of a new concept the right to communicate. In developing what might be called a new era of social rights, we suggest all the implications of the right to communicate be further explored.

Removal of Obstacles

Communication, with its immense possibilities for influencing the minds and behavior of people, can be a powerful means of promoting democratization of society and of widening public participation in the decision making process. This depends on the structures and practices of the media and their management and to what extent they facilitate broader access and open the communication process to a free interchange of ideas, information and experience among equals, without dominance or discrimination.

We recommend:

34. All countries adopt measures to enlarge sources of information needed by citizens in their everyday life. A careful review of existing laws and regulations should be undertaken with the aim of reducing limitations , secrecy provisions and other constraints in information practices.

35. Censorship or arbitrary control of information should be abolished. (1) In areas where reasonable restrictions may be considered necessary, these should be provided for by law, subject to judicial review and in line with the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants relating to human rights, and in other instruments adopted by the community of nations. (2)

36. Special attention should be devoted to obstacles and restrictions which derive from the concentration of media ownership, public or private, from commercial influences on the press and broadcasting, or from private or governmental advertising. The problem of financial conditions under which the media operate should be critically reviewed, and measures elaborated to strengthen editorial independence.

37. Effective legal measures should be designed to: (a) limit the process of concentration and monopolization; (b) circumscribe the action of transnationals by requiring them to comply with specific criteria and conditions defined by national legislation and development policies; (c) reverse trends to reduce the number of decision-makers at a time when the media's public is growing larger and the impact of communication is increasing; (d) reduce the influence of advertising upon editorial and policy and broadcast programming; (e) seek and improve models which would ensure greater independence and autonomy of the media concerning their management and editorial policy, whether these media are under private public or government ownership. (3)

Diversity and Choice

Diversity and choice in the content of communication are a pre condition for democratic participation. Every individual and particular groups should be able to form judgments on the basis of a full range of information and a variety of messages and opinions and have the opportunity to share these ideas with others. The development of decentralized and diversified media should provide larger opportunities for a real direct involvement of the people in communication processes.

We recommend:

38. The building of infrastructures and the adoption of particular technologies should be carefully matched to the need for more abundant information to a broader public from a plurality of sources

39. Attention should be paid to the communication needs of women. They should be assure adequate access to communication means and that images of them and of their activities are not distorted by the media or in advertising.

40. The concerns of children and youth, national, ethnic, religious, linguistic minorities, people living in remote areas and the aged and handicapped also deserve particular consideration. The constitute large and sensitive segments of society and have special communication needs.

Integration and Participation

To be able to communicate in contemporary society, people must dispose of appropriate communication tools. New technologies offer them many devices for individualized information and entertainment, but often fail to provide appropriate tools for communication within their community or social cultural group. Hence, alternative means of communication are often required.

We recommend:

41. Much more attention be devoted to use of the media in living and working environments. Instead of isolating men and women, the media should help integrate them into the community.

42. Readers, listeners and viewers have generally been treated as passive receivers of information. Those in charge of the media should encourage their audiences to play a more active role in communication by allocating more newspaper space, or broadcasting time, for the views of individual members of the public or organized social groups.

43. The creation of appropriate communication facilities at all levels, leading towards new forms of public involvement in the management of the media and new modalities for their funding.

44. Communication policy-makers should give far greater importance to devising ways whereby the management of the media could be democratized — while respecting national customs and characteristics — by associating the following categories: (a) journalists and professional communicators; (b) creative artists; (c) technicians; (d) media owners and managers; (e) representatives of the public. Such democratization of the media needs the full support and understanding of all those working in them and this process should lead to their having a more active role in editorial policy and management.

Fostering *i*nternational Co-operation

Partners for Development

Inequalities in communication facilities, which exist everywhere, are due to economic discrepancies or to political and economic design, still others to cultural imposition or neglect. But whatever the source or reason for them, gross inequalities should no longer be countenanced. The very notion of a new world information and communication order presupposes fostering international co-operation, which includes two main areas: The international dimensions of communication are today of such importance that it has become crucial to develop co-operation on a world-wide scale. It is for the international community to take the appropriate steps to replace dependence, dominance and inequality by more fruitful and more open relations of inter-dependence, and complementarity, based on mutual interest and the equal dignity of nations and peoples. Such co-operation requires a major international commitment to redress the present situation. This clear commitment is a need not only for developing countries but also for the international community as a whole . The tensions and

disruptions that will come from lack of action are far greater than the problems posed by necessary changes.

We recommend:

45. The progressive implementation of national and international measures that will foster the setting up of a new world information and communication order. The proposals contained in this report can serve as a contribution to develop the varied actions necessary to move in that direction.

46. International co-operation for the development of communications be given equal priority with and within sectors (e.g. health , agriculture, industry, science, education, etc.) as information is a basic resource for individual and collective advancement and for all-round development. This may be achieved by utilizing funds provided through bilateral government agreements and from international and regional organizations, which should plan a considerable increase in their allocations for communication, infrastructures, equipment and program development. Care should be taken that assistance is compatible with developing countries' priorities. Consideration should also be given to provision of assistance on a program rather than on a strict project basis.

47. The close relationship between the establishment of a new international economic order and the new world information and communication order should be carefully considered by the technical bodies dealing with these issues. Concrete plans of action linking both processes should be implemented within the United Nations system. The United Nations, in approving the international development strategy should consider the communications sector as an integral element of it and not merely as an instrument of public information.

Strengthening Collective Self-reliance

Developing countries have a primary responsibility for undertaking necessary changes to overcome their dependence in the field of communications. The actions needed begin at the national level, but must be complemented by forceful and decisive agreements at the bilateral, sub-regional, regional, and inter- regional levels. Collective self-reliance is the cornerstone of a new world information and communication order.

We recommend:

48. The communication dimension should be incorporated into existing programs and agreements for economic co-operation between developing countries.

49. Joint activities in the field of communication, which are under way between developing countries should be developed further in the light of the overall analysis and recommendations of this Report. In particular, attention should be given to co-operation among national news agencies, to the further development of the News Agencies Pool and broadcasting organizations of the non-aligned countries as well as to the general exchange on a regular basis of radio, TV programs and films.

50. With respect to co-operation in the field of technical information, the establishment of regional and sub-regional data banks and information processing centers and specialized documentation centers should be given a high priority. They should be conceived and organized, both in terms of software and management , according to the particular needs of co-operating countries.. Choices of technology and selection of foreign enterprises should be made so as not to increase dependence in this field.

51. Mechanisms for sharing information of a non-strategic nature could be established particularly in economic matters. Arrangements of this nature could be of value din areas such as multilateral trade negotiations, dealing with transnational corporations and banks, economic forecasting, and medium and long-term planning and other similar fields.

52. Particular efforts should be undertaken to ensure that news about other developing countries within or outside their region receive more attention and space in the media. Special projects could be developed to ensure a steady flow of attractive and interesting material inspired by news values which meet developing countries' information needs.

53. Measures to promote links and agreements between professional organizations and communication researchers of different countries should be fostered. It is necessary to develop networks of institutions and people working in the field of communication in order to share and exchange experiences and implement joint projects of common interest with concrete operational contents.

International Mechanisms

Co-operation for the development of communications is a global concern and therefore of importance to international organizations, where all Member states can fully debate the issues involved and decide upon multi-national action. Governments should therefore attentively review the structures and programs of international agencies in the communication fields and point to changes required to meet evolving needs.

We recommend:

54. The Member States of Unesco should increase their support to the Organization's program in this area. Consideration should be given to organizing a distinct communication sector, not simply in order to underline its importance, but to emphasize that its activities are inter-related with the other major components of Unesco's work — education, science and culture . (1) In its communications activities, Unesco should concentrate on priority areas. Among these are assistance to national policy formulation and planning, technical development, organizing professional meetings and exchanges, promotion and co- ordination of research, and elaboration of international norms.

55. Better co-ordination of the various communication activities within Unesco and those throughout the United Nations System. A thorough inventory and assessment of all communications development and related programs of the various agencies should be undertaken as a basis for designing appropriate mechanisms to carry out the necessary consultation, co-operation and co-ordination.

56. It would be desirable for the United Nations family to be equipped with a more effective information system,

including a broadcast capability of its own and possibly access to a satellite system. That would enable the United Nations to follow more closely would affairs and transmit its message more effectively to all the peoples of the earth. Although such a proposal would require heavy investment and raise some complex issues, a feasibility study should be undertaken so that a carefully designed project could be prepared for deliberation and decision. (2)(3).

57. Consideration might be given to establishing within the framework of Unesco as International Centre for the Study and Planning of information and Communication. Its main tasks would be to: (a)promote the development of national communication systems in developing countries and balance and reciprocity in international information flows; (b) mobilize resources required for that purpose and manage the funds put at its disposal; (c) assure co-ordination among parties interested in communication development and involved in various co-operation programs and evaluate results of bilateral and multilateral activities in this field; (d) organize round tables, seminars, and conferences for the training of communication planners , researchers and journalists, particularly those specializing in international problems; and (e) keep under review communications technology transfers between developed and developing countries so that they are carried out in the most suitable conditions. The Centre may be guided by a tripartite co-ordinating council composed of representatives of developing and developed countries and of interested international organizations. We suggest Unesco should undertake further study of this proposal for consideration at the 1980 session of the General Conference.

Towards International Understanding

The strengthening of peace, international security and co-operation and the lessening of international security and co-operation and the lessening of international tensions are the common concern of all nations. The mass media can make a substantial contribution towards achieving these goals. The special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament called for increased efforts by the mass media to mobilize public opinion in favor of disarmament and of ending the arms race. This Declaration together with the Unesco Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war should be the foundation of new communication policies to foster international understanding. A new world information and communication order requires and must become the instrument for peaceful co-operation between nations.

We recommend:

58. National communication policies should be consistent with adopted international communication principles and should seek to create a climate of mutual understanding and peaceful co-existence among nations. Countries should also encourage their broadcast and other means of international communication to make the fullest contribution towards peace and international co-operation and to refrain from advocating national, racial or religious hatred and incitement to discrimination, hostility, violence or war.

69. Due attention should be paid to the problems of peace and disarmament, human rights, development and the creation of a new communication order. Mass media both printed and audiovisual, should be encouraged to publicize significant documents of the United Nations, of Unesco, of the world peace movements, and of various other international and national organizations devoted to peace and disarmament. The curricula of schools of journalism should include study of these international problems and the views expressed on them within the United Nations.

60. All forms of co-operation among the media, the professionals and their associations, which contribute to the better knowledge of other nations and cultures, should be encouraged and promoted.

61. Reporting on international events or developments in individual countries in situations of crisis and tension requires extreme care and responsibility. In such situations in the media often constitute one of the few, if not the sole , links between combatants or hostile groups. This clearly casts on them a special role which they should seek to discharge with objectivity and sensitivity.

End note: The recommendations and suggestions contained in our Report do not presume to cover all topics and issues calling for reflection and action. Nevertheless, they indicate the importance and scale of the tasks which face every country in the field of information and communication, as well as their international dimensions which pose a formidable challenge to the community of nations.

Our study indicates clearly the direction in which the world must move to attain a new information and communication order — essentially a series of new relationships arising from the advances promised by new communication technologies which should enable all peoples to benefit. The awareness already created on certain issues, such as global imbalances in information flows, suggests that a process of change has resulted and is under way. The power and promise of ever-new communication technologies and systems are, however, such as to demand deliberate measures to ensure that existing communication disparities do not widen. The objective should be to ensure that men and women are enabled to lead richer and more satisfying lives.

Conclusions

The Committee concluded the findings a s below:

1. Our review of communication the world over reveals a variety of solutions adopted in different countries — in accordance with diverse traditions, patterns of social, economic and cultural life, needs and possibilities. This diversity is valuable and should be respected; there is no place for the universal application of preconceived models. yet it should be possible to establish, in broad outline, common aims and common values in the sphere of communication, based on common interests in a world of interdependence. The whole human race is threatened by the arms race and by the persistence of unacceptable global inequalities, both of

which generate tensions and which jeopardize its future and even its survival. The contemporary situation demands A BETTER MORE JUST AND MORE DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL ORDER, AND THE REALIZATION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS. These goals can be achieved only through understanding and tolerance, gained in large part by free, open and balanced communications.

2. The review has also shown that the utmost importance should be given to eliminating imbalances and disparities in communication and its structures, and particularly in information flows. Developing countries need to reduce their dependence, and claim a new more just and more equitable order in the field of communication. This issue has been fully debated in various settings; the time has now come to move from principles to substantive reforms and concrete action.
3. Our conclusions are founded on the firm conviction that communication is a basic individual right, as well as a collective one required by all communities and nations. Freedom of information — and, more specifically the right to seek , receive and impart information — is a fundamental human right; indeed, a prerequisite for many others. The inherent nature of communication means that its fullest possible exercise and potential depend on the surrounding political, social and economic conditions, the most vital of these being democracy within countries and equal, democratic relations between them. It is in this context that the democratization of communication at national and international levels, as well as the larger role of communication in democratizing society, acquires utmost importance.
4. For these purposes, it is essential to develop comprehensive national communication policies linked to overall social, cultural and economic development objectives. Such policies should evolve from broad consultations with all sectors concerned and adequate mechanisms for wide participation of organized social groups in their definition and implementation. National governments as much as the international community should recognize the urgency of according communications higher priority in planning and funding. Every country should develop its communication patterns in accordance with its own conditions, needs and traditions, thus strengthening its integrity, independence and self- reliance.
5. The basic considerations which are developed at length in the body of our Report are intended to provide a framework for the development of a new information and communication order. We see its implementation as an ongoing process of change in the nature of relations between and within nations in the field of communication. Imbalances in national information and communication systems are a s disturbing and unacceptable as social, economic, cultural and technological (both national and international) disparities. Indeed, rectification of the latter is inconceivable in any true or lasting sense without elimination of the former. Crucial decisions concerning communication development need to be taken urgently at both national and international levels.

These decisions are not merely the concern of professionals, researchers, or scholars, nor can they be the sole prerogative of those holding political or economic power. The decision - making process has to involve social participation at all levels. This calls for new attitudes for overcoming stereotyped thinking and to promote more understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect for the dignity and equality of peoples living in different ways.

Thus our call for reflection and action is addressed broadly to governments and international organizations, to policy makers and planners, to the media and professional organizations, to researchers, communication practitioners, to organized social groups and the public at large.

Strengthening Independence and Self Reliance

Communication Policies

All individuals and people collectively have an inalienable right to a better life which, howsoever conceived, must ensure a social minimum nationally and globally. This calls for the strengthening of capacities and the elimination of gross inequalities; such defects may threaten social harmony and even international peace. There must be a measured movement from disadvantage and dependence to self- reliance and the creation of more equal opportunities. Since communication is interwoven with every aspect of life, it is clearly of the utmost importance that the existing 'communication gap' be rapidly narrowed and eventually eliminated.

We recommend:

1. Communication be no longer regarded merely as an incidental service and its development left to chance. Recognition of its potential warrants the formulation by all nations, and particularly developing countries, of comprehensive communication policies linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals. Such policies should be based on inter-ministerial and interdisciplinary consultations with broad public participation. The object must be to utilize the unique capacities of each form of communication, from interpersonal and traditional to the most modern, to make people and societies aware of their rights, harmonize unity in diversity , and foster the growth of individuals and communities within the wider frame of national development in an interdependent world.
2. As language embodies the cultural experience of people all languages should be adequately developed to serve the complex and diverse requirements of modern communication. Developing nations and multilingual societies need to evolve language policies that promote all national languages even while selecting some, where necessary, for more widespread use in communication, higher education and administration. There is also need in

certain situations for the adaptation, simplification, and standardization of scripts and development of keyboards, preparation of dictionaries and modernized systems of language learning, transcription of literature in widely-spoken national languages. The provision of simultaneous interpretation and automated translation facilities now under experimentation for cross-cultural communication to bridge linguistic divides should also be envisaged.

3. A primary policy objective should be to make elementary education available to all and to wipe out illiteracy, supplementing formal schooling systems with non-formal education and enrichment within appropriate structures of continuing and distance learning (through radio, television and correspondence).

3. Within the framework of national development policies, each country will have to work out its own set of priorities, bearing in mind that it will not be possible to move in all directions at the same time. But, as far as resources allow, communication policies should aim at stimulating and encouraging all means of communication.

Communication policies should offer a guide to the determination of information and media priorities and to the selection of appropriate technologies. This is required to plan the installation and development of adequate infrastructures to provide self-reliant communications capacity.

We recommend:

4. Developing countries take specific measures to establish or develop essential elements of their communication systems: print media , broadcasting and telecommunications along with the related training and production facilities.

5. Strong national news agencies are vital for improving each country's national and international reporting. Where viable, regional networks should be set up to increase news flows and serve all the major language groups in the area. Nationally, the agencies should buttress the growth of both urban and rural newspapers to serve as the core of a country's news collection and distribution system.

6. National book production should be encouraged and accompanied by the establishment of a distribution network for books, newspapers and periodicals. The stimulation of works by national authors in various languages should be promoted.

7. The development of comprehensive national radio networks, capable of reaching remote areas should take priority over the development of television, which, however, should be encourage where appropriate. Special attention should be given to areas where illiteracy is prevalent.

8. National capacity for producing broadcast materials is necessary to obviate dependence on external sources over and beyond desirable program exchange. This capacity should include national or regional broadcasting, film and documentary production centers with a basic distribution network.

9. Adequate educational and training facilities are required to supply personnel for the media and production organizations, as well as managers, technicians and maintenance personnel. In this regard, co-operation between neighboring countries and within regions should be encouraged.

Basic Needs

All nations have to make choices in investment priorities. In choosing between possible alternatives and often conflicting interests, developing countries , in particular, must give priority to satisfying their people's essential needs. Communication is not only a system of public information, but also an integral part of education and development.

We recommend:

10. The communication component in all development projects should receive adequate financing. So- called "development support communications" are essential for mobilizing initiatives and providing information required for action in all fields of development - agriculture, health and family planning, education, religion, industry and so on.

11. Essential communication needs to be met include the extension of basic postal services and telecommunication networks through small rural electronic exchanges.

12. The development of a community press in rural areas and small towns would not only provide print support for economic and social extension activities . This would also facilitate the production of functional literature for neo-literates as well.

13. Utilization of local radio, low-cost small format television and video systems and other appropriate technologies would facilitate production of programs relevant to community development efforts, stimulate participation and provide opportunity for diversified cultural expression.

14. The educational and informational use of communication should be given equal priority with entertainment. At the same time, education systems should prepare young people for communication activities. Introduction of pupils at primary and secondary levels to the forms and uses of the means of communication (how to read newspapers, evaluate radio and television programs, use elementary audio-visual techniques and apparatus) should permit the young to understand reality better and enrich their knowledge of current affairs and problems.

15. Organization of community listening and viewing groups could in certain circumstances widen both entertainment and educational opportunities. Education and information activities should be supported by different facilities ranging from mobile book, tape and film libraries to programmed instruction through "schools of the air".

16. Such activities should be aggregated wherever possible in order to create vibrant local communication resource centers for entertainment, education, information dissemination and cultural exchange. They should be supported by decentralized media production centers; educational and extension services should be location specific if they are to be credible and accepted.

17. It is not sufficient to urge that communication be given a high priority in national development; possible sources of

investment finance must be identified. Among these could be differential communication pricing policies that would place large burdens on more prosperous urban and elite groups; the taxing of commercial advertising may also be envisaged for this purpose.

Particular Challenges

We have focused on national efforts which must be made to lead to greater independence and self- reliance. But there are three major challenges to this goal that require concerted international action. Simply put, these are paper, tariff structures and the electro-magnetic spectrum.

We recommend:

18. A major international research and development effort to increase the supply of paper. The worldwide shortage of paper, including newsprint and its escalating cost impose crushing burdens upon struggling newspapers, periodicals and the publication industry, above all in the developing countries. Certain ecological constraints have also emerged. Unesco, in collaboration with FAO, should take urgent measures to identify and encourage production of paper and newsprint either by recycling paper or from new sources of feedstock in addition to the wood pulp presently produced largely by certain northern countries. Kenaf, bagasse, tropical woods and grasses could possibly provide alternative sources. Initial experiments are encouraging and need to be supported and multiplied.

19. Tariffs for new transmission, telecommunication rates and air mail charges for the dissemination of news, transport of newspapers, periodicals, books and audio-visual materials are one of the main obstacles to a free and balanced flow of information. This situation must be corrected, especially in the case of developing countries, through a variety of national an international initiatives. Governments should in particular examine the policies and practices of their post an telegraph authorities. Profits or Revenues should not be the primary aim of such agencies. They are instruments for policy-making and planned development in the field of information culture. Their tariffs should be in line with larger national goals. International action is also necessary to alter telecommunication tariffs that militate heavily against small and peripheral users. Current international consultations on this question may be brought to early fruition, possibly at the October 1980 session of the 154 nation International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee, which should have before it specific proposals made by a Unesco-sponsored working group on "Low Telecommunication Rates" (November 1979) . Unesco might, in cooperation with ITU also sponsor an overall study on international telecommunications services by means of satellite transmission in collaboration with Intelsat, Intersputnik and user country representatives to make proposals for international and regional co-ordination or geostationary satellite development. The study should also include investigation of the possibility and practicalities of discounts for transmission of news and preferential rates for certain types of transmission to and from developing countries. Finally, developing countries should investigate the possibility of negotiating preferential tariffs on bilateral or regional basis.

20. The electro-magnetic spectrum and geostationary orbit, both finite natural resources, should be more equitably shared as the common property of mankind. For that purpose, we welcome the decisions taken by the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC), Geneva, September-November 1979, to convene a series of special conferences over the next few years on certain specific topics related to the utilization of these resources.

Note

LESSON 12:
AGRICULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN INDIA

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To become aware of the role of agriculture in India

To learn about the agricultural communication in India

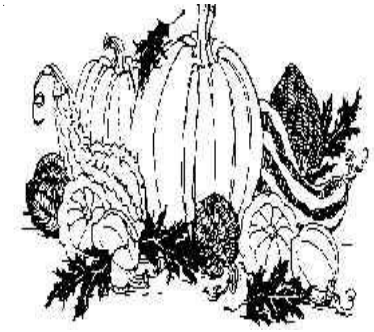
To know about the extension system

Nature And Significance of Agriculture in India

So long as the farmer continues to feed and clothe the world, agriculture continues to assume the role of a basic industry in some degree or the other in every country. In recent years, the achievements of science have been marvelous in all productive fields manufacturing a variety of goods, sometimes replacing the traditional goods. But science has not succeeded in thoroughly revolutionising agriculture and replacing crops, livestock, etc.

It is rightly observed that "Even those most hopeful in the progress of science would scarcely contend that the growing of crops and livestock will be supplanted by huge, smoky manufacturing plants producing necessities of life now furnished by the farmers."

Agriculture, as a primary industry, plays a significant role in the process of economic development of a country. But the contribution of the agricultural sector to the overall economy varies from country to country depending upon the level of economic development. In the early stages of economic development, normally, agriculture is the major contributor to national income and it provides employment to a majority of people. At later stages of a fairly high level of economic progress, the importance of agriculture gradually declines. However, agriculture with its fundamental importance has its own contribution to make throughout the unending process of economic development.



Economic development may be defined as transformation of an economy, which is predominantly agricultural and traditional into one largely industrial and modem. The agricultural and non-agricultural sectors in the former remain separate, presenting economic dualism, while in the latter they get integrated together. In the overall economic development, the role and functions of agricultural sector have figured prominently in theories of development, particularly since World War II.

Most of the modern developed economies have achieved development prior to World War I. In the nineteenth century and in the earlier epochs, the process of economic development was spontaneous and economic theorists did not devote much attention to the question of priorities, viz., whether agricultural development should precede industrial development or vice versa. But during the past three decades, when the less developed countries of Asia, South America and Africa entered the phase of development, there was a strong bias in favour of rapid industrialisation. This was largely due to a feeling among them that industrialisation was synonymous with economic development. Concentration upon accelerated industrialization became almost the motto of the less developed countries. However, the strategy that was adopted towards this end faced serious obstacles and several countries failed in their endeavours and ended in frustration.

It was this situation that induced economists to study the malaise that afflicted the development process. The role and functions of agriculture came to be studied in depth. As a result, it was realised that neglect of agriculture could limit economic growth. It was also realised that industrialisation and agricultural development are complementary to each other.

Historical records clearly show that no country has moved from the stage of chronic stagnation to the take-offstage of economic development without first achieving a substantial increase in agricultural production. In the earlier stages of economic development of modern advanced State, a high rate of agricultural production has played a crucial role in furthering overall economic growth. In Western Europe, revolutionary changes took place during 1780-1860. Among other factors, agriculture, on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, was favourable for a take-off. In the United Kingdom agriculture did provide cheap and sufficient food in the early decades of the Industrial Revolution and did provide self-finance for more efficient agriculture; but it did not, as agriculture did in Japan in later year, help capital formation and industrial development in general. The take-off periods of France, Belgium, Germany and Sweden also rested upon a firm base of a raising agricultural productivity. Economic development of Russia, China and Japan reveals the basic role played by agriculture in the earlier stages. Russian economic progress was made possible by an initially substantial food surplus. Japan with an agricultural economy, characterised by land shortage and labour surplus adopted policies which created a food surplus, the basis and foundation for its spectacular economic development- Communist China also recognised the importance of achieving an agricultural surplus in the process of economic development. In India, too, during the planning era, some of the State Governments have accorded high priority to agriculture.

After his monumental studies of Asian countries, Gunnar Myrdal concludes: It is in the agricultural sector that the battle for long-term economic development in South Asia will be won or lost." With reference to India, Coale and Hoover stress the same point: "Very substantial progress in that most backward part of the economy (agriculture) was a prerequisite to successful development of the Indian economy as a whole." In emphasizing the role of agriculture in the development of Indian economy, it is observed that "If one sector limits the growth of the other, it is more likely to be a case of agricultural growth, limiting non-agricultural sector than vice versa."

Role And Functions of Agriculture

Agricultural development is important for many reasons. Agriculture must primarily provide adequate food and nutrition supplies to the fast growing population. In the early stages of economic growth, the income elasticity of demand for food in underdeveloped countries is estimated to be 0.6 or higher which is twice or thrice as much as that in Europe, the United States and Japan.7 In an underdeveloped country like India, with low nutritional standards, any rise in income is most likely to increase the demand for food and more diversified foodstuffs. Moreover, less developed countries are experiencing population explosion. In order to supply adequate food and nutrition to the growing population, the rate of agricultural production should be higher than the rate of growth of population, which in these countries varies from 2.0 per cent to 3.0 per cent per annum. If domestic production fails to increase adequately, the gap has to be filled up by imports, involving a heavy drain on foreign exchange resources. If the food supplies fail to expand in pace with the growth of demand, the result is likely to be a substantial rise in food prices and consequent inflationary situation both in rural and urban sectors.

The farm sector has to supply the raw materials for growing manufacturing industries. Agricultural raw material enters many industries. Nearly one-third of India's industrial output till recently depended upon the supply of agricultural commodities such as raw cotton, jute, oilseeds and rice.8 If the agricultural sector in a country fails to supply adequate quantity of raw material, the gap is to be filled up with imported raw material. Imported raw material is most likely to cost more, leading to a higher price of final product with consequent adverse effect on the marketability of products.

In underdeveloped economies, the agricultural sector with surplus labour can supply manpower to the growing manufacturing industry. The agricultural sector, with unlimited supply of manpower, as Arthus Lewis has put it, has to release the labour force for industrialization. For such labour transferred to the industrial sector, agriculture should also provide food, clothing and other essential consumption goods. In the early stages of economic development, manpower for manufacturing sectors can be drawn easily from agriculture. "Agricultural sector can even provide much labour at zero opportunity costs because a considerable part of the labour force in agriculture is redundant in the sense that its marginal productivity is zero."10 In countries where the amount of labour is limited, labour can be transferred to the industrial sector through higher productivity per man in the agricultural sector. On the other hand, in countries where the size of population is large and its rate of growth is also high, transformation of agriculture becomes operative "to prevent an overflow of population to the cities, in a futile search for employment."

The agricultural sector creates demand for more and new industrial goods. As agricultural development takes place, the per capita farm income will improve. Now the farmers would be in a position to buy more of modern agricultural inputs and consumer goods from the industrial sector. Further, with the development of processing, packing and distribution services in the agricultural sector, there is greater scope for marketing of agricultural products. The improved inputs enhancing productive efficiency in agriculture, leading to more of marketable surplus, can be exchanged for goods and services in the industrial sector.

Agriculture also contributes to capital formation which is essential for economic growth. The contribution of agriculture to capital formation can take place in three ways. First, increased agricultural productivity leads to lower food prices which, in turn, raises real income and promotes saving. Second, increased farm output may generate higher levels of farm income and a part of it may be saved. These savings may be utilised for investment purposes for overall economic development. 'With the rising of agricultural productivity with comparatively smaller outlays". Observe Johnston and Mellor, "greater is the scope for agricultural sector to make contribution to the capital requirements for overall economic growth." Thirdly, capital can be derived by taxing the agricultural sector. In China, Russia and Japan, farm tax revenue helped significantly their economic growth. The system of agricultural taxation may be diverse in form such as land taxes, agricultural income tax, export duty and irrigation tax. When agricultural incomes rise, a larger tax revenue can be secured on a rising income base. However, a policy of ruthless or too high taxation as that of taxes on agricultural exports in Argentina would be like "killing the goose that laid the golden eggs which were expected to pay for the programmes of industrialization.

If agricultural production is large enough to yield an exportable surplus, it will earn the much-needed foreign exchange for imports of essential equipment, technical know-how and industrial raw materials. "It is hardly a surprise that in the initial stages of growth of many presently developed countries", observes Simon Kuznets, "agriculture was a major source of exports and that the resulting command over the resources of the more developed countries played a strategic role in facilitating modern economic growth."14 For instance, the post-Meiji industrialization of Japan was crucially assisted by the rapidly expanding agricultural exports.

The theoretical models of agricultural development also emphasise the significant role of agricultural sector in economic development. According to these theoretical models, the transformation of traditional agriculture into modem one involves several phases of development. The first phase consists of transferring surplus labour (W.A. Lewis) accompanied by transfer of food capital to the industrial sector. If marginal productivity of labour is zero, surplus food will be available (as Fei and Ranis Model Postulates). If marginal

productivity is positive, surplus food for transfer has to be secured by stepping up productivity (as per the hypothesis of Jorgenson Model). In the second phase, as agricultural productivity is raised, surplus income as well as output emerges and the strategy of development called for mobilization of the rural surpluses and their transfer to the industrial sector for capital investment. The third phase is characterized by a mature agricultural sector and a fairly developed industrial sector helping each other.

Interdependence Between Agriculture And Industry

The agricultural sector contributes to industrial development by way of:

a. providing food to the growing industrial workers,

b. providing raw material to industrial development of both large-scale as well as small-scale industries,

c. providing labour to the industry,

d. creating demand for industrial products,

e. helping capital formation required for industrial development.

Production not only accelerates the growth of industries, but also brings stability to the industrial sector. Thus, agriculture helps industry and is also helped simultaneously by industry in many ways. There is, thus, a continuous process of feedback in the economic system. Agriculture and industry, therefore, are not conflicting alternatives, but complementary one. In other words, agriculture, industry and transport, etc., mutually help and fortify one another towards the integrated growth of an economy. To quote Jagdish Bhagwati, Those who stress the role of industrialization generally underestimate the importance of agricultural sector in developing economies. But the two need not be in conflict. Agriculture and industry compete for national resources. But this does not mean that those who emphasize the need for agriculture and industry compete for national resources. But this does not mean that those who emphasize the need for agricultural expansion should necessarily be opposed to industrialisation." In view of diversity of agricultural conditions and of the general economic situation in different underdeveloped countries, it is difficult to state the priority between agriculture and industry as a universally acceptable proposition. However, it may be taken as the general consensus that "an agrarian revolution, preceding and running parallel with industrial revolution, is a sound strategy that could take a country along the golden path of economic development."

Importance of Agriculture in the Indian Economy

The importance of agriculture in Indian can be judged mainly from its contribution to national income and employment. Agriculture continues to be a major source of income and employment to a vast majority of (about 66 per cent) people in India. Official estimates of national income and its components are available on a regular basis in India since 1948-49. According to the estimates of individual scholars like Dadabhai Naoroji, Curzon, Vakil, Murganjan and some others, the contribution of agriculture to the national income since the latter part of the nineteenth century till about World War I had remained around 66 per cent. V.K.R.V. Rao estimated that the proportion of agriculture to the total output was 57 percent during 1925-29 and 53 per cent for 1931-32. For 1948-49, official estimates placed the share of agriculture in the national income at 49 per cent. In 1950-51, its share in the net domestic product was reckoned to be about 56 per cent and during the following ten years, it remained above 50 per cent. After this, the percentage share declined and was about 45 per cent in 1970-71; 40.2 percent in 1980-81, 31.7 per cent in 1991-92 and 27 per cent in 1999. Although these estimates are not strictly comparable, due to differences in concepts, geographical coverage and methods of computation, it is evident that the share of the agricultural sector declines gradually.

Agriculture continues to be a main source of livelihood for a vast majority of the population in India. According to the decennial census reports, the proportion of cultivating and agricultural labourers to main workers was 72 per cent in 1951, 71.8 per cent in 1961, 69.8 per cent in 1971, 66.5 per cent in 1981 and 65.0 per cent in 1991. It is clear that the dependence of the workers on agriculture, though slightly decreasing, continues to be significantly higher.

The agricultural sector in India supplies food to the fast-growing population and raw material to the manufacturing industry. The agricultural sector with surplus labour is in a position to supply manpower required for the industrial sector in urban areas. However, there seems to be no dearth of manpower in the urban areas, also,. Further, with nearly 65 per cent of the people depending upon agriculture for their living, the agricultural sector creates demand for industrial products. With the advent of the Green Revolution, there has been a considerable increase in farm incomes in areas with relatively better irrigation facilities. Farmers in areas like Punjab, Haryana, Coastal Andhra, etc. are able to contribute to capital requirements for the overall economic growth in India. Through agricultural taxation, some State Governments are able to raise considerable amounts. The contribution of the agricultural sector to foreign exchange resources is significant. The agricultural sector contributed 21 per cent to the total exports in 1999-2000. The share of agriculture in total exports will be higher if the exports of agro-based manufacturers are taken into account.

In 1991-92, the contribution of agricultural commodities to exports was Rs. 8228 crores and it increased to Rs. 25040 crores in 1996-97.

There is a close interdependence between agriculture and industry. In 1964-66, out of total agricultural production, about 12.5 per cent went from agriculture to agriculture, while nearly 23 percent was utilized by the industries, the rest went directly to final consumption. The value of agricultural inputs (Rs.2,085 crores) formed about 20.6 per cent of the total value of industrial output (Rs.10,106 crores) in that year. Similarly, the industrial sector delivered goods worth Rs.228 crores to agriculture which is about 11 per cent of the amounts sold by agriculture to industry and accounted for 2.53 per cent of the total output of the agricultural sector. According to an estimate for 1973-74 at 1971-72 prices, the contribution of agriculture as

input in the total output of industry was as high as 58 per cent. Agriculture's share is 42 per cent for tea and coffee, 40 per cent, for leather products, 32 per cent for vegetable oils, 35 per cent for jute textiles and 29 per cent for cotton textiles.

After the advent of the new farm technology, agriculture depends, largely on industry for modem inputs like chemical fertilizers, pesticides, pumpsets, tractors, power tillers etc. For instance, between 1990-91 and 1993-94 the consumption of fertilizers was around 12 million tonnes. It increased to 14.3 million tonnes in 1996-97. The use of pumpsets, both electric and diesel, increased from about one million in 1965-66 to 60 million in 1996.

The interdependence between agriculture and industry clearly shows that further growth both in agriculture as well as industrial production in India is materially dependent on the rapid increase in the production of the input supplying capacity of both the sectors to each other. It is such an interdependent relationship that will culminate in the fusion of the two sectors and formation of an integrated modem economy.

Conclusion

Agricultural development, however, is not synonymous with rural development. While the development of agriculture is critical for self-sufficiency in food and for the economic development of India, it is equally necessary to develop simultaneously other sector's in rural areas, so as to reduce pressure on land. This step is most likely to contribute to the improvement of living conditions of many. Moreover, rural population consists, of a large number of landless people, who form the hard core of poverty, In the schemes of agricultural development, the rural poor without any assets like landless labour, village artisans, etc. are not likely to be benefited substantially. Therefore, some radical institutional changes aiming at redistribution of rural wealth in favour of rural poor become necessary as a part of rural development programmes. Land reforms in India, no doubt, help to some extent, the neglected section of rural population like landless labour, etc. At the same time, it should be noted that in spite of the land reforms, a large number of people remain without lands in rural areas. Therefore, alternative programmes like rural industrialization, provision of institutional credit with supporting services to rural poor for asset-building schemes, payment of minimum wages to agricultural labour, social security measures benefiting rural poor, etc., should receive greater attention of the government.

Part 2. Extension System in India

India, the seventh largest country in the world, is known for its rich cultural, geographical and political heritage and also for its poverty and low per capita income. The climatic, geological, cultural, linguistic, religious and sociological diversity and her population of 950 million within the 3.3 million square kilometers challenges the economical development of the country. As 64% of the labor force in India is in the agricultural field and the lion share of GDP comes from agriculture, agricultural development denotes the prosperity of Indian economy. Further, the need to educate the people and raising their standard of life and giving them a healthy environment to live, makes extension a very important component for the development of India.

Extension education is a dynamic and flexible process of educating people to develop their capabilities. According to Dahama (1980), "Extension education is a behavioral science following a continuous, persuasive and discriminating educational process. It aims at affecting the behavioral components of the people in a desirable direction, through conviction, communication and diffusion, by its proven methods, principles and philosophies resulting in learning involvement of both client and change agent systems."

History of Extension

Pre-British Period

Before the colonization India was a sub-continent of small royal kingdoms. Generally, the villages were self contained, self sufficient and self governed units, and role of extension was very minimum. Looking after the welfare of the people was the main responsibility of the emperors and kings. The service of the foreign missionaries and local organizations is also praiseworthy. The Panchayat system executed the welfare activities (Dahama, 1980). Thus, extension had no important role to play in the pre-British period for the rural development of the country. But, the idea of extension was prevailing even in those times.

Pre-Independence Era (1866-1947)

The British colonial rule did not do much to the agrarian development of the country. Yet they tried to do some organizational structure, irrigation projects and establish different agricultural departments.

1866	Famine Commission to study famine spread in Bengal and Orissa.Commission suggests for organized planning in Agriculture.
1871-	June Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce started. Agriculturalprograms do not flourish.
1880	Famine again. Commission asks government to separate Department ofAgriculture under a secretary and to start regional offices.
1881	Imperial Department of Agriculture under new secretariat. By 1882, SateAgricultural Departments started functioning.
1888	Land Improvement Loans Act, and Agricultural Loans Act
1901	Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, Agricultural College inDharbanga (Bihar) with a farm. Indian Agricultural Service was constituted.- Staffing in the various agencies. All Activities were connected.
1904	Cooperative Act
1912	Amendment in the Cooperative Act
1919	Government of India Act makes agriculture a responsibility of the state.
1924	Royal Commission recommends stopping staffing in Indian Agricultural Service.

1928 Royal Commission recommends to start a national center for Research,Training and Extension. Suggests mobility of staff within the system .

1929 Imperial Council for Agriculture and Research (ICAR) formed.

1935 Community Development becomes a provincial subject. Provinces established their rural Construction Department or Village Uplift Boards and activities funded by Central Government. These Development Departments could not make up any comprehensive program. Their activities were not based on detailed studies of program planning, or the needs and resources of the people. It never emphasized the people's participation, cooperation and involvement. It never tried to create confidence in the people through educational approach but mostly the work remained that of a supply agency and the approach agents acted as bosses and not guides, or teachers.

1947 Aug. Independence of India.

Extension By Various Organizations Before Independence

Shantiniketen

In 1908, Shri Rabindra Nath Tagore, under his scheme of rural development through the youth organizations and he established a Rural Reconstruction Institute at Shantiniketen (where peace resides) in 1921. This objective of the program was to create interest among the villagers in rural welfare and help them to develop their resources. These objectives were achieved through establishing training centers for handicrafts and a demonstration center at Shantiniketan. The demonstrations also were conducted in the farms on improved practices in dairy farming, cultivation and poultry farm. This institute had a mobile library and started night schools for non formal education. But these scheme was limited to villages that were around the institute and it could not extend to other villages (Dahama, 1980).

Gurgaon Experiment

In 1930's, Rural Uplift Movement on a mass scale was started in the Gurgaon District of the Punjab. Under this program, a village guide was posted in each village who was to act as a channel through which the advice of experts in various departments could be passed on to the villagers. The program of introducing improved seeds, implements, improved methods of cultivation, was started throughout the district. As the village guides were poorly equipped the rural development was not improved much. (Dahama, 1980).

Servants of India Society

This organization stated a center to impart training in agriculture and cottage industries to village boys and girls. It has published booklets on subjects like education, labor problems and indebtedness. This experiment was started first in Madras and then in Utter Prathesh and Mathya Prathesh (Dahama, 1980).

Sir Daniel Hamilton's Scheme of Rural Reconstruction

In 1903, Hamilton formed a scheme to create model villages in Bengal based on cooperative principles. He also organized cooperative Bank and cooperative Marketing Society and then established a Rural Reconstruction Institute. This Institute provided training facilities in cottage and subsidiary industries (Dahama, 1980).

Rural Reconstruction by Christian Missions

The Christian missionaries focused on education, public health and rural reconstruction. They started rural reconstruction centers in their educational institutions to make use knowledge for practical training. The Rural Extension Service in the colleges was closely related to the life of the rural community. The Missions Hospitals spread throughout the country ensured sanitation in the locality and looked after the health needs of the people. The hospitals gave training in medicine, nursing, compounding and midwifery. Several agricultural demonstration centers were established with the help of YMCA and YWCA (Dahama, 1980).

Gandhian Constructive Program

Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of India was not only a Mahatma (Great Soul), or a political leader, but also a social and economic reformer. He made people know that the soul of India lives in village and that the common man's uplift is the actual development of the country. He wrote "if the village perishes India will perish too. India will be no more India, her own mission in the world will be lost." For the emancipation of the villagers, he formulated an 18 point program which included the promotion of village industries, basic adult education, rural sanitation, uplift of backward tribes, uplift of woman, education in public health and hygiene, propagation of national language, and love for the mother tongue, equality, organization of kissans (farmers), labor and students. The Gandhian constructive program gave a new vision for rural development. (Dahama, 1980).

Etawah Pilot Project

The program was launched in UP, in 1948 covering 97 villages. The main objectives of the project were to see what degree of production and social improvement, initiative and cooperation could be obtained from an average area. The efforts of the project were to broaden the mental horizon of the villager so that he might become self generating and self perpetuating and able to deal with his land, tools, and surroundings. The program included improved agricultural and animal husbandry practices, public health education, literacy campaigns, and improvement of cottage industries. This program was effective and resulted improved economic condition of the villagers (Dahama, 1980).

Adarsh Sewa Sangh, Pohri (Gwalior)

This plan of rural reconstruction was put into operation 352 villages and aimed at increasing the per capita income of the villagers. In each village, a Village Reconstruction Society was formed to teach the villagers compost making, deep ploughing, improved breeding and management of cattle. The Sangh

published a monthly journal "Rural India" that devoted to Planning and community Projects (Dahama, 1980).

Post-Independence Era

The policy of the British rulers was such that resulted in the exploitation of India to enrich their own industries in Britain. This exploitation continued until India attained Independence, when there prevailed the problems of widespread poverty, ignorance, and disease. The first year of independence faced with extraordinary problems of floods, droughts, famine and rehabilitation of 9 million refugees from Pakistan. The per capita income during that period was only RS 225 (US $ 34) and 86% of the people were illiterate.

1947	ICAR becomes Indian Council for Agriculture and Research. 'Grow More Food Campaign.' Extension Programs initiated.
1949	The constitution of India pledges to the people to create welfare state.
1952	GMF committee suggests reconstruction of the system, and elaborate extension system, and in the state under a Development Commission.
1952	55 Community Development (CD) projects, assistance from Ford Foundation. Each project covered an area of about 500 square miles, with 300 villages and population about 0.2 million. Each block was divided into Village level worker's circles.
1953 Oct.	National Extension Service.
1956-58	Balwant Rai Mahta Committee suggests Panchayat Raj to increase people's participation in the extension. Leads to power struggle between Zilla parishad (District level) Panchayat Samiti (Taluk) and Gram Panchayat (Village) in the three tier administrations.
1957	Maize Improvement Scheme by ICAR. Assisted by Rock Feller.
1958	Nalagarh Committee suggests reorganization of Agricultural administration.
1959	Agricultural Production Team of Ford Foundation in its report, 'Indian Food Crisis and Steps to Meet it' recommended Indian government to increase the productivity of land by selected area program, execute Nalagarh Committee recommendations, Village level Extension program.
1959 Jun.	Inter-ministries' Committee to execute Ford Recommendations.
1960	Intensive Agricultural Development Program (IADP) in seven districts. Establishes three Extension Education Institutes.
1961	Agricultural University in Pant Nagar, in the style of US Land Grant College: Research, Teaching, Extension.
1962	Punjab Agricultural University.
1963	Research Review Team suggests to strengthen ICAR and streamline the All Extension System.
1964	Intensive Agricultural Area Program. (25% cultivated land)
1966	High Yielding Variety Program, Green Revolution Starts.
1967	Agricultural Administration Team Report establishes modern research and extension system.
1971	All agricultural research centers comes under the authority of ICAR.
1974	National Agricultural Project (NAP) launched by ICAR for interdisciplinary research, funded by World Bank.
1978-79	Training and Visit Project launched, covering 13 states by 1985.
1984	23 SAUs in different states each having a extension department.
1968-97	Various Research Centers for every product.

Extension System

Extension system in India has four components; Indian council for Agricultural Research (ICAR) and the State Agricultural Universities (SUSs), Rural Development Program and NGO's. ICAR at the national level as an apex body is mainly responsible for promoting and coordinating agricultural research education and extension activities in various branches of agriculture and allied sciences. It also undertakes research both basic as well as applied on diverse problems of national importance.

The Department of Agriculture, Directorate of Agricultural Research and Education and Department of Rural Development are all involved in agricultural extension. Department of Rural Development also promotes public health, nutrition and sanitation. The Department of Agriculture in the states is responcible for the state extension activities. The State agricultural Universities train personnel and promote technologies. They act as the brain and the government extension agencies as the hands. The supply of material inputs, credit and various agro-services is handled by various public, co-operative and private institutions.

The department of agriculture is reorganizing extension services under a National Institute of Agricultural extension Management, and four extensions training institutes. Krishi Vijnan Kendras, set up all over the country and Rural Development Offices and Village Extension Offices in every village give enough and timely extension services to the extension workers, farmers and the village flock.

Extension Link with Research

The national agricultural research, education and extension education system in India is one of the largest in the world, both with its size and the complexity of activities undertaken. To fasten the research and to make research cost effective, all research activities in the field of agriculture of all the agricultural universities are integrated. Central Commodity Committees work in integration under the guidelines of ICAR. Field oriented, project based research with an interdisciplinary approach is possible in the agricultural universities, because the various branches function under the same agency (ICAR). The

vice-president of ICAR is the president of all the Commodity committees. Directors of the research institutes, and senators of ICAR and the Board of Research and Extension come together periodically to discuss the matters of common interest both for the officials and farmers.

The 28 SAUs spread over all the states monitors regional agricultural research, education and extension. They are supported by state governments and ICAR. To enable fast and accurate information dissemination among the different research centers and to ensure fast and effective extension activities, ICAR, research centers and SAUs are connected through computer network. Agricultural Research and Information Center (ARIC) is the central source of research information on all ongoing as well as completed research projects and schemes undertaken by ICAR and SAUs. This information net work enables mutual help and support in research and extension activities. The periodical training of the extension workers in the SAUs makes extension relevent to the time.

Extension Methods

The role of extension worker in agriculture is to make farmers know, understand, accept and adopt recommended farm practices such as crop-production, plant protection and soil and moisture conservation, to increase agricultural production. They are the grass-root functionaries in training, visits and demonstration (T.V.D). Extension in public health, adult education and rural development ensures the emancipation of the poorest of the poor giving them a better standard of life and life environment.

They achieve these goals through a wide range of extension teaching methods like visiting the houses and farms to build up a personal relationship. Demonstrations of both methods and results are to construct confidence among the farmers in new technology, group discussion, experience sharing. Posters, leaflets and pocket booklets are ready for their references. Field trips and film shows are to make the life of farmers both interesting and to develop their potentials.

Up to the 70's Village Level Workers (VLW) used mainly house and farm visits. Demonstrations were not that successful as they were conducted most often disorganized. Farmer fairs, field trips, and film shows were successful. Audio visual media were very rarely used. Combined methods were shown greatest results in that period.

Now the extension through Cybernet is getting much attention. This program is to start village level computer shops to help the farmers with the latest technology.

Training and Visit Program

Training and visit program (1978-79) was a well organized and field oriented one. Farmer's awareness of N. T was never such before it. The establishments of a trained, exclusively agricultural cadre at the grass root level are close contact with farmers as a regular basis. The extension and research linkages through a team of subject matter specialists and provision of adequate mobility for the extension staff are some of the other major advantages.

The success of this program in India depended on the holistic approach. Research, supply, credit, irrigation, infra structure, markets, public policies and the physical and socio-economic environment were made suitable for the efficient functioning of the extension system.

Training and Visit Time Table for a Village Extension Worker:

Each extension worker has eight farmers' groups to train and visit. If he fails due to sickness he has to make his visit to some other day**.** Generally the extension workers used the following time table. Sundays were holidays.

	I week	II week
Monday	Visit Group I	Visit Group V
Tuesday	Visit Group II	Visit Group VI
Wednesday	Meeting with AEO	Meeting with subject matter specialists
Thursday	Visit group III	Visit Group VII
Friday	Visit Group IV	Visit Group VIII
Saturday	Make up Visits and extra visits for checking farm trials	

Farmers Training

The necessity for higher training for farmers was felt as early as 1959 at the annual conference of community development. This conference recommended training of prominent and selected farmers. 1960 conference also pushed the suggestion forward. There by, a scheme was launched to train 50,000 farmers (Gram Sahayaks), prepared by the Directorate of Extension, Ministry of Food and Agriculture in constancy with the Ministry of Community Development. Later the number of trainees was raised to 120,000. The training was conducted in 100 centers and it was not that successful in spite of the huge investment involved. Eventually the program was canceled.

Some institutions, doing teaching and research in agriculture revived the program in 1962-63. These institutions laid more importance on the quality of training rather than the number of trainees. The service of Punjab Agricultural University in this regard was very noteworthy.

When many other institutions followed remarkable progress in this line, government during the fourth plan period brought all these activities together under one scheme called High Yielding Verity Program with a financial assistance from UNDF. The main objectives of the training were,

1. to attract motivated persons to scientific agriculture, (Latest knowledge in the hands of the needy)
2. bridge the gaps between farmers and scientists
3. take problems land to lab and to take technology lab to land.

The scheme aimed at training not only the farmers but also the farming women, farmers' sons and young farmers. The scheme

came into operation in five million farm families, in 100 high yielding verity program districts. The training included demonstration cum production camps of 1-3 days, short training courses 6-10 days and a course for three months for the young farmers.

Location specific syllabus was drawn up to meet the needs of the farmers. Literacy classes and Radio programs, field trips, film shows were also conducted. After the training the farmers were encouraged to organize Farmers Club to sustain the spirit of modernization and socialization.

Training Rural Youth

During 1952, extension education gave ample importance to train the youth as a long term investment for sustainable agricultural support and development strategy. After Independence youth clubs got a national stature when the program began to work alongside with the activities of the youth clubs. Department of Agriculture together with the Agricultural Universities conducted short term training courses to the members of the youth clubs. The program was very successful.

Extension Activities of the SAUs

a. Lab to lab program has 139 centers through out the country and supports about 75000 farmers. The aim of this program is to increase their income through low cost technology and self employment.

b. Farmers Schools, also supported by ICAR and voluntary organizations train farm women school dropouts rural youth.

c. Conduct field demonstrations about 2500 every year in the land of poor farmers.

d. Operational research projects are concerned with solving community based agricultural problems through appropriate technology and identifying the constraints preventing adoption.

e. Training subject matter specialists.

Post-service Training and In-service Training of the Extension Workers

Agricultural Universities from their very origin had extension departments which trained extension workers. Agricultural research and the emergence of new technologies are so fast that no extension system and extension training can keep abreast with it. It readily calls for ongoing training for the extension workers. Agricultural Universities in India conducts long term and short term training to extension personnel. The aim of these courses and seminars is

1. to motivate extensionists to work for the rural poor,
2. to train them up-to-date,
3. to train them to move along with the villagers
4. to train them to train the villagers.

The government organizations, non-government organization and private organization give assistants to farmers. Radio, T.V and Newspapers have regular beats on agriculture and rural development.

To improve the farmer scientist interaction, the government has recently started two schemes namely, 'Agricultural Extension through Voluntary Organizations' and 'Women in Agriculture.'

New Information Technology in Extension

A Continuos flow of economically viable technology from laboratory to the farmers' fields is essential for sustainable agricultural development. The success and failure of extension system largely depends on the speed with which the information are disseminated to the farmers in a form acceptable to them.

The main problem of an Indian farmer is that crucial information reaches him very late. One of the most ambitious projects undertaken by Indian government in the late 90's is the development of agro-metereological services. This mission mode service objective is to inform and guide farmers well in advance about the various farming activities in view of the expected weather. To achieve this a medium range of weather forecasting (NCMRWF) is being established at the Indian Meteorological Department (IMD), New Delhi, a computerized station based on the mathematical forecast model. Its substations spread over all over the country reaches the information to farmers through the District level extension system. (Ramachandran, 1988).

The main advantage of the NIT is, it includes the excluded. Government started establishing Computer Aided Extension (CAEx) and Information Villages (IV). They convert generic information to location specific one. These will be available in information shops where farmers could come and get the best time for sowing, reaping, and selling (Balaji, Venkataramani, 1996).

Satellite information which is of a key importance to Indian agriculture is being used in many agricultural fields especially in marine production. Remote sensing in Marine technology helps fishermen to locate area and time to have a good harvest.

An Appraisal

In agriculture

The system has succeeded in evolving, testing and propagating new farm technologies on almost all the economically important crops. Today India is one of the eight gene centers in the world having three centers dealing with plants, animals and fishes.

The research and extension backed by constant support and encouragement of the government, The state of helplessness of the Indian farmer, his confusion and his apathy have disappeared like a bad dream, he has experienced a reawakening full of purposiveness confidence and hope (Buddhananda, 1985).

India is today either the largest or second largest producer of milk, fruit, vegetables, sugar and other crops in the world. The overall agricultural production comes to 5% increase per annum.

Compound growth rates of Area (A), Production (P) and Yield (Y).

Crop	1949 - 50 to 1964 - 65			1967 - 68 to 1995 - 96		
	A	P	Y	A	P	Y
Rice	1.21	3.50	2.25	0.64	2.90	2.33
Wheat	2.69	3.98	1.27	1.55	4.72	3.11
Total Cereals	1.25	3.21	1.77	0.03	2.91	2.42
Total Food Grains	1.35	2.82	1.36	0.06	2.67	2.24
Sugar Cane	3.28	4.26	0.95	1.72	3.11	1.36
Oil Seeds	2.67	3.20	0.30	1.33	3.53	1.68
Cotton	2.47	4.55	2.04	-0.02	2.76	2.79

Yield of Principal Crops Over Time (Kg/ha)

Crop	1950 - 51	1964 - 65	1967 - 68	1995 - 96
Rice	771	1078	1032	1855
Wheat	664	913	1103	2493
Kharif Jawar	353	557	576	1014
Maize	538	1010	1123	1570
Total Food Frains	522	757	783	1499
Sugarcane	33421	46838	46665	68369
Cotton	87	120	123	264

Extension still has miles ahead to go

In agriculture

Although the infrastructure for providing training facilities to farmers and extension workers has been developed substantially, yet their performance is not up to the mark, particularly from the point of view of time lag in transfer of technology from the laboratory to the farm and extent of technology transferred. The results obtained at farm level are often far below the claims made by our scientists.

The present time period of 5 to 7 years, taken in transferring technologies from laboratories to the farms is too long and often leads to obsolescence with the development of even more efficient technologies. At present only 11% of the requirements of quality seeds are being met indigenously. The field performance of the extension workers seems to be below the expectations of the policy makers.

As the growing population of the country demands more supply, if adequate measures are not undertaken, the country would face a terrible food shortage by the year 2030. The Indian scientists have great hope in themselves and in the farmers, that they can meet any challenge.

In Public Health

Health facilities and peoples access to it varies from state to state. The average life expectancy in India is 63 years. 135 million Indians do not have access to medical facilities. Infant mortality is very high in India. According to a study in 1996, 53% of the children under five years are malnourished.

In Family Planning

As in any developing country the most threatening phenomenon to economic development is its multiplying population. As on 1996, Indian population is 953 million of which 74% lives in the rural areas and 265 lives in the urban areas. Average fertility is 4. Only 43% has adopted family planning methods. The birth rate varies in different states, from 37 in Rajasthan to 18 in Kerala. Keralites generally have adopted two children policy. The population growth has shown a clear declining tendency over the decades. It has come down from 24.66% in 1971 to 23.85 in 1981.

In Education

In the field of human resource development India stands 126th in the world. Literacy rate in India has grown from 18.35 to 52.11% in 1996. The National Literacy Mission (1988) is given the responsibility to make India fully literate. The female literacy is very low (36%) compared to male's literacy rate (64.3). Education level varies from state to state. Kerala is on the top with 99% literacy while Bihar is at the lowest with 38.66%. Tamil Nadu is fast progressing with 62.66% in 1997.

A 24 hrs education channel (ETV) is trying to bring education to rural areas. Government is establishing at least one television set in every village. Countrywide Class Room (CWCR) program telecast by University Grant Commission (UGC) through satellite has its beat one hour a day. Navodaya Vidyalaya being set up in every rural area tries to give rural children modern education.

Conclusion

The basic problem that faces extension activities is existing social constraints. Caste system a predominant social evil cuts all roots of development project. High caste societies always see that their workers do not develop. The idea that women are inferior sex, blocks all the development activities aimed at raising the women. Prevailing corruption and unhealthy practices takes away the lionshare of the resources allotted to a project.

If people are educated and social constraints and political constraints removed India can develop overnight. She has the manpower and technological know-how. The problem is just that the system doesn't utilize it well.

Note

LESSON 13:
PANCHAYATI RAJ: INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF PEOPLE

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To become aware of the role of political empowerment

To learn the importance of Panchayati Raj

To know about the PR system

For sustainable economic and social development to take place in any country, it is necessary that people participate in the political process.

Panchayats have been a vibrant and dynamic identity of the Indian villages since the beginning of recorded history. The word "panchayat" is a traditional one, referring to the five elders in a village who mediated conflict and spoke on behalf of all the residents of a village in pre-modern times. But, in these traditional bodies, the lower castes—and women—had no representation, and that was ignored.

Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, in 1946 had aptly remarked that the Indian Independence must begin at the bottom and every village ought to be a Republic with Panchayat, having powers. Gandhiji's dream has been translated into reality with the introduction of the three-tier Panchayati Raj System to ensure people's participation in rural reconstruction.

The Constitution provided, [in Part 4, The Directive Principles of State Policy, Article 40] for the setting up of village panchayats. But this is non-justiciable, and there was no pressure on any state to set up such a system. Many saw this article as a concession to Gandhi, rather than as a serious matter to be immediately implemented. The reason for this was the powerful voice of Dr Ambedkar. Drawing on his own experience of rural India as it then was, he argued that local elite and upper castes were so well entrenched that any local self government only meant the continuing exploitation of the downtrodden masses of Indian society. Nehru shared this view. Thus, in addition to affirmative action enshrined in the Constitution, the distribution of powers was deliberately made to favour the Union as against the local, even state governments. The Union, being far away from the squalid battles of rural India, and being looked after by an educated and urban strata of society, would, it was felt, be more just - or at least more impartial - in its dealings with the downtrodden.

Our aims must be to restore to the Villages the Power to meet their own requirement

— Rabindra Nath Tagore

Indian Independence must begin at the bottom and every village ought to be a Republic with Panchayat, having powers.

— Gandhiji

The Union in those early days took up what was called the Community Development Programme. This was meant for all round social and economic development, and it was an important ministry headed for long by S.K. Dey. It was this programme that brought in such functionaries as the Village Level Worker and the Block Development Officer. After the 1960s this programme declined, as centrifugal forces led to the gradual dominance of the Union. Finally, the Ministry of Community Development ceased to exist. That philosophy became a thing of the past.

Balwant Rai Mehta Committee in the late 1960s came up with the idea of local governments, which was given the traditional name of Panchayat. Later, in another context, the Ashok Mehta Committee in the late 1970s too made recommendations for the setting up of local governments. These had an important impact many years down the line. It is from the Union's experience of development programmes that the idea/need for local governments came to be pushed. It has been a top-level initiative for local development and decentralized administration.

Given the overall centralizing trends in the Indian polity, the States too developed an authoritarian system of governance. States almost became subservient to the Union. Art 356 was used to keep a firm check on the behaviour of state governments. This ensured that strong hierarchical systems developed. All this was further strengthened during the Emergency. The states behaved in the same dominating way with lower tiers of administration. Strong line departments of the state governments took over development programmes. Indian democracy lost the grass roots link: it became a top down system. At the same time the bureaucracy grew in influence.

However, several state governments conducted their own experiments with local self-government. This is the result of the shift in power from the traditional upper castes to the OBCs or intermediate castes—certainly in states like Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The changes that occurred over the last 50 years

of planned development also resulted in pressures from below, to which political forces have had to respond.

Policy makers found after four decades of independence and five year plans that the implementation of development programmes, like the IRDP, for example, would be most effective if local people were involved. The strident debate on Centre-State relations, the poor targeting of poverty alleviation programmes and the like led to the realization that local involvement—participation—is essential if such programmes are to succeed. This is specially so for beneficiary identification, and to a smaller extent, for decisions on how to spend the limited amount available locally on different local projects. And given the lack of interest in devolving such power in most of the states, coercion through a Constitutional amendment was the chosen route for introducing such decentralization.

April 24, 1993 is a landmark day in the history of Panchayati Raj in India as on this day the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 came into force to provide constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj institutions. The amendment prescribed a three-tier system of local governance for the entire country. This has been effective since 1993.

73rd Amendment Act, 1992

The passage of the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 marks a new era in the federal democratic set up of the country and provides constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs).

Consequent upon the enactment of the Act, almost all the States/Union Territories, except J&K, National Capital Territory (NCT) Delhi and Arunachal Pradesh have enacted their legislation. Except Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, NCT Delhi and Pondicherry, all other States/UTs have held elections.

As a result, 2,27,698 Panchayats at village level; 5,906 Panchayats at intermediate level and 474 Panchayats at district level have been constituted in the country. These Panchayats are being manned by about 34lakh elected representatives of Panchayats at all levels. This is the broadest representative base that exists in any country of the world - developed or underdeveloped.

The main features of the Act are:

1. A 3-tier System of Panchayati Raj for all States having population of over 20lakhs;
2. Panchayat elections to be held regularly every 5 years;
3. Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women (not less than one-third of seats);
4. Constitution of State Finance Commission to make recommendations as regards the financial powers of the Panchayats and
5. Constitution of District Planning Committees to prepare development plans for the district as a whole.

The Three Tiers of PRIs

Panchayat now means the three tiers of local administration brought in by the 73rd amendment—the highest, being the district or zilla panchayat. The powers that these panchayats enjoy are enshrined in the laws enacted by each state, and, in India, there is considerable variation across states.

These bodies, which are legally local government, have a pyramidal structure. At the base is the **gram sabha**—the entire body of citizens in a village or "grama". This is the general body that elects the local government and charges it with specific responsibilities. This body is expected to meet at specific times and approve major decisions taken by the elected body. Gram ensures downward accountability, transparency and voice to the people. In reality, this is far from being the case.

Above this basic unit of democracy, is the **gram panchayat** or GP, which is the first level elected body, covering a population of around five thousand people. This may include more than one village. It is not uncommon to find several villages coming under one GP. This has implications for women's participation, as women have limited mobility.

At the district level is a **zilla panchayat**, which is the link with the state government. In between the two is an intermediate body called, in Karnataka, the **taluk panchayat**, which is expected to play a co-ordinating role among the GPs in its jurisdiction and the ZP in planning and administration. While the levels are common across the country, states have passed laws that are not necessarily similar with respect to roles functions and responsibilities. There is thus much variation and it is essential we learn from this. But that is another question.

Financial Powers of Panchayati Raj Institutions

Article 243-G of the Constitution of India provides that the States/UTs may, by law, endow the Panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government and to prepare plans for economic development and social justice, and their implementation including those in relation to the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

As per Article 243-H of the Constitution, State Legislatures have been empowered to enact laws:

- to authorise a Panchayat to levy, collect and appropriate some taxes, duties, tolls and fees;
- to assign the Panchayat, some taxes, duties and tolls levied, and collected by the State Government;
- to provide for making grants-in-aid to the Panchayats from the Consolidated Fund of the State; and
- to provide for constitution of such funds for Panchayats for crediting all money received by or on behalf of Panchayats and also the withdrawal of such money there from.

Article 243-I of the Constitution provides for constitution of a State Finance Commission (SFC) to review the financial

position of Panchayats and to make recommendations to the Governor regarding the principles governing the major issues.

The Tenth Finance Commission (TFC), for want of SFC reports, made an adhoc provision of Rs.4381 crores to the PRIs for the period 1996-2000. All the States were released Grants amounting to Rs.1095.23crores during 1996-97 to be given to the three tiers of Panchayats. However, releases during 1997-98 and subsequent years require the State Governments to furnish utilisation reports. Besides, holding of Panchayat elections regularly is mandatory for the release of TFC Grants. The eligible States released Grants amounting to Rs.581.11crores during 1997-98, Rs.573.31crores during 1998-99 and Rs.1326.71 crores during 1999-2000. Thus, out of total recommended Grants, an amount of Rs.3576.36crores was released by the end of 31st March, 2000.

Further Initiatives

A Conference of the Chief Ministers on Panchayati Raj was held on 2nd August, 1997, at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Prime Minister recommended:

- Leave selection of beneficiaries to Gram Sabha.
- Waive requirement of Technical sanction for works upto Rs. 10,000.
- Innovate to provide adequate manpower support to the Gram Panchayats.
- Delegate total control over such manpower to Gram Panchayats.
- Zilla Parishad Chairpersons be made the Chairpersons of DRDAs.
- Provide reasonable opportunity of hearing to the PRIs before suspension/dismissal.
- Gram Panchayat President to be accountable solely to Gram Sabha.
- Expeditious constitution of District Planning Committees.

Empowerment Through PR

In order to ensure that Panchayati Raj Institutions function as instruments of local self-government, it is important that their functional and financial autonomy is guaranteed and transparency in their functioning is ensured. This has to be accomplished in most of the States. The role of the Gram Sabha is, perhaps, the most important in ensuring the success of Panchayati Raj Institutions at the village level. The role of local people in conducting social audit and fixing responsibility on Panchayat functionaries will be effectively ensured with the Gram Sabha becoming active. It is essential that the village community perceives meetings of the Gram Sabha as useful. The most important factor for that is the empowerment of the Gram Sabha.

Another important factor for the success of the Panchayati Raj System is the need for transparency in the functioning of these bodies. Panchayats being closer to the people, their right to information and accessibility to the Panchayats must be ensured. This issue was discussed in the Chief Ministers Conference held on 2nd August, 1997, and the Committee of Chief Ministers as well. The Ministry had written to the States. The Hon'ble Prime Minister too, in his letter to the Chief Ministers, had urged that all relevant information on Development Schemes taken up by the Panchayat along with the budget for them should be displayed prominently in the Panchayat Office. Relevant records should be made available for inspection by members of the public. Photocopies of documents such as muster rolls, vouchers, estimates, etc. can be made available to the public on payment of a nominal fee. Technical manuals may be prepared for execution of various works at the Panchayat Level so that transparency can be ensured.

The Ministry convened a Conference of State Ministers of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj on May 13, 1998. A Task Force was constituted under the Chairmanship of the then Minister of State (Independent Charge), Ministry of Rural Areas & Employment to study the structure and functioning of PRIs. The State Governments have been requested to ensure that the Gram Sabha Meetings are convened once in each quarter, preferably on - 26th January -Republic Day; Ist May - Labour Day; 15th August- Independence Day and 2nd October – Gandhi Jayanti.

The Government of India decided to observe the year 1999-2000 as the "Year of Gram Sabha". This is in recognition that the Gram Sabha is potentially the most significant institution for participatory and decentralised democracy.

On 17th March, 1999, all Chief Ministers/ Administrators have been requested to initiate measures to energise Gram Sabha in tune with the following Seven Point minimal package during the 'Year of Gram Sabha':

1. The relationship between the Gram Sabha and the Gram Panchayat may be the same as between the Legislature and the Government. The Panchayat should be accountable to the Gram Sabha in unequivocal terms. The members of the Panchayats should hold office only so long as they enjoy the confidence of Gram Sabha.
2. The Gram Sabha should have full powers for determining the priorities for various programmes in the village and approval of budget. Prior approval of Gram Sabha should be made mandatory for taking up any programme in the village. Certification of expenditure and also about proprietary in financial dealings should be made mandatory and Gram Sabha is responsible for that.
3. The management of natural resources including land, water and forest by any authority whatsoever should be made subject to the concurrence of the Gram Sabha. Consultation with the Gram Sabha should be made mandatory before acquisition of land for public purpose and other forms of land transfer.
4. The Gram Sabha should be vested with full authority to manage all affairs concerning intoxicants including their manufacture, sale, transport and consumption and also enforcement of total prohibition, if the Gram Sabha so desires.
5. Participation of women, SC and ST members in the Gram Sabha should be made mandatory with suitable provision for their presence in the quorum of Gram Sabha meetings.

6. The Gram Sabha should have the power to evolve its own procedure for conducting its business including decision-making following the principles of natural justice.
7. The rules and regulations which may be issued by the Government in this regard from time to time should be deemed to be as guidelines.

Empowerment to Tribal People

The provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996, came into force on 24th December, 1996. This Act extends Panchayats to the tribal areas of States such as Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Rajasthan, which intends to enable tribal society to assume control over their own destiny to preserve and conserve their traditional rights over natural resources. The State Governments were required to enact their legislation in accordance with the Provisions of the Act before the expiry of one year i.e. 23rd December, 1997. States barring Bihar have enacted State Legislation to give effect to the provisions contained in Act 40, 1996.

Training of PRI members

As a result of the elections of Panchayats in all the States, there are about 3.4 million elected representatives at all levels of Panchayats. Out of this, an overwhelming majority is new entrants, particularly from the weaker sections of the society, i.e., Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women (33%). The Constitution having placed vast responsibility on the Gram Panchayats to formulate and execute various programmes of economic development and social justice, elected representatives who will have to acquire the required skill and given appropriate orientation.

The success of the Panchayati Raj system hinges largely on the extent to which their capabilities are built to perform these functions and responsibilities. Thus, a time-bound and systematic training programme to provide orientation of the elected representatives on a very large scale is considered to be the most important pre-requisite for the success of the PRIs. The States/UT governments are required to work out systematic and comprehensive training programmes to train the representatives of PRIs and to generate awareness among the masses at the grass-roots level and to strengthen the Gram Sabha.

The Ministry of Rural Development extends limited financial assistance to the States in their effort to train and create awareness among the PRI elected members and functionaries.

The Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) has been entrusted with the task of preparation of the syllabus for the certificate course. The State Governments are being requested to conduct these courses. IGNOU is also involved in the Distance Education Proagramme.

The Ministry of Rural Development has also been providing financial assistance through the Council for Advancement of People's Action & Rural Technology (CAPART) to the Non-Governmental Organisations with proven track record for conducting training and awareness generation programmes on Panchayati Raj. The Research Advisory Committee headed by the Secretary (Rural Development) approves proposals on Action Research studies related to Panchayati Raj which are received from voluntary organisations/institutions.

The Central outlay for training during the Eighth Plan was Rs.8.80crores, during 2000-2001, an amount of Rs.3crores was allocated, and Rs.3crores for 2001-2002.

Reservations for Women

73rd Amendment of the Constitution reserved 33% seats for women in Panchayats. This provision is a major move towards strengthening the position of rural women. The introduction of women in sizable numbers into the new Panchayat could bring significant changes in the functioning of these grass-root level institutions. Involvement of women in the Panchayati Raj Institutions is expected to bring qualitative change in the matters relating to health nutrition, children welfare, family care, drinking water etc.

The reservation was given not because women who were conscientised demanded their due share in power, or contested in large numbers to capture seats in these bodies. Women [as a group] were caught quite unprepared by this development. In the rural India, where women literacy is very low, especially where presidentship is reserved for SC\ST women, emerged many problems like women were made "Dummy", where actual decisions were taken by men and politicians, and people of the upper caste.

Deciding the venue, time, and day has lot to do with women participation.

Reservations for SC/ST

There is a mandatory provision for reservation of seats for SC/ST in every tier of Panchayati Raj System. The reservation for SC/ST is an another significant aspect for development of disadvantaged groups in the rural areas.

Role of Panchayats in Human Resource Development

1. Panchayati Raj Institution should ensure development of human resources by providing weak and under privileged opportunities like education, training, basic health services necessary for their growth and development.
2. Panchayati Raj Institutes should ensure that all the sections of the society particularly weaker section including women

and girl child get adequate opportunity for developing human resource potential.

3. Panchayat can play a major role in development of human resource for weaker section by disseminating information on special development programmes for them.
4. Voluntary groups and local agencies should be encouraged by PRIs in effective implementation of human resource development programmes.

Role of Panchayats in Social Mobilization and Participation for Development:

Panchayati Raj system has provided avenues for facilitating people's participation at the grass-root level in the following ways:

1. Gram Sabha will provide an open forum for discussion on various village level development activities thereby ensuring peoples participation.
2. Representation of weaker sections in the decision making process.
3. Empowering rural women through an induction of 1/3 reservation in the Panchayati Raj bodies.

Panchayati Raj System and Micro Level Planning

Planned development being an essential feature of Indian economy, Panchayati Raj Institutions play an effective role in the preparation of planning for socio economic development of the rural areas. Each tier has got responsibilities to plan for the socio economic development of the rural people as per their felt need.

Conclusion

Panchayati Raj Institutions – the grass-roots units of self-government – have been proclaimed as the vehicles of socio-economic transformation in rural India. Effective and meaningful functioning of these bodies would depend on active involvement, contribution and participation of its citizens both male and female. Gandhiji's dream of every village being a republic and Panchayats having powers has been translated into reality with the introduction of the three-tier Panchayati Raj system to enlist people's participation in rural reconstruction.

Note

LESSON 14:
ROLE OF NGOs IN DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To become aware of the role of NGOs in development

To learn the importance of NGOs

The experience across the country has shown that group formation and development is not a spontaneous process. A facilitator working closely with the communities at grassroots level can play a critical role in the group formation and development. The quality of the groups can be influenced by the capacity of the facilitator. The facilitator may or may not be an official. In some cases, NGOs can not only work as the facilitator but also help in training and capacity building of facilitators.

NGO activities in Partnership with National and Local Governments

NGO roles focusing national and local governments are usually as an observer, partner and/or implementer

- collating and packaging baseline information
- monitoring and evaluating governmental action
- participation in planning and developing
- participation in operationalizing
- researching, formulating, recommending and supporting public policies on the environment. Includes proposing alternative policies, scenario building etc.
- lobbying political parties and politicians for policy/ programme/project implementation

NGO activities in Partnership with Local Communities

NGO activities directed at local communities are usually information based (eg: publications, hearings, newsletters) or activity based (eg: tree planting, recycling fairs, workshops).

- activities, passive and active, aimed at environmental awareness building
- informing the public of the effects of their lifestyles on local environments
- education, training, and other interactive initiatives in increasing knowledge on the local / global environments
- publications, bulletins, checklists, guidelines, etc.
- demonstration/pilot programmes and projects
- influencing media: newspapers, TV, radio etc.

NGO activities in Partnership with Other NGOs

- sharing of information, best practices
- supporting and collaborating with each other in operationalizing LA21
- creating networks for capacity building
- technology and policy research
- creating and maintaining databases on publications, activities, organizations etc.

NGOs play a major role in social development. From the early 80's when participatory projects were launched, NGOs played a greater role due to their love for the poor, quicker organizational capacity, their organizational flexibility and collaboration spirit. Government projects lagged behind the NGO projects.

If the various government policies are scrutinized by the media and other NGOs it can be a good check for the people oriented development plans.

NGOs & Development

NGOs work in the social sector, and have strong links at the grassroots. They do not have a very positive experience of government at this level. In fact, many of them came on the scene because government was unable to deliver the goods. The involvement of NGOs with the grass-roots democracy arises out of their activities in the following areas:

- Organisation of the disadvantaged sections of rural society - e.g. the dalits, minorities, landless, SC/STs, agricultural/ plantation labour, labour of the unorganised sectors etc.
- In addition to organising, most NGOs run training programmes - leadership development, capacity building, group dynamics and management and so on.
- The most valuable area of contribution of NGOs is the organizing of women (whatever sector the NGO works with - health, IGPs, SHGs, housing, water & sanitation,

education, watershed...) The opportunities provided in small groups dealing with the above issues has been a kind of 'testing ground' for women to enter a larger arena, having been empowered in the smaller arena. The best examples of this can be seen the 'Right to Information' movement in Rajasthan and the Anti-Arrack movement in Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

Financial Institutions & Rural Development

Case Study on Grameen Bank

Dr. Muhammed Yunus is an Economics Professor from Dhaka University and is now world renowned for his Grameen Bank Model for eradication of poverty.

Dr. Yunus found that poor Bangla women were in chronic debt not because of large-scale borrowing but because of a debt of a mere 30-40 takas. Yunus discovered that a simple bottom-end bank could revolutionize the lives of the poor. There was no need for high-end technology or capital-intensive investment.

The experiment started in the Bangladeshi village of Subiki in 1976 with a total loan of $30 to 42 poor people. When he started Grameen Bank, 87% of the population was living under Poverty Line. Conventionally banks seek out wealthy people and exclude the poor. Muhammed Yunus did just the reverse. He sought out the poorest of the poor who had no collateral to offer. Rural households holding less than 5 acres of cultivable land were targeted.

He persuaded the local bank to advance loans to women's groups of 5. Loans were given to women farm labourers, hawkers of cheap ornaments etc. Loans were given to buy weaving machines, cows and for house construction. The loans were usually paid back within a year. The default was only about 5%. Material collateral was replaced by social collateral. There has been pressure to take loans for real purposes and to repay the amount promptly. He exploded the myth that lending to the poor was a risky business.

The group of 5 women met every week. They line up and do some exercises. Unity, work and discipline are the bywords for this unique experience.

Grameen Bank was a mobile bank. The bank went to the people instead of the people going to the bank.

According to the newspaper reports (Financial Express dated 12/ 1/1999), Grameen Bank has 2.4 million active borrowers. NGOs and Government institutions also follow the pattern. It will be another 2.5 million borrowers i.e. about 5 million families. This constitutes half the number of poor families. The collective saving of Grameen Bank is over 1 billion. If we take NGOs and other organizations the total will be equal to 100 crore Taka.

According to a report in Economic Times dated 15/7/95, the GB loanee's per capita income rose to 32% over the two years whereas the per capita income of BD as a whole increased only bv 2.6%. As compared to the average, the expenditure of the loanee households is found to be 2.3 times higher for health, 2.4 times higher for housing and 3-7 times higher for clothing. Literacy rates and Family Planning measures are also much higher. He said that GB will soon be known as the bank of the former poor.

After the advent of Grameen Bank, women were able to control their own money. Many women started some income generating activities. One poor woman living in a windowless six square meter –room, which she rented out for 20 takas per month, nurses the ambition of making her daughter a doctor. She earns her living by stitching. Grameen Bank has transformed the lives of poor women. It made women to have access and control over money. Grameen Banks empowered women. Recently a women's group purchased cell phone and started a booth. Countries like Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia and even countries in Europe are replicating GB credit programme on an experimental basis. By mid 1980s, inspired by the Grameen example, voluntary agencies in the US attempted to promote black and Hispanic woman in the inner city streets of Chicago. Similar funds were organised at Los Angeles and Arkansas.

(Photo: Dr. Yunus, awarded by KR Narayan)

Role of Women in Development

Female population constitutes nearly half of the total rural population. According to the 1991 Census, the total population of India was 845 million, of which, rural population+ amounted to 628 million. Of the rural population, 324 million or 51.6 per cent were males and 304 million or 48.4 per cent were females. The rural female population of 304 million in India is higher than the population of the USA, namely, 273.8 million in 1998. The size of female population in India indicates the potential strength of women in the total human resources in the country. Women play a vital role in the rural economy of India.

Women in Development Process

Women have been playing a crucial role in the development process since the early stages of civilized life. Historians believe that it was women who first started cultivation of crop plants and initiated the art and science of farming. It is said that it was women who not only discovered fire, but also the use of fire — the basic cooking techniques like boiling, roasting, baking, steaming, etc. It is also said that woman was the first potter and weaver.

There is a widespread view among the scholars that the best way to judge a nation's progress is to find out the status of its women there. Indeed, many writers have equated cultural levels with the type of treatment meted out to women. At the lower levels of culture, woman was simply an object of pleasure to man, the stronger sex. In ancient India, particularly during the Vedic period, women enjoyed a very high status in the family as well as in the society. In the pursuit of knowledge and virtue, in the performance of rituals, in the harder fields of war and statecraft, the Vedic woman was found as a companion and helpmate of man. The Upanishads expounded the idea of man and woman as equal halves of a divine unity, each the complement of and incomplete without the other. India has always upheld in theory the spiritual equality of man and man, as well as man and woman. But "in social practice there has been increasing laxity after the Vedic period, not because of deliberate human choice, but due to the vicissitudes of history." Although women were respected in the later Vedic Age, they did not have the same freedom as before. The birth of a daughter was not quite welcome. The evils of child marriage, polygamy, and dowry system that entered the social system during the Maurya and Gupta periods and the purdah system of Muslim period degraded the status of women in society. The efforts of social reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Sir Sayyad Ahmed Khan, no doubt, helped to a considerable extent social liberation of women. Gandhi worked hard for bringing women on an equal footing with men. He considered that education was as necessary for women as for men. Through his journals, Harijan and Young India, he propagated his ideas about women's emancipation. He vehemently condemned the system of Devdasi and carried on a crusade against prostitution. To him, women were not weaker sections, but they were the very source of inspiration, light and moral strength to men. Women, according to him, were the embodiment of sacrifice, faith and patience. He had a burning desire to see them restored to their natural and rightful place in society. With the advent of Independence, a new impetus was given to social reforms for women. The Constitution granted them equality of status and opportunity. The Directive Principles of State Policy empowered the State to make special provisions for the progress of women. There are, in fact, a wide range of constitutional and legal provisions to protect and safeguard the interests of women. Yet, the lot of women has not improved, judging from the literacy level of women, attitude of parents towards birth of female children, their rights in ancestral property, their employment opportunities, the level of wages to women workers, their socio-political economic participation, etc

Socio-Economic Status Of Rural Women

According to the 1991 Census, while the literacy rate in the country as a whole is 52.2 per cent, it is 39.29 per cent for females and 64.13 per cent for males. The gap between the rural and urban female literacy is even more. It is 30.62 per cent in rural areas, but in urban areas it is 64.05 per cent. When we look at the female literacy picture, we find that 70 per cent women are illiterate. In the schools also, we find a wide difference in the enrolment of boys and girls. It is estimated that among girls 66 per cent at the primary level, more than 75 per cent at the middle level and more than 85 per cent at the secondary level are out of schools. The corresponding figures for boys are 20 per cent at the primary level, 57 per cent at the middle level and 71 per cent at the secondary level. In higher education, the percentage of enrolment of girls was 27.7 at the undergraduate level, 26.2 at the postgraduate level, 24.6 at the research level and 21.5 per cent at the diploma level. Education of girls at the school as well as at the university level is far from satisfactory. Again, there is a bias in favour of boys and their education. It is rightly observed that "In the social system of India, the education of the boy is prized more than the education of the girl. In fact, in many rural families, education of the girl is considered to be a waste of one's own resources. In certain pockets of the society, which still consider the birth of a girl as inauspicious and un-welcome, discrimination against girls' education is the only next logical step."4 This leads to driving women, particularly in rural society, to a lower status. Rural women in many cases, continue to take up traditional work without the possibility of acquiring required skills for more remunerative farm work.

Agriculture is the major economic activity for rural women, yet, as stated in the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, 1974, 'there are considerable disparities in wages between -men and women, depending upon the region, between crops and the bargaining power of labour." Fixing of statutory minimum wages by the government has tended to narrow down the gap between the wages of men and women. But the National Commission on Labour noted "the continuation of wage differential between men and women, particularly in agriculture."

Economic Participation of Rural Women

Based on the NSS data, it can be noted that a substantial proportion of the rural workers is self-employed or work as unpaid family workers and is underemployed. Females provide a large part of the unpaid family labour in agriculture and the proportion of women and children in the labour force tends to be higher than in other sectors. The decennial population census, however inadequate, must be relied upon to draw

certain inferences for macro analysis. Table below presents the trend in the distribution of main workers.

Occupation-wise Distribution of Workers (in percentages)
Source: Census Reports of India.

Category	1971			1981			1991		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Cultivators	51.2	44.9	6.3	51.0	55.2	36.9	48.2	51.4	38.6
Agricultural labourers	31.4	20.8	10.6	30.1	24.0	50.4	32.2	26.4	49.3
Other workers	17.4	15.0	2.4	15.9	18.0	8.9	17.5	20,3	9.2

The table shows that the participation rate of women under the three categories has increased from 19.3 per cent in 1971 to 96.2 percent in 1981 and to 97.1 per cent in 1991. This trend indicates that women are attracted towards low-paid jobs in the agricultural sector, while landless male labourers seek employment in relatively high-paid construction jobs, etc. However, some of the empirical studies reveal that economic participation of women is of much higher order, particularly in farm families in rural areas. Miles M stated that women participation rate in agriculture is grossly under-reported. In her study of 3 villages in Andhra Pradesh, it was noticed that women did more field work than men. In one village, for which comprehensive data were collected 96 per cent of women were engaged in agricultural work, women represented 67 per cent of all agricultural labourers and 40 per cent of all cultivators. This conclusion cannot, however, be generalised. Yet, it is a fact that rural women play different crucial roles in spite of certain social restrictions.

Different Roles of Women

Women play several roles and perform several functions at different levels.

Domestic Roles

The unsubstitutable function of child-bearing must be performed by women alone. They bear the major responsibility of child-care and educating the child in all respects at infant stage. In their hands is the burden of the health and well-being of present, past and future generations of the labour force. Women have the responsibility of cooking food, keeping in view the tastes and preferences of different persons in the family- Collecting water, cleaning the house regularly and maintenance of family shelters, including cattle shed, storage room, etc. are the domestic roles of a woman. Also, they have the responsibility of taking special care of the aged and disabled persons in the family. Women living in mud houses have to renovate them at least once a year after the end of the rainy season or at the time of important festivals.

In Agricultural Process

A majority of female workers in rural areas are engaged in agriculture and allied activities, The farm operations of women include application of manure, sowing, planting, irrigating field, fertilizer application, plant protection, weeding, thinning, harvesting, hulling, winnowing, cleaning, storing grains, feeding the cattle, taking care of livestock, particularly dairy cattle, looking after poultry, kitchen gardening, marketing of vegetable, management of household routine affairs, etc., and women's wage labour contributes significantly in tea and coffee plantations.

The nature of functions performed by women in rural families varied from region to region and from one social group to another. There are certain agricultural operations which are undertaken by men labour alone and certain others by women labour exclusively. Sometimes, sex considerations do not figure in certain tasks. Normally, tasks which need more of physical strength are done exclusively by men labour while lighter jobs are entrusted to women labour. Digging or deepening of wells, climbing a coconut tree for collecting ripe coconuts, carrying of heavy agricultural equipment and tools, driving a tractor for ploughing and transport purposes, threshing, etc., are normally done by men. Application of manure, transplanting of seedlings, weeding, cleaning and storing grains, kitchen gardening, etc., are done exclusively by women.

Sometimes, there is no such rigid division of labour as between men and women. Different tasks are performed by both men and women labour like application of manure/chemical fertilizer, irrigating fields, etc.

Normally, high caste women of landowning households do not undertake field work, although they are involved in post-harvest phases of work within the homestead. Most of the field tasks on such farm households assigned to women are performed by hired female labourers from the Scheduled and other less privileged castes.

Women in Cottage Industries

Women play an important role in cottage industries such as toy-making, carpet-making and weaving of silk and cotton cloth, rope-making, rice-pounding, etc.

Power Roles of Women

Gelia T Castillo (1977) stated that women play certain "power roles."

1. A woman as daughter, sister, wife and mother acts as an information broker, mediating social relations within the family and larger society. In this position, a woman can channel information to or withhold it from male members of the kindred;
2. Women form their own exclusive solidarity groups which exercise considerable social control by seeking alliance and support from other women in the community; certain women achieve high social status and consequently, exercise political influence;
3. Women influence men through religious or supernatural practices like witchcraft, sorcery, divination and curing; and
4. The public image of a man is influenced by the particular behaviour of his wife through ridiculing, gossip, shame and honour.

The type of work done by women depends upon the economic status of a family in a village, source of income, number of earning members in the family, size of family, type of family, the literacy level of women, the attitude of family members towards women doing work and general attitude of society towards women undertaking farm and non-farm operations, etc. However, in all rural families in India, women have an important part to play at all times.

In spite of different roles of rural women, their monetised role remains low. This matter has to be studied in depth at the micro-level. There is an overall realisation that primary data on women in the unorganised occupation was particularly lacking and as such, micro-level studies of women need to be encouraged.

Rural poverty can be tackled effectively only when gainful employment opportunities are provided both for men and women. No doubt, there are difficulties in measuring unemployment in rural areas with a large proportion of self-employment population. Further, in rural areas workers cannot be easily classified into employed and unemployed, since almost everyone is employed for some part of the year and unemployed for some other part. Again, some households need additional employment for supplementary income, while others need employment for regular earnings. In rural areas, there is still a category of unorganised labour force, not benefited by developmental programmes and who are solely dependent on wage earnings. Under this category come rural women from the weaker sections dependent mainly on wage earnings. The target group approach of rural development, sporadically made so far, has not covered this category of rural poor.

Special Problems of Rural Women of Weaker Sections

The following are some of the special problems of the rural women:

1. Social customs come in the way of rural women of some communities (in spite of dire poverty conditions) working on daily wage outside the house. For instance, Muslim women in different parts of India, women from Nair and Nadar communities in Kerala and Tamil Nadu respectively have social restrictions in taking up field manual work;
2. Social institutions like marriage, divorce and remarriage tend to favour men and they often come in the way of regular employment and earnings of women;
3. Women during menstruation period are prohibited from attending to work in green field;
4. Women in the advanced stage of pregnancy cannot work;
5. Even after a family is economically degraded from a higher level, under the situation of pressing need for small earnings for living also, women are not allowed to go out for wage earnings;
6. Men are aware that their womenfolk can either help them maintain their honour or destroy it. Therefore, in some cases women have no freedom to go out and work as the wage earners as women's purity unlike men's is a condition of the maintenance of the family honour; and
7. In the course of economic development and structural change, women's employment has been affected in certain distinctive ways.

In one survey, it is observed: "Employment losses have also been associated with (not necessarily caused by) the new technology, and in the Asian region, these losses appear to have been concentrated on women, especially among the landless rural poor."9

The changed harvesting procedures such as switch over from open harvesting for a share of the output to the employment of regular wage labourers, mechanisation of rice processing instead of hand-pounding, etc., have reduced demand for female labour. Domestic grinding, hulling works, etc., are also mechanised, displacing women labour. It should be noted, however, that some of these jobs eliminated by the new technology are tedious, poorly-paid and back-breaking and the major concern should be to provide superior alternatives.

Economic development brings about other changes in the rural economy which affect women*s employment. Diversification into a wider range of commercial crops may change the sexual division of labour in agriculture in favour of men labour. Industrialisation, mechanisation of agriculture and rural labour migration have involved mostly male peasants. The Seventh five Year Plan Report observes. "Recently a declining trend has been observed in the employment of women labourers. Some of the technologies have displaced women from many of the traditional activities. Though many of the tasks performed by males are getting mechanised, the women continue to toil in labour-intensive jobs like rice plantation, cleaning and storing of grain in post-harvest operations, picking of leaves and fruit, hand-shelling groundnut, picking out common-seed, etc. Women get limited opportunities in modern occupations/ trades as they do not have access to the training required for new technologies. In many areas, where multiple crops are grown, the workload of women has increase. In industry, women continue to be employed mostly on unskilled jobs."

International Women's Year And Employment Of Women

The year 1975 was celebrated as the International Women's Year and basing on the recommendations of the World Conference held in Mexico in 1975, the decade 1975-1985 was declared as

the U.N. Decade for Women. The International Women's Year of 1975 highlighted the great lag that exists in various spheres of women's activities in India. The 1990s have seen increasing recognition of the centrality of women's empowerment to the success of development programmes. Empowerment of women goes beyond formal political participation and consciousness raising and covers "cognitive, psychological, political and economic components." The cognitive dimension refers to women having the capacity of understanding the conditions and causes of their subordination at the micro and macro levels and how to get over such a situation. Psychological dimension includes the belief that women can act at personal and societal levels to improve their lot. The political element implies the strength of women in matters of organisation and mobilization for social change. The economic component requires the women to have access to and control over production resources ensuring some degree of financial autonomy.

Developmental Programmes

Though women contribute substantially to the economic resources of a family both by way of services rendered and wages earned, yet their potential is not duly recognised. It is observed that "While development projects are meant mainly for men, social welfare schemes cater mainly to women."11 There is, however, now an increasing realisation of the fact that women play an active role and they have to be involved in development schemes. Gradually, some measures have been adopted to involve women in developmental programmes. In the Community Development Programme, Social Education Organisers were appointed to activise women's participation in community development, based mainly on the Home Science Extension approach. In this approach, the emphasis was mainly on strengthening the performance of women in domestic duties. In different States, rural women were encouraged to form Manila Mandals. These Mandals have become the centres for discussion of socio-economic problems of common interest and concern. In some areas, these organisations are also involved in the implementation of Applied Nutrition Programme and Composite Programme of Women and pre-School Children. It was expected that Mahila Mandals would be able to motivate rural women not only in improving their skills in homecrafts, but also participate in the socio-cultural activities of their villages. These Mandals were also encouraged to take up the production-oriented activities, viz., kitchen-gardening, poultry, fishery, extension programme relating to family welfare, non-formal education, agricultural development programmes, etc. The importance of widening the scope of the Mahila Mandal programme has been stressed from time to time,

In the Fourth Five Year Plan, two schemes, namely. Incentive Awards to Mahila Mandals and Training of Associate Women Workers, were introduced. Mahila Mandals showing good performance during a year were given cash awards for undertaking certain economic projects. The latter scheme was designed to provide orientation to selected women having leadership qualities in organising village women and assisting them in implementing various welfare programmes. In the Fifth Five Year Plan, another schemes known as the Promotion of Voluntary Action was initiated. The objective of this scheme was to utilise the potential of these organisations in the implementation of various programmes meant for the development of women and children. As early as 1953, a Central Social Welfare Board Was set up with a view to combining the governmental and non-governmental resources for social and economic development of rural women with diversified activities.

A review of the available literature on the performance of the Mahila Mandals reveals that the participation of women, particularly of lower caste women, is very poor. A study sponsored by the ICSSR (1983, Indian Council of Social Science Research Centre for Women Development Studies) noted that finding an interested and active group of women to participate was always a problem. Few women officially joined the Mahila Mandals, fewer still attended meeting or programmes regularly and many dropped out, some quite soon after joining. The president often belongs to the higher caste who either prevents lower-caste women from joining the Mahila Mandal, or the lower-caste women assume that the organisation is not for them because of the upper-caste women in the leadership position. It is also noticed that emphasis has been mostly on social and cultural programmes and very limited on economic content.

A study13 on the working of Mahila Mandals conducted by NIRD revealed, among others, that:

a. the participation of the women members from the weaker sections was meagre both in the decision-making process and the general activities;
b. they have not been able to free themselves from the dominance of high caste or class people in the village;
c. many Mandals did not have adequate financial resources to undertake different activities; and
d. there was more emphasis on homecraft activities as compared with the other economic activities, particularly those intended for the benefit of poorer sections.

Training for Farm Women

The training of farm women on institutional basis was initiated during 1966-67 in India under the Centrally-sponsored scheme of farmers' training and education programme. This programme is in operation in many States. Some of the important shortcomings identified of this programme14 were:

1. Content of the training programme is not based on the analysis of farm women's needs;
2. The training programmes were more theory-based rather than practical and skill-oriented as they were not linked with field activities;
3. The coverage of the farm women was very meagre; and
4. The training was mostly oriented to fulfill the targets in terms of numbers rather than quality and development of compliance among the trainees to perform their work roles effectively.

In this connection, it is also stated that the Krishi Vidnyan Kendras (sponsored by ICAR) have not been able to link their training programmes to the field activities and provide continuous follow-up service for want of women-oriented extension

services or availability of farm women extension services in the agricultural extension systems.

In the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), women constitute a part of the target group. The recent decision that a minimum of one-third of the beneficiaries under TRYSEM would be women is quite encouraging. But it is observed that beneficiaries under these programmes belong to the upper strata in the villages and rural landless women are not much benefited.

A new scheme, namely, the Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), was started in 1982-83 as a pilot project in 50 blocks of the country with the aim of covering those left out under the IRDP and to provide training in selected economic activities like weaving, fish-vending, broom and rope-making and pickle-making, candle-making and baking. DWCRA programme focuses on organisation of women into self-help groups to foster a collective approach to their problems and improve their lot by enhancing their bargaining power and resist exploitation. These organised women can avail resources of the different governmental programmes for their benefit. Under DWCRA an amount of Rs. 25,000/- is provided to the group as lumpsum grant. The members can use its collection or share it on prorata basis and the amount is used for any income-generating activity. This is a common fund which is recouped and revolved periodically. The DWCRA has targeted coverage of women living below poverty line. The scheme emphasises on thrift and self-reliance. Within the group women are encouraged to save as a common fund with marketing assistance. Money is loaned, recovered and managed by women themselves. In state like Andhra Pradesh, where DWCRA has been functioning effectively, the educational and economic status of the concerned families had improved apart from increase in a general awareness and employment opportunities.

Skills Needed for Different Categories of Rural Women

The hurdles faced by rural women in securing gainful employment and earn on a par with men have been analysed earlier. Remedial measures for each of those different socio-economic hurdles have to be initiated, some as short-term measures and others as long-term strategy. Employment opportunities required for women that belong to (a) farm families with certain assets and (b) landless labour have to be analyzed carefully. The requirements of these two categories in terms of skills required and facilities needed must be dealt on its merits. The landless rural women falling below the poverty line will have to be given the first priority while formulating the various programmes and policies for employment generation. Based on an inventory of opportunities for new avenues of employment opened by science and technology, there is need to find out the methods of promoting greater involvement of women in the productive programmes. Existing opportunities for training will have to be carefully reviewed and appropriately modified and expanded. Steps must be taken to provide women certain managerial and organisational skills, so that they themselves can operate new technologies such as those relating to biofertilizers, seed production, pest control, biomass utilisation and crop and livestock combination and combination of any other enterprise with crop production.

The farm women with assets need special skills in storing of farm products meant for seed purpose as well as for marketing. Further, the women must be familiar with the supply procedures relating to credit, fertilizers, etc.

Reputed voluntary organisations may be involved suitably in imparting the necessary skills to rural women and in creating gainful employment to them with the necessary support from the government.

Skills in dairy, poultry, sericulture, pisciculture, etc., are important for farm women. Need-based training in handicrafts is equally important for supplementary earnings.

In the case of women without any assets, such skills/training with which they can easily be employed with better wages, become necessary. Training in child care, rural crafts, weaving. spinning, embroidery, papad and pickle-making, mat-weaving, poultry-keeping, honey-bee keeping, tailoring, sewing, painting, knitting, etc., becomes very relevant both from the point of self-employment or seeking employment elsewhere- They also need agricultural operation skills like preparing seed-bed, compost-making, weeding operation, pest protection, kitchen gardening, sericulture, dairying, piggery, sheep and goat-rearing etc.

Separate Training Facilities for Women

There is need for separate training facilities manned by women workers so that the training programme may be oriented towards the specific requirements of the different categories of rural women. Men extension workers may not be able to communicate and train farm women effectively on certain issues of sex-related problems. These problems can be solved effectively by creating separate cadres of women agricultural extension workers, meant for generating social consciousness and awareness. There is need for integrating home and farm related aspects in training as farm women participate in both farm and family management matters together.

The training programme should focus mainly on skill building among rural women. By acquiring certain skills, even the landless women can take to certain self-employment schemes by availing of credit facilities from regional banks, etc. The skills acquired should be useful for supplementary income in many cases. Specialised skills in handicrafts would go a long way in helping the rural women for a better life. Illiterate women also can be trained in skill development through demonstration and practicals. The training centres should have access to centres of dairy, poultry, sericulture, village handicrafts, etc. There should be flexibility in offering courses or imparting of skills, need-based being the major criterion. Population education should be an integral part of the rural women training programme.

The research and development agencies have to give serious thought to these problems-M.S. Swaminathan (1985, paper presented at IRRI, manila) rightly argues that the first step required in this regard is sensitization. Where there is no awareness, it is futile to expect action. Hence, the first step is to arouse human consciousness to the existence of the problem. It should be followed by studies and surveys and finally

scientific strategies and programmes. He rightly suggests that the social scientists and management experts should work together with biological scientists to determine:

a. The package of technology most beneficial to users, taking account of sex-related-differences in needs and constraints;

b. The package of services including the delivery of knowledge, credit and inputs with reference to their reliance and benefits to women users; and

c. The package of government policies in agrarian reforms, rural development, credit and marketing, essential for conferring equal benefits on men and women.

In recent years, focus is on vocational training to women. The National Vocational Training Institute in NOIDA (UP) and the Regional Vocational Training Institutes for women in different parts of India impart basic and advance levels of Vocational training to women. Special attention is given to the modernization and establishment of women Industrial Training Institutes under the World Bank aided Vocational Training Projects. A women's cell under the Office of Director General of Employment and Training is also coordinating with the States in the matter of Vocational Training for women. The employment exchanges take special care to cater to the job needs of women registered with them. In respect of women training, proper coordination is necessary among different institutions like Director-General of Employment and Training (DGET), Ministry of Labour, Department of Women and Child Welfare, different Institutes engaged in Training of women in areas of education, health, agriculture, welfare, tourism etc. The DGET (Women Directorate) may take a lead in such coordinating programme-The Ninth Plan proposes to strengthen the training facilities for women byway of strengthening accreditation facilities on the pattern of the All-India Council of Techinical Education. The Government ITFs alone cannot meet the growing requirements of trainings. Hence ITI's by private individuals need to be encouraged. However, there must be a check on fee structure of Private ITI's, so that, the training cost per seat is reduced. Also, the course, content is to be made responsive to the needs of different trades well suited for women.

Rural Women must have their legitimate place in all the rural development schemes. In different poverty alleviation schemes like Swarnajayanti Gram Swaroygan Yojana, Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana etc. it should be made obligatory that at least 30 per cent of the beneficiaries consist of women of lower strata who are socially and economically backward. Gainful employment opportunities must be provided, particularly to women of weaker sections, and through this step, their economic strength must be improved. Otherwise, the goal of rural development is not well achieved. Appropriate and effective women's organisations can help both to focus attention on the special problems affecting women and to ensure the flow of benefits to them.

Note

LESSON 15:
ROLE OF MEDIA IN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To learn about the role of media in social change

To learn about the power of media to develop the rural poor

Inherent in theories and applications of mass media for development in underdeveloped countries has been the assumption that information made available via the mass media can and does make a difference in promoting change. Rooted very firmly in an idealistic conception of social change and theories of development based on the experiences of the Western industrialized countries.

Development communication theorists have often assumed that communication/ Information was an independent variable in the development process. Consequently, it was believed that exposure to mass media messages would be a powerful enough force to generate the changes necessary for development.

Communication is not a simple independent variable but as both a dependent and an independent variable in a complex set of relationships with social, economic, and political structures and processes. Communication is more realistically an auxiliary variable subject to the constraints of the rest of the social system. It has a vital role to play in coordinating, informing, and mobilizing the rural masses.

There has been a rapid quantitative diffusion of mass media m developing countries over the last two decades. Radio, in particular—since the appearance of transistors—has expanded dramatically in almost every area of the world, and it is the most widespread of the mass media in rural areas (McAnany 1973). The press has also reached advanced levels, particularly in Latin America (Frapier 1969). Although the number of television sets and television stations has increased substantially in many developing countries, the evidence suggests that television is available primarily for urban elite audiences (Nordenstreng and Varis 1973).

When considering the concentration and distribution of mass media in rural areas, the primary concern is with radio and, to a lesser degree, newspapers—which, supposedly, have substantially penetrated rural areas. The key issue of debate among scholars concerned with the role of communication in rural development is whether the rapid expansion of media has penetrated deeply into the lives of rural people and brought consequent benefits or whether the penetration has been uneven and irrelevant in its consents, particularly for the poorer sectors of the rural population that have not benefited from this expansion. The latter position questions how the increase in mass media has been distributed and suggests that, even if there is reasonably widespread access and exposure, the suitability and usefulness of the messages cannot be assumed.

Beltran (1974), representing this more skeptical view, has argued that the evidence thus far does not indicate that most mass media even reach the rural masses: As a rule, the distribution of these messages in Latin America is uneven within groups of countries, within each country, and within each of the cities. Research has found urban concentration of mass media messages to be particularly high in the larger cities, especially in the cases of Television and the press; concentration is appreciably less acute for radio and somewhat less acute for the cinema. For the most part, mass media do not reach the masses in rural Latin America. Communication in this region is but one more privilege enjoyed by the ruling elite. Within each city, a minority of the population has far more access to mass media messages than the majority. And within rural areas, even smaller minorities have the privilege of access to these messages.

Development communication is a tool, and not a product. Development communication is goal-oriented. The ultimate goal of development communication is a higher quality of life for the people of a society. The role of the media also changes in development communication. It plays the following four responsibilities:

i. Circulate knowledge that will inform people of significant events, opportunities, dangers and changes in their community, country and the world.

ii. Provide a forum where issues affecting the national or community life may be aired.

iii. Teach those ideas, skills and attitudes that people need to achieve for a better life.

iv. Create and maintain a base of consensus that is needed for the stability of the state.

To perform these roles, the media keeps the development orientation in its perspective. Three approaches have been identified in relating communication to development. These are *empathy, diffusion, and multiplying of information.* We shall discuss each separately, individually.

Empathy : Daniel Lerner in his book, Passing of Traditional society, saw the problem of 'modernizing' traditional societies. He saw the spread of literacy resulting from urbanization as a necessary precondition to more complete modernization that would include participatory political precondition to more

complete modernization that would include participatory political institutions. Development was largely a matter of increasing productivity.

According to D. Lerner, development failed to occur because peasants were unable to 'empathise' or imaginatively identify with the new role, and a changed and better way of life and so remained fatalistic-unambitious and resistant to change. Every change in society must originate and begin in the hearts of the people. If the people would like to change, only then the development would begin. What is required is that some means of providing such people with clues as to what better things in life might be. Lerner saw the media as filling this need of promoting interest among the people for a better life. Not only that, he saw the media as machines, inspiring people for better things in life. He said 'empathy' endows a person with the capacity to imagine himself as proprietor of a big grocery store in a city, to wear nice cloths and live in a nice house, to be interested in "what is going on in the world" and to get out of his hole."

Diffusion : Everett M. Rogers approached this with a perspective that had much in common with Lerner, but different with him somewhat in emphasis. He saw the diffusion of the new ideas and their practice as a crucial component of the modernization process. He found that his home community less than impressed with his stock of innovations in agriculture; outside his country he had marked influence in the field of agricultural extension, through his textbook on the diffusion of Innovations, which over the years has been expanded and updated into the second and third editions.

Rogers developed his concepts and theories of the diffusion of innovations from a synthesis of diffusion research studies in United States, and in later editions, of diffusion studies in the developing world as well. Rogers defined 'innovation' as 'an idea perceived as new by the individual'. 'It really matters little, as far as human behaviour is concerned', he added, 'whether or not an idea is 'objectively' new as measured by the amount of time elapsed since its first use or discovery. It is the newness of the idea to the individual that determines his reaction to it'. By the third edition, Rogers begins to use 'technology' as a synonym for 'innovation', and to urge the adoption of a 'convergence model' that stresses the intricacy of 'interpersonal communication networks' that are in operation during the process of diffusion.

People must be informed, persuaded, educated. Information must flow, not only to them but also from them, so that their needs can be known, and they might participate in the acts and decisions of the nation building; and information must also flow vertically so that decisions may be made.

Magic Multipliers : Wilbur Schramm extended the arguments of Lerner and Rogers in favour of 'modernization' through the mass media - which he termed 'the magic multipliers'. His work was part of the efforts of the United Nations and UNESCO for 'a programme of concrete action to build up press, radio broadcasting, film and television facilities in countries in the process of economic and social development. UNESCO carried out the survey itself on which the book was based, during a series of meetings in Bangkok, Santiago and Paris.

To Schramm, as to mainstream social scientists of the time, the mass media were 'agents of social change', 'almost miraculous' in their power to bring about that change. Schramm argued that 'the mass media could help accomplish the transitions to new-customs and practices (the 'innovations' of Rogers) and, in some cases, to different social relationships. Behind such changes in behaviour must necessarily lay substantial changes in attitudes, beliefs, skills and social norms'. The process, he elaborated was simple: first, the awareness of a need, which is not, satisfied by- present customs and behaviour; second, the need to invent or borrow behaviour that comes close to meeting the need. Hence a nation –that wants to accelerate the process of development will try to make its people more widely and quickly aware of needs and of the opportunities for meeting them will facilitate the decision process, and will help the people put the new practices smoothly and swiftly into effect. Schramm went further than Rogers in taking account of cultural linkages, in acknowledging 'resistance to change' and in urging 'an understanding participation'. However, his model of communication was still manipulative of behaviour towards the desired end of innovation adoption; it still cited as empirical evidence a strong correlation between high media exposure and development. Schramm argued forcefully that the mass media had the potential to widen horizons, to focus attention, to raise -aspirations and to create a climate for development. They also had the potential to confer status to enforce social norms, to help form tastes, and could affect a: lightly held. He was optimistic about the potential of the mass media (and also the educational media such as programmed instruction, language laboratories, electronic digital computers) in all types of education and training. Unlike Rogers, he conceded though that 'the mass media can help only indirectly to change strongly attitudes and valued practices'.

He therefore recommended that 'a developing country should review its restrictions on the importing of informational materials, should not hesitate to make use of new technical developments in communication, in cases where these new developments fit its needs and capabilities'. The challenge, he concluded, was to put resources and the power of modern communication skillfuIIy and fully behind economic and social development.

Media and Social Issues

India's process of development since 1947 has been accompanied by significant social changes and an increasing awareness about issues affecting the poor, the women and the children in India. This period has also seen the burgeoning of the

voluntary movement in India and the establishment of several non-governmental organisations to protect and promote the interests of women and children.

The Government has made constant attempts to promote values like democracy, freedom from discrimination, self-reliance and independence of thought. It has also tried to improve the lot of the poor and weaker sections of society. Women and children have figured prominently in the government's agenda of social reforms and initiatives.

Today, India is working towards a society where the poor, marginalized and underprivileged have equal opportunities in all spheres of life. Partnership and collective action by the voluntary agencies, government and other like-minded institutions and individuals has been the key to a meaningful thrust in this direction.

Social Issues

In Bihar there is widespread poverty, illiteracy, inequality and oppression. Despite this, over the past two decades there has been rapid politicisation of poor people in the garb of social justice. Land issues and social injustice have created a lot of disturbance. Even then there is a lack of broader public opinion at the state level and the society at large for a better and more equitable society and good governance.

Although here also different forms of media are growing rapidly, and people are interested to learn more about contemporary issues, the media is behaving like a market product. It attempts to satisfy people's thirst for 'news' but basically keeps in focus its profitability and market sentiments. It is clear that in the contemporary context the media cannot become a mission towards the goal of social transformation on a large scale. It is doubtful whether it can even become a leading agent in the process of establishing a people based governance.

The implication is important for the rest of India. The formation of an authentic public opinion will not be possible in the absence of a newspaper, magazine reading culture, which has to become a mass habit in both town and country. We will have to see the link between political excitement and media expansion. The dramatic expansion of the language press over the last 15 years has a lot to do with political and social upheavals generated in many states of our country.

The designer suits of today's politicians may be sharp, but so are the interviews, commentaries and editorials, which debunk them. News management may be more intense than before, but so is its journalistic deconstruction. There is populist excess, but the democratic sphere should be dynamic enough to take it in its stride. There are ethical lapses and resource constraints, which constantly threaten the quality of journalism.

It is also true that politics driven growth can be for better or for worse. How to make it better? How to go against the 'manufacture of consent', a role that is now widely understood as something built into its character? How to build a culture of public service broadcasting? How to invest hope in the new media, especially in the Internet? How to deal with national and transnational media monopolies, which will come sooner or later? How to build a socially conscious media? How to realize constantly the classic 'watchdog' role of the media in liberal democracy?

In order for the public to renew their stake in media, it is essential that media ownership and control be regulated so as to prevent existing media monopolies from increasing their stake in the media industry. The government should increase its commitment for community radio and television at district and local levels. Citizens' movements that are committed towards reforms in the media industry should be encouraged. It is a fact that the press, television channels and the entire media could be a business. But the journalists per se are not for trade or business. Journalism is a social responsibility. It is a struggle to gain public space within the private sphere.

Media education supports the creation of an informed media public, a public that is able to critically judge between good and bad media content. Simultaneously however, for a true democracy, we also have to ensure that there is a strong stream of media free of any government control, with free speech and free press.

Media Shaping the Society

It is clear that in the present Indian context, media plays an important role in the exertion of power and distribution of values. Media affects the overall quality of public life and also shapes people's engagement in the specific policy decisions in the Indian democracy. To make greater impact within the broad socio-political context, media needs to create a 'space' to effectively carry out its functions. The attempt by civil society organizations to assert the importance of issues like, 'governance for the people' vis-à-vis media is an attempt to search for its own public space and its own means.

There must exista relevant political consciousness so that a democratic impact is possible. Media to be effective must form part of an ideological and political context – of attitude, feeling, hope and critical democratic values and practice.

Development Communication Intervention Programme

Television, like the radio, was introduced in India ostensibly for the purpose of information, education and entertainment and in that order. Television was introduced as an experimental service for school education in 1959. The scope was expanded to include non-formal education for agricultural development. Television sets were specially provided in selected villages for the farmers.

It was only in 1965 that the regular service of television was started. 'Doordarshan' is the television authority in the country. It is responsible for all television broadcasts in the country. Doordarshan has been under the control of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Central or Federal Government. It was only in 1997 that it has been given autonomy and it now functions under an independent autonomous board called Prasar Bharati.

The objectives of Doordarshan have been very well precisely stated and have come to be known as the social objective of Doordarshan. Some of the important social objectives of Doordarshan are: create national integration, stimulate scientific temper, aid development and social change, transmit

programmes related to development activities in different facets like agricultural extension, education, health and family welfare, promote social change and welfare of the weaker sections of the society. These objectives make the role of the television authority very clear.

In order that television is able to fulfil its assigned role, it is necessary that the people be provided access to television sets. The access can be increased in two ways: (1) facilitating increased television production and also increasing purchasing facilities and capabilities utilising the market forces and (2) intervention of the state by providing television sets at community places like the schools or local self-government offices in villages. Both these modes of expansion have been used in India. The growth of the number of television sets in the country has been phenomenal since the operationalisation of Indian Space Research Organisation's INSAT satellite system in 1982. From a mere 84000 television sets in 1972, the figure had gone beyond the one Million mark by 1980. A significant growth indeed but it picked up speed even more after 1982. In 1985 there were 6.8 Million television sets and the 1997 estimates are that there are about 60 Million television sets. Assuming that most of the houses are one TV-set houses, out of the total 150 Million households in the country, nearly 40% are television households. But this will mean that over 60% of the households do not have a television sets. A closer look also indicates that the distribution of the sets is skewed. Nearly 70 per cent of India's population lives in the rural areas, but only about 30 per cent of the TV sets are located in these areas. This in turn means that even if the TV signals through satellite cover the entire country, the actual access is denied to an overwhelming majority of the people. According to Doordarshan 1995, there were 64,600 'community sets' in the country. These sets are located in a commonly accessible place like the school and provide viewership to persons who do not have TV sets at home. But obviously this number is very small.

Considering the economic profile of the country, where the per capita income is approximately Rs.2400/- (US $ 1= Rs.40/-) and the per capita GDP is Rs.14000/-. Even the cheapest television set costing about Rs.3000/- would be well beyond the means of a very large population of the country. This also means that the access to television programmes cannot be left to market forces alone.

The market forces combined with satellite communication technology have given impetus to the television industry in a different way. Before the onset of the foreign satellite network companies since 1992 onwards, the only available channel for the Indian people was the Doordarshan's primary channel or at most one more channel in some cities. Today, the situation is quite different. It is possible to watch nearly 40 channels from different satellite networks both Indian and foreign. Approximately 15 Million households are satellite television households. This forms about 25 per cent of television households. Of these 15 Million, 11 Million households are urban and only 4 Million households are rural. Considering the average urban-rural proportion of the Indian population, it is obvious that a very large number of the rural population is deprived of watching any of the satellite networks and they can watch only Doordarshan's primary channel. As explained earlier even this facility is restricted to only 40 per cent households.

A review of different channels transmitted from foreign satellite networks, it is obvious that the major thrust is on entertainment followed by news and current affairs and least for education. Majority niche¢ channels like music channels, sports channels, movie channels or even general mixed-fare channels, the emphasis is on entertainment. There are special 24-hour news and current affairs channels. Admittedly there are a few channels solely directed towards non-formal education in the field of environment, wildlife, culture, etc. but there is hardly any special channel for education or development. Similar is the situation on Doordarshan. Though Doordarshan is one of the few channels to provide a very significant part of its programming time for education and development programmes, substantial portion of the prime time is devoted to entertainment, news and current affairs programmes.

Clearly market forces alone will not be in a position to fulfil the educational and development needs. Intervention other than by the market forces becomes necessary. Such intervention can come through either the State or institutes and organisations of public good. This may include institutes of higher learning like universities, the open learning systems or through some non-government organisations. It is not as if the market forces do not provide any scope for educational and development broadcasting. They certainly do. But the role is limited to some specific types of education and training needs. A more sustained effort can come only from the state.

The state intervention can come in several different ways. One mode of intervention is to facilitate the market forces to develop technologies so that the TV sets are made more affordable through appropriate policy decisions; so that the number of transmitters in the country are increased and through devising a suitable communication and broadcasting policy to facilitate educational and development programmes. Another mode of intervention is through appropriate legislation and policy guidelines that make transmission of such programmes mandatory for Doordarshan. This will involve appropriate time allocation for these types of programmes.

Another major and more important mode of intervention is through starting of specific development or educational programme experiments or projects. The earliest phase of Doordarshan of school educational programmes or 'krishi darshan' — agricultural programmes — for rural farmers were really attempts in that direction. Another very significant intervention is exemplified by the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) by Indian Space Research Organisation in 1975-76. SITE, described as the world's largest socio-technical communication experiment, covered 2400 villages of six states through Direct Reception Sets (DRS) transmitting educational and development programmes on a daily basis.

It is in the overall context of the above that this paper looks at an intervention programme called Jhabua Development Communications Project (JDCP) of Development and Educational Communication Unit (DECU), Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO). As a backgrounder to it, it is

pertinent to quote (Bhatia; Pursuit; DECU-ISRO, Ahmedabad; 1997):"The Indian Space Programme was propelled by the dream of taking the benefits of space technology to Indian villages. It was a statement of a vision when Dr. Vikaram Sarabhai said " We must be second to none in the application of advanced technologies to the real problems of man and society which we find in our country.

It was in pursuit of this vision that ISRO undertook the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) in 1975-76. Through this experiment Satellite TV signal was received in 2400 Indian villages for the first time. The experiences of SITE led to the development of the INSAT system and also to substantial education television effort in the form of University Grants Commission (UGC), National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and Central Institute of Educational Technology (CIET) telecasts.

The Kheda Communications Project (KCP) was started as part of SITE, and over the years evolved into a model rural oriented local TV station. It demonstrated how participatory, and people oriented can a local TV system become. Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) shared these experiences with the operational agency through a series of training programmes. These efforts were followed by the application of one way video two way audio teleconferencing for Education and Development Training. This network has found very effective application in training of Panchayati Raj (Village Local Self-government) elected representatives, Aanganwadi (crèche) workers, Primary School Teachers, Daais (mid-wives), etc. The Network is currently operational as the Training and Development Communication Channel (TDCC) and is spreading out to several states and distance education agencies like Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), All India Management Association (AIMA), Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) like Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) and Ahmedabad Women's Action Group (AWAG).

The Jhabua Development Communications Project (JDCP) of ISRO combines the features of all the above and builds upon the experiences further. It has the feature of Direct Reception like SITE; it has localisation like Kheda and the interactive training component like TDCC. However, the operational features are adjusted to the changed technological and socio-economic context. A much higher degree of involvement of private agencies, in maintenance, programme production and research is attempted. It is proposed to try out new features like Telemedicine, Data Broadcasts, access to databases, etc. and study the viability and effectiveness of these systems. It is also proposed to try this in a few more States".Jhabua is a district of the state of Madhya Pradesh in India. It has an area of about 6782 sq. kms. The population is 1.2 Million. It has a predominantly tribal (86%) and rural (91%) population. The growth rate is very high at 42.65 as compared to India's growth rate of 23.79. It is one of the most backward districts of the country. Agriculture is near primitive. It has a very low literacy rate of 14.54 compared to India's literacy rate of 52.19 and the female literacy is even lower. It presents a rather depressing health profile with a very high infant mortality rate and low average life expectancy. The transport and communication facilities are very inadequate, many of the villages become unapproachable during monsoon. The conditions in Jhabua make development communication a very necessary, but at the same time, a very challenging task. The situation is all the more compounded by the fact that the village habitation pattern is typically tribal. A village actually consists of a group of about 5 to 6 scattered hamlets. Each hamlet may be distanced from each other by as much as 1 or 2 kms. The overall communication profile is extremely backward. High illiteracy practically rules out the print medium. The ownership of radio is also very small and the ownership of television is about 6 per cent of the households predominantly located in the bigger and comparatively more developed villages.

It was in such a district that DECU initiated JDCP. The main objective was to provide quality development programmes to the deprived. This meant that Direct Reception Sets had to be installed at a central place in the village accessible to majority villagers. This was done in 150 villages and plans are afoot to expand it to the rest of 450 villages. The software objectives of the project were to provide communication support to development activities in the following subjects:**Watershed Management** including agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, etc.

Health covering child and women's health, family welfare and prevention of various diseases.

Panchayati Raj (Local Self-government Administration) including the role of women and its function.

Education including non-formal and adult education.

Socio Economic issues covering employment, government development schemes, etc.

Culture covering folk and traditional aspects.

The other objective was to organise intensive interactive educational programmes through a one way video and two way audio talk back system from 12 block headquarters where development functionaries gather on specified days in the afternoons.

The challenge was not only in installing the DRS but also making sure that proper electricity connections were available, that there was an appropriate seating place, that there was a custodian who will operate the TV set everyday and the maintenance of the satellite dish antenna as well as the TV sets had to be ensured. The greater challenge was to make the programmes need-based and entertaining. The JDCP brochure (1996) aptly states the software approach:

"An innovative, and imaginative software approach using the sophisticated modern tools and yet rooted in the cultural ethos of the tribal people is the hallmark of TV programmes. The programmes are entertaining, enjoyable and educative. The information flow is two way: upwards as well as downwards. The programmes are made with the active participation of the local population".

In order to make the programmes need based and useful, a detailed formative research plan was put into action. Apart from developing profile of the district and the audience, detailed needs assessment studies in all the selected subjects were initiated. This was done through involvement of the social

scientists from Madhya Pradesh State and others in the country. The needs assessment studies formed the basis to develop over 400 communication briefs that in turn were the basis of the programmes.

There is a transmission of two hours every weekday. It covers the programme subject described earlier and uses a variety of formats like drama, docu-drama, documentary, puppetry, animation, etc. An important feature of the programming has been that almost all the programmes are produced in Jhabua district with active involvement of the local artists, script writers, subject experts, etc. This makes the programmes participatory and gives a strong sense of identification.

Detailed benchmark survey was carried out in 60 villages and this was followed up with three during-transmission surveys at equal time intervals. Detailed feedback studies have also been conducted regularly. Several knowledge gain studies have also been conducted. The results indicate a very satisfactory level of effectiveness. The project was supposed to be a two year project and was to end in November 1998, but has been extended by another year. There are now plans to initiate similar projects in several other districts of different states of the country.

The example of the Jhabua Development Communications Project clearly brings out not only the need but also the effectiveness of an intervention programme that too in a difficult communication terrain. It also demonstrates that one cannot leave development communication activities to market forces alone. A participatory, need-based, educative and enjoyable television is possible provided one sees the need for it and has the will to start such an intervention programme.

Media spreading awareness through newspaper articles, print and web magazines, documentaries, films, TV programmes, radio programmes.For example the following article highlights the darker side of development projects.

Chased by Development

CHIKAPAR (Koraput): Mukta Kadam wept as she herded her five children in front of her, luggage on their heads, leading them through a jungle in darkness and rain. Her village, Chikapar, had been acquired for the MiG project of the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. (HAL) and her family was evicted on an angry monsoon night.

"We didn't know where to go. We just went because the saab log told us to go. It was terrifying. I was so frightened for the children on that night," she recalls. That was in 1968. Mukta, a Gadaba tribal, didn't know then that she, along with her entire village of 400-500 large joint families, would have to go through the same experience two more times.

When the villagers of Chikapar village found that they were to be evicted for a record third time, they weren't quite sure what to do. "What can we do?" asks Pammia Das, a Gadaba tribal, in despair, "Wherever we go, some project will come up and we will have to move again."

Chikapar is like almost any other village on the Koraput map. Almost. Perhaps no other village anywhere has the dubious distinction of being targeted for displacement three times. In the late '60s, it was the MiG project. In 1987, Chikapar residents, many of whom had not even received the compensation due from the first eviction, were dishoused from their second location — which, too, they had nostalgically named Chikapar.

This time, Mukta wended her way down the road to nowhere with a grandchild. "Once again, it was raining, we took shelter under a bridge and stayed there for some days," says she. "This time (in 1987)," says Arjan Pamja, also from the same tribe, "we had to make way for the Upper Kolab multipurpose project and the naval ammunition depot."

And now, the villagers, who have reorganised Chikapar once more in several little pockets in yet another area after the second uprooting, have received eviction notices for the third time. Chikapar is being chased by development.

Jagannath Kadam, one of the village's few educated members, is a school teacher who works in another village (there has been no proper school in Chikapar for years). He says, "The reasons being given for the third eviction vary. Minister Harish Chandra Bakshi Patra, said at a public meeting here that we had to make way for a poultry farm. Another explanation is that the present set-up of the village poses problems for the Military Engineering Service (MES) in the area. We don't know. We only know that the villagers are receiving eviction notices."

If the latter reason is true, says one official, "Little Chikapar will have, in succession, taken on the air force, the navy and the army. If it weren't so tragic, it would be almost comical. And all in the name of development."

Jagannath Kadam stayed on in what might be called Chikapar-2, the village's location after it was evicted the first time to facilitate the MiG project, but before its eviction for the Upper Kolab project. The waters of the Kolab did not quite reach his house, so he defied orders and stayed put. "Since my family has been alone here, we've had to face dacoities, but I'm not leaving again," he says firmly.

Chikapar was not a village of very poor people. They comprised Gadaba and Paroja tribals, some Doms (Harijans) and a few OBCs. Originally located in Sunabeda (literally translated as golden land), the villagers owned big tracts of land. "My joint family of seven owned 129 acres in 1963," says Balram Patro. "Of these, we were compensated for 95 acres only and got a total of Rs 28,000 many, many years later. But there was no help with house sites, materials or any kind of rehabilitation," he says.

"My family owned 60 acres of land," say Jyotirmoy Khora, "and we got Rs 15,000 - Rs 150 per acre of hilly land and Rs 450 per acre of Class I land. Again, the money came much later. And that was it: not a single paisa towards rehabilitation, not even a home site."

"They promised us one job per house, one home for each displaced family," says Narendra Patro, speaking to us at what can be called Chikapar-3. "People did not even resist on either occasion, but the authorities went back on every assurance."

Less than 15 people found employment, at very menial levels, in HAL. Another group made it, with some difficulty, as casual labourers with no security of tenure. Khora, despite being the village's first matriculate in 1970, and obtaining a diploma of proficiency from a technical training school, remained unemployed for eight years before finding a placement with HAL. Even for casual labour, "the contractors always bring people from outside," says Madan Khasla, a Harijan, "and the recruiting agents want payments from us for other jobs, but what money do we have? We have lost our homes twice, but they want us to go yet again."

The revenue inspector of Sunabeda, Purnachandra Parida, confirmed that eviction notices had been issued for the third time. "They are encroachers and must go," he said.

Khora laughed when told of the inspector's assertion: "Each time this village has been shifted we have moved, mostly, to our own lands. Remember, we owned a lot of acres in this region. They have made us encroachers on our own land by declaring it the property of the state. If the government declared your house as its property tomorrow, you would be an encroacher in your own home, too."

When the villagers of Chikapar village found that they were to be evicted for a record third time, they weren't quite sure what to do. "What can we do?" asks Pammia Das, a Gadaba tribal, in despair, "Wherever we go, some project will come up and we will have to move again."

Actually, the problem is even more complex. This twice-evicted village is unlikely to receive any compensation at all when it is uprooted for a third time to make way for either a poultry farm or a Military Engineering Service depot.

"Even in our second location," says Pakalu Kadam, also a Gadaba tribal, "We have been told we are occupying land illegally. Actually, this is our land. But they want us to vacate in 60 days. Our ownership was never recognised on record. So we have no rights, no domicile certificate, not even caste certificates."

But, asks Jyotirmoy Khora, "What happened to the over 400 hectares they took from Chikapar in the '60s and the thousands of acres from 17 other villages?" In the '60s too, Mr Biju Patnaik was chief minister "and he had this grand idea that all the units of HAL would come to Koraput." So huge tracts of land were acquired towards that project.

In fact, nothing of the sort happened. The other units came up in Bangalore and elsewhere. As a result, much of the land forcibly taken over from the 18 villages remains unutilised to this day. "They are neither returning the land, nor leasing it for cultivation. We are prepared to pay such 'compensation' as we received if we get back our land," says Khora.

That, however, seems unlikely to happen. "I can't move again, let them do what they like," says Mukta Kadam, the oldest woman in the village and one of the first to be evicted in 1968. "Why does this always have to happen to us?"

Possibly because they are Adivasis and Harijans and because this is Koraput, which includes some of the poorest parts of the country (two of which have emerged as new districts).

When the National Aluminium Company Ltd. (NALCO) came up in 1981 in Koraput, more than 47.7 per cent of the 2,500 displaced families were tribals and 9.3 per cent were Harijans, points out Prof LK Mahapatra, former vice-chancellor of Utkal and Sambalpur Universities. Over 55 per cent of the 3,067 families displaced by the upper Kolab project belonged to either Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes.

The Machkund hydro-electric project in Koraput district had displaced almost 3,000 families by 1960. Of these, 51.1 per cent were adivasis and 10.2 per cent were Dalits. "It is a pity," notes Prof Mahapatra in a major study on the subject, that "out of 2938 families displaced, only 600 were rehabilitated, including 450 tribal families. Not a single Scheduled Caste family was rehabilitated." The list of such victims in Orissa is endless. Of nearly 22 million people across the country estimated to have been direct victims of displacement since independence, over 40 per cent are tribals. In Orissa, that figure is probably much higher, though clear estimates are hard to come by.

At the national level, less than 25 per cent of those displaced by development have been rehabilitated in the past four decades. Again, the scenario in Orissa is probably worse. Within this depressing picture, Koraput plumbs the depths. In a study funded by the Union ministry of welfare, Walter Fernandes and Anthony S Raj, of the Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, note that in Koraput, "around one lakh tribals have been deprived of their land, including 1.6 lakh hectares of forests on which they had till then depended for their livelihood.

"More than six per cent of the district population, a majority of them tribals, have been displaced (by projects). This trend seems to continue even today."

Note

LESSON 16:
FACTORS OF MEDIA EFFECTING SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To learn about the factors of media effecting social change

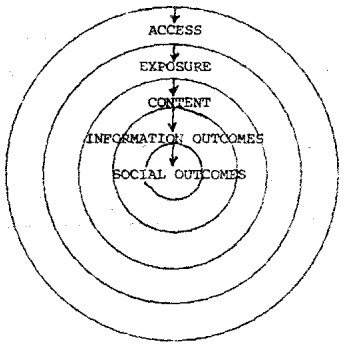
To learn about the impact of media exposure on development

Development Communication: A Progressive Model

This model may be called "progressive" because the progress from outer to inner circles is usually in stages. It suggests that in the process of different, kinds of information diffusing to rural people through the mass media, a series of stages needs to be distinguished. These .are represented by concentric circles that begin with access of the population to media, a stage that one cannot assume for rural people, even for a widespread medium such as radio.

This model also suggests that in order to obtain a genuine understanding of the role of the mass media in rural areas, all the components of the model have to be considered within general social structures of the society in question. Beginning from the outermost circle, each stage assumes the presence of the previous one in order to have an impact, Thus, access is both logically and temporally prior to exposure, and reception of certain kinds of mass media content assumes exposure. One cannot assume, for example, that potential access to a mass medium will necessarily imply exposure for a group or an individual, nor can one assume that exposure will necessarily lead to contest appropriate to a particular audience. In short, each stage is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for achieving the next stage.

A brief explication of the five stages may help to clarify how the model works. This will be followed with a review of relevant research to see how far the model has been tested.



Access and exposure are so closely linked in most research that It Is necessary to explicate the vital differences between them. Access is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for exposure. Access generally refers to the essential physical potential for exposure— the situation where there is a newspaper, radio, television, or other mass medium within reasonable range of the potential audience. In some cases in rural areas, this might be an individual's access to a private radio, but it can also be a situation of a shared radio or a newspaper read by a number of people. In most rural areas, access is primarily to radio and print.

Various constraints beyond just physical distance might limit access. In the case of radio, this might involve set cost and maintenance factors as well as the quality of signal received in a particular rural area. Access to print is limited by availability as well as literacy levels.

The above definition of access seems automatically to be limiting access to the reception of messages; it is important also to consider a broader view of access to include access to the production and distribution of messages. In a society such as the United States, where penetration for most mass media is almost 100 percent, access quite clearly cannot be defined purely in terms of physical access to the reception of mass media. In developing countries, where the mass media, have not penetrated as deeply, it is natural to first consider reception questions. Nevertheless, researchers should be careful not to repeat the same top-down and passive receiver view of mass media prevalent in earlier research. Access to active participation in creation of media messages should also be considered. Although this kind of access might only be feasible on a small scale, it has important implications for the decentralization of the mass media, bottom-up change, and local development goals. For the purposes of this chapter, access is viewed in terms of the first, more limited, view of access to a passive reception mode. The broader view of access to media in a more active capacity should be the object of future research in developing countries (Jouet 1977; O'Sullivan and Kaplun, forthcoming).

Exposure is more complicated than access because it deals not only with whether a person is within physical range of the particular mass medium but also whether a person is actually exposed to the message. Exposure is hearing, seeing, reading, or, more generally, experiencing, with at least a minimal amount of interest, the mass media message. This exposure might occur in individual or group level.

Many studies, although possibly distinguishing between access and exposure, do not go further in examining questions of message content of the different media. The content of a radio program or a newspaper usually is designed with a particular audience in mind. In some cases, content that was designed for a broad audience might be understood and utilized to different degrees by different sectors of the audience. Content can be broken down in various ways: information, entertainment programs, music, news, sports, and the like in the case of radio, for example. These categories can obviously be broken down further into subtypes and production sources. An important distinction should also be made between commercial programming and purposive, social change programming. The audience

and kinds of programs might be very different in these two types of programming structure. Distinctions have also been made between implicit and explicit content (for example, the difference between the explicit message of an advertisement on radio to buy a certain product and the implicit message for rural people that such a purchase is more "modern," and thus better).

Following from these prior stages, the next step of the model is that concerning the information outcomes, viewed as the cognitive, affective, or attitudinal impact of exposure to mass media messages. In terms of information programs, it examines what has been learned as a result of exposure. It naturally is closely connected to some of the Issues concerning content mentioned above. Questions of what has been learned are more difficult in the case of-entertainment programs. These outcomes need not only be from a single exposure but also from exposure over a period of time.

The final stage of the model is the social outcome, defined as any social change resulting from exposure to mass media. The concept incorporates both shorter- and longer-term outcomes—from actions taken and operations improved to a betterment in the quality of peoples' lives that are the results of actions taken. Final outcome measures include changes In levels of agricultural productivity and improvement in levels of health care, nutrition, and the like. This final stage of the model is Important in relation to the issues raised in the beginning of this chapter concerning the role of information in rural development, and whether information really makes a difference.

The question of social change and the role of information in this process is also related to the classic debate between those who argue that individual change comes first in the process and those who argue that structural change must occur first for other changes, such as attitudes of individuals, to be possible. The author will avoid getting immersed in this debate by suggesting the adoption of a dialectical view of the process—where the individual is not glorified to the extent of ignoring the social structure and where the social structure is not seen is a rigid, deterministic manner that ignores the ongoing humanizing praxis of the individual. "

One aspect of the model presented above, which has not been discussed but which needs to be considered, is that of feedback loops. The review of literature and secondary analysis of access/exposure data will not be able to include feedback, but it should be kept in mind as important for the whole model. *

Access

For Latin America, the research suggests that the distribution of mass media follows the pattern of steep stratification that characterizes the socioeconomic structure prevailing in the region: higher levels of income, education, and status are strongly associated with higher levels of access to mass media messages (Beltran 1974). There is also a high degree of concentration of the mass media in the cities, especially the larger ones. Lower-class urbanites and rural peasants have as low a level of access to communication as is their access to food, shelter, and education. This concentration is particularly true for newspapers and television. There is modest access to film in some non-urban areas, and radio has the highest access level in rural areas (Beltran 1971).

The stratification and concentration that exist In terms of the rural-urban dichotomy also occur within each area. Within rural areas, a small percentage of the peasants have substantially higher access levels than the masses. Garcia (1966), studying the press in Columbia and Mexico, found a heavy concentration of newspapers in urban areas. Mattelart (1970) found a definite stratification of access to, and use of, mass media among urban workers, slum dwellers, and farmers in Chile. He also found the greatest disparity among people for access to television. Other studies that point to the concentration and stratification of mass media access in rural areas are those of Blair (1960) and Bostian and Oliveira (1965) in Brazil, and of Ruanova (l958) and Myren (1964) in Mexico.

Moving away from Latin America, different access data are found. In Thailand, Story and Story (1969) found very low access to radio in rural areas. In contrast, however, Polpatanarithi (1970) found very high access to radio in rural India. Spain (1971) found high levels of access to radio in the southern Philippines, and Seya and Yao (1977) found relatively high levels of access to radio in the rural Ivory Coast, despite great language diversity. One of the major studies on rural access and exposure is that of Frey (1966) in Turkey. He found clear evidence (as is the case in almost all other studies) that, at least on a gross level, access to radio was greater than to any other media. He also found that access to one medium correlated significantly and positively with access to other media.

Two tentative conclusions emerge from this brief survey: first, there is great variation from area to area in the amount of access to media in rural areas; second, whatever the access, whether heavy or light, its general pattern follows the pattern of social structures in the country studied.

Exposure

In Latin America, the exposure research seems to support the stratification view suggested by Beltran (1974), Mejia (1971) in Peru and Canizales and Myren (1967) in Mexico confirm the view that mass media exposure is stratified between urban and rural areas and within rural areas themselves. Taking one extreme of the spectrum, Deutchmann, McNelly, and EUingworth (1961) found that the mass media exposure of subelites (professionals and technicians) in 11 Latin American countries equaled—and, in some cases, exceeded—the exposure of similar samples in the United States.

Physical factors—such as lack of roads, distance from urban areas, and lack of electricity—undoubtedly contribute to the skewed distribution of some of the mass media in rural areas. Nevertheless, Diaz-Bordenave (1964) in Pernambuco, Brazil, and Gutierrez Sanchez and McNamara (1968) in Colombia found that despite the relative proximity of peasants to urbanized areas, exposure to the mass media was very low. This suggests that despite the relative availability of mass media, exposure was low, perhaps because, among other things, peasants did not find the content very useful.

There is a large source of data from the family planning literature on the use of media to reach clients, often in rural areas. Radio was the first source of information for family planning in Korea, Taiwan, Kenya, Honduras, and Iran in studies reported by Sweeney (1977). There is some doubt, however, whether exposure to large-scale family planning programs are comparable to exposure to other kinds of media programs. Many governments and international agencies have given special emphasis to such programs, minimizing other social services. Also. It is clear that family planning has not reached those rural poor woo are without access to the mass media.

Frey (1966) concludes from his study in Turkey that although total exposure figures were not very high, this did not preclude the impact of the mass media on rural life. Frey's data, together with two other studies in Turkey by Kiray U9S4) and Sewell (1964) indicate an increase in mass media exposure that accompanies rural-to-urban migration. Frey also provides a comparison with exposure studies in other countries (Table 2.2). Although these studies are somewhat dated, they provide a useful cross-cultural comparison for the time. As was true of the previous data on access, one finds it difficult to draw generalizations from Frey's data. Respondents in these seven studies were not alike, nor were they all selected in ways that satisfy all the requirements of random selection. Frey's conclusion from this comparison is tentative; "The mass media would seem to be generally capable of reaching an impressive sector of the peasantry, though one can be sure that another and perhaps somewhat larger sector will not be reached at all" (Frey 19G6).

Content

That the mass media are unequally distributed across the population is in itself a negative factor characteristic of underdevelopment. However, even if this were eliminated—or, at the minimum, improved—there is still reason to be concerned with the content of the messages. As Beltran (1971) points out, the fact that access increases and mass media messages reach progressively wider sectors of the population does not automatically guarantee the contribution of these messages to development. A substantial amount of research, particularly in Latin America, has been done on the content of newspapers, less on the content of television, and the least on the content of radio.

For newspapers, Diaz Rangel (1967) and Simmone, Kent, and Misgra (1968) suggest that consistently less space is devoted to information relevant for development than to that for sports, entertainment, and such socially negative news as crime- In general, trivial information substantially dominates the content over information relevant for development. Gutierrez Sanchez and McNamara (1968), Gutierrez Sanchez (1966), and De Vries and Echevarria (1967) all found that the content of the mass media did not hold much use for peasants in Colombia, as it met more the needs of large fanners than-those of the peasants. Cordera (1973) found a similar lack of information in the daily newspapers of Costa Rica concerning agriculture, the major activity of the country. Boca (1969) suggests from a study in Peru that the press in Latin America is deliberately oriented against social change for peasants and is at the service of the large landowning elites. Other studies suggest that, oven where substantive information is available, the language of most newspapers, including agricultural newspapers, is beyond the understanding of the peasants or does not correspond to their culture (Beltran, 1371).

Studies on the content of radio show that preference for the trivial or non-development-oriented subjects was even more considerable than for the press, and the content of radio was alien to most peasants (for example, Pasquali, 1963; Felstehausen 1968).

Some of the most interesting research concerning content has been done for television. Salazar (1962) and Pasquali (1967), in Venezuela, found a high percentage of violent programs and stereotypical plots and characters showing middle-class individuals and U.S. nationals in a positive light and lower-class people in a negative light. Rincon (1968), also in Venezuela, studied the content of television and radio serials and argues that the stereotypes in the content falsify reality and pervert the average taste of the masses. Marques de Melo (1969), in his study of television soap operas in Sao Paulo, Brazil, suggests an evasion-inducing mechanism in operation for audiences of these programs. A Colombian researcher, Bibliowicz (1973), suggests that the content of soap operas reinforces the perceptions of class immutability. In a study that looks more at effects than only at content, Colomina de Rivera (1968) interviewed housewives in Maracaibo, Venezuela. She found that a large percentage of the housewives believed that the problems presented in soap operas were identical to theirs and that the solutions offered could help solve their own problems.

Although more work beyond just content analysis needs to be done in this area, the tentative results give much reason for concern for the contribution of this type of mass media

content to development objectives and the attainment of greater social equity.

In concluding this section, the distinction between commercial programming and purposive (development communication) programming must be recalled, as well as the consequences on access, exposure, and contest. The impact o;,' these two types of program content on rural development might be very different. Further research might study the differential impact of commercial and development programming on rural audiences and further specify the model to see what affect sources with different orientations might have. A more refined content analysis that distinguishes between latent and overt content and looks at Ideological as well is cognitive message content would help to improve the knowledge concerning the effects of contest on both thought and action.

Information and Social Outcomes

The most important factors in the mass media model outlined earlier in this chapter are the outcomes—especially the social outcomes. Information outcomes are the cognitive, affective, and attitudinal consequences of the audience access and exposure to, and comprehension of, the media content. The previous review of research has indicated that even when lower socioeconomic groups have sufficient levels of access and exposure, the irrelevance of content will lower levels of exposure in a kind of self-regulating fashion. Research concerning the communication effects on the gap in knowledge among different social groups (Ticheonor, Donahue, and Oline 1970; Shingi and Mody 1976) suggests that one reason why some people learn more than others from the media is the self-selective nature of the audience. Although all groups may have access, those that are better off are more likely to take advantage of the information available. Thus, although there might be general potential exposure, the real exposure between poorer and better-off members of the audience will differ, and the audience with better education and higher social status will expose themselves more and gain more from the information. Only where relevance of the content is specifically geared to lower socioeconomic groups through appropriate feedback mechanisms, and information appropriate to their needs is developed, will this knowledge gap possibly be halted or reversed. Even this might be of limited value if the underlying unequal distribution of not only information but. also of resources is sot taken into consideration.

Too often, in planning development communication projects, it la assumed that there will be an impact if people would only attend to the message. But, as Gruning (1971) points out in his study of Colombian peasants, the important question may not be whether appropriate information is lacking but whether resources needed to put the information into practice are available. Research (O'Sullivan, 1978a) has shown that agricultural information may not be able to make any significant impact on productivity when it is applied where the farmer is already operating at maximum efficiency on a very limited landholding.

Nevertheless, within structural constraints, there is some evidence that under certain circumstances communication and education can contribute to social outcomes. Lockheed, Jamison, and Lau (forthcoming) cite evidence that there is a consistent, although small, positive relationship between education and agricultural productivity. The Basic Village Education project in Guatemala (Academy for Economic Development 1978) also showed that adoption of new agricultural practices was one social benefit that was related to exposure to a special agricultural radio program. Different information might also have possibilities for positive social outcomes in different aspects of peoples' lives. For example, White (1977) found that Honduras villagers exposed to development radio messages adopted health practices significantly more often than they did agricultural practices. The author believes that this is because the adoption of health practices was helped by existing women's organizations in the rural areas and that these practices did not demand added resources whereas agricultural practices were constrained by lack of credit and land.

Hall and Dodds (1977) cite evidence of social outcomes such as latrines built, in a massive public health program in rural Tanzania. Other positive results have been found in experimental use of radio spots: to get mothers to adopt nutritional practices in Nicaragua and the Philippines (Cooke and Romweber 1977), and to increase the use of contraceptives, in Colombia, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic (Sweeney 1977).

To summarize, there is a twofold problem in the outcome area. First, the general mass media are not found to promote positive social outcomes to any large extent. This may not be surprising when one recalls the limited exposure of many poor audiences to media and the overwhelmingly irrelevant messages. Still, the poor may use what media are available as best they can in trying to substitute for extension agents or other sources of information. Second, when the media are used purposively for development communication projects, there are some indications that they can promote some change; but, even here, under favorable circumstances, constraints limit the impact to modest positive outcomes in some but not all cases.

Factors affecting Media Exposure in India

These data came from a large three-nation study of diffusion of innovations done in the mid-1960's (Rogers, Ascroft, and Roling 1970). Data for the study were gathered in eight Indian villages in 1967 (N = 680). Three of the villages were in Andhra Pradesh (N = 210), two in Maharashtra (N = 246), and three in West Bengal (N = 224). Villages were chosen so as to be in the same or contiguous blocks within stares. All of the farmers who were interviewed in each village were those who cultivated 2.5 acres of land or more and were 50 years of age or younger. The media behavior of the very poorest sector of farmers (those with less than 2.5 acres) are therefore not included in the study. In most cases, the respondent was head of the household.

The general audience for the mass media showed radio, at 76 percent, to be the most commonly attended medium. Film was next, with 66 percent of the audience, and newspaper last, with 32 percent. Although there was little difference among SES groups (low, medium, and high on the three indicators of land, income, and economic caste) In radio listening and film

attendance, the audience for newspapers was consistently from the higher SES groups.

The general positive relationship between higher SES standing and greater exposure to media is sustained by the evidence shown in the Table.

Newspaper exposure suggests the strongest elite bias. The correlations are reduced most for newspaper reading, indicating that education has a stronger intervening effect for this medium than for radio and film. Newspaper reading is again shown to be the most unequally distributed medium across the various social strata.

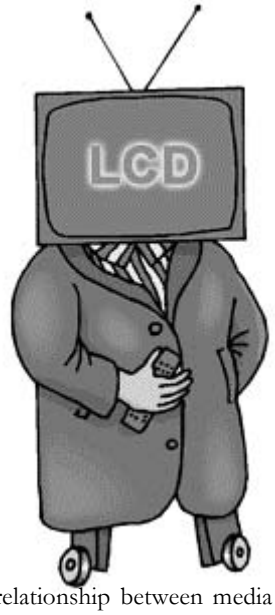
Trends similar to those for landownership are evident for the other three variables of education, income, and economic status. These results indicate a dear pattern of bias in mass media exposure among the Indian farmers of the sample. As one moves up the social hierarchy, however it is measured, exposure to media increases.

Bivariate Relationships between Socio Economic Variables and Mass Media Exposure in India. (N = 680). The correlations reported here are significantly different from zero at the I percent level and Indicate that, in general, the higher an individual is on one of the SES indicators, the more likely the exposure to the three media.

Socio Economic Variables	Listen to Radio	Exposed to Film	Read a Newspaper
Income	0.27	0.21	0.32
Land ownership	0.17	0.10	0.35
Education	0.25	0.23	0.50
Caste economic status	0.16	0.13	0.31

To assess the role of mass media Information in certain social outcomes, mass media exposure was tested as an intervening variable between socioeconomic factors and knowledge about, and the trial adoption of, health and agricultural innovations to see whether mass media significantly affected the-direct relationship between SES and adoption of innovations. Four composite indexes were used for the innovation variables of knowledge and trial for both health and agricultural innovations. The results suggest that except, in some cases, for newspaper exposure the information received from the mass media did not play an intervening role in the knowledge that farmers had concerning the innovations or whether they decided to try the innovation. This is the case for both health and agricultural Innovations.

The data, suggest that change agents were the most important source of information concerning innovations and their adoption. When asked now they came to know about various agricultural innovations, 8.6 percent of the farmers indicated the mass media, whereas 52 percent replied that they heard through a change agent or other interpersonal channel. The mass media were used most for information about the district headquarters. To compare change agents as a channel of information with the partial correlations controlling for mass media exposure, similar partial correlations were computed that controlled for change agent contact. The results indicate that change agents are a much more important channel of information for farmers than are mass media. The high correlation of change agent contact with newspaper reading helps to explain our earlier finding that newspaper exposure is the only mass media that has some intervening effects on innovation knowledge and adoption. Farmers from higher socioeconomic groups are more likely to have both more contact with change agents as well as greater exposure to news ions can be drawn.



The study shows relationship between media exposure and socio-economic factors. Radio was the most equally distributed across socioeconomic groups, where as exposure to newspapers has the greatest socioeconomic bias. More than mass media change agents had impact on the people.

Conclusions and Implications

Questions of access and exposure and the impact of mass media on equitable rural development cannot be considered in isolation from each other, nor can one component of the model be assumed from the other. To have a detailed understanding of the communication environment of rural populations, one needs to consider the role of each of the components of the model in the overall process of media use and social change.

Mass media are unequally distributed in developing countries, between cities and rural area, and within rural areas. Television is the mass media with the greatest elite bias in most developing countries, and radio is the most generally available. However, even radio is quite unequally distributed across the social strata. When one also considers questions of content and the usefulness of mass-mediated information, it is not inappropriate to conclude that the majority of rural people in underdeveloped countries live m a state of "under-communication". The evidence suggests that despite the rapid expansion of radio to almost all areas of the world in the last two decades, great inequalities still exist that hinder the potential use of mass media In development.

The distribution of mass media and of development information availability in rural areas mirrors the unequal distribution of other resources. Even where mass media are widely available, serious reservations remain concerning the contribution of the information to a more equitable rural development. This is

particularly the case with commercially oriented mass media in rural areas.

Certain Implications emerge concerning future research, development communications theory, and the Implementation of mass media projects. Information is not an independent variable m the development process but is dependent upon other factors in the larger political and economic context of a particular society. Information must be considered in relation to other variables and structural constraints. This view is not to suggest that information is unimportant in development but, rather, that one should examine what prior limitations exist and what preconditions are necessary for Information to -make a difference.

Clearly, one needs to go beyond individual-blame theories of underdevelopment or, put another way, to avoid an inappropriate amount of attention being placed on individual change variables in the development process. Greater emphasis should be placed on systemic and structural variables. One should not overcompensate for previous important omissions by focusing only on structural variables but, rather, should consider structural and individual variables in a dialectical relationship. This balance is essential for examining questions of stratification and equity in rural development, as well as the information it might provide in how to reach different audiences in the rural population, in the hope that, at least marginally, information can play a role in improving the lives of rural people.

Note

LESSON 17:
THE POWER OF COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION TO SOCIAL CHANGE

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To learn how different Media & information changes the rural scene

Media technology has been accepted as an effective tool to bridge the geographical distance between the message-senders and receivers. Extensive use of electronic and print media in support of agricultural extension, diffusion of information technology, social reforms, education and health awareness etc. can be seen all over the world.

Radio was used to educate the children of farmers in Australia and New Zealand in the 1930s, for the first time. In most of the developing countries, radio has been used for awareness generation and agricultural extension programmes. The extension of the expert voice at an acceptable cost is the prime justification for its use in countries lacking financial resources, skilled manpower and necessary infrastructure like road communication etc. Several studies have examined the role of radios in places where agricultural radios are known to be available. Kidd (1968) found that 57% of his Nigerian samples listened to the agricultural radio. These included 17% who told someone also about what they had heard and 23%, who reported that they had improved their agricultural practice as a result of listening to the radio. The Indian Institute of Mass Communication found that in zones served by special farm radio, people were 20% more likely to report it as their source of information about High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds than people in areas with less farm radio. There was also some tendency of framers in the special radio areas to report greater adoption of HYVs (Hornik 1988).

The use of television, radio, video and film, all over the world, has not only reduced the gap of information but has also contributed to the economic growth. Use of communication for development caused rapid economic development in countries like Taiwan and South Korea (Hornik, 1988). The "Satellite Instructional Television Experiment" in India contributed to the agricultural production and enrollment of children in schools. The popularity of educative entertainment programmes shows the effect of television on the overall process of development. Simultaneous audio-visual presentation of reports and messages minimizes distortions and helps transforming traditional society into progressive society.

Printed media have been used to support rural extension in African subcontinent. Publication of large number of rural newspapers with increasing popularity is an indicator of their usefulness in the rural areas. Posters, leaflets, newsletters etc. convey accurate and clear information through pictures, diagrams and words. Rural libraries and newspapers help in retention of literacy and continuing education, participatory management, sharing of experiences including market information etc. In India and Thailand, Rural libraries have been used as centres of continuing education and learning of new techniques of agriculture. Printed media, in India, played a vital role to spread the message from "lab to land" which led to the "Green Revolution".

Limiting factors in Effective use of media

The use of media in extension however is not without limitations. While some countries like South Korea and Taiwan successfully used media to support conventional extension as a complementary component, its use in Sub-Saharan Africa evoked no positive and tangible results. Obviously, use of communication media in isolation, can not prove an effective tool of extension. In the absence of access to education, technical skill, appropriate infrastructure, material resources, land reforms etc., media campaign alone is unlikely to eliminate the inequality in rural areas. Printed materials and electronic gadgets do not put food in the mouth of the hungry, clothe the naked and heal the sick (Mody, 1991). Printed media serves little purpose in the villages of third world countries, dominated by illiterates.

Although, ability to read and write is not a prerequisite to use the electronic media for the purpose of extension, they can not be used effectively in multi-lingual societies and areas having different agro-climatic zones. In places like Nepal, where a national agricultural radio programme serves farmers who are planting different crops in different climatic zones in different time schedules and with different technologies feasible, there is no hope of generating programmes with very much specific advice for all farmers (Hornik 1988).

Broadcasting units in most of the developing countries are centrally controlled and highly bureaucratised with little field co-ordination. The programmes are produced by those who have no time and interest to interact with the audience. The routine broadcasts meant for farmers (viewed as fatalists by producers and announcers) do not always succeed in creating positive response among farmers, whose needs are rarely studied before preparing the bulletins. At times, the top-down structure of media system seems to contribute to the development of culture of silence, particularly in States ruled by dictators, instead of supporting extension work in rural areas.

Theoretically, media technology has the capability to bridge the geographical distance without any scale bias. However, in practice, the messages prepared by subject matter specialists in text book language either prove irrelevant or incomprehensible for the poor ignorant peasants. The "know-it-all" experts may be rewarded for presenting a message on the latest capital intensive technology, meaningless for farmers living in the complex, diverse and risk-prone environment.

Effective use of media is affected due to lack of appropriate infrastructure in rural areas. Printed materials rarely reach the rural areas to the desired extent because of poor road communication and transportation facilities. Television and videos

cannot reach the masses in remote areas without electrification of villages.

Electronic media in popular perception has been identified as a channel of entertainment. Despite recommendations of communication experts to use them for upgrading skill and extension purposes, they are being used by rulers, producers and advertisers for promotion of political interests, profits and entertainment, etc. Both, electronic as well as printed media, are controlled either by government or business houses with top-down structures and no scope for community participation in the process of production. Programme producers are isolated from the farmers they serve. Rural news papers depend heavily on government for financial and material support and lack skilled manpower to give accurate expression to the needs and aspirations of the rural people.

However, it may be logical to conclude that the use of media, which in itself is neutral, can prove a milestone for extension programmes with objective application, if the structural and infrastructural deficiencies discussed above, are addressed to simultaneously.

We live in a world of communication explosion. New communication technologies (NCT) like computer, fax, internet, Cellular phones, Information Super Highway, is directing, and setting the pace and quality of development of all nations. By converging the NCT with productive process communication has become a critical element in development process. Early communication was seen only as a component to development. From being the superstructure it has become the infra structure of modern societies.

Access to the vast store of knowledge and experiences has become a prime concern and need for any economic development. The internet which is now revolutionizing the world and people have become the sign of elite transmission of information. These new facilities have literally changed the world into a 'Electronic Global Village' or a Global market of Ideas.' They revolutionized the world with its speed and style. They created new concepts for business, education, relationship and even development.

Through the scientific breakthrough such as computers and satellites, "maximum effects were expected, usually vertical flows were promoted, economic development was emphasized and western domination prevailed." (Lent,1987) The concept of communication changed into a visual, interactive and personal communication. (Shariffadeen, 1995)

They are made to hold up a mirror in which people can view their own reality as a critical first step in participatory development. Films and video shows were made available to enhance peoples self-awareness and self confidence and to effect change through empowerment. It was first used and proved efficient in New Found Land and later used in the poor countries in Labrador, Alaska India and Nepal.

People watch their problems, how others solved it and came to consensus and action. In these processes, the animator has of course a key role to play in animating discussion and to bring them to a consensus and to a planned program for action.

Modernization enabled telephones, teleconference facilities, and other telecommunication fast utensils to promote faster economic developments in business.

In Philippines the "The enter-educate" project, a multi media project for young people, used entertainment videos, produced in collaboration with top artists aimed at promoting sexual responsibility among Metro Manila adolescents.

TV and Radio also were used to alert young people about AIDS and HIV transmission and to take precautions against them, through posters, brochures and newspaper advertisements, T-shirts and bookmarks. Both these projects used telephone hotlines to answer calls for help, which ensured callers identity.

Minds of the wise were the store of information and wisdom in the good olden days. Kings and people used to visit them for guidance and advise. Their wisdom and knowledge were written down and stored in books and libraries became the storehouse of knowledge. But the growth of literature created the problem of searching, storing, and getting access to.

In this microchip era computers began to take the place of libraries. This information system enhanced access and simultaneous sharing, transmission and manipulation of data. Their use for efficient management and handling of data and information has grown significantly in many less developed countries in spite of their severe economic constraints.

Now the predominant world economies have become information based. Economics of scale are giving way to economics of networking. Hence growth industries particularly in the developed countries are information industries. Following these changes, business corporations in developing countries are enthusiastic about the new technology involving the convergence of computers, telecommunications, the challenge of satellites, cellular phones etc.

This new IT has its own implications and impacts on the developing countries. The country has to decide whether they need such a advanced and expensive communication system. Operation of these high tech. instruments need professional know how and experienced technicians which these countries lack and has to depend on the western developed countries for their assistance. The country also has to train its own citizens in these areas. A large amount of capital allocation is needed for keeping abreast with the modern information systems.

These fast changes if do not coincide with infra structure it is dangerous. Media makes the world a consumerist society. To meet the demands of the people Government may depend on the foreign aid which turns out to be thorns on the path of development. People go to cities for better life, giving the government additional problems, and a fall in the agricultural sector.

Again, when NIT and NCT come to a society, where there exist a lot of inequalities, it will further widen the gap.

In spite of these problems these NT provides faster dissemination of information and innovations to farmers and to all people of all strata of society. It produces radical transformation which enables people who loves in 'cloistered communities' to

break their chains and to come into the main stream of modernity.

The new education through these new communication technologies reach faster to students. Teaching pedagogy changes from teacher oriented to student oriented program. These will surely remove blind faiths from the people.

NIT and Agricultural Development.

- Better educated farmers are better able to deal with, and have greater access to external information sources called 'Early adopters of information' (Choudhri 1979, cited by Hornick, 1988)
- It has a positive effect on their allocative ability.
- Farmers get a favorable attitude towards change, openness to new ideas and techniques. (Nesman et all, 1980; cited by Hornick)
- Farmers comes to know the techniques of farm operation, market operation.
- Easy to bring them together and to organize them. This ensures better and fast feedback and enable people participate in economic development plans. Training can be easily done.

Using Folk Media in Development Programmes

The 1970s and 1980s have seen the emergence of new and more complex technological innovations in communications that have resulted in greater efficiency and accuracy in the gathering, processing, transmission and dissemination of information and feedback. They have also created such an impact on the mass media that they have become one of the most visible, pervasive and dominant influences in modern man's life.

These new communication technologies, however, have concentrated their focus mainly on the delivery system, and may have, wittingly or unwittingly, disregarded me cultural contexts in which they may have to operate. The technology of these innovations in the communication industry remains in the hands of Western or industrialized societies, while the people of the less industrialized nations have yet to understand and master the intricacies of the more technologically-oriented media. This situation can only reinforce 'the already existing poverty gap which development planners are concerned about in closing, if not bridging'.

Likewise, this situation can only fan the controversy over the issue of cultural imperialism perceived as being perpetrated by industrialized countries over the poorer ones.

The rapid and spectacular advances in the mass media, particularly in the fields of broadcasting, film and audio-visual technology promise quicker and wider dissemination of information. However, the rural sectors in developing countries do not necessarily benefit from [hex 'advances; the human and material resources in paw countries do not always permit the access of the masses to me media and vice versa.

Despite all the technological advances in communications, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the mass media such as newspapers, broadcasting and film in their present form cannot adequately perform the roles defined for and expected of them by the development paradigms the 1960s. The mass media do not reach enough of the Third World population with credible and relevant information that they needed for real social change to take place in their lives. Media 'experts' have finally discovered in this decade what the peasants have known for centuries! the valuable contributions that grass-roots media are capable of making.

The use of traditional or folk media to support and promote national development programmes in Third World countries seems to be 'upstaging the paradigms of the 1960s that emphasized bigness in mass media development, non-participatory, unidirectional information imbalance, and that played up development in terms of economics at the expense of people's values, beliefs, attitudes and the societal needs'.

The new paradigms of development now in currency in many Third World societies seek to emphasize the quality of life — including the integration of traditional and modem systems of communications, labour-intensive and appropriate technology, self-reliance, user-oriented strategies, and popular participation in development planning and implementation.

Involvement and participation of the community are the basis of effective communication. In order for communication to be truly instrumental in bringing about social change, it must be based upon the existing values and belief system of the community, as well as upon the built-in, respected, and trusted communication channels, like the folk media.

As Coseteng (1981) puts it: What the mass media in its high stage of development have failed to realize is that existing side by side with them on an actual village level that is quite different from the global village infrastructure ... is another form of media, one which even antedates them—the traditional media of communication ... Nevertheless, traditional media still survive and are used as meaningful channels of communication in traditional or developing societies. Their unobtrusive nature is, perhaps, the reason why they have been ignored for most of the time by the mass media-oriented communication experts and development planners. Indeed, they are still viable forms of human communications.

Fortunately, many development planners and decision makers in the Third World now appreciate the value of using traditional or folk media as an alternative communication strategy in development programmes. This may have resulted from their growing concern with cultural imperialism and the ineffectiveness of the mass media in reaching those who need change most. These planners and decision makers have started to take a hard, serious, second look at the alternative of using traditional

or folk media as channels for development-oriented messages and as a means of generating local participation in planning and decision making for social action programmes. "There is a renewed interest in the use of the folk media for development as "newer concepts of development" advocated such themes as local participation and integration of indigenous media and mass media'.

According to Wang and Dissanayake (1982) 'The value of the indigenous communication systems development process seems to have gained recognition from many planners in the Third World now, and the emerging new paradigm for development also advocates the involvement of local resources such as indigenous media and channels for development purposes because they are locally oriented, easily accessible and relatively inexpensive.'

The MacBride Commission Report (1980) summarizes it thus: ' Even where modem media have penetrated isolated areas, the older forms maintain their validity, particularly when used to influence attitudes, instigate action and promote change. Extensive experience shows that traditional forms of communication can be effective in dispelling the superstitions. archaic perceptions and unscientific attitudes that people have inherited as part of tradition, and which are difficult to modify if the benefits of change are hard to demonstrate. Practitioners of the traditional media use a subtle form of persuasion by presenting the required message in locally popular artistic forms. This cannot be rivaled by any other means of communication.

The Folk Media

What precisely are the folk media? There is a wide range of human activity and practices which could be classified under the term folk media. They can include the customs, traditions, beliefs and practices embodied in folklore. As forms or channels of communication, however, they could be defined as 'those verbal, action, aural, and visual forms which are known as familiar to the folk, are accepted by them, and are addressed to or performed by and/or for them for the purpose of entertaining, informing, enlightening, instructing, and educating' (Coseteng and Nemenzo, 1974).

As folk creations or expressions, the folk media have more or less distinct or identifiable forms, their own conventions or rules of organizations, and their own techniques or methods of presentation. But more important, these forms contain messages or meanings expressed whether directly through music or distinct non-verbal symbols or deduced from the totality of the elements of the forms themselves: but generally understood by the audience because the meaning is derived from their common folk life and experience.

The folk media can include folk songs, folk poetry, dance, puppetry, clown shows, story-telling, proverbs, riddles, folk-plays or drama, etc. Some examples are the Chinese opera, the Indian Yakshagaana, the Indonesian Wayang Kulit, and the Philippine Zarzuela.

Coseteng stresses that 'folk media, like all forms of communication or expression, are dynamic as they are enduring. They are subject to change and adaptation; they incorporate within their various forms new ideas, new forms, methods, and techniques, even as they reject those old forms, ideas and techniques which have ceased to be meaningful or functional to the society they serve. Thus a new concept like family planning ... can work (its) way into the culture and be absorbed unconsciously into the group's value system and adopted into their pattern of behaviour.' Coseteng adds that it is this dynamic element of the folk media which could be harnessed for social change and development.

Experts' Meetings on Folk Media

It was in the early 1970s when the idea of using the folk media to promote development programmes became the subject of international discussion. In 1972 and 1974, Unesco organized two 'experts' meetings' in which communication scholars, government bureaucrats, and folk media specialists and practitioners met to discuss how folk media and mass media could be used in a specific development programme, namely, family planning. These two conferences are today generally regarded as the most extensive attempt to examine the issue of folk media in development.

It was in London in 1972, at the experts' meeting on the integration of folk media and mass media in family planning programmes where it was realized that traditional media could reach more effectively the grass-roots level of the population not readily accessible to the more technological mass media. The meeting did not only generate renewed enthusiasm for the traditional media; it has also made the possibility of using these media fur development, either by themselves or with the help of mass media, closer to reality, as most of the delegates in attendance came from developing or traditional societies. The experts acknowledged and accepted that the folk media as communication channels exert a dominant influence on the life of the rural folk.

In the 1974 meeting in New Delhi, the seminar-workshop focused specifically on the discussion of the potentiality of the various folk media forms and the technique of their production as well as integration with the mass media for motivational purposes- Various forms of Indian music, puppetry, dance and drama were used as illustrative case examples during the meeting. This particular seminar-workshop is notable for it

generated a number of guiding principles on how to use the traditional or folk media for promoting development programmes.

Folk Media and Development Communication

Development necessarily involves people. For development to take place, the people directly involved in it must be able to understand, accept, and act upon new ideas. It is not only a matter of providing more and better technology. It also calls for education and communication. And education and communication programmes in support of development efforts can use many channels, including the folk media (Ranganalh, 1980)

Historically, the folk media have often played a role in the communication and promotion of new ideas and the adjustment to a new social or political order, apart from its traditional role of preserving and teaching established values. For example, in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines during colonial times or in wartime occupation when the mass media were under the control of an alien power, the folk media have been used to ridicule the oppressors, present strategies for resistance, and rally popular support for nationalist and independence movements (Ranganath, 1980; Bonifacio, 1972; Brandon, 1967).

In development communication, it is assumed that information. instructional, and persuasive or motivational communication are carefully planned inputs of development. Invariably, a multi-channel approach is employed, with the various forms of the folk media fitting into the whole scheme of communication strategy. Folk media can be used as channels for transmitting and reinforcing messages to specific groups of audiences, so that they learn to consciously and actively participate in the attainment of national development objectives which contribute 10 their general well-being and the improvement of their environment.

As H.K. Ranganath (1980) puts it: "Development — or adaptation to the realities and possibilities of one's time — is a continuing process, and traditional entertainments (or folk media) have often been instrumental in encouraging and guiding this adaptation-' In his book Using folk Entertainments to Promote National Development he specifies the decided advantages to using the folk media in development communication efforts. First of all, they are familiar to audiences who may be more disposed to attend their performances and to have more positive feeling about what they see and hear.

Folk media are flexible; they are capable of giving local relevance to communications by adapting them to local situations through the use of dialects or by incorporating specific references lo customs and traditions that help to fit the communication into a familiar context. They are also in a manner of speaking, portable, for many performances of folk media shows are of the traveling or roadshow types. They are easily moved from site to site. In general folk media presentations are also inexpensive lo mount.

When a new idea or development program is presented to its target audience through the folk media instant feedback is possible. The audience can evaluate it and react to it face-to-face, without having to adjust to some of the perceptual problems involved in such medias radio, television, or cinema. 'The audience for folk media provides instant feedback to the performer or performers and to the communicator if he is present.' Folk media are sensitive and can be adapted very quickly according feedback.

In instances where the performers are knowledgeable about development programmes and cooperative, they can serve as discussion leaders and change-agents, particularly before and after performances.

And relative to the mass media, folk media can provide fresh and interesting programme material for radio, television or film, making them more attractive and acceptable to both urban and rural audiences.

Some Issues in Using Folk Media for Development Programmes

Wang and Dissanayake (1984, 1982) raised some issues regarding the use of folk media in development programmes. They admit that there is great potential in using the various forms of folk media in development campaigns but that there is a lack of research or academic interest in this particular area of communication. While some studies on the folk media have been undertaken, many of these are descriptive in nature and the scope often limited to one type of media in one geographical area. This echoes an earlier observation of Coseteng (1981) where she said that some rather extensive studies on the folk media, (generally referred to as folklore) in the Philippines have been done by students and scholars of Philippine culture: anthropologists, sociologists, historians and other writers. Their work, undoubtedly are valuable contributions to literature on the folk media. But more often than not, their contributions are confined to their particular specialization in this broad field of study.'

Wang and Dissanayake add that in may of the folk media studies, concepts were inadequately formulated and many serious questions left unanswered. They maintain that serious studies on the folk media should address themselves to at least three issues:

- the impact of using folk media on their own growth;
- the evaluation of effects of using folk media in development campaigns; and
- the problems associated with the extension and/or integration of the folk media with the more modem mass media.

The first issue deals with the question of whether or not the folk media are destroyed or enriched when they are used instrumentally in development-oriented campaigns.

Bordenave (1975), among others, has expressed concern that the use of folk media and customs for development purposes can lead lo cultural genocide. He said that,

Development thinkers' obsession with goal achievements and not with human growth may take up these folk media … as another set of instruments for changing people's way of thinking, feeling and behaving. And this not the purpose and function of the traditional communication media!... I am afraid that as soon as the people realize that their folk songs, poems,

and art are being used for political propaganda they will let them die.

Compton, in reply, says that "although this fear is based n an enviable, altruistic concern for the preservation of cherished forms of expression of a local culture, it may be unwarranted provided that folk media are sensitively used in ways that consider certain basic precepts and principles.'(Compton, 1982).

To assure their survival, a proper balance must be maintained between the use of the folk media as a means to achieve specific ends (such as development objectives, although this may be translated into entertainment for the primary audience) and their use as an outlet for the expression of the creative talent of the artist. A failure to main-lain this balance may result in either a loss of an appreciative audience or an inspirited performer.

An additional and related issue is the degree of emphasis and adaptation to he given to the 'form' of folk media as against the 'content' which a given folk media is intended to carry. 'An underlying fear is that arbitrary decision by "development-minded" outsiders about the type messages (content) that can be transmitted through a particular art (form) can result in the medium losing its appeal to its traditional audience who have learned lo anticipate specific foci for that medium. Obviously, there is a subtle process of properly matching form to content...'.

As Adhikarya (1974) recounts: "The apparent success of the Indonesian Communists in organizing dalang (puppeteers) and supporting heavily propagandized performances (of wayang puppet plays) is less an indication of the adaptability of the form than it is an example of astute use of the form. The issues stressed by the Communists were largely international issues, issues that would be controlled and settled by the higher powers in the country. Support of these issues, at an early stage required no change in the life of the average Javanese - only an abstract change in attitude".

Wang and Dissanayake maintain that 'in fact, change is a built-in strength of indigenous communication systems allowing them to transfer development messages without the danger of self-destruction7 (198). They add that, "the uses of indigenous forms of communication for development purposes may not do harm or restrict their growth if their nature is well understood. If well-designed the use of an indigenous communication system for development purposes will not have a negative effect on the system as some have feared."

In fact, as Brandon puts it, the major aim of traditional communication systems is to communicate messages. This is inherent in the system. In most periods of human history people have assumed than the major aim of art was communication. Whether the an was painting or music, dance or poetry, artistic creations were intended to have some meaning for the reader, the listener, the viewer. It has only been during the last fifty years or so that another school of thought regarding the function of art has come into being. According to this view, an may have as its sole aim the self-expression of the artist, and the artist may profess no interest at all in what if anything, the art work he creates communicates to others. This most recent theory on the function of art is almost entirely a product of Western societies. It is an expression of intense interest in the individual, a reflection of a strongly egoistic view of life and the human process.

In Southeast Asia, the art of theatre has always been considered a means of communication. Theatre artists have expected audiences to understand what a play was about; audiences have expected to be able to understand what was being staged before them. Sponsors have assumed that certain ideas, beliefs, emotions, and attitudes—and not others—were being communicated through dramatic performances which they arranged or paid for. At no time, even today, has the art of theatre in Southeast Asia been used by artists primarily as a means of self-gratification. There have been no Dadaists, nor Surrealists as there have been in American and European theatre (Brandon, 1967).

Wang and Dissanayake say that the problem of evaluating the effectiveness of the use of folk media in development programmes must be seriously confronted. Development planners and researchers must be clear on the indicators of success. They maintain, rightfully that it is not enough to record attendance and audience reaction, or measure the knowledge gain and attitude change relative to folk media performances. These do not guarantee that the development-oriented messages have had any real impact on the audience. They maintain that apparent behavioral changes seem to be the best indicators of success. The two recommended a more systematic and scientific evaluation of similar efforts in the future.

This particular issue has not been lost on development planners in Third World countries. In the Philippines, for example, development theatre and folk media projects of the National Population Programme have built-in system atic monitoring and evaluation components to determine indicators of behavioral change (Valbuena, 1980), Likewise, a recently concluded AMIC-UNEP study on using traditional media for environmental communication in Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand (Valbuena, 1987). But much still remains to be done.

In integrating the folk media with the mass media, they cite the ideal pattern where the former are used to arouse the audience's feelings and create an atmosphere for change, followed by the use of the latter for presentation of more detailed information and vivid illustration, and finally capped by a face-to-face discussion for feedback and assessment of additional information needs of the audience. This pattern may be seen in the operations of the Mahaweli Community Radio project of the

Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation. The project makes use of folk media both for entertainment as well as for the introduction of development-oriented messages which may later be presented in more informative fashion through the various programmes aired over the radio and then further reinforced and assessed by extension workers interacting with listeners in the village (Valbuena, 1988).

The two communication scholars further say that it is necessary to conduct cost-benefit analyses of the different integrative uses of folk media and mass media for more substantial progress to take place in the field.

In summary, Wang and Dissanayake state that there is an urgent need for more and better research in the general uses of traditional or folk media for development purposes. They add that, not only has the study of indigenous communication systems largely been neglected in the past, but the evaluation of communication systems which manifest interaction between indigenous channels and the mass media has also been overlooked.

Using Folk Media for Development in India

The folk and traditional arts have been used for moral, religious and socio-political purposes. India has a long tradition of mass communication, specially oral communication and folk arts. The folk art, typical of the tribal and rural life all over the world, is the spontaneous expression of the people shaped by them, to suit their own needs. More than 2500 years back in India, the religious leaders likes Buddha and Mahavir made use of the language of the people in order to preach their religion to the masses. Thereafter the art of telling stories of god (Harikatha) development so that the rural masses could be educated with respect to the subtle concepts of religion and social values. This is the reason why we have a unique phenomenon in India that the illiterate peasants are familiar with the fundamental tenets of Hinduism, Buddhism Jainism etc. In the following centuries throughout the country, there were such attempts through the 'Bhakti' movement by great leaders and philosophers. The great temples of India built through the ages were not only the places of worship but are also full of sculpture, which enlightened the masses about the episodes in the epics- The temples were also centres of learning where great scholars held their discourses in the afternoons and evenings.

In the present century, Mahatma Gandhi possibly the greatest mass communicator of all times aroused millions of illiterate people to participate in the freedom struggle against the mighty empire through oral communication. He inspired to use other traditional media of entertainment such as songs, dramas, puppets and other folk arts for spreading the massages especially in the rural areas.

Though there is a tendency of viewing the folk media as outmoded, unchanging and extremely rigid form of mass media, it is far from the truth. Although the basic form and the structure of the various folk art form have changed very slightly over the centuries, the messages conveyed have always moved with the times or rather have been contemporary.

There has been a phenomenal growth in media of mass communication after independence.

However, at the time of crisis and national event like elections, the traditional ways and means of communication have proved their importance. The Indian government being aware of the fact always tried to make use of small and alternate media for the purpose of development. For publicising development schemes under the five-year plans, so as to motivate the people to participate, programme called the Integrated Publicity Programme was launched in 1953. In the following years the sister organisation viz. Song and Drama Division was started for organising entertainment programmes with the help of local theatrical group or parties of local or folk artists. The other popular media in other regions are also combined. They are printed words, exhibitions, photographs, puppet shows and dance dramas. The selection of the media depends on the message and the characteristics of the audience. The occasions such as fairs and festivals are utilised to gather the people for the performances and displays.

The Song and Drama Division of Indian Government functions at the three levels, at its headquarter in New Delhi, at eight regional centres in various parts of the country and there are nine sub-centres at the district headquarters. The division has departmental troupes, sound and light units and more than 400 registered parties, which are made up of eminent performers in the folk arts. During 1991, it presented thousands of programmes all over the country as it is mentioned in the Annual report of 1991-92.

The Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP) is a multimedia agency, which produces material for macro as well as micro media. The specialised service is being offered in areas of exhibitions, designing and printing booklets, folders, posters, hoarding banners and kiosks etc. The important themes being covered are national integration, communal harmony, health and family welfare, girl child and prevention of drug abuse etc. The traditional and alternate media are used by the departments such as National Saving Organisation, Life Insurance Corporation, Health and Family Welfare etc.

The Field studies at the village level in two different states Maharashtra and Tamilnadu have concluded that the most effective method of communicating the message of the 'small family norm' is through personal contact, demonstration and interaction. These are the three important aspects of folk media.

Drawbacks

Though the government made wide use of traditional and alternate media there are several severe criticisms. The limitations are pertaining to the kind of message and the management of it.

1. Too much emphasis on publicizing their own achievements and intention has lowered the credibility of the government media.
2. The structure of official media did not permit decentralization in production of material; as a result the urban and middle class bias seriously hampered the development objectives. The message is transmitted by the staff of the project (sender) to the people (receiver) Sometimes, their opinions are taken but always at prescribed stages and feedback are taken without major consequences. This type of limited or nil participation has proved incapable of bringing about social change. The process itself needs to aim at making people and more responsible if the goal is that of development. It needs to promote a dynamic of knowledge creation for all the protagonists in question.
3. Though the government has promoted folk media to some extent the mass media received much greater attention. They have been projected as if they are the only effective media in this society. In the process folk media have been systematically and subtly destroyed. The mass media is so violent and forceful that it has impaired the senses of common individuals to an extent they cannot receive any other mild form.

NGOs and Folk Media

Government is not the only agency working for the development and social change. The other even more committed sector is of activists and voluntary organisations. The rulers and capitalists control the mass media. Mass media without know how, the infrastructure and funds cannot be used effectively. The change agents though committed but working with limited funds have no reach to the mass media. They are left with the only option of using media, which is within their control. The alternate and traditional media have provided the answer. There are certain in built advantages. They are;

1. The know-how is simple and associated with the old Indian traditions hence expertise is available even in remote areas. It is not a gift of the western world.
2. The finance involved is less and infrastructure is easily available in the less developed areas.
3. The poor people in the remote areas have familiarity with the media hence the messages get across easily.
4. They do not create the sense of powerlessness among the common people which in turn hampers the growth and development

There are many traditional forms common through out the country and special to a particular region. The other small media which are not traditional but possess the elements common to that of the folk art, and they are within the control of the common people. These media which can be described as micro-media is divided into three categories

1. Speech and meetings and Discussions

   The country has rich traditions hence talk and speech is the life of rural India. This way of communication is totally in control of the poorest person.

   Indian society is not individualistic like the western world. It is more community and family oriented. As a result the art of interpersonal and group communication has flourished. People like and enjoy talking. The techniques like use of body, cultivation of voice and gestures are imbibed in the people through the cultural exposition.

2. Meetings and Group Discussions

   There is a tradition in the rural areas to have informal meetings where a lot of the information is shared, feelings are ventilated, doubts are raised, decisions are taken and problems are solved. Informal meeting have proved to be much more productive than the formal ones.

3. Demonstrations and Exhibitions

   The Department of Health and Family Planning extensively uses these media. Simple charts, paintings and models can be conveniently carried into the rural areas. They provide an easy way of informing the illiterate people about the symptoms, the causes, curing process and the prevention.

   Though very little property is required a lot of preparation and different talents are being used. If the exhibition material is prepared with the local resources it is very useful for creating awareness and dissemination of information.

4. Performing Arts.

   In the field of performing arts there are mainly two categories:

   a. Traditional forms of art or folk art.

   b. Indian adaptation of art forms of other culture.

   The following forms have been widely used for development communication:

5. Songs and Story telling:

   Every work, act, festival and incident has a song for the expression of feelings. These are sung in a group with each and every participating in it. The tunes are familiar as and when required for better expression and conveying desirable messages.

   The story telling is a form where various methods are observed. The mythological political and social themes are interwoven with the contemporary messages in an interesting way. Along with prose the poetry is also combined which makes the presentation more gripping. The musical equipment though used is limited in number and locally made.

6. Dance, Drama and Dance-drama:

   There are different folk dances of different regions. There are festivals and occasions when the whole community - rich and poor, small and big, men and women come together and enjoy collectively. This provides an opportunity for better understanding of each other; especially women find a platform where they can express their feelings. (The known

forms are Garaba of Gujarat, Bhangra of Punjab, Lavni of Maharastra etc.)

7. Folk Theatre:

   In India there are communities traditionally occupied in the folk theatre. It is a family profession for them. They move from one village to the other and arrange their performance. The format of the theatre is well -known but the messages of different kind are carried from place to place. They provide a link between different communities in different regions and integrate the different culture. The folk theatre has played major role in political and social changes. Through the form, messages are carried out and values are perpetuated along with the popular entertainment. Normally the form has a loose structure, which allows lot of innovations and improvisation. The use of satire and humorous presentation gets difficult messages across easily.

   (The popular forms are Bhavai of Gujarat, Tamasha of Maharastra, Nautanki and Ramlifa of northern part, Jatra in Bengal, Yakshagan in Karantaka and Therukoothu in Tamilnadu.)

8. Puppetry:

   This is a very exciting media. It attracts anybody from a child to the aged. The content, which normally offends people in power, if delivered by the actors can be put in the mouth of the puppets. This is an indirect way of addressing the issues in question.

   There are four popular styles of puppetry flourishing in different regions.

   String puppets or Sutradharika: This style is found in the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Orissa, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh.

   Rod puppets: These puppets are used in west Bengal. They are large in size and fixed to bamboo sticks, which are tied to the puppeteer's waist.

   Shadow puppets: The shadow puppets are flat figures made from tanned hide and painted with vegetable dyes. They are illuminated from behind so that their shadows fall on a transparent cotton screen. The stories projected are taken from the epics Ramayan and Mahabharat. They are popular in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Orissa.

   Hand Puppets: Hand puppets or glove puppets are simple to prepare and perform and hence they are very popular for educational use. This form has flourished in Orissa, Kerala and Tamilnadu.

   There are other modern variations in the original forms, which do not require elaborate preparation and highly skilled performance. The voluntary organisations make wide use of puppet plays on alcoholism, unionization, environment and health education with manageable funds by using such adaptations.

9. Street Theatres:

   Drama performed on the street or in the open grounds is termed as street theatre. It is a form of theatre, which goes to the people and is performance amongst them. It required minimum equipment yet provide two way communication by wiping out the line between the audience and the performers.

   Street theatre as it is known today can be traced back to its direct lineage with the Russian Revolution in 1917. In India it appeared in the 20th century, as the awareness of the freedom struggle. In 1944, Bijon Bhattacharya, a founder of Indian peoples Theatre Association (IPTA) gave momentum and spread the stories of the exploitation of peasants by the landow'-iers.

   The street theatre is greatly influenced by Brecht's epic theatre, peter Brook's Rough theatre and Badal Sircar Third theatre.

   As it is written by a well-known activist, Safdar Hashmi, "The history points out very clearly that the theatre development as agitation propaganda (Agit-Prop) on the streets, at factory gates, markets, dockyards, Playgrounds, Barnyard and so on. It is political in nature and became a voluntary instrument of the democratic temper of the people. It is also an interpreter of daily events and development. It has played a role in the process of national awakening in the countries like Spain, Vietnam, Japan, France, Cuba, USA and UK.

   As it is discussed earlier folk dramas enacted in public squares as the street play. Folk media are intimate with masses, readily available at low cost. Also relished by different age groups and provides instant feedback and so do the street plays. Hence though influenced by the western theatre it is accepted by common people in India readily.

   Women's groups in cities and rural areas have used street theatre to raise social consciousness on the issues like dowry deaths, exploitative advertisement, legal rights etc. In Kerala State the Kerala Shastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP) has employed street theatre to popularise science and literacy.

10. Jatthas (A Group March):

    When the goal is to mobilise people in large number of villages it is more effective to combine different media. This is done by organisation of Jatthas by walk. A group of people with relevant media moves from one place to the other, mobilising people on the issue and building awareness.

    It is community effort where different groups join together and conducts Jatthas. This needs planning, public relation and publicity. But when entire community is involved

organising does not become difficult. The very fact of the involvement of the community ensures the success of the programme. The combination of powerful and attractive micro media assures the impact.

In 1990 Bharat Vignyan Jattha - a national movement was supported by the Ministry of Human Resource Development in which more than 500 villages were covered in the country. The objective of the march was to popularise science for cultivating scientific temper among the common mass of the country. The success of it initiated Jatthas on other issues in following the years.

Note

LESSON 18:
ROLE OF THE PRESS & RADIO IN DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To learn what is development journalism

To learn how development journalism leads to development

To learn what is development broadcasting

To learn how radio can be utilized for development

Compared with many other developing countries, the Indian press has flourished since independence and exercises a large degree of independence. British colonialism allowed for the development of a tradition of freedom of the press, and many of India's great English-language newspapers and some of its Indian-language press were begun during the nineteenth century.

As India became independent, ownership of India's leading English-language newspapers was transferred from British to Indian business groups, and the fact that most English-language newspapers have the backing of large business houses has contributed to their independence from the government.

The press has experienced impressive growth since independence. In 1950 there were 214 daily newspapers, with forty-four in English and the rest in Indian languages. By 1990 the number of daily newspapers had grown to 2,856, with 209 in English and 2,647 in indigenous languages. The expansion of literacy and the spread of consumerism during the 1980s fueled the rapid growth of news weeklies and other periodicals. By 1993 India had 35,595 newspapers—of which 3,805 were dailies—and other periodicals. Although the majority of publications are in indigenous languages, the English-language press, which has widespread appeal to the expanding middle class, has a wide multicity circulation throughout India.

There are four major publishing groups in India, each of which controls national and regional English-language and vernacular publications. They are the Times of India Group, the Indian Express Group, the Hindustan Times Group, and the Anandabazar Patrika Group. The Times of India is India's largest English-language daily, with a circulation of 656,000 published in six cities. The Indian Express , with a daily circulation of 519,000, is published in seventeen cities. There also are seven other daily newspapers with circulations of between 134,000 and 477,000, all in English and all competitive with one another. Indian-language newspapers also enjoy large circulations but usually on a statewide or citywide basis. For example, the Malayalam-language daily Malayala Manorama circulates 673,000 copies in Kerala; the Hindi-language Dainik Jagran circulates widely in Uttar Pradesh and New Delhi, with 580,000 copies per day; Punjab Kesari , also published in Hindi and available throughout Punjab and New Delhi, has a daily circulation of 562,000; and the Anandabazar Patrika , published in Calcutta in Bengali, has a daily circulation of 435,000. There are also numerous smaller publications throughout the nation. The combined circulation of India's newspapers and periodicals is in the order of 60 million, published daily in more than ninety languages.

India has more than forty domestic news agencies. The Express News Service, the Press Trust of India, and the United News of India are among the major news agencies. They are headquartered in Delhi, Bombay, and New Delhi, respectively, and employ foreign correspondents.

Although freedom of the press in India is the legal norm—it is constitutionally guaranteed—the scope of this freedom has often been contested by the government. Rigid press censorship was imposed during the Emergency starting in 1975 but quickly retracted in 1977. The government has continued, however, to exercise more indirect controls. Government advertising accounts for as much as 50 percent of all advertisements in Indian newspapers, providing a monetary incentive to limit harsh criticism of the administration. Until 1992, when government regulation of access to newsprint was liberalized, controls on the distribution of newsprint could also be used to reward favored publications and threaten those that fell into disfavor. In 1988, at a time when the Indian press was publishing investigative reports about corruption and abuse of power in government, Parliament passed a tough defamation bill that mandated prison sentences for offending journalists. Vociferous protests from journalists and opposition party leaders ultimately forced the government to withdraw the bill. Since the late 1980s, the independence of India's press has been bolstered by the liberalization of government economic policy and the increase of private-sector advertising provided by the growth of India's private sector and the spread of consumerism.

The press in any democratic country plays a vital role in creating, moulding and reflecting the public opinion. It is a fundamental institution of our society. It contributes a great deal in shaping political, social and economic development in the country. The press is also intimately concerned with the functioning of the state and the policy it follows. It touches almost every aspect of our public life.

The press in India functioned as a crusading agent for the freedom movement of the country prior to Independence. Its contribution to our freedom struggle was substantial. The freedom of the press in India, however, received a setback in June 1975 when the Emergency was proclaimed in the country.

Three ordinances were promulgated on 8 December 1975. One of them repealed Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act, 1956. By the second ordinance, the Press Council was abolished. The third. Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Ordinance, 1975 provided for stringent action against publications which excite disaffection against the constitutionally-established government, incite interference with production, supply or distribution of essential commodities or services, create disharmony among different sections of the society and indulge in indecent, scurrilous or obscene writings. The government also imposed censorship on the newspapers.

The government which came into power in March 1977 restored Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act, 1956 and repealed the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act, 1975- The censorship was also abolished- The Press Council was revived. The press again came into its own.

It is true that only a small percentage of people in our country come under the reach of the press because of widespread illiteracy and limited circulation of newspapers. This percentage, however is extremely important as it constitutes the intelligentsia, the vocal section of the community which not only creates and build public opinion, but also provides leadership to the society. The views of this section cannot be ignored.

The influence of press on the people in any country is admittedly a great deal more than the circulation statistics. This explains why the press becomes the first casualty when dictatorship is imposed on any country.

Introduction to Development Journalism

The theory and practice of promoting development began with the assumption about the media's power to promote positive change in the Third World. In Africa, development was deemed historically necessary, given the structure of post-colonial backwardness and poverty. Encounters with problems such as poor education, inadequate agricultural practices and a lack of political mobilisation led to the utilisation of the mass media which presented a huge potential for reaching huge audiences (Ngugi 1995: 5). Through the media, knowledge and skills could be imparted and change could be achieved. Hence, development journalism - a rubric that academics and journalists have found convenient to describe the special situation of the media in Africa. However, development journalism in Africa faces immense problems. It appears that the fear of allowing the media to be used for any purpose other than political control has prevented the use of development journalism to promote positive small-scale change.

What is Development Journalism?

Domatob and Hall (1983) state that by its name, development journalism recognises the reality of underdevelopment. The term implies that development is a valid social goal and that the media have a contribution to make towards it, that is, the media are expected to actively pursue this role. The main characteristic of development journalism is the deliberate and active role in pressing for change (Kariithi 1994: 28). It is geared towards mobilising the people for national development. Bourgault (1995) sums up the goals of development journalism as " promoting grassroots, non-violent, socially responsible, ecologically sensitive, personally empowering, democratic, dialogical and humanistic forms of communication". In Africa, the mass media fulfill an educational role which they are not necessarily called upon to assume in First World countries (Ansah in Ngugi 1995: 9). News about development is important in stimulating further development. A development journalist must give the facts, interpret them and draw conclusions, which must then be promoted, that is, brought home to the people in a way they will understand.

The Potential of Development Journalism

Despite the negative views about development journalism, there have been relative successes. In Africa, where there is a severe lack of educative facilities, media, especially broadcasting, are seen as a substitute for formal education. Where there is no teacher and a shortage of books, broadcasting is used as a substitute.

Presently in Malawi, a community radio station has been set up, called Radio Dzimwe. It was set up in the Mangochi area because it was found to have an extremely high rate of illiteracy. One of its aims was to encourage the women of the area to go to school because traditionally they were expected to stay at home. Also in Malawi, radio youth programmes were set up which focussed on education and development. Aids awareness was its main focus of its programmes which gave the youth a chance to speak for themselves. According to Prescott Gonani of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, these radio programmes proved successful.

Development journalism is imbedded in the context of a general management concept of the planning and implementation of development programmes that is it is ascribed a quite instrumental, socio-technological character. The journalist working within these prescribed norms will become comparable in aspects of his profession with the on-site leader of development projects. Development journalism is then synonymous with a "grass roots approach", that is, it is decentralised and

participatory. It must not limit itself to the communication channels of the mass media alone but also use the traditional communication media. This development journalism is primarily "local journalism" in the sense that the journalist should be rooted in the local culture concerned.

It cannot be stated often enough that the most important component of development journalism is credibility, which is most readily won by the media's adequately advocating the interests of the affected people, which means inter alia articulating criticism of the government. It must be remembered in this connection that in most developing countries there is a vast gap between what government representatives say about the freedom the media have in their respective countries and the truth. Probably only a free media system is able to contribute to rooting out corruption, this fundamental evil in developing countries, by revealing and pillorying it. However, the demand for press freedom is practically unfulfillable in most developing countries because the governments always regard the mass media as something potentially very dangerous. Adequate for a start would be a phased freedom of the media system, perhaps at local or regional levels, i.e. corresponding to the experience horizons of the recipients. This would on the one hand secure the credibility of the media and on the other hand prevent a short-term "endangering" of the political system, i.e. trigger resistance from those with the political power.

Asserting such a development journalism depends decisively on whether the rulers of a developing country can be convinced that free communication is in the interests of the entire system, whereby interests means that national autonomy is achieved or preserved and the material standard of living is lifted by planned processes of social change. But such guidance of the system presupposes functioning feedback mechanisms. Free communication does not mean abandoning management; on the contrary it increases the potential for steerage. Development journalism is not only to advocate externally set aims to the recipients but at the same time through continuous feedback from them fulfill the function of examining whether the development measures are succeeding or not. The form of development journalism sketched here proceeds from the premise that development policy measures run under the perspective of the entire system, wherein those responsible must satisfy local and/or regional needs and developments to avoid failures and friction. By ongoing feedback from the people on the ground with the help of development journalism which should also be the advocate of the recipients a process of learning the rules of play of democracy can at the same time begin at local and/or regional levels, i.e. it can be learned what loyal opposition means.

Fundamentally the most important task of development journalism can be seen in removing the acquiescent basic attitude towards one's own destiny which is so closely tied up with poverty. Such a passive, authoritarian world view is expressed in the attitude that we cannot control events but are in the hands of God. In this context one talks of learned helplessness, or the "hopelessness-helplessness" syndrome. Sagan sees learned helplessness as the main reason for natural disasters' claiming so many victims in developing countries. In the context of removing the acqiescent outlook special mention has to be made of the role of women who in many societies are still regarded and treated as second class human beings.

In summary, the socio-technological development journalism outlined here is characterised as purpose-rational and ethically responsible. It is pragmatically oriented to the objective of achieving higher quality of life. Apart from being the advocate of the interests of the population, another of its major tasks is to act as a buffer to exaggerated demands and to emphasise goals achievable in a longer perspective. In terms of its value premises this journalism is clearly oriented to democracy and emancipation.

Development Journalism as the Fifth Theory of the Press

The basic idea in Siebert et al.'s 'Four Theories of the Press' is that a society determines what communication system it will have. Thus the Authoritarian Press System was born under authoritarian regimes and Libertarianism emerged in democratic countries like Britain and US.

Authoritarian Model: In authoritarian model, state is more important than the individual. Individual interests are kept under state interests. An individual is happy, when he is a good citizen, that is, when he obeys the state and the state will take care of him. Here the role and aim of the press is to serve the state.

Libertarian Model: This ensures freedom of the press. The individual is free to choose, discus and proclaim whatever truth they find out. Here the individual is more important than the state. In this system society becomes a 'free market place of ideas.'

Social Responsibility theory: This theory is a convergence of the both previous theories. Media is to proclaim the truth, but for the good of the individual and state. NGOs acted and reacted if these media became silent.

Soviet Totalitarian Theory: The media is owned and controlled and directed by the state. Individual has to obey, belief state.

Development communication Theory: To this group, a fifth theory made entry in the 60's. It was Development communication theory. It originated in the postcolonial nations, which gained their freedom in the 40's.

The dialectical superiority: The authoritarian thesis gave birth to Libertarian antithesis. They together gave birth to a synthesis called social responsibility theory. From this synthesis again emerged an antithesis ie. Soviet Totalitarian theory. Again a synthesis took place, leading to Development journalism. It is surely superior to all other theories as it possess all the good qualities and enhance the betterment of the human beings.

Cultural foundation: The first four theories explains human beings' relationship to the state, while development communication deals with the relationship with the environment. Each words, spoken or written; each act, thought of or acted out affects the society. Therefore they must be used with utmost discretion, benevolence and purpose.

Treatment of silence: It also agrees that silence also is sometimes needed. In India 'Maunabhrata' is considered as more

powerful than the rhetoric sometimes. But the Sophists used to cry," There is no wisdom like silence."

Gandhian Outlook: While the consideration of conventional journalists were, 'proximity, timeliness, prominence, significance and conflict, the value of development communication were personal and social transformation, purposiveness, pragmatism, relevence and scientific.

Reporting Rural Issues

ENVIRONMENT-INDIA: Water Management Keeps Farmers Afloat

Goswami, Rahul. HYDERABAD, India, Jul 22 (IPS), 2003.

Narayan Reddy, a sorghum farmer in the central Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, pointed out two wells adjoining fields near his village. "There's still some water in them at the bottom," he said with some pride. "If we hadn't built check dams and percolation tanks, we would have had none."

Those water management techniques have indeed helped Reddy's village of Kothapally, which is home to about 1,500 people and lies about two hours away by road from Hyderabad, the state capital that is considered India's biotechnology hub.

Reddy though had more on his mind than biotechnology aspirations when IPS met him. "If it doesn't rain soon we're in trouble," he said. "It's been two years of below-average rain and this village at one time had people migrating away. No rain and that could happen again."

The region does not get very much rain at all - about 760 mm a year, which hardly compares with, say the Konkan coast in western India, for which 3,500 mm a year is routine. Even so, the structures the villagers built have helped recharge the groundwater table around Kothapally.

In part, they have been designed according to a water management model promoted by the International Crop Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT), which is one of the 16 global centres of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR).

The management of the village's watershed, which began in June 1999, has increased water levels, expanded green cover and enhanced productivity of crops, particularly of maize and sorghum, says ICRISAT.

Spearheaded by the crop research institute and including a consortium of partners, like the state government's Drought-Prone Areas Programme and the Rural Livelihood Programme, and centrally-run bodies like the Central Research Institute for Dryland Agriculture and the National Remote Sensing Agency, the Kothapally project has become a model of watershed development.

Now, Reddy and his neighbours seem used to visitors descending upon them, displaying varying levels of interest in the systems and structures of rural Andhra Pradesh.

But it is not really as rural as it seems out there in the fields of chickpea, maize and pigeonpea. The industries that surround the state capital - where the farmer's children seek to make their careers - lie just over the horizon.

One of his sons, he told IPS, has an MBA degree. Of the rest he said: "They work in Hyderabad and aren't as keen about farming as I am." Reddy said they have jobs in the city and are considering setting up businesses of their own.

Kothapally is blessed with rich black soil but little rain. It is not a poor village - according to ICRISAT the watershed programme has increased farmer incomes in the village to about 20,500 rupees (about 445 U.S. dollars) per hectare. The village children look healthy, are well clad and bright-eyed. Yet water is a luxury, which is why Reddy uses drip irrigation too in his fields: "It's worked well, and the government subsidy makes it affordable."

Then there's the compost that he feeds his sorghum crop with. Prepared from farm waste by vermiculture, it costs Reddy four rupees a kilogramme, but he knows his money is returning to the village economy - the group of women that maintains the vermiculture shed say they can save up to 30 rupees a day from their sales.

The water management project had initially focused on implementing soil and water conservation measures and crop improvement techniques for individual farmers.

An ICRISAT scientist said that when the project group first spoke to the village residents about trying out their techniques, Reddy had carefully sized them up, apparently gauging their sincerity before agreeing to cooperate. Thereafter, they contributed to build community structures.

The enhancement of food productivity, said Jayanta Bandyopadhyay, professor at the Centre for Development and Environment Policy of the Indian Institute of Management in Kolkata, "is both needed and possible, without any extra drop of water being used for irrigation".

"If only India can increase its food productivity by a small fraction and improve its distribution, food security for all people can be assured," Bandhopadhyay told a group of South Asian journalists here at a workshop last month on water and sanitation for the poor.

The meeting was organised by the Geneva-based Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council and the Forum of Environmental Journalists of India.

Of particular interest, added Bandhopadhyay, is how enhanced water-use efficiency in irrigation may be another way of increasing food production. Indeed, according to ICRISAT, the Kothapally project is being replicated in China, Thailand and Vietnam with funding from the Asian Development Bank.

Narasimha Reddy, resident of the village watershed association, explained how food production can be dramatically increased.

"Much of our farm area was under cotton cultivation," he said. Kothapally and the surrounding regions contain black soil, where traditionally cotton has been grown. "But with this crop there were more expenses and less benefit." The village elder also points to lower insecticide use as a cost saving.

"Now we intercrop maize and chickpea, which gives us higher profit and helps control pests," he went on. "We use an extract of the 'neem' seed to spray crops, and have planted a variety of pigeonpea that is high-yield - where earlier we harvested 50 kilogramme per acre today it is 500 per acre."

Just as important for the village and the farmers is the improvement at the catchment level. The more than 100 water-harvesting structures the village has constructed can capture an extra 15,000 cubic metres of water.

That can make the difference between a good and a bad crop for many of the village's farmers - or the difference between a degree and none for a farmer's son.

Box

Eminent Development Journalist Bags the Magsaysay Award

Poudel Keshab, 2002. Nepal News, AUG 02 - AUG 08, 2002.

Bharat Dutta Koirala won the prestigious Ramon Magsaysay Award, 2002. Established in honor of the third president of the Philippines, the award recognizes individuals and institutions in Asia that work successfully for the welfare of the people. Koirala won the award, recognized as the Asian Nobel Prize, for his contributions to initiating development journalism in Nepal.

During his tenure as chief editor of Gorkhapatra, Koirala introduced a weekly village profile column covering the issues of development and change taking place in rural areas. Koirala remains a source of inspiration to many Nepalese journalists, having encouraged them to write on development issues. He has helped to enhance professional journalism in Nepal with development at its core. In his long career, Koirala has made many contributions to bring changes in all spheres of the media, including printing technology and reporting.

Be it the concept of wall newspaper, opening the country's first community radio station or training journalists in development reporting, Koirala has played an important role in developing Nepalese mass media.

Koirala contributions to the development of community radio in Nepal have been immense. After six years of hard work, the government issued the license for Radio Sagarmatha. Nepal has more than half a dozens community radio stations airing programs in different parts of the country.

Awarded by Knight Journalism Foundation a few years ago, Koirala is still active in promoting development journalism, community radio and inspiring youth toward journalism. Koirala has always maintained a low profile in public but few journalism programs have seen the light of day without his active contribution. He started his career in journalism as chief reporter of The Rising Nepal in 1965 and became editor of Gorkhapatra daily and executive chairman and general manager of Gorkhapatra Corporation. Besides serving as general secretary of Nepal Press Institute, Koirala is executive producer of Young Asia Television.

Power of Radio in Development

Radio has immense power to reach the 'unreached'. The waves can reach remote corners of the country. It is fast, inexpensive and sows the seeds for development through communicating development messages like that of family planning, health issues, environment issues and national spirit.

But there are also some problems with Radio. There are some biases that prevent radio from playing significant role in development, that should be removed. One of them is urban bias.

The present radio system broadcasting has a strong urban bias. Characteristically production, transmission and listening facilities are concentrated in the cities. Only a fraction of the total number of radio receiver even today is in the rural areas. Apart from the radio broadcasting infrastructure being urban based, overwhelming majority of the programmes are planned and produced with urban audience in view. Often one hears the argument that what is the point in giving strong rural orientation to the programme when most of the radio owners are concentrated in the cities. It is a logical argument. But who is responsible for this imbalance?

Those who are responsible for planning and producing programmes have very little in common with the rural audiences. Born - brought up and educated in urban centres, they can hardly have empathy or sympathy for rural audiences. They are 'professionals' and their professionalism is seen as the ability to use the symbols (language) and style of presentation familiar to educated urban population. The major consideration for these professionals is now their peer group will see their 'professionalism' not how the audiences will react.

Radio broadcasts began in the country in 1927, with two privately owned transmitters at Mumbai and Calcutta. These were taken over by the Government in 1930, and operated under the label of Indian Broadcasting Service. In 1936, this was changed to All India Radio (AIR), and was made a separate department. Since 1957, the service is known as Akashvani, and at present, functions not only as a means of wholesome entertainment, but also as a medium to educate and inform people in every nook and cranny of the country.

All India Radio's network comprised six radio stations in 1947. All India Radio has at present (as of March 1996) 185 radio stations which includes 177 full - fledged stations, four relay centres, one auxiliary centre and three exclusive Vividh Bharati commercial centres. During 1995 - 96, eight radio stations at Mussoorie, Rourkela, Puri, Joranda, Jowai, Daman, Mokokchung and Diphu have been added to the entire network.There are 146 MW transmitters, 50 short - wave transmitters and 89 FM transmitters. AIR, at present, provides radio coverage to a population of 97.3 per cent spread over 90 per cent area of the country. The concept of local radio station was introduced during the Sixth Plan when six stations were planned as pilot projects. The number of local radio stations in India today is 72.

The FM service of AIR, Delhi was launched 24 hours daily, on 14 February 1995, followed by AIR Mumbai, Calcutta and Chennai.

AIR stations broadcast more than 9000 programmes on family welfare every month from almost all stations in all languages / dialects and in all formats. The importance of the girl child, pulse polio immunisation, rights of children and the care of pregnant women and children are some of the issues that are given prominence to. AIDS is another high priority issue dealt with. Each year the Akashvani Annual Award is given to the best programme on family welfare.

Case Study 1: AIDS Awareness for Truck Drivers through Interactive Radio

Truck drivers are one of the high-risk groups for HIV infection. As they are always on the move chances to educate them is difficult. The Bhopal Radio in collaboration with the State AIDS cell hit upon a novel idea and proceeded to execute it systematically and successfully. The primary aim was to attract the truck drivers and ensure their participation in the programme.

Step 1: Since the truck drivers were known to seek entertainment by tuning in to music in the late nights between 11 p.m. and 12 midnight, suitable time slots to broadcast film songs of their choice during this time were chosen. In between the songs, the messages on HIV/AIDS were inserted. For this, the reporters used to go to check posts or roadside restaurants where the drivers took their dinner and initiated dialogues with them. The drivers were then informed about the date of broadcast and requested to tune in accordingly without fail.

Bhopal is the capital of Madhya Pradesh, the largest state in India with 19 Radio Relay Stations. The length from one corner to another of the same state sometimes is more than 1000 kms. Usually, the programmes were broadcast the very next day so that the driver could listen to his voice, his favorite song; along with the message.

Step 2: Once the confidence is brought about, then slowly the reporters started collecting details of the driver's lifestyles, their habits including sexual behavior. While this is an extremely sensitive matter and usually no driver accents his faults, a small percentage among them did reply in the affirmative. They were then given counseling to dispel superstitious beliefs, if any.

Step 3: The drivers often complained of fatigue, back pain, stomach upsets, cough, allergy etc and the AIR did talk to medical experts and started giving them advice.

Step 4: The programme then took another turn and reporters were given mobile phones so that they can travel with the truck drivers and it can be broadcast simultaneously. The truck drivers were surprised and delighted to get the songs of their choice within a minute from a distant radio station. Also simultaneously the medical experts in the studio solved their problems.

Step 5: The programme had 'live' elements as well as recorded portions. The Radio Station informed the families of the driver in advance of the broadcast schedule. This enabled them to know of his whereabouts and that he was doing well when they heard his voice. And it proved to be a morale booster.

Though the project was not continued due to shortage of funds. The programme was a great success. Radio was very effective to deal with sensitive issues like HIV infection, as no HIV infected person would like to appear on the screen or would like his identity to be revealed to the masses. But counseling for HIV infected persons who needs immediate attention and who does not need hospitalization and who has no access to experts through pre-fixed time slots/ HIV-AIDS Helpline broadcasts could contribute much.

Case Study 2: Primary School Teachers training through Interactive Radio

Teachers Enrichment Education &. Training through distance education is a well documented experiment. The two-way live phone-in interaction as a regular broadcast format is not a tried one and hence unique.

All India Radio, Bhopal in association with Rajiv Gandhi Literacy Mission and District Educational Training Institutes tried this as a weekly programme. The broadcast programme for one full hour was extended further through the 19 relay stations to cover the entire state. It was synchronized with an on-going training program conducted every Thursday afternoons for primary school teachers in Madhya Pradesh. The teachers were encouraged to put in their questions through direct long distance phone calls. The money was reimbursed to them. On an average, about 35 queries were answered during the hour-long programme. The success of this venture led to it being extended for one full year.

Case study 3: Empowerment of Women through Interactive Radio

The radio scored over television in a women's empowerment project. Women seemed unwilling to participate in television programmes aimed at bringing out the gender bias, empowerment of women etc. in a male-dominated society. Radio served them to ask their question in complete secrecy with no binding on them to reveal their true identity. But the problems were mostly genuine and needed proper guidance. This is exactly what happened in Bhopal. There was an instance when the wife of one of the senior officers of the station who was an alcoholic, requested the experts to treat her husband medically as well as psychologically.

There was the instance when children talked to the UNICEF Representative on how to behave when the father and mother are engaged in a quarrel. The children also asked him for guidance if both the parents are employed and they were left alone at home. The Radio phone-in could successfully make the children participate during the sessions highlighting the rights of the child. Phone-in counseling came in handy during mass campaigns like 'Pulse Polio' where the Radio carried the message and performed its role as a responsible mass medium. During the continuous transmission mode broadcast listeners' requests were carried out only after confirming that the listener had completed his duty of immunizing his child.

Case Study 4: Group Singing Lessons through Interactive Radio

Interactive Radio can play a vital role in bringing together people separated by thousands of kilometers by combining the use of satellite technology and the telecom revolution. National integration and the feeling of belonging to one country can be achieved if this technology can be used to teach patriotic songs and other traditional music to the children.

Radio using IN SAT 1B Satellite, linked the children of Leh on the Himalayas, the children of Pon Blair in the Bay of Bengal, the children of Lakshadweep Islands in Arabian Sea, the children of Shillong in Meghalaya and others at the metropolitan centres and taught them in entirely new language Tamil.

They were taught a patriotic of song of the poet Subrahmanya Bharathi through this mode and the climax was that these children separated by thousands of miles sang the same song which was received by the listener as though they were in one place.

LESSON 19:
POWER OF TELEVISION IN DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To learn how television can be utilized for development

To learn how development-oriented soap operas can be produced

The national television (Doordarshan) and radio (All India Radio, or Akashwani) networks are state-owned and managed by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Their news reporting customarily presents the government's point of view. For example, coverage of the 1989 election campaign blatantly favored the government of Rajiv Gandhi, and autonomy of the electronic media became a political issue. V.P. Singh's National Front government sponsored the Prasar Bharati (Indian Broadcasting) Act, which Parliament considered in 1990, to provide greater autonomy to Doordarshan and All India Radio.

The changes that resulted were limited. The bill provided for the establishment of an autonomous corporation to run Doordarshan and All India Radio. The corporation was to operate under a board of governors to be in charge of appointments and policy and a broadcasting council to respond to complaints. However, the legislation required that the corporation prepare and submit its budget within the framework of the central budget and stipulated that the personnel of the new broadcasting corporation be career civil servants to facilitate continued government control. In the early 1990s, increasing competition from television broadcasts transmitted via satellite appeared the most effective manner of limiting the progovernment bias of the government-controlled electronic media.

Since the 1980s, India has experienced a rapid proliferation of television broadcasting that has helped shape popular culture and the course of politics. Although the first television program was broadcast in 1959, the expansion of television did not begin in earnest until the extremely popular telecast of the Ninth Asian Games, which were held in New Delhi in 1982. Realizing the popular appeal and consequent influence of television broadcasting, the government undertook an expansion that by 1990 was planned to provide television access to 90 percent of the population. In 1993, about 169 million people were estimated to have watched Indian television each week, and, by 1994, it was reported that there were some 47 million households with televisions. There also is a growing selection of satellite transmission and cable services available.

Television programming was initially kept tightly under the control of the government, which embarked on a self-conscious effort to construct and propagate a cultural idea of the Indian nation. This goal is especially clear in the broadcasts of such megaseries as the Hindu epics Ramayana and Mahabharata . In addition to the effort at nation-building, the politicians of India's ruling party have not hesitated to use television to build political support. In fact, the political abuse of Indian television led to demands to increase the autonomy of Doordarshan; these demands ultimately resulted in support for the Prasar Bharati Act.

The 1990s have brought a radical transformation of television in India. Transnational satellite broadcasting made its debut in January 1991, when owners of satellite dishes—initially mostly at major hotels—began receiving Cable News Network (CNN) coverage of the Persian Gulf War. Three months later, Star TV began broadcasting via satellite. Its fare initially included serials such as "The Bold and the Beautiful" and MTV programs. Satellite broadcasting spread rapidly through India's cities as local entrepreneurs erected dishes to receive signals and transmitted them through local cable systems. After its October 1992 launch, Zee TV offered stiff competition to Star TV. However, the future of Star TV was bolstered by billionaire Rupert Murdock, who acquired the network for US$525 million in July 1993. CNN International, part of the Turner Broadcasting System, was slated to start broadcasting entertainment programs, including top Hollywood films, in 1995.

Competition from the satellite stations brought radical change to Doordarshan by cutting its audience and threatening its advertising revenues at a time when the government was pressuring it to pay for expenditures from internal revenues. In response, Doordarshan decided in 1993 to start five new channels in addition to its original National Channel. Programming was radically transformed, and controversial news shows, soap operas, and coverage of high-fashion events proliferated. Of the new Doordarshan channels, however, only the Metro Channel, which carries MTV music videos and other popular shows, has survived in the face of the new trend for talk programs that engage in a potpourri of racy topics.

Pro-Development Soap Operas: A Novel Approach to Development Communication

A soap opera is a form of dramatic serial mainly intended to entertain, and represents a unique genre of television programming that has very specific characteristics. Three of these characteristics are: the sponsorship and broadcasting of soap operas are usually controlled by advertisers or commercial networks; their production costs are relatively low in comparison to other television serials; and their content is composed of slow-moving, multifaceted plots of women's fiction (Cantor and Pingree, 1983).

The beginnings of the television soap opera can be traced to a number of sources, including the eighteenth-century English novel, newspaper comic strips, traditional melodramatic theatre, and the radio soap opera (Cantor and Pingree, 1983; Keeler, 1980). Although television producers in the United States have successfully utilized the soap-opera format, the original melodramatic genre of the soap opera was not completely

adapted to the medium of television (Berrueta, 1986). Key elements of the melodramatic genre, such as the moral and dramatic coherency of the characters in a story, are often ignored in American soap operas.

Soap operas have consistently been one of the most popular types of television programmes in the US. A survey indicated some 50 million Americans considered themselves fans of at least one soap opera. Soap operas are also the most popular genre of television programming in Latin America and India, and have expanding audiences in many other Third World nations. Because of the ubiquitous nature of the soap opera as a communication phenomenon and its widespread popularity, it is important to trace its historical development and diffusion in the Third World.

The introduction of the soap opera into the broadcasting media of the Third World can be traced to the influence of American radio soap operas as they spread mainly through Cuba and into South America during the 1930s. These popular short dramatic stories, called radionovelas (radio novels) in Spanish, became a staple of the airwaves in Latin America during the 1940s.

With the diffusion of television throughout Latin America during the 1950s and 1960s, radionovelas eventually gave way to telenovelas (television novels). Telenovelas, the Latin equivalent of American soap operas, are the dominant genre of television programming in Latin America. They are extremely popular with television audiences and have generated large profits for sponsors (Rogers and Antola, 1986). For example, typical prime-time telenovelas have been watched by an estimated 50 to 60 million viewers in Brazil (Caparelli, 1982; Rogers et at, 1989), have received audience ratings of over 30% in Mexico (Sabido, 1981), and have generated lucrative profits (Singlial and Rogers, 1988).

Although both American soap operas and telenovelas have shared popularity and financial success, the social content of telenovelas does not reflect the social content of American soap operas. With the exception of a few dramatic serials produced by the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), and a few isolated episodes of network television serials, American soap operas are not designed to promote pro-social beliefs and behaviour.

Pro-social content has appeared in a small portion of American-produced television programmes. For example, situation comedies such as All in the Family, Maude, and The Cosby Show focused discussion on important American values and beliefs such as equality, freedom of clioice, and family harmony. The highly viewed ABC mini-series Roots, and its sequel, Roots: The Next Generations, also focused on the values of equality and freedom (BalI-Rokeach, Grubc, and Rokeach, 1981). Such values are considered to be pro-social because they promote beliefs and behaviour that are socially desirable and beneficial to members of society (Rushton, 1982).

In many Latin American television soap operas, pro-social content is purposefully designed into the programmes. One of the first television producers to utilise pro-social messages was Miguel Sabido, Vice-President of Research at Televisa, the private Mexican national television network. Sabido and a team of researchers created six series of telenovelas with educational and pro-social content. By using the soap-opera entertainment format to attract large audiences and commercial advertisers, Televisa's soap operas promoted educational themes and pro-social values that encouraged development practices in Mexico.

Sabido's innovative idea of combining educational pro-social content in an entertainment-oriented dramatic serial was sparked in part by a lesson learned from Simplemente Maria, (Just Simple Mary), a Peruvian telenovela (Brown, 1988; Singhal and Rogers, 1988). This television series told the rags-to-riches story of a slum girl, Maria, who became successful by using her sewing skills to make clothing for the family by whom she was employed. As Maria's customers expanded to friends of her employer, she purchased a Singer sewing machine; and in turn, Singer purchased advertising time on the programme. During the 1970s, when Simplemente Maria was broadcast in other Latin American nations outside Peru, the programme achieved high audience ratings and the sale of Singer sewing machines sky-rocketed, much to the delight of the Singer company.

Sabido, an astute observer of the Simplemente Maria success story, reasoned that if a soap opera could motivate people to buy sewing machines as a means of increasing their income and standard of living, then a soap opera could also be used to promote literacy, family planning, and health education. Sabido believed more people would adopt development practices if television could promote the pro-social values and beliefs that encouraged such behaviours.

The first pro-development television soap opera produced by Sabido and his research group was Ven Conmigo (Come With Me), and was aired by Televisa in 1975-76. One of the major purposes of Ven Conmigo was to promote adult literacy (Rogers & Antola, 1986). The programme was extremely successful, achieving an average ratings of 33. Ven Conmigo was a major influence in motivating 600,000 more people to enroll in adult literacy classes in 1975-76, than had enrolled in the previous year (Rogers et at, 1989). This represented a 63% increase in the number of enrolments, a percentage that contrasts sharply with the 7% increase in enrolment the year before Ven Conmigo was broadcast, and the 2.5% increase the year after the broadcasts had ended.

Given these encouraging results, Televisa produced a second pro-development soap opera called Acompaname (Accompany Me), which was broadcast in Mexico in 1977-78. Acompaname achieved audience ratings of 29% and promoted family-planning practices (Sabido, 1981). During the time it was broadcast, the number of family-planning adopters at government health clinics increased by about 560,000; and there was a marked increased in the sale of contraceptives throughout the country (Sabido, 1981).

The successes of Ven Conmigo and Acompaname were followed by the production of Vamos Juntos in 1979, which promoted better treatment of children; El Combate the same year, which promoted the themes of adult literacy and nationalism; Caminemos in 1980, which promoted sex education for teenagers; and Nosotras las Mujeres in 1981, which promoted the welfare of Mexican women.

The impact of Mexico's pro-development soap operas spawned the production of similar soap operas with pro-social messages in other Third World countries. The first country to learn from the Mexican experience was India. In 1983 S. S. Gill, then the Secretary of India's Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, visited Televisa's research institute in order to learn how Mexico created their pro-development soap operas. Gill and a number of other Third World government officials were invited to a meeting in Mexico by David Poindexter, President of the Centre for Populations Communications International (CPC-I), a non-profit organisation headquartered in New York which provides consultation on communication and development projects. Poindexter made an arrangement with Televisa for these Third World officials to learn how Mexico was using television to promote family planning.

Hum Log

When Gill returned to India, he decided to implement what he had learned at Televisa by organizing a team to create an Indian soap opera that promoted pro-social beliefs and practices in India. Gill's efforts resulted in the production of Hum Log (We People), India's first television soap opera, which was broadcast in 1984-85. Hum Log was designed to address some of the social problems that plagued Indian society, such as uncontrolled family growth, the mistreatment of women and children, the evils of dowry, and alcohol abuse. Hum Log went on the air in India on 7 July 1984, and ended on 17 December 1985, after 156 episodes.

Like the Mexican pro-development soap operas, Hum Log was both popular and financially successful. Broadcast in Hindi, one of several major languages in India and spoken predominantly in the North, Hum Log achieved audience ratings of 65 to 90% in North India and 20 to 45% in South India. Doordarshan, the Indian television network, producers of Hum Log, and the Hum Log cast received an estimated 400,000 letters in response to the programme (Singhal and Rogers, 1989). Hum Log's popularity in India was unprecedented (Mitra, 1986).

In May of 1987, Kenya followed the Mexican and Indian experiences and began broadcasting Tushauriane, (Let's Discuss) Kenya's first pro-development soap opera. Tushauriane is promoting family-planning practices and is the most popular television programme on Kenyan television.

Differences between Traditional and Pro-development Soap Operas

The pro-development soap operas produced by Televisa in Mexico differ in several characteristics from American-produced soap operas. Overall, pro-development soap operas are more educational, value specific, morally coherent, realistic, and theoretically designed than traditional soap operas produced in the United States.

Traditional Soap Opera	Pro-Development Soap Opera
Entertaining	Entertaining & Educational
Value Erosion	Value Reinforcement
Morally Incoherent	Morally Coherent
Unrealistic	Realistic
Atheoretical Development	Theoretical Development
Produced mostly in the United States	Produced Mostly in the Third World

The first distinction between traditional and pro-development soap operas is that the former type is entertaining but not deliberately educational. Traditionally, soap operas were designed primarily to attract large audiences and sell commercial products. Even the coining of the term 'soap opera' was derived from the major soap manufacturers that sponsored them. The attraction of large audiences achieved by producers of American soap operas is almost exclusively through entertainment. Education has not been much of a concern to American soap-opera producers.

In contrast, pro-development soap operas have had a dual purpose from their inception: first, to attract large audiences and become commercially successful; and second, to subtly yet purposefully convey educational themes and pro-social messages that promote development Although educational benefits can be obtained by watching American soap operas, such learning is incidental and not planned.

The second major distinction between traditional and pro-development soap operas is the nature of their value content. Pro-development soap operas are designed to promote specific pro-social beliefs and practices. For example, Hum Log promoted the values of family harmony and female equality in India (Brown, 1988). Manohar Shyam Joshi, the scriptwriter for Hum Log, had these values in mind when he created the characters in the television series (personal communication, July 1987).

In contrast, American-produced soap operas are not intended to promote specific values. Although communication researchers have contended that specific values, beliefs, and behaviour are reinforced and disseminated by American soap operas (Buerkel-Rothfuss and Mayes, 1981; Cantor, 1979; Cantor and Pingree, 1983; Carveth and Alexander, 1985; Goldsen, 1977; Sutherland and Siniawsky, 1982;

Tan and Tan, 1986), social messages have been incidental to the primary focus of attracting large audiences. Isolated episodes of certain American soap operas have focused on socially relevant problems such as AIDS, alcoholism, cancer, child abuse, drug addiction, and rape; but generally have not attempted to promote values and moral beliefs that alleviate such problems.

A third major distinction between traditional and pro-development soap operas is with regard to the moral dilemmas dramatised in the content. Traditional soap operas are oftentimes morally incoherent, meaning no clear moral distinctions are made between good and bad moral choices (Berreuta, 1986). Even the 'good' moral characters of soap operas frequently violate social norms of good moral behaviour, confusing the audience about what constitutes 'good' or 'bad' behaviour.

Perhaps the most graphic example of this incoherence was created by the producers of the American soap opera *Dallas*. During the 1986 television season, Bobby Ewing, a character of Dallas, was typecast as a relatively good moral character whose behaviour was contrasted in the series with his brother, J. R. Ewing, who represented an immoral character. After Bobby was killed in the 1986 season and then resurrected in the new 1987 season, his character was totally changed, and he became worse than his brother JR. Although this is a very unusual example, the existence of moral incoherence is common in American soap operas.

The characters in pro-development soap operas are more morally consistent because they represent role models of pro-social and antisocial behaviour. Although there is change in the moral development of characters over time, the positive and negative consequences of moral choices are more clearly portrayed and the use of stereotypes is more graphic (Berrueta, 1986).

A fourth distinction between traditional and pro-development soap operas is in the story plots of the programmes. Traditional soap operas are commonly unrealistic because they do not give an accurate portrayal of life as experienced by most of their viewers. Content analyses indicate American soap operas distort images of the real world and relay misleading information, such as information about social problems and health-related matters (Alexander, 1985; Cassata et al., 1979; Estep and MacDonald, 1985; Goldsen, 1975; Greenberg and D'Alessio, 1985; Pingree et al., 1979; Tan and Tan, 1986).

Rather than depicting the lives of the social elite and misrepresenting the majority of the public, pro-development soap operas have concentrated on the lives of the middle- and lower-class urban dwellers. Although content analyses of pro-development soap operas are not readily available, our content analysis of Hum Log reveals that most of the characters were depicted as middle-class urban dwellers; and the programme themes dealt with typical problems faced by Indian families living in urban areas.

The fifth distinction noted here is that traditional soap operas have little or no theoretical foundation; whereas pro-development soap operas are theoretically based. Rather than being guided by a systematic theoretic orientation, American soap operas are produced by a negotiated struggle between those who value the content for its commercial purposes and those who value the cultural, social, or artistic aspects of the content (Cantor and Pingree, 1983).

In contrast, producers of pro-development soap operas employed the use of theory to persuade viewers to adopt pro-social beliefs and practices. Mexico's pro-development soap operas emphasised five essential components: a large audience appeal; an emphasis on cultural archetypes and stereotypes; an emotive nature; a promoter of pro-social values; and a promoter of pro-social behaviour (Sabido, 1982).

In order to create the promotion of pro-social values and beliaviour, Mexican researchers made direct use of Albert Bandura's (1977, 1986) social-learning theory, Eric Bentley's (1964) dramatic theory, and Miguel Sabido's (1982) theory of tones. They also incorporated a number of important principles based on Milton Rokeach's (1973, 1979) belief system theory of value stability and change. Using principles derived from these four theories, Sabido and his team developed a persuasive communication strategy to build a theoretical framework for pro-development soap operas (Sabido, 1982).

Indian producers in part utilised a similar theoretic framework in creating Hum Log, although the incorporation of theory by the creative producers at Doordarshan was not as methodical as was the use of theory by the programme producers at Televisa. S. S. Gill and Manohar Shyam Joshi, the originator and writer of Hum Log respectively, indicated that they were quite aware of the theoretical orientations used to develop the Mexican soap operas, and stated they used similar theory in the creation of Hum Log (personal communication, July 1987).

Finally, the last distinction to be noted in the present analysis is that traditional soap operas are produced mostly in the United States, whereas pro-development soap operas are produced mostly in the Third World. Although many soap operas produced in the Third World have been solely for entertainment, a large percentage have promoted educational themes. In contrast, no soap operas in the United States to date have consistently and purposefully incorporated educational themes or promoted pro-social beliefs and behaviour.

Implications to Development

The growth of pro-development soap operas in the Third World has important implications for scholars, mass-media officials, and others interested in development communication. First, pro-development soap operas break down the false dichotomy between 'entertainment' and 'educational' media. Media effects research indicates that educational programmes can be highly entertaining, such as *Sesame Street*. Likewise, entertaining programmes can be highly educational, such as in the case of Latin America telenovelas. Most media programmes have both educational and entertainment qualities. Therefore, television, radio, and other programmes should not be identified as either 'educational television, radio, etc.,' or 'entertainment television, radio, etc.' The entertainment-eduation strategy employed by pro-development soap operas eliminates this false dichotomy.

A second implication addresses the moral issues that surround the use of pro-development soap operas. Who is going to decide what is pro-social and what is antisocial? Should governments that control media decide; or private television companies? How about the mass audiences? The answers to such questions are not simple. Although most people would agree that AIDS prevention is good, drug abuse is bad, dowry is wrong, and so on, the issues of AIDS education in American schools, drug testing in Britain, and women's equality in India are all controversial.

Finally, positive role models are needed to produce pro-development soap operas. This blurs the distinction between an actor or actress's private life and role as a television character. For example, producers of Hum Log had to drop the family-planning theme in the programme when one of the actresses, a role model for promoting birth control, became pregnant in real life. Audiences influenced by pro-social beliefs and practices embodied by television role models are affected by the private

lives of these individuals. This necessitates finding special entertainers willing to fulfill such demanding public and private roles.

An Appraisal

Ever since glamour girl television especially its recent incarnate color television appeared on the scene our policy makers and planners have shifted their attention more or less completely to television. Step-motherly treatment Reeled out to radio in the last two five year plans is too glaring to warrant any statistics. Our policy maker and planner have convinced themselves that TV being audiovisual medium is far more powerful than radio and therefore Television legitimately deserves the lion share.

No one would deny that used properly television can be a very powerful medium. The key word here is 'properly'. How is the television being used today? Who has access to it? As long as policy makers and planners can see themselves and their peer group and late night adult movies on the T.V. screen, they could not careless how the medium is being used and for what purpose. As long as some 'positive publicity' is given to the plans and schemes 'designed' and 'implemented' by the government who cares how television is used. In recent years there has been phenomenal growth of television at the neglect of radio. If our policy makers and planners were really convinced and concerned that the electronic media be harness for development this would not have happened. The intended beneficiaries of most development programmes - the poorest have no access the 'powerful' medium - T.V. Obviously the power of TV medium is being used to make the life of the urban elite a little more 'interesting'.

When it comes to it, what does television provide? One of the most debilitating forms of narcotic addiction yet devised. A daily dose of hypnosis containing an abundance of direct and indirect suggestion, much of it negative and all of it absorbed subconsciously, with unpredictable consequences…. An artificial substitute for everything real. The ultimate magic show in which nothing is what it appears to be. The modern equivalent of the Evil Eye, which, in the words of a historian of witchcraft, 'could harm children simply by looking at them'. The most pernicious and pervasive of all threats to the environment - and yet the only such threat that can be eliminated by the touch of a button.

It is not possible to disentangle the influence of the experimental stimulus itself from all the other interactive influences occurring during an experiment. It is thus not possible to specify the extent to which the behaviour of research subjects is the result of the intended manipulation of the experimenter, or the result of unintended interactions generated during the experiment. Any experimental study, which claims to have found scientific evidence in support of TV viewing as a cause of specified effects is misleading, to say the least.

The two polarized views on the powers of television are indicative of the intensity of the discussion that the issue has generated. In general, the effects of mass media, especially portrayals of violence in them, have been the subjects of worldwide public and academic discussion for several decades now. But at the center of this discussion, almost invariably, is television as it has taken a significant place in our lives more than any other mass medium. TV watching in today's household is as much basic in nature as is eating or sleeping. Its immediateness increases its effectiveness more than any other media - how common is our experience of switching on TV without any particular purpose of watching any specific programme and watching it without giving any particular attention to what is playing on the screen, even while carrying out routine household chores. And this is how normally TV exists in our lives: occupying most of our subconscious most of the time when we are awake.

The reach of television is today almost universal. Unesco conducted a worldwide study on media violence between 1996 and 1997, the largest ever-intercultural study on this subject. The study, which involved more than 5,000 12-year-old pupils from 23 countries, found that 97 per cent of the school areas in its sample could be reached at least by one TV broadcast channel. Ninety-one per cent of the children have access to a TV set, primarily at home.

While accuracy in measurements of television penetration is not easy, available estimates show that television has had an equally phenomenal growth in India too. The latest report of the international investment bankers Saloman Smith Barney, "Asia-Pacific Television - the Big Picture", put television penetration in India at about 31 per cent, "not as high as in China". The report, however, displayed optimism about the future growth, saying that, "while we do not expect the Indian economy to grow as fast as China through to 2005, there will be sufficient growth in at least two components of the television industry growth equation - penetration and income - and through it, ad revenue and subscriber revenue." The report estimated that the number of television households would grow from 65 millions in 1999 to 80 million in 2001, to 98 million in 2003 and would reach 120 millions in 2005. *The Times of India*, however, recently reported that the number of households owning TV has already crossed 82 million, out of which about 70 per cent are connected through cable.

The growth has been outstanding, considering the fact that in 1980, the number of TV sets in India was approximately 1.6 million, which then increased to 6 million in 1986, and to 32 million by 1994.

Changing Audience Habits

Parallel to increase in television's reach, there have been changes in audiences' watching habit. More and more people are today spending more time watching TV today. As the worldwide study by Unesco showed, children all over the world spend an average of 3 hours daily in front of the TV screen. That is at least 50 per cent more time spent with this medium than with any other out-of-school activity, like home-work, being with family or friends, or reading. The Second World Summit on Television for Children, held in London in March 1998, was told that watching TV is now the number one after-school-activity for 6-17 years olds.According to Washington-based TV-Free America Group, American children spend an average of 4 hours a day watching TV; they spend only 39 minutes a week in meaningful conversation with parents. According to the BBC's research department, the national average for 1989 among the British was 3 hours 46 minutes a day.

In India, the National Readership Survey 1997 shows that the time spent on watching television has increased to more than 13 hours a week amongst all television viewers. This is a 12 per cent increase since 1995. Audiences of households with access to satellite and cable channels spend 25 per cent more time - 16.5 hours in an average week - watching TV. The audiences in the top eight metros watch more television than those in smaller towns.

The amount of time today's audiences spends watching TV shows how important a place television has come to occupy in our lives. Not only it is the most important means of communication among the mass media, crucial to viewers' need for information and entertainment, but also it casts significant influence on their behaviour, attitude and lifestyle. As Nilanjana Gupta points out,

Much of our knowledge, many of our attitudes, the topics of conversation at work the next day, the brand of soap we pick up at the grocery store, the cartoon characters on our children's clothes, our aspirations - almost every conceivable aspect of our lives is touched by this medium: yet, like eating or sleeping, we accept it as just another part of our daily routine, uncritically and unknowingly.

It is this "subliminal communication" that television is capable of which has worried social scientists and psychologists. Commenting on research into subliminal communication, Norman Dixon has written: 'The most striking finding to date … is that subliminal effects appear negatively correlated with stimulus energy. The further below threshold, the weaker or briefer the stimulus, the stronger its effect.' Which means, the viewers' "state of half-attention" during the time they spend before or around TV is ideal for "insertion of suggestions" into their subconscious. This fact is behind the commercials being shown in between programs by advertisers who know very well that viewers use "breaks" for brief work like going to toilet or fetching something from kitchen or refrigerator. Playfair explains the process of "indirect suggestion" that works here.

Faces of Violence

Violence obtains attention. Perhaps this is because attention is part of an old mechanism dating back to the early development of human beings. Early man learnt how to look closely at dangerous situations so as to be able to defend him and survive. Television uses this for its own end. There is a danger that television, battling for the attention of the viewers, may place more value on showing unusual pictures than pictures providing information. Violence is a demonstration of power. Its principal lesson is to show quickly and dramatically who can get away with what against whom. That exercise defines majority might and minority risk. It show one's place in what Gerbner calls the societal 'pecking order'. Most television and movie producers, who export their products, need a dramatic ingredient that requires no translation, "speaks action" in any language, and fits any culture. That ingredient is violence. As Gerbner points out,

Formula-driven media violence is not an expression of freedom, popularity, or crime statistics. It is a de facto censorship that chills originality and extends the dynamics of domination, intimidation, and repression domestically and globally. The media violence overkill is an ingredient in a global marketing formula imposed on media professionals and foisted on the children of the world.

Violence is a stable and integral part of the world seen on today's television. Even programmes targeted at children are not free of violence. In the United States, violent scenes occur about 5 times per hour in prime time, and between 20 and 25 per hour in Saturday morning children's programmes. The depictions of violence are camouflaged in humor, so it is difficult for uncritical viewers - especially children — to realize what they are consuming. The commercial mechanism of violence - this is one of the two most important ingredients used in almost all forms of television broadcasting for attracting viewers, the other being sex - leads to manipulated use of scenes depicting violence. The exploitation of violence occurs in many different forms - only some explicit and the others not so.

However, perceptions of violence can differ as widely as their forms, depending on social and cultural contexts, viewers' personality, age and environment, among other things. For instance, a study carried out in Germany by Werner Fruh on violence perception also arrives at large perception differences such as in the case of age groups when differing types of violence and the form in which it is shown are included.

- Direct violence portrayed on the screen is more clearly identified as having a violent content than verbal violence.
- Physical violence is more strongly experienced than psychic violence.
- Violence directed at people contains a higher violence content for the viewing public than say violence directed at property and things.
- Real violence, as shown in the news and in documentaries, is perceived by the viewers as containing more violence than the same violence shown in a fictional form.

Most of the violence we see in films and television programmes are crude not only in nature, but also in form also. The depictions include a wide spectrum of violence from direct physical assaults on humans, animals and inanimate things to domestic violence and verbal assaults, which may not be construed by many viewers as violence per se. Depictions of sex in otherwise non-violent programmes too can be frightening for children for whom the act is beyond comprehension.

The other less obvious forms of violence are: reality violence seen in news, documentaries and real-life-based programmes; the aggressiveness of production techniques used in sound, camerawork and editing; interactive video games that encourage users to shoot and kill "enemies"; and internet sites that offer demo versions of such games and do-it-yourself information on assemble of bombs and weapons.

There is a vast array of approaches to presenting violent material, as there is to its perception. In terms of its visual presentation, the violence may occur in front of the camera and be shown with graphic details. Or it may occur off-screen but be clearly implied. Violent acts may be shown in clinical manner in close-up shots, or they may be shown from a distance, in long shots. Characters involving themselves in violent acts may be presented - through various scripting tools - in many different

ways and there may be different reasons for different characters being violent. So also, the results of violence shown may be widely different, including both the pain and suffering of victims as well as the outcomes for the perpetrator or perpetrators.

Animation Films

Animation films - or cartoons, as they are popularly known - and televised shows of the World Wrestling Federation (WWF) are the leaders in violent content and sponsorship value in this genre. Along with cartoons and WWF show, there are two major areas that have recently turned into virtual battlefields: violent computer games and the live coverage of violence.

In depiction of actual physical and behavioural violence, WWF shows perhaps outclass the rest of porgrammes. A detailed Indiana University investigation of 50 WWF Raw episodes telecast in 1998 on the USA Network found a staggering amount of profane or risque incidents. Researchers counted 1,658 instances of a character grabbing or pointing to their own crotch - roughly eight every 30 minutes, not counting the slow-motion instant replays. On an average, there was less than 36 minutes of wrestling in a two-hour show. There were 609 instances of wrestlers or others being struck by objects like garbage cans or nightsticks. "Somehow they managed not to hurt each other," said Walter Gantz, a professor at the Indiana's Department of Telecommunications. "I am not certain that a 10-year-old realizes that they are skilled at doing this.

Contrary to the parents' conception, cartoon films can be equally violent. And several studies have established that most cartoon programmes today seen on television contain violence in quantity that may be unsafe for regular viewing by children. According to a study conducted by Quebec's Laval University, cartoons have 68 per cent more violence than any adult show.

At their impressionable age, children love to watch the slapstick humour, the fantasies and the actions in animation films. Watching cartoon characters being blown to pieces or run over by a bulldozer make children laugh because they know after all these hazardous attacks by the antagonists their favourite characters are going to return to life, as active and violent as ever.

Mickey Mouse was a cute, well-mannered, little mouse that had very mild mannerisms and gestures. Mickey Mouse was the epitome of peace and goodness. He was the protagonist to the core and there were no shades of gray in him. People adored Mickey Mouse for being such a gentleperson. Walt Disney's philosophy was to have characters as black and white with very few traces of gray. The themes that he chose for his subsequent feature films, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, Pinocchio, Bambi and other short films just reiterated that fact as these films had characters which represented in black or white. The prince and the princess had to be good all through and the witch was an evil person with absolutely no goodness in her soul. Disney condemned the blacks and glorified the whites in all his films. Violence did exist, but an acceptable level.

The success of Bugs Bunny and Tom and Jerry led to rapid growth in animation films production. Fifty years after Bugs Bunny appeared, cartoon programmes are a popular ingredient of television channels around the world. While the Cartoon Network shows 14 hours of the stuff, Doordarshan and other channels like Zee, Star Plus, Sony and MTV too have their own slots. On their menu are various kinds of cartoons - some of them with mindless violence - such as Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, G. I. Joe, Batman, Spiderman, Superman, He Man, Alladin, Flash Gordon, Defenders of the Earth, and Duck Tales. Two cartoon shows — The Simpsons, and The Flinststones - are of a different class, with good stories told in interesting manner through good clean humour and clever ideas, without resorting to violence to capture its audience. But these two cartoons use typical American humour, because of which children in other countries less watch them.

Reality Programmes

Reality programmes, like news bulletins, documentaries and real-life crime-based programmes, often show real-life violence. Violence used in news for the most part do not have any link with crime: rather politically motivated violence - such as demonstrations, arsons, riots, clashes with police etc. - are more likely to be featured. Because violence has more news and visual value, often political and extremist groups resort to violence to get noticed my mass media. Personal crimes and violence are reported by media more than any other form of violence, but what is shown in news bulletins is mostly the effect of such crime and violence on victims.

Television coverage of wars by implication contains a lot of violence. How violent it can get was obvious during the Gulf War when television worldwide for the first time carried live war pictures. Filmmaker Shyam Benegal condemns such coverage pointing out that it leads to desensitisation of the viewer.

I would say the most reprehensible thing that happened recently was the air attacks on Iraq, and Clinton was watching it like it was a performance. Hundreds of thousands of people were suffering, thousands of tonnes of dynamite was exploding all around them. While we were sitting in front of our television sets, impatiently waiting for the bombings to begin. Now, that is the worst kind of pornography of violence, and we've not stopped it, we're not even capable of stopping it, are we?

Documentaries and real-life crime-based programmes, on the other hand, show personal violence and crimes, re-constructing events of the past. In these depictions, violence is predominantly physical and shown in graphic detail. Indian television has recently produced such programmes on almost all leading channels. *India's Most Wanted* on Zee (which was later withdrawn by the channel), *Bhanwar* on Sony and *Apraadhi* on Star Plus are all based on real-life criminal cases, though they vary in treatment and focus. *India's Most Wanted* has often been compared to America's *Most Wanted*, which mostly concentrates on actual police raids. But producer and director Suhaib Ilyasi points out that his serial is closer to BBC's crime feature of the early 90s, *Crime Stopper*.

It is not just programmes that contain violence, but many of the programmes' promos and commercials utilize violence too. There are logical reasons why so many promotions feature scenes of violence. Promos have only a very short time to show something interesting enough to attract the viewer. Most promos contain several scenes thus complicating efforts to

explain the plot in 10 or 20 seconds. With so little time, the easiest things to feature are those that require little explanation: violence and sex.

Computer & Video Games

But now with violent video games we have entered a realm where instead of being the passive receivers of images of human death and suffering, we are pushing the button that inflicts human death and suffering on another human being. The growing threat to our children - and their parents - from violent video games is not just an extension of violent television and movies, it is a whole new world, and a quantum leap in danger.

Violent video games are the mental equivalent of putting an assault rifle in the hands of every child - a friend of mine refers to them as "murder trainers". By sitting and mindlessly killing countless thousands of fellow members of our own species without any ramification or repercussions, we are teaching skills and concepts and values that transfer immediately anytime they get a real weapon in their hand.

Typical of the standard violent genres are: mythical adventure (Dark Vengeance), war (Total Annihilation) and "point and shoot" - the most dehumanising kind - (Damage Incorporated and Blood Bath). There is a rating system, akin to the one for movies, maintained by the Entertainment Software Rating Board. Dark Vengeance and Total Annihilation are 'Teen 13+' for animated violence; Blood Bath is 'Mature 17+' for realistic blood and violence. Damage Incorporated is not rated.

Games where the death wish spills over in no measured proportions and could very well overflow into real life. Psychologists say that with the increasing addiction of computer games, the bombshell of violence has already started to explode. Teenage violence is expressing itself in the increased suicide rates and the preponderance of school bullies and instances of actual physical violence in the campus.

Some internet sites that offer game demonstration programmes do not use ratings and do little to block children's access to violent games. This added to weak adult supervision and poorly enforced or displayed violence ratings bolster children's access to such games.

Community Violence

Several films today, notable among which are Tezaab (1989), Angaar (1993) and Gardish (1993), show the community participating in the fights between the hero and the villain as mute spectators. This is an absolutely new and frightening aspect of 'mass' culture that cinema has internalised. The spectators are mute and will not interfere or intervene, or even give evidence later. They watch within the frame and magnify the terror of the violence that is being experienced. Their very passivity is a background against which physical violence stands out in stark contrast. One of the most devastating of such mass scenes in recent times has been in Jigar (1993) where the protagonist's sister is raped publicly in a square to teach the brother a lesson. The mother runs from pillar to post and even tries to enlist the help of a policeman nearby, but to no avail. The girl then publicly commits suicide. Rape has always been a staple ingredient of the villain's villainy, but it has always been committed as an act away from public gaze: in the privacy of a room, in the jungle but always in a lonely, isolated spot. The voyeuristic gaze in this particular instance also includes an incestuous one, since the brother is tied up at a height and has perforce to witness the rape and death of his sister.

Today's hero moves around in a group (Anil Kapoor is the quintessential mob-hero - refer, for example, to his role in Ram Lakhan, 1990), in the way the underprivileged instinctively move in a clannish group. It is not as if Amitabh Bachchan as the persona par excellence of the seventies and eighties did not have friendship with other male characters - as, for example, in Sholay where he and Dharmendra are partners in petty crimes. However, an aspect of the personality that he always cultivated was that of a loner, and a nonchalant one at that.

Acts of violation committed against the father, sister or mother are what are responsible for the rebirth in violence of today's hero. The storyline in the films of the fifties and sixties, whether they dealt with romance or gangsterism, often rested on a tension between familial and social relationships. In the films of the 70s, the family showed signs of breaking up, with the father getting lost either morally or physically. This loss defined the hero's being. Today it is the family and by extension the community, as territorial notions, that are to be defended at all cost by the hero.

It is in this context that the hit of the late 1980s Phool aur Kaante is interesting. It deals with the 'lost father' returning very decisively to reinstate himself emotionally and physically into the 'family'. This inversion of the popular 70s theme possibly was as much a factor in the film's success as the new type of violence it ushered in. Nageshwar Rao, the city's leading underworld don, kidnaps his own grandson to force his estranged son and daughter-in-law to come and live with him. He is finally killed in an encounter with a rival gangster and his 'surrogate' son, who has been with him through thick and thin and expects to inherit the 'empire', is now incensed at Rao's affection for his biological son. In the gangster films of the 1970s, it is the hero who, estranged from his real father, gravitates towards a surrogate one from the underworld.

After the long spate of violence-oriented films upto the mid nineties, melodies, interspersed with stories of teen romance, have made a comeback in commercial films. It was Maine Pyar Kiya that initiated the return to melodies in films. A record number of audiocassettes of this film were sold and the popularity of the songs outdid hits of the preceding decade. The film was produced by Rajshri Productions who were known for their small-budget, modest-return films based on rural, non-violent themes and featured new stars and a new director. The film became a super-hit, surpassing Sholay, mainly because of the popularity of the songs. But even in these successful comedies, the use of violence is mandatory at least in resolving the conflict between the rich and the poor.

Different Types of Violence

One of the biggest concentrations of violence is on Sony's sister pay channel AXN Action TV, which depicts nothing but mindless violence 24 hours a day. Some of the films aired on the channel are B-grade action movies. WWF fights also contained a large quantity of mindless violence: men and

women throwing each other around all over the place with gay abandon, kicking, punching, hitting "where you like it".

In fact, even Discovery Channel, which is considered by many parents to be harmless for children, shows violence in the form of animals chasing each other and killing them.

Research monitored programmes on five channels over nine days. It found 759 distinct incidents of violence across the channels, which included Doordarshan National and Metro, Zee, Sony and Star Plus. Zee led the channels with 365 incidents, while Doordarshan Metro was last with 62.

The study identified as many as 59 types of violence - audio and visual, physical and psychological - were identified by the study. Threats, slapping, screaming, shooting, assaulting, uttering expletives, pushing, clobbering, stabbing, mental torture, eerie sound-tracks, threatening music were de riguer on all programmes on all channels. A good many were unnecessarily long depictions of violence. Over one-third of the "violence-types" appeared in 25 per cent of the episodes monitored. The episodes were in the genre of horror, murder, mystery and suspense thrillers.

One shocking finding was that serials like Shapath, Aahat, Shaktimaan, Anhonee, Kohra, — all horror or violence-ridden serials — had sponsors in Cadbury's (confectioners), Johnsons' (baby products), Kissan (jams, squashes and ketchups), Parle-G, Chyawanprash, Horlicks, Complan and other health drink makers. All these advertisements targeted children as consumers, making it obvious that children constitute a major part of these programmes' viewership. In fact, most serials made no effort to conceal the fact that they regarded children as the prime viewer of horror and crime-based programmes. The study noted that Aaahat, Anhonee, Bhanwar, India's Most Wanted and X-Zone received top ratings, for audio effects among the four to six years age group.

However, there were a few positive trends as well: On certain days there was a low degree of violence in serials. Occasionally, there were a few programmes - such as Just Mohabbat, Amanat, Saans and some of Doordarshan's soaps which had no violence, but appealed to the intelligence of the viewers.

But such serials are not able to counter the popularity of thriller serials. A survey conducted by IMRB has revealed that there is a growing class of viewers being weaned away from the never-ending soaps to detective serials. The reason, according to the survey, is that detective serials are far more action-packed than soap operas. The list of the "action-packed" serials included Mohandas B.A.L.L.B., India's Most Wanted and Saturday Suspense on Zee; CID and Bhanwar on Sony; Bullet and Vakeel Jasoos on DD Metro; Saboot, Kohraa and Yeh Hai Raaz on Star TV.

In a separate study, the Centre for Advocacy and Research found controversial and popular Shaktimaan to be replete with violence. In one episode there were 17 acts of violence within a span of 25 minutes, including assaulting, slapping, punching, shooting, strangulating, burning, pushing and stabbing.

Effects of Violence

Hundreds of studies of the effects of TV violence on children and teenagers have found that children may:

- Become "immune" to the horror of violence;
- Gradually accept violence as a way to solve problems;
- Imitate the violence they observe on television; and
- Identify with certain characters, victims and/or victimizers.

Extensive viewing of television violence by children causes greater aggressiveness. Sometimes, watching a single violent programme can increase aggressiveness. Children who view shows in which violence is very realistic, frequently repeated or unpunished, are more likely to imitate what they see. The impact of TV violence may be immediately evident in the child's behaviour or may surface years later, and young people can even be affected when the family atmosphere shows no tendency toward violence.

This does not mean that violence on television is the only source for aggressive or violent behaviour, but it is a significant contributor. Factors which can be mentioned as being able to influence the effects of television violence alongside the general cultural system and the sub-system one lives in are the imbedding (or better the lack of imbedding) in peer groups as well as personality traits such as self-esteem, intelligence and gender. All in all, the children's aggressive behaviour patterns and perceptions are a mirror of what they experience in their real environment: frustration, aggression, and problematic circumstances. Peer influences, family role models, social and economic status, educational level and the availability of weapons can each significantly alter the likelihood of a particular reaction to viewing violence on television.

Note

LESSON 20:
INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To learn the development potential of new communication technologies

To learn how internet can be used for national development

Communication is one of the most fundamental characteristics of human society. To be human is to communicate with one's fellow beings. The purpose of communication is to be able to know each other, to share experiences and aspirations and, therefore, to help each other achieve greater progress.

With the introduction of telecommunications, first through telegraph and then voice communication, we began to have communication at a distance.

Many different concepts have been used to describe this transformation. One of me earliest notions was expounded by Marshall McLuhan who envisioned the rise of me electronic global village. Kobayashi of NEC coined the term CAC for computer and communications, describing the marriage of passive communications and the computer as a processor and manipulator of information. With the arrival of broadband ISDN, we will have bandwidth on demand, integrating telecommunication, data communication, and broadcasting in one common channel. Multimedia communication across the globe will become a reality-This has led to the concept of VIP in communications— visual, interactive, and personal. Also with the wide availability of satellite systems we will be able to communicate with anyone, anywhere, at any time.

While these turn of events are generally welcomed by developed and some developing countries, many of the latter are generally overwhelmed by it and are often paralyzed into inaction.

IT Application versus an IT Industry

One fundamental issue that has to be resolved at the outset is whether all nations should endeavor to have an IT industry. There is no doubt mat every nation dial aspires to progress must develop applications of IT according to its own needs. Yet, for many countries, there is still confusion as to whether they should have an IT industry as well. Certainly, for some countries, the IT industry has become an important constituent of the economic pie. Malaysia is one such example, as is me case with Taiwan, me Republic of Korea, and Singapore, among others.

However, for many other developing countries with no special resources or reasons to build up an IT industry, this should not become an issue, it is not really essential to have a domestic IT industry in order to use IT effectively. But to re-emphasize the point, every country must be able to develop key IT applications required as part and parcel of its development programme. Knowledge and skills are essential to develop such applications, for which production capacity in IT is not necessary. Using the concept of 'make some, buy some', applications can be easily created by acquiring widely available hardware and software components. What are needed are technical skills to specify; design, integrate, operate, and maintain advanced IT systems.

Indeed, the IT industry is a high value added industry which many countries covet. Then: is nothing wrong with setting up such an industry, if it is well supported. However, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that a country that is strong in the production of IT equipment is also adept at applying the technology. Similarly, then: is no evidence to suggest that the application of IT requires a strong IT industry. On the contrary, many countries are good at applications without having a strong base in IT production.

IT Development and Society

To be sure, the new communication era is the child of technological advancement and innovation, especially in the recent past We cannot imagine these developments taking place without giving doe recognition to the advancements in microelectronics, computer hardware, software engineering, and telecommunications systems. However, mere is a tendency to disregard the social and cultural pull factors, as opposed to the technological push factors.

Economics tells us mat supply and demand are the critical forces that govern market behavior. Technology would not have advanced so rapidly had it not been for the social and cultural demands that provided the economic impetus for new products and services. Social change is what drives TT. A closed feedback loop also operates me other way—IT advancement promotes even greater social change, and so it goes on without any end in sight.

Many influential books and papers have been written on the nature of this cultural change, its transformative consequence over societies, and the reasons behind it— ranging from the social and cultural, to the economic and even management perspective. The present era is characterized by me rising importance of information and knowledge in all spheres of human activity, whether individual and personal or collective and social. Access to information and knowledge has become essential for social and economic development More important than mere possession of information and knowledge is the ability to use them well. The real content of IT is not technology but knowledge. And the real purpose of possessing knowledge is the enhancement of cognitive, mental, and intellectual power.

Thus the future measure of progress is me ability to acquire and use knowledge. Land, labour, and capital will become insignificant in comparison. This is what is meant by the knowledge society. People and human resources become the key resources of any nation. Human intelligence and creativity are the real forces behind wealth creation and the achievement of a higher quality of life.

Since the application and exploitation of FT ultimately involve active participation of people and depend on their intellectual ability, social and cultural change is the root of its development- This brings in another concept vital lo our discussion—revolutionary versus evolutionary change. The experience of many countries suggests that IT development and application is an evolutionary process rather than a revolutionary one simply because of the cultural element. People need time to learn and adjust to the new technology. Also, the new technology requires time to initiate sustained change in social organizations and production environments. Recent studies, for example, have shown that productivity increase is only evident now after more than 40 years of IT application.

Even though the evolutionary process must be allowed to run its course, there is no reason why it cannot be accelerated. The means of doing this is by proper planning using me strategic approach. Long-term targets must be identified and key resources mobilized to meet these targets. Ownership of critical parts of the plan must be established and measurable outputs identified for each.

Impact and Issues of the New Communications Era

The impact of the new communications era is too varied to be easily pinned down. In this discussion we will concentrate on the economic, social, and cultural impact. The economic impact revolves around the increasing information intensity in me production and delivery of goods and services. Furthermore due to the globalization of information services without restrictions on time and space. new forms of business processes are made possible that transcend lime and space. As a result there is a transformation and restructuring of economies around the globe.

These are the reasons for the shift from the production of goods to services, and me rise of professional and technical services as opposed to operational tasks. Added value, product differentiation, and product and service integration all come about from the creative use of knowledge and effective application of IT. These are the same reasons that the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations included services as part of the global trade liberalization process which also focused on intellectual property. The key issue for developing nations is how to reposition their economic activities with me increasing intensity of knowledge and IT. Technology is one of (be sensitive factors. Domination by the developed countries as manifested by ownership of intellectual property is one possible cause of conflict, which has to be resolved.

In the social sphere, development has shifted from the physical to the mental and intellectual. Human development is now me focus of national planning. At the individual level, it is the availability of, and access to, opportunities for personal growth that matter. For social organizations, IT opens up new forms of organizational structure's that will enable new ways of interaction between people. As already noted, IT favours neither centralization nor decentralization, but makes both more efficient. As a result networks of people with common interests can easily be constructed on a global basis as exemplified by the Internet. Traditional hierarchies can be flattened to make way for faster and more effective communication. On the other hand, if command and control is required, as in some production environments, that can also be done.

The main issue in the social context is the provision of a positive environment for the acceleration of development through efficient use of the knowledge-based economy. This implies support systems that promote access to, and application of information and knowledge. Infrastructure has to be created to enable people to apply information for personal development. New forms of human and management organization should be promoted, which will enable optimal use of knowledge for learning, social interaction, and decision making.

Cultural change is the most difficult issue to deal with, as it touches upon the very personality and values of people as individuals and members of society. The new communications era opens up a completely new paradigm where the democratization of access to information can lead to a real democratization of opportunities. However, this possibility may just be an illusion that only a few will want to believe. Technology always behaves as a double-edged sword. Instead of narrowing the gap between the haves and the have-nots, new technology may actually widen it. Disenfranchisement of a large proportion of the population may be the end result.

Those in the deprived category may not even be able to start when others have already moved on to Ac advanced stage. This applies equally within a particular nation or between nations in the international arena. The ultimate result will be the same—the domination of one group over another. In observing developments on the international scene, it is clear that the Western nations have a clear lead. This is manifested not only in the technological context, but also in the cultural and social sense where Western values are paramount and are being propagated actively through education, entertainment, and the mass media. It does not help that much of international communication is carried out in English and other major European languages.

Economic, social, and cultural imperatives are active breeding grounds for political conflict Culture will become increasingly important in international relations as military and ideological threats ebb. Open global communication will bring cultures and civilizations in face-to-face interaction for the first tune in human history. Already there is talk of the clash of civilizations, with the perceived threat to Western civilization arising from civilizations in the East. The end of history has also been

predicted, with the ultimate triumph of Western culture and values over other alternatives.

Even though such views may not generally reflect the attitudes of the common man, they do not help in allaying the worst fears of developing nations who are being persuaded to open themselves up to global access. However much we may wish to downplay the political and economic domination of developed nations, it is a fact that must be addressed. A more equitable world for open social and cultural exchange must be established if we wish to sec the realization of the new communication era. We must team to recognize and value the validity and uniqueness of all cultures. And there should be no attempt to subjugate others to one's own values and culture.

Two other critical issues which span all three economic, social, and cultural dimensions must also be addressed, especially in the context of developing nations. First, human resources are in short supply to develop and operate IT systems. Worse still is, the weak ability of the general population to use and manipulate information employing modern IT systems. A programme of information acculturation on a mass scale has to be organized including IT literacy.

Second, the communication and IT infrastructure is generally weak in developing nations. A correlation has been established, for example, between teledensity and economic development. A good telecommunications infrastructure promotes growth and, vice-versa, economic development creates demand for telecommunications. Therefore, developing nations have to pay special attention towards establishing a more widespread, reliable, and efficient telecommunications infrastructure.

Likewise, per capita expenditure on computer systems and services is low in developing nations, far below that of the developed world. The issue here is not simply to increase expenditure, but bow to do it to achieve the best results. Knowing how fast technology is changing increases the complexity of making choices and priorities. At the same time, however, developing nations have made little investment in out-of-date technology. They could avail themselves of an excellent opportunity to exploit the latest technology and the most modem systems if they plan wisely.

The Information Superhighway

Many of the issues discussed earlier converge in the latest manifestation of the new communications era, the information superhighway. This ill-defined term means many things to different people. Global communication is not new. Nor is the interconnectivity of computers through the global telecommunications network. Thus the global information highway already exists for most countries. However, three key features differentiate the future superlative form from present networks: wide bandwidth, multimedia in the same communication channel, and geographical reach. Some of the key technologies enabling this advancement are fiber optic transmission, ATM switching, data compression, and open systems standards.

Due to the high cost and technical complexities involved, it is no surprise that only the most advanced nations actually have information superhighway projects in place. Most developing nations are generally unable to mount a large-scale project of this kind for several reasons. First, the telecommunications infrastructure is weak. Second, the human resources required are simply not available. Third, the capital investment necessary is beyond the capacity of most countries to raise. Finally, we need to ask the basic question: What is an information highway for?

In answering the question, we may be able to specify a more modest, yet effective, information highway project which may be within the reach of many developing nations.

First, they need a good infrastructure to promote development in education, health, social services, and economic functions. Second, efficient and reliable communication is required to facilitate the practice of knowledge-based work, whether in the government or the private sector. Third, communication services must be made available widely to enable economic activities to become more information based. It may be argued that for these purposes it is not essential to have a superhighway. What is required is a good highway with the potential to grow into one that is super in the future.

Two basic requirements underlie the usefulness of an information highway: the physical infrastructure, and the information content. The physical infrastructure has to have sufficient geographical distribution to reach a large part of the population. Cost factors have to be controlled by proper selection of technology and priorities. Standards will also have to be judiciously chosen. Efficient and reliable service will only come about with the presence of competent technical staff. The second component, information content, is very often forgotten. Information servers available and accessible to all are essential. This brings the question of sources of information, their access mechanisms, and the ability of the people to use such information. Issues of standards, technology, technical skills, and IT literacy again arise.

The experience of the Internet is worth re-examining. Beginning as an open communication environment serving a few developed countries, it is evolving into a giant global network for many different kinds of users. Some of these users are now in closed groups. Some information is now only available for sale, no longer free. Lately, Internet has also begun serving the commercial community, apart from research and education, the government, and the military. Yet one feature remains unchanged: anyone can be linked to Internet. Only access to certain groups and information is restricted to some. The lesson for developing nations is that anyone can join the club and they

must. A certain degree of goodwill has been created in a spirit of sharing. But in order to gain access to critical information one must earn respect and have something of value to share with others.

Development Strategies

It is imperative mat developing nations approach the new communications era in an organized manner, with proper pluming and strategies for action:

1. Creating a shared vision of the new communications era

   It should be positively accepted and widely promoted, that the new communications era will engender a transformation of human society. Our way of life, culture, and values will be changed. Intellectual prowess will become the most important factor for human development, feeding from information and knowledge to propel human societies to greater heights of achievement. Mental and cognitive skills must be developed and applied effectively in creative knowledge-based work environments. Such radical concepts need to be discussed openly and disseminated widely in order to create a shared vision of the new communications era. Without a vision that is shared by all members of society, it will not be possible to plan and execute a programme of social restructuring requiring their active participation.

2. Intensifying the Process of information acculturation

   A shared vision is the foundation for the process of information acculturation. This leads to the assimilation of new values towards bringing about a positive change in attitudes and behavioral patterns. Intensifying this process requires effective use of the formal educational system, as well as other informal mechanisms. The objective is to inculcate new cultural values towards information and knowledge on a wide scale. It is also necessary to measure the effectiveness of the acculturation programme so that corrective action can be taken where necessary.

   The assimilation of the knowledge culture by society will lead to a more equitable balance between technology push and social pull. Rapid advances in technology have put many people at a grave disadvantage: they have become paralyzed by the onslaught of new products appearing with ever decreasing life cycles. IT development, on the other band, should be based on human social and economic needs, and this should determine the course of technology exploitation.

3. Generating the necessary human resources

   The transformation of work will render many skills and jobs irrelevant. The automation of work, involving simple information processing in particular, will make many office workers redundant. However, there are many job opportunities for those with the capacity to acquire new skills. This scenario is unfolding at an accelerating pace. Short-term and long-term strategies will have to be addressed. In the short term, it is necessary to organize conversion courses to enable working people to acquire new skins- so as to become useful to new information-oriented job environments. For the longer term, proactive education programmes should be formulated and implemented through the formal education system. This requires an efficient planning system matched by the capacity to carry out the necessary task.

4. Strategic planning and management

   A strategic approach is essential to guarantee the achievement of national objectives. Since the transformation envisaged will involve every member of society, and every organized group, a programme that mobilizes all me critical resources is necessary. Objectives, priorities, resource allocation strategies, and key national programmes need to be formulated. Realizable targets should be established, and key players to perform specific functions identified. The restructuring of critical organizations in the government and private sectors should also be considered, to make them more amenable lo the application of higher levels of information content.

   One of the most critical aspects of this planning process is technology acquisition and development. Institutions and organizations must be created to perform this task. In some cases, specialized institutes to carry out R&D need to be established. Otherwise the capacity to develop new information systems will remain weak, leading to over dependence on foreign suppliers. One strategy that has often been overlooked is government procurement. Since the government is a significant buyer of systems and equipment, it is worthwhile to have an offset programme in co-operation with suppliers that will also enable the nation to acquire technology and skills.

5. Accelerating the development of the communications infrastructure

   Two complementary components make up the communications infrastructure; the 'hard' and the 'soft'. 'Hard' components are computers, telecommunications, and data networks- 'Soft' components are the information contents, such as databases and information servers. Both are equally important. Developing nations are weak in practically all areas, but telecommunications deserve special emphasis, especially in rural areas. Its critical importance and high capital cost are conflicting demands that must be resolved. One route that has been taken by many countries successfully is deregulation and privatization. However, this may not be relevant to all nations, since they may face different circumstances. Per capita expenditure on computers and services is low in most developing nations and should be increased. There is no real norm. Each country should allocate sufficient funds to ensure that critical mass is achieved in key areas application.

6. Technology assessment and forecasting

   The accelerating pace of advancement in technology demands that nations possess some means and capability to assess and forecast economic, social, and other impacts. Forecasts are essential in the planning process, while assessment of impact will enable the maximization of benefit while minimizing risk. Scenario budding is also useful towards understanding the total impact of the transformation on the economy and society. Finally, nations should have the skills

to merge technology trends into specific application areas that are important for their development objectives.

7. Initiating and facilitating organizational restructuring

   The need to restructure organizations should now be taken for granted. Increasing information intensity will require new forms of organization. Although such restructuring will need to be done in both me government and private industry, in many developing nations the government should take the lead. The government can be the role model by creating proof-of-concept demonstrations in its own operations. Others will then be encouraged to follow suit. The government through its influence may also persuade key sectors of private industry to perform this restructuring process and be an example to others.

The Open Strategy is one approach to development. The Information Age focuses on the mind and intellect. Learning and knowledge acquisition are fundamental processes for progress. The following seven principles of the Open Strategy can be made the foundation for a strategic national development programme in advanced communications.

First, communication systems should be open in the sense of being user-driven. The user should have full control over access to information, its sources, and the nature of his interaction with toe sources.

Second, it should be open in the geographical context. Global communication net works should be established to open up the availability and accessibility of information resources and human expertise, no matter where they are.

Third, it should be open with regard to cost. The final cost to the user should be reasonable, so that we can narrow the gap between the haves and the have-nots.

Fourth, it should be open technologically. The technologies used should be available to all at a fair price and should be simple enough to be easily implemented.

Fifth, Standards of implementation should be open, meaning that Open Systems Standards are employed to promote the interconnection and sharing of hardware, software, and systems. The total implementation cost will thus be reduced and future system growth assured.

Sixth, it should be open from the political point of view. Access to information and knowledge should be made available without regard to a nation's political stance, the religion of its people, or its racial make-up.

The seventh and most important principle is that it must be open in the cultural sense. The relationship between the user and the information supplier must not assume that the latter has cultural superiority. Communication is a value-laden activity, and it must be conducted with an open mind.

The recent transformation of some countries from poor developing nation status to economic juggernauts has been nailed as the so-called 'East Asian Miracle'. However, economic success is only the superficial manifestation of a culture that promotes positive values, attitudes, and priorities. In many East Asian countries, these seem to be in congruence with the needs of the present era, which emphasizes knowledge and learning. Not all Asian countries are the same. But they all seem to have a similar respect for knowledge and the innate desire to learn. This is, perhaps, one positive trait that may well become the success factor for all developing nations.

The new communications era should not be perceived as a purely technological phenomenon. Its ultimate impact is social and cultural, although technological advancement is the key enabler. This new era invites a change in social and cultural patterns. At the individual level it raises the importance of mental and intellectual ability. For society at large, it engenders new forms of social organizations, .Economic restructuring will result from information intensification in the production and delivery of goods and services.

While the IT industry is important to some countries, the effective application of IT is necessary for all. The development of IT follows an evolutionary path involving all the three forces: technological, social, and cultural. This process can be accelerated through proper planning involving a strategic approach.

Internet in Developing Countries

Many developing countries, through the use of new cellular and satellite technologies, are moving directly into the information age. bypassing the wired stage at significantly lower costs (Owens. 1994)- Some developing countries have had national policies since the late 1970s and 1980s, to enable the growth of new technologies- Many of these countries have now set up their own networks which are already connected to or are in the process of getting access to the Internet today. This connection has made it possible for Third World countries to access information available in developed countries.

Many Asian countries such as Singapore. China, India, and Malaysia are making progress in the area of computer networks. Asian countries collectively form only a small percentage of the total number of Internet users worldwide. When Japan is excluded, the numbers are further reduced-However, the growth rate is high and the impact can be significant.

In Singapore, the National Computer Board established a project in 1991 called 'IT2000: Vision of an Intelligent Island' that emphasized a national information infrastructure (Johnstone, 1994). Telecommunication networks are being used for purposes such as trade and health services. Singapore Network Services has developed the Tradenet EDI system. Tradenet links traders in Singapore to Customs, the Trade Development Board and other agencies and helps carry out transactions such as import/export declarations and certificates of origin. Tradenet was established in 1989 and within a year 90 per cent of the traders were on the system. Another example of a successful network is the Medinet, which is used for processing medical claims (Malamud, 1993).

China has achieved progress in computer networking in recent years. By August 1993, relay CINet-L (China InterNetworking discussion Lists) were formed with the aim of getting the Internet to China and to facilitate information flow both inside the country and the outside world. The China News Digest (CND), an online news distribution organization distributes daily news worldwide. Started in March 1989, CND was the first

to start an on-line Chinese language weekly, which now has a circulation of about 40,000. Johnstone (1994) reports that since February 1994, the Peking government requires that international network activity be registered with the Ministry of Public Security which supervises the computer networks (Gach, 1993).

In Malaysia, Jaring, the proposed research network, is meant to support 'multidisciplinary collaborative research, development and educational activities', aid 'integrated development strategy through computer networking' and have 'worldwide connectivity for global communication and information exchange' (Malamud, 1993).

Even in Africa, which is 'the world's least electronic continent' (French, 1994) and where 'telephones are still often a luxury', efforts are underway to use the Internet to close the information gap. French reports that Barbacar Fall, a Senegalese journalist and communications expert, envisages a future where throughout the continent one could exchange information through the Internet. Only about 50 people out of the 11 million Senegalese now use the Internet. Fall is trying to revive the Pan African News Agency (Pana) through a network of satellite equipment.

Internet in India

India has industrialized rapidly in the past two decades, and entered the information age in the 1980s (Singhal and Rogers, 1989). Today there is wide diffusion of television, the video cassette recorder, and a surge in the expansion of cable television and the computer industries- Liberalized import policies, during Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's rule in the mid 1980s, encouraged the establishment of the Center for Development of Telematics (C-DoT) and promoted the adoption of microcomputers in government projects. 'From 1984 to 1988, the number of computers increased ten-fold, (and) the computer industry's revenues increased four-fold'.

The government of India operates many networks linking the defence industry, research institutions, top universities, and administrative departments. The government has set up country-wide communication networks such as Nicnet, used for government administration and planning; Ernet, used for research in education; Railnet, used by the Indian Railways for ticketing, scheduling, and planning (Rao, 1994); and Indonet, which provides access to specialized information through satellite communication and VHF/ microwave radio (Singhal and Rogers, 1989).

Just as it has in the developed countries, the technology has now entered the realm of the private sector. Some of the Indian companies that offer commercial networking services are Business India Information Technology, Data-pro Information Technology, and Icnet. Public companies like Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited (VSNL)and the Computer Maintenance Corporation (CMC) also offer similar services.

Nicnet (the nationwide computer network of the National Informatics Center, NIC, which comes under the Planning Commission) is used by the government to plan and monitor the country's five-year development plans in the core sectors of the economy such as agriculture, industry, transportation, rural development, and education (Rao, 1994). In early 1994, Nicnet was upgraded with a $70 million investment to allow transmission of multimedia images in 14 major cities and to increase transmission speeds in 70 more cities by the end of 1994. Nicnet is linked through 635 satellite dishes around the country. Nicnet is also connected to internet and other international networks and databases through 64-kbps links, one through SprintNet in New York and another through an Indian company'. Indian Scientists now have access to images from the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration at their fingertips.

Ernet, the Education and Research Network, connects India's prestigious engineering schools, the Five Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) and the Indian Institutes of Science in Bangalore, besides many other educational institutions. Ernet has over 250 nodes in the country and helps break hierarchical barriers by providing younger scientists direct access to information. Educational uses of networks include active exchange of information between researchers in India and abroad. Disseminating Indian news to graduate students abroad is among the many uses of computer networks, according to Dr S. Ramani, director of the National Center for Software Training.

Internet is being used for commercial purposes with initiative from both Indian businesses and foreign collaborators.

Power of the Net

Internet is opening up new highways of opportunities in India, it is being used for purposes such as national planning, scientific research, higher education, and business. While the Internet provides access to the latest information from around me world almost instantly, overcomes problems of lack of library resources and, perhaps, helps prevent educated Indians from migrating abroad, there are several problems that need lo be considered.

One of me major problems is mat India still has an underdeveloped telecommunications infrastructure and there are several million people wailing to get a telephone. This hitherto government-controlled sector was opened lo competition allowing foreign firms to invest only in the latter part of 1994 (Jacob, 1994). However, India has looked towards satellites to eliminate the need to depend on a local infrastructure. In fact, engineers are reinventing network usage by coming up with novel methods of overcoming technical problems.

Another issue of concern is the lack of funds. In India, 'The economic situation was certainly a prime stumbling block in pulling together a real research network' (Malamud, 1993). There is also competition among the networks to receive a part of the scarce funding resources. For example, when Nicnet was upgraded, Emet would have wanted some of the money invested in that endeavour for itself (Mangla, 1994).

A frequently asked question is whether the Internet will help bridge the information and economic gap between developed and developing countries. Examples mentioned earlier—such as Indian scientists working with American scientists on joint projects communicating -through the network, exchange of trade information through the commercial networks such as Texnet, and access to the latest information from databases across the world— certainly appear to indicate that it is possible

to bridge the information gap. Those who have access to this technology will benefit by it. As to whether it would narrow the economic gap would depend on many complex factors such as the level of literacy and economic development in the country, whether the information is being used appropriately, whether resources are available for the development of the information infrastructure as well as developmental projects, and whether there will be a trickle-down effect from those who have access and control of the new technology within the country to those who are deprived of it.

Over the years, the government of India has exercised various degrees of control over the flow of information. Till recently, radio and television were government controlled. Though the press has been free, the government has controlled information under various social and political circumstances. The largely unrestricted freedom of information flow on the Internet could cause problems.

An issue of interest is whether, and to what extent, the Internet would aid participatory communication in development projects. The interactive nature of the technology enables interactive distance learning and teleconferencing. The M-bone technology, 'allows (Internet) viewers and listeners to be broadcasters themselves'. While the decentralizing nature of the computer could be an advantage, it could pose a threat to those who have the power and control. However, for the Internet to reach the typical villager who is illiterate and poor would take a long time. Participation would, at least initially, be confined to those who are responsible for planning and implementing development programmes.

Another major concern is that of the direction of information flow across national borders. Research in the area of transborder data flow has indicated that most of the flow has been one way—from developed countries to developing countries. Will the Internet facilitate a more balanced flow, or will the same domination continue? In India, the Internet is at the initial stage of diffusion, and the percentage of users is low compared to the US, for example, besides, the number of database accessible from outside the country far outnumber those available from within.

The question of network security is a matter of concern in developing and developed countries alike. 'But what happens if criminals get onto the net, distributing pornography, perhaps, or sending stolen records from one company to a rival, or military secrets from one country to the next? Where and how should the walls of privacy on the net be constructed, and who should be allowed to build gates through them?'

The Internet is encompassing more areas of the world rapidly and it is not yet clear what impact this could have on developing countries. The technology is new and many of the concerns are common to both developed and developing countries alike. Unlike other technologies like the television, for example, which spread in India mainly during the '70s and '80s, many years after it entered the Western world, the lime gap in the diffusion of the Internet in the developed and developing countries is not much, not counting its use by the Department of Defense in the US. Therefore, one cannot really learn from the mistakes made by the developed countries. The Internet is posing many challenges in developing countries, and whether it is regarded as a threat or an opportunity would depend on various factors including who uses it and how it is used within the social context.

Note

LESSON 21:
UNDERSTANDING GLOBALIZATION

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To learn about globalization

To know how globalization affect development

Globalization is a widely used term, which has acquired several meanings varying in their degree of precision, among intellectuals, media, multilateral lending agencies, business community, environmentalists and economists. Here we are concerned with the economic dimension. The economic globalization that we are witnessing today has been continuously evolving since World War II.

It gained considerable acceleration during the 1980s and reached a clear watershed in the 1990s. Broadly speaking, globalization may be considered as a process of transnationalisation of capital, production and even consumer tastes and preferences on a single global logic of exchange, There is nothing amiss in characterizing it as global capitalism. In order to clarify the concept further we may briefly outline the salient features of globalization.

First, capital has become increasingly global. Two types of capital are relevant here - finance capital and foreign direct investment (FDI). By its very nature, accumulation being its leit motif, capital is not space bound. It has always sought to transcend geographical barriers as is well evidenced by its historical march, through conquest and colonization. This historical march has taken a radically new turn with the electrification of money and computerization of the market system following the information technology (IT) revolution, Today, more than in the past capital sees the world as economic territories for its expansion.

Internationalisation of finance capital is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of globalization "Currencies, commodities, government and corporate bonds all are now issued and traded around the clock and around the world". (The Economist April 27, 1991). Cross-country banking which was negligible in the past has grown to gigantic proportions. With Transnational Corporations (TNCs) not. requiring much outside capital, large banking funds necessarily will have to seek outlets on a global scale. There are also large funds, such as mutual funds, pension funds, hedging funds etc. seeking profits through out the world. Stock markets operate round the clock through out the world and move in instantaneous speed thanks to the IT revolution. Governments in balance of payments (BOP) distress, government companies and corporate giants needing capital raise loans or issue bonds or raise money through global deposit receipts (GDR) or American deposit receipts (ADRs) in the commercial markets of the world.

Foreign direct investment which has been largely between the industrialized countries is increasingly entering the developing countries. Also one witnesses a pronounced shift in FDI towards service industries which is in remarkable contrast to the trend towards mining and manufacturing. The advance technology and the shift in favour of services especially towards the so-called knowledge industries have significantly altered the autonomy of nation-states. In terms of resource power and geographical reach TNCs far outdistance most of the nation-states of the world.

Second, while capital flows have expanded labour flows remain unduly restricted. It may be worthwhile to note that in the 19th century there was no series restriction to the flow of labour and upto the First World War, immigration was granted with enormous ease.

Third, production is getting increasingly globalized. TNCs have started manufacturing 'world models' of some of their products. Also more and more goods have become 'world products' with components manufactured in different countries and assembled in one country only in the final product stage - a phenomenon facilitated by the wave of liberalization and deregulation that has been engulfing the world in recent times. In other words, the boundaries that define an industry are drawn across countries rather than within them. It has not only facilitated such spatially decentralized production across nations it has also enabled management of far flung production networks from a central place. No wonder a large part of world trade is increasingly becoming a flow between plants of the same company or a flow between companies and their partners in subcontracting agreements.

Four, there is a growing trend towards homogenisation of consumer taste largely promoted through advertisement by the global media. (Also see section 3.0). A wide range of commodities from nylon thread to Honda motor bikes are seen in all parts of the world. Coca-Cola is a favorite drink all the world over. McDonalds, Kentucky fried chicken are aggressively trying to get such universal acceptance.

Five, economic globalization has been promoted and legitimized by international institutions like the IMF and World Bank through their stabilization and structural adjustment policies and programmes and by the World Trade Organization (WTO) through its innumerable multi-lateral Agreements. GATT negotiations before the Uruguay Round, were concerned only with trade. Such suffixes like trade-related, trade-in are added to bring in fresh issues like services, intellectual property rights etc. Thus we have the General Agreement on Trade-in services (GATs), trade-related investment measures (TRIMs) and trade related intellectual property rights (TRIPs) and so on Though all services are now brought under GATs, special rules have been incorporated in regard to telecommunications, financial services, air transportation etc. in which countries like USA have an upper hand. WTO got a telecommunication agreement signed by 68 countries in 1997 requiring them to

open up telecommunication services market with a stipulation to allow foreign companies to buy stakes in domestic operators. This was widely hailed by the big telecom companies of USA.

The aim of the TRIMS Agreement is to reduce "'the trade restrictive and distorting effects of investment measures" prevailing in nation-states (member countries) and promote free competition. Under the market access and national treatment and other clauses of the Agreement, it is difficult to impose investment regulations and quantitative restrictions (insistence on use of local men and materials, local equity participation, control on repatriation of royalties and dividends etc.) TRIMS reinforces MIGA (Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency) of World Bank in insuring and protecting capital's income and property.

TRIPS agreement sets minimum standards of protection for seven categories of intellectual property rights, of which patent rights in which TNCs enjoy considerable monopoly is the most important. The Agreement seeks to change the entire concept of patenting by drawing into the realm of patentability not only inventions but naturally occurring life forms, a factor that can have far reaching implications for an agricultural country like India with long standing agricultural practices and rich biodiversity.

Member countries will have to change their national laws and rules to be in conformity with the international understanding agreed upon - indeed a big step towards globalization. The changes in laws required are in areas as diverse as finance, portfolio management, equity, services, patents, copyrights, ecology, health, culture and the like.

TNCs are important in the process of globalization in terms of the size of their operation and as a growing manifestation of the globalization of capital. That the number of transnational corporations which was only 7000 in 1970 jumped to 37000 with more than 150,000 foreign affiliates in 1991 and to 45000 parent firms in 1995 with 280,000 affiliates itself is indicative of their global presence. With an estimated $ 7 trillion in global sales in 1995 - the value of goods and services produced by the foreign affiliates - international production outweighs exports as the dominant mode of meeting foreign market demand by a factor of 1.2 to 1.3 since 1987.

In 1996, the global FDI stock was valued at $ 3.2 trillion. Its rate of growth over the past decade (1986-1995) was more than twice that of gross fixed capital formation, indicating an increasing internationalisation of national production systems. The world wide assets of foreign affiliates, valued at $ 8.4 trillion in 1994 also increased more rapidly than world gross fixed capital formation. In fact about 70 per cent of the global payments of royalties and fees constitute transactions between parent firms and their affiliates.

FDI flows have set a new record of around $ 350 billion in 1996, a 10 per cent increase. Cross border Mergers and Acquisitions (M&As) are playing an important role in boosting FDI. The value of such M&As increased by 16 per cent to $ 275 billion. The number of cross border inter-firm agreements also has increased from 1760 in 1990 to 4600 in 1995, Despite the growing number of foreign affiliates, a good part of FDI continues to be concentrated in the hands of a small number of companies. The largest 100 TNCs, ranked on the basis of assets own $ 1.7 trillion assets in their foreign affiliates, controlling nearly 21 per cent of global foreign assets. In the US, 25 TNCs are responsible for half of that country's foreign stock, a share that has remained almost unchanged during the last four decades.

The triad (European Union, US and Japan) is home to 87 per cent of the top 100 TNCs and accounts for 88 per cent of their foreign assets. USA is by far the largest FDI recipient and investor abroad. Although developed countries received a record $ 208 billion in FDI flows in 1996, there has been a steady decline in their share of global inflows since 1989. Developing countries received $ 129 billion of FDI inflows in 1996 as against $ 32 billion in 1990, more than four times growth in six years time.

The explosive growth of international financial and foreign exchange transactions is the most dominant dimension of globalisation. They have trade and FDI flows to relatively insignificant positions. On a crude reckoning, we may say that around $ 2 trillion of finance capital move round the world in search of profit everyday. Assuming that there is 300 working days in a year, the annual financial transactions work out to $ 600 trillion. But compare this with the world merchandise trade of around $ 10.4 trillion and world GDP of $ 27.8 trillion in 1995. The decoupling of the real and financial world is almost complete. Finance capital has reduced the world into a casino in which the participants play snakes and ladders with the lives of millions of people. In this casino the stakes of the nonplayers are far higher than that of the players as the latter affect real world variables like interest rate, inflation, exchange, investor confidence and the like.

The Logic and Theoretical underpinning of Globalisation: A critique

It is difficult to discern the economic logic of the emerging globalization except as the expansion of capital in search of profit and accumulation. The policy-theoretic framework underlying the IMF-World Bank's structural adjustment programmes which seeks "integration" of national economies with global economies has been widely documented. The broad basis is the neoclassical theory of competitive capitalism and free international trade. As the World Development Report (WDR) (1991) puts it: "Competitive markets are the best way yet found for efficiently organizing the production and distribution of goods and services. A consensus is gradually forming in favour of a 'market friendly approach' to development" (World Bank, 1991). The three World Development Reports (1990,1991 and 1992) which together "constitute a trilogy on the means and goals of development" (World Bank, 1992) make it explicit that the essence of the market - friendly approach consists in removing all types of "distortions" (meaning deviations of an economy from perfectly competitive norm (Lal, 1984) introduced by "misconceived" government interventions and promoting free trade and export led growth. To promote efficiency privatization of public sector enterprises is the only answer. Trade tariffs and all barriers that restrict free flow of goods and finance will have to be dismantled or reduced to an irreducible minimum. Trade restrictions even as a measure to

control environmental pollution is considered inefficient" (World Bank, 1990). Given TRIPs and TRIMs and free trade under the global regime, near monopolistic, access to the planet's resources is ensured. As Samir Amin (1997) puts it: "The much vaunted environmental concern of these (capitalist) countries is simply not to let others be equally irresponsible" (Amin Samir, 1997).

The theory of globalization sets out the development path for the so-called developing countries (developing towards the developed capitalist countries). In the words of World Development Report (1991) Economic theory suggests that productivity and per capita incomes world converge across countries over time, assuming that the countries which are now developing get access to the new technology introduced by the industrial countries" (World Bank, 1991) While technology will take its natural course via market forces and the rules of the game laid down in WTO Agreements, we cannot ignore the warnings (supported by simulation exercises) given in WDR (1990) on Poverty regarding any uneconomical or populist redistributive measures that may impair the welfare of the "non poor" on whose savings potential growth depends, (World Bank, 1990).

A Few Observations

First, there is an overemphasis on dismantling the role of the state. The state has to withdraw even from disciplining capital. Will labour enjoy protection under such a regime? Who will provide exchange entitlements to those who are marginalized in the growth process? Will global market give the correct signals? Look at what happened in East Asia? Who will correct situations of market failures? In fact more than in any other period in history, there is a need to redefine and clarify, in the present day world of growing inequalities in wealth and income, the role of state and market vis-a-vis the community for whose behalf these two institutions are supposed to function.

Second, the bluff involved in neoclassical economics has no empirical basis and has to be continuously exposed. Free competition is tending to be a myth. It is untenable to believe that what obtains in the world is conducive to the operation of the objective laws of perfectly competitive market. TNCs have a virtual monopoly of most vital areas of technology. High military spending and supremacy over weapons of destruction, control over global financial markets, certain domestic currencies (eg. US dollar) emerging as international median of exchange and store of value, monopoly over global media are all factors that make the concepts of free competition, fair competition and fair trade almost a myth. USA under its super 301 and special 301 enjoys unilateral retaliation rights to secure its demand. It also has several powers of economic sanctions against other countries by virtue of its super power positions. Mergers and acquisitions lending to centralization and concentralization of resources and power are the order of the day as we have already noted. The philosophy of super consumerism which is the hallmark of globalization is captured in the value premise that wants are unlimited (it is limited in a world of finite resources) and that there is a scarcity of resources to meet these wants. The price that is determined automatically excludes those who do not have the exchange entitlements to back up their demand. Globalization virtually becomes the integration of the interests of those who have exchange entitlements. Production structure and pattern naturally will be geared to meet the needs of these "haves".

The epistemological malady implied in economics discipline giving cognitive license for unlimited resource exploitation for generation of exchange values as against the generation of use-values for the community has become a convenient theoretical underpinning for the promotion of globalization.

Third, the trio-IMF, World Bank and WTO - has legitimized the sway of capital over the global territories and in this process legitimized the "recolonisation* process that is underway. It is interesting to recall Partha Chatterjee (1994): "If there is one great moment that turns the provincial thought of Europe to universal philosophy, the parochial history of Europe to universal history, it is the moment of capital-capital that is global in its territorial reach and universal in its conceptual domains. It is the narrative of capital that can turn the violence of mercantilist trade, war, genocide, conquest and colonialism into a story of universal progress, development, modernization and freedom. For this narrative to take shape, the destruction of community is fundamental".

Throughout its history, capital has taken to a technological paradigm of growth that increasingly keeps labour/people redundant and treats them only as an item in the cost of production to be reduced as we expand. The Human Development Report 1993, has clearly documented how global capitalism has reached a stage of "jobless growth". A production system should provide the needs of its community by the productive participation of its people or, more precisely, the labour force comprising it. The major ecological crises, climate changes and the threat to sustainable development that we witness today has also to be traced to the organizing principle underlying capitalism and the technological choices appertaining to it (Oommen, 1997).

Four, competitive capitalism and the doctrine of comparative advantage which served well the mighty British empire in justifying the broad pattern of international division of labour of the colonial era is not so handy for those who seek to justify global capitalism with transnationalisation of production, intra-firm trade between parent and affiliates across the world, jet speed mobility of capital in search of absolute advantage, electronification of money and so on. Not only neoclassical economics, even development economics created to "slay the dragon backwardness" has woefully failed in delivering the good. Development economics exonerates colonialism from present-day realities. So long as it is assumed that competitive market and free trade will "set prices right" and any government intervention is a "distortion", unequal exchange does not exist. The historical reality that created the present day unjust division of labour is simply assumed away. The appropriation of surplus from the periphery to the metropolis continues not only through unequal exchange, but also through otherways like brain drain, royalties, transfer pricing, official and unofficial remittances of the TNCs, the payments due to portfolio investment etc, According to the Human Development Report, 1992 unequal partnership of these types costed the developing

countries about $ 500 billion in 1990. (UNDP, 1992). How can there be autonomous development in a world where the surpluses are siphoned off?

The question of containing inequality in wealth and income leave alone the question of bringing about an egalitarian society is ruled out by the logic of integration into the global economy. It is a system that builds on initial endowment and grows through accumulation. Therefore the growing inequalities cannot be fought if everything is left to the logic of the market system. UNDP's Human Development Reports have documented over the years the facts of growing global inequalities.

In short, the globalization process can usher only a world of recolonisation, a world of dependence and domination. Perhaps the best proof of dependence is the debt trap of the "Third World" and the collapse of the autonomous development efforts of these countries. The total external debt of developing countries has multiplied twenty-fold from $ 100 billion in 1970 to over $ 2 trillion in 1995. The continuing debt burden and reverse resource flows that keep growing seem to substantiate almost in unmistakable terms the "transfer problem* raised by Keynes (1929) and the 'fisher paradox the more debtors pay, the more they owe".

Media and Globalization

Globalization process has been facilitated and accelerated thanks to the revolutionary changes in global media. We have entered the era of not only e-mail, but of e-money and e-commerce and so on which have made rapid strides in paperless trade and transactions. Several companies are planning to start electronic banks and e-cash credit cards. The theory and practice of disciplines like economics, commerce, law all will have to undergo change. Truly, we are entering a new world, rather than the end of history. According to Yankee Group, a consulting firm based in Boston, the volume of e-commerce between business to business would be $ 34 billion in 1998 and expected to grow to $ 170 billion by the year 2000. Add to this, the consumer-to-consumer purchase will be increasing. This opens the floodgate of global market through Internet possibly at lower prices in reduced time. It is reported that the spread of electronic commerce has drastically brought down prices of certain goods like books, computers, electronic goods etc. A lot of inter mediation is brought down. But this is not the basket of commodities that the poor need!

Rupert Murdoch in Bangalore

WTO has recently called for a big push in e-commerce including tax breaks for associated goods and services, E-commerce can cut down cost for it can bring down inventory cost, thereby bringing down prices and inflation. Electronic Data Interchange can cut down the welter of red tape in inter departmental and inter institutional transaction cost and time tremendously.

Global media has functioned as an integral part of global capitalism. Therefore it too has been part of the profit - driven system. It is the main vehicle for advertising corporate goods and services for facilitating corporate expansion in a borderless world increasingly facilitated by the IMF World Bank WTO regime.

Global media has tremendous potential to electrify the thought and action centres of peoples' mind. A 1996 survey covering 41 nations in households owning television finds that teenagers watch on an average six hours of television per day. Therefore it has tremendous potential for good or for bad. As a matter of fact media has been largely used to support and sustain corporate ideology rooted in a process of accumulation that rationalizes extremes of polarization in wealth, income and power.

To put our discussion in its perspective, even at the cost of repetition, we may spell out the basic affirmation of the corporate ideology or global capitalism. The organizing principle of the community's resources and therefore the social and economic relations following from it is that market is the most efficient and ideal allocator of resources. Even the concept of freedom is rooted in business or corporate freedom and everything else will be added unto you once this is assured. As the corporate world commands tremendous resources their influence is comprehensive ranging from the production of processed food and medicine which are vital to human existences, to election campaigns. Be it dictatorship or democracy they wield considerable clout and political muscle power. Today we have powerful global commercial media systems that tend to regard corporate domination as natural and even benevolent Dangerously enough, it is propagated that there is no viable alternative As Edward Herman and Robert Me Chesney put it. "The global media are missionaries of our age, promoting the virtues of commercialism and the market" (Herman and Me Chesney, 1998).

There is tremendous monopoly in media and communication system. US based enterprises dominate the global media market, Ten vertically integrated media conglomerates are most prominent. The size and market power of the media giants make it possible to engineer exclusive strategic alliances for cross promotion with other marketing and retailing power houses. In 1996 Disney, for instance, signed a ten-year deal with Me Donald's to use its 18,700 outlets to promote its global sales, while Me Donald can use Disney to assist it in its unabashed campaign to dominate every market in the world (Herman and Me Chesney, 1998). These link-ups between global marketers and media firm have become common today.

Although the Internet has tremendous potential in improving the social and economic life of people by providing qualitatively different type of media, politics, life style culture and the like, it has come to be dominated by commercial interest The ideology and values of corporate capital basically indifferent to the increasing inequalities of income and wealth get far more well

entrenched than any time in the past. The globalizing media always treat viewers and listeners as consumers (with special preference for those with higher income) rather than as citizens. Internet as it has been shaping now does not seem to be a place of free exchange of ideas, a truly participatory medium. We need a community media rather than commercial media, the former should serve, as corrective to the latter, besides promoting the process of transformation to a just society. A commercial media naturally could service only the interest of the advertisers who fund them. As they want a larger audience glued to their programmes, so that effective advertisements are served to them, there is tremendous vulgarization and trivialization of the entertainment industry. The difficulties of reversing this trend should not mean abandoning the project for that means perpetuation of an unequal system unlivable for a large sections of society.

Working Towards a Good Society

Building a better society, a liveable and equitable world is a conscious and continuous endeavour.

Global capitalism is not the result of a natural evolution. It has been shaped by a whole range of power relations economic, political and ideological, besides the active manipulation of the mass media. Today the G-7, the Washington Consensus, and various international institutions work towards its survival and development. The military powers and TNCs have manipulated science and technology for power and for profit. As Professor Vemon (1977) has noted long back that USA has been trying 'to create an international system in its own image".

Evils of globalisation can be countered only by building counter cultures and values with emphasis on community, creative life, as against greed, acquisitiveness and the like. Strangely enough, economic growth which is an instrumental variable has become the most desirable objective variable. There is a profound spiritual emptiness in the pursuit of human life. The present system can be effectively countered only with the help of the media. Disciplines like economics that have provided a lot of theoretical underpinning based on unrealistic assumptions have to be continuously exposed. The basic postulate of economics that wants are unlimited and scarcity of means rationalizes over consumption, exploitation and treats Nature as raw materials and labour as items of cost of production. It is this over consumption 'model' that has led the world to the present day crisis of global warming, green house gas pollution and an unsustainable world. A report to the Pugwash council in which 15 leading scholars participated recommends: "In order to arrest irreversible destruction of biodiversity and incidentally to slow down global warming and the exhaustion of fossil fuel stocks, the total per capita energy consumption must finally be reduced to around 1.5 KW (continuous) per capita-a factor of four below the present level in Europe and a factor of more than six below the present level in the US and Canada". (Smith and Okyoye (1994) cited by Smith B Philip et.al, 1994).

The overemphasis on growth has nurtured a technological paradigm that keeps human beings redundant and continuous polluting the atmosphere in the process of growth. How can any technology be considered modem and advanced so long as it keeps people redundant? How can you destroy the life support system for short term gains and growth? Although economics and ecology share the same Greek root *Oikos*, meaning house or habitat, the twain have refused to meet. This sort of disciplinary disjunctive has done much harm in understanding reality in an integrated and holistic manner.

It is high time the social scientists of the world especially economists sit down to reflect on the growing irrelevance of some of their theories. What is the value of national savings in a world of global finance capital? How can the so called commodity money a medium of exchange in the world of e-money, e-credit card, e-commerce and the paperless transactions and trade taking place in the world? How come the currency of a country (USA) which is the biggest debtor of the globe be accepted as a unit of international account, store of value and medium of exchange? Can we build a lieable, equitable and sustainable world on the basis of competition? These and a host of similar questions have to be answered in the struggle to build a sustainable world. The role of global media in the public sphere has to be clearly defined.

No meaningful quest for a sustainable development is possible within the framework of most of the international organizations obtaining today for a variety of reasons. We do not propose to go into this question except to assert that the World Bank, IMF and WTO, objectively speaking, face a legitimacy crisis. The UN, established during the colonial days. is extremely undemocratic and lacks a global mandate (based on a global constituent assembly). Do these institutions have a people's mandate? Issues like, global accumulation without responsibility and accountability to the global society (this is what the TNCs, FIIs, etc. do) drug trafficking and money laundering, global arms trade (the most lucrative business of the century), rampant sex tourism including child prostitution, global gambling and speculation growing inequality in wealth and poverty in the midst of plenty and a host of other relevant issues are evading the global agenda. The colossal expansion- and global diffusion of the production and purchase of weapons, armaments and sophisticated 'hearing', and 'seeing' and 'sensing' information gathering equipments during the post-Cold War regime continues with the merciful blessings of the United Nations Organization. Military Industrial Complex' - the intimate fusion of arms companies, military commanders and politicians of the USA- still continues strongly (Mandel, E. 1975; Oommen, 1993).

It is important to create institutions that serve the global community rather than service the global market In brief, we need institutions that stress people and not profit. This can be achieved only through a solidarity of all those who work for peace and justice.

Note

LESSON 22:
GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT)

Objectives :

This lesson will help you understand the conceptr of WTO and its importance in communication development

International trade organisation, lasting from 1947 to 1994, created to dismantle the protectionism built up by nations in the decades between the first two world wars. Replaced in 1994 by the WTO.

The foundation of the post-WWII capitalist world was laid in a quite New Hampshire town on July 1944. Gathering under the auspices of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, Ministers from the Allied Nations, apart from the Soviet Union, set out to revive and maintain their economic system over as much of the world they could. They created three successful institutions to accomplish their aims: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), also called the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

With the European economy in tatters by the utter destruction caused by the war, the unscathed United States was the only nation able to rescue capitalism once the War was over. Before the War, almost every country in the world had erected trade barriers to protect their own economies from the devastating crisis sweeping across the world in the wake of the Wall Street Crash. These protectionist measures had contributed to the Great Depression, making export of goods to other countries just as impossible as producing for non-existent domestic markets. There was no chance of rebuilding the war-shattered capitalist economy unless international trade could be re-created.

GATT was established to break down trade barriers (in the form of tariffs, quotas, preferential trade agreements between countries, etc) to make the flow of commodities and capital less restricted by national government influence. GATT explained how the new order would function with three principles for negotiating trade agreements: reciprocity, non-discrimination, and national security.

Reciprocity is the principle that nations should offer an equivalent exchange for the benefits they gain. In practice however, reciprocity is meaningless unless the negotiating nations have, in fact, equal or near equal economic relationships. For example, the U.S. exports food to Somalia, but Somalia exports very little to the U.S. Thus, Somalia is obliged to lower tariffs on U.S. food imports, but the U.S. can offer little benefits to Somalia in return. The end result is that wealthy, productive nations have a great deal to gain with foreign markets lowering tariffs, while poor nations have little to gain when the markets of the wealthy are already dominated by local producers, while their own markets at home are flooded by the wealthy nations. This makes it impossible to build up their own industries since they have no opportunity to compete with the imported goods.

The second principle of GATT, called "non-discrimination", was intended to protect against the corruption that would come about if there were a myriad of different tariffs applying to commodities that come from different countries. Multi-lateral trade agreements were thus necessary for the exchange of particular commodities. In liberal-speak, "non-discrimination" means that once a member reduced a tariff on some commodity for any country, that reduction applied to all member countries. Poor nations were again shafted — multi-lateral trade concessions made between western nations to lower tariffs on automobiles for example, made little impact in most South American nations. Tariffs in the West remained high for textiles, tropical fruit, etc, because it wasn't advantagous to the West to lower these tariffs. The markets of Western nations are more lucrative than those of poor nations; therefore lowering tariffs into western markets is a very big concession, while lowering tariffs into Southern nations is much smaller by comparison. Thus "non-discrimination" in practice applied primarily to the West — they strive to not "discriminate" among one another, but for the most part the rest of the world is not included.

Further still, GATT established a series of exceptions to reciprocity and non-discrimination. Maintaining national security means many things. In Article 1, paragraph 2, it means that the U.S., British, and others, re-established their old imperial preferences in colonies; while Article 14 explains that non-tariff barriers that discriminate between nations can be erected. Article 19 makes it clear that if the lowering of any tariff proved to be too harmful for national businesses, it could be rescinded. Article 21 states that "Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed ..." to negatively impact what any nation defines as a risk to it's own "security". Further, in Article 24, allowances are made specifically against "non-discrimination" — i.e. the establishment of regional trade alliances that exclude other member nations (i.e. the European Union, FTAA, ASEAN, etc.). By Article 25, GATT explains that two negotiating nations can use a two-thirds vote between them to "waive an obligation imposed upon a contracting party by this Agreement".

With the legalistic foundations laid for an international trading agreement, the next task to be resolved was who would facilitate this new trading order? There enters the IMF and World Bank.

Historical Development: Originally GATT was set up as a temporary body to facilitate trade negotiations. The International Trade Organisation (ITO) had instead been created to break down trade barriers, govern trade during negotiations, and resolve trade disputes. The ITO Charter, adopted at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTE) in 1948, included (among other "leftist" principles) a provision that all nations should maintain full employment. This provision outraged the U.S. and U.K.; both calling it socialistic and a violation of national sovereignty. In 1950, the

U.S. government refused to ratify the agreement, and the ITO died.

Instead, the U.S. supported GATT in an expanded role. In the GATT agreement of 1947, 23 nations had signed on; by 1949 10 more nations agreed to comply; all together claiming they governed four-fifths of global trade.

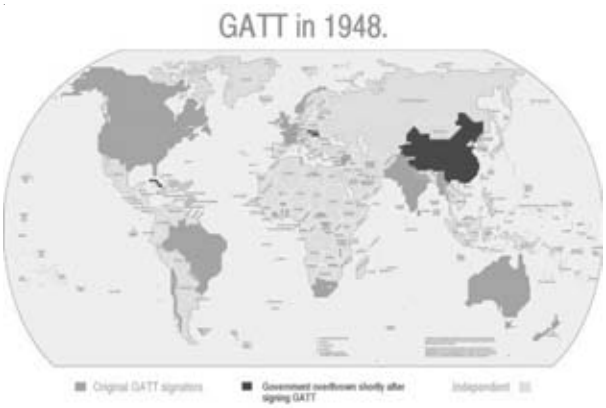
While GATT members negotiated separately on numerous occasions, the entire group held eight organized rounds of trade negotiations. At the first round in Geneva (1947), tariffs were cut by 20% on around three-fourths of commodity imports In the four rounds that followed: Annecy (1949), Torquay (1950-51), Geneva (1955-56) and (1960-61), tariff cuts never amounted to more than 3%, covering less than a tenth of commodity imports. Those controlling GATT thus resolved a new approach: across the board cuts in tariffs, with exception negotiations to follow. The last three rounds of GATT, very much extended, did exactly this: the "Kennedy Round" (1962-67), the Tokyo Round (1973-79), and the Uruguay Round (1986-94).

The last round of GATT negotiations, the Uruguay Round, marked the end of GATT, and the beginning of a new corporate era: the WTO. 128 nations were signatories at it's creation in 1994.

The Genesis of WTO

After the Second World War, the need for linkages in matters of trade, finance etc., in between different countries was well realised. The Bretton Woods conference of Nations held in 1944 suggested the establishment of an International Trade Organisation (I.T.O.) along with setting up of International Monetory Fund (IMF) and International Bank for Reconstructions and Development (IBRD) or World Bank. Although IMF and World Bank were set up in 1946, the proposal for ITO to facilitate and liberalise International Trade had taken shape as General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT).

The GATT was initially signed by 23 countries including India and it came into existence in 1948 with its headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. Ever since GATT was set up, eight Bounds of Negotiations have been held in trade matters. The last Round, i.e Eight Round took seven years (1986-93) in Uruguay. As many as 124 member countries, including India, signed the GATT Agreement at Marrakesh on April 15, 1994. Arthur Dunkel, the then Director-General of the GATT, played a crucial role in drafting the Agreement and the GATT Agreement is widely known as Dunkel proposal.



Critically look at who authored GATT and who became members.

The GATT Agreement took the shape of World Trade Organisation (WTO) from January 1, 1995. The primary objective of the GATT/WTO is to liberalise international trade by relaxing the tariff and other restrictions so as to enable free flow of goods and associated services across the countries. Presently, the WTO has 128 members who account for some 90per cent of the World Trade.

In addition to being a forum for trade negotiations, WTO is akin to the International Court which resolves trade disputes between member countries. The WTO has a status similar to the World Bank and I.M.F.

Since the formation of GATT in 1948, new issues cropped up and fresh negotiations have been held from time to time resulting in major departures from the earlier agreement.

Major Departures In WTO

1. While the earlier GATT provisions confined manly to trade in manufactured goods, now trade in agriculture received emphasis.
2. Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS): The TRIPS covers nine types of intellectual property — copy right, trade marks, trade secrets, geographical indications, industrial designs, layout designs (topographic) of integrated circuits, patents, micro-organisms and plant varieties (with *suigeneris* system, i.e., a system of its own unique). The Patent Right has been extended from 7 and 14 years to an uniform period of 20 years for all commodities. Earlier, only process was patented and now product is also patented. The patented product can be exported after the royalties are paid.
3. Some services like banking, insurance and telecommunications are also included.
4. Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS): It means free inflow and outflow of capital of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) without restrictions on local use of material or exports obligation under the W.T.O.

Opinions are divided on the desirability of different provisions of GATT/WTO. It is argued that some of the provisions are matters of great concern about the very sovereignty of the member countries, particularly a reputed trading country of long history like India. There are misgivings relating to inclusion, particularly of trade in agriculture, services and Intellectual property Rights of certain items. The TRIPS Agreement

excludes plants and animals from patentability, but requires patenting of "Micro-organisms" and "Micro-biological processes. It is said that the issue of patent is a very tricky one. Patents are given for "Inventions", and not for "Discoveries." In the field of bio-chemistry, there seems to be very thin line dividing the two. Further, there is no clear definition of patentable forms like genetically modified micro-organisms and micro-biological processes. Nor there is a clear-cut definition of *suigeneris* system.

It is to be noted that in the case of plant varieties, the TRIPS agreement does not lay down the scope of the specifications and standards for protection. Therefore, the Agreement itself says that the provisions relating to these will be revised after WTO has completed four years, i.e., after 1999. At this stage, what is essential is that India must be cautious in property assessing the impact of WTO Agreement on Indian economy in general and agriculture and rural development in particular and take necessary corrective measures.

Liberalisation & W.T.O: Implications For Agriculture & Rural Development

Among others, the important provisions in the final Act of GATT which influence the agricultural economy and rural development are as follows:

1. Reduction in agricultural subsidies,
2. Patenting of Seeds,
3. To import three percent of domestic demand for agricultural products and
4. Reduction of Public Distribution System activity, confining subsidized food only to those eligible on well defined criteria of nutritional requirements.

Subsidy Discipline

There is a controversy, centered round the provisions of the GATT relating to the subsidies. The subsidies fall broadly into three categories:

1. Input Subsidization of Fertilizer, Electricity, Canal Irrigation, and Seeds,
2. Export Subsidies,
3. Subsidy in Government Services and Programmes such as Research Programmes, Marketing Services and Infrastructure Services.

According to the Agreement, the basis for calculation of subsidies is the Aggregate Measurements of Support (AMS). The AMS has two components, viz., the product-specific support and the non-product specific support. The product specific support is estimated as the difference between the domestic price of the relevant agricultural product and fixed external reference price multiplied by the quantity of output eligible to receive the domestic support. The non-product specific support if given in the form of input subsidies for fertilizer, electricity, canal irrigation, seed and credit. In India subsidy on all the three items is less than 10 per cent and as per the provisions of the GATT Agreement, developing countries can subsidise their farmers upto 10 per cent of the total value of the output. There is, therefore, no obligation for India under the Treaty to reduce any of the subsidies given to their farmers.

But there are apprehensions that increasing procurement prices, subsidization of fertilizer and a canal irrigation may push the subsidies beyond 10 per cent level within a few years-Further, if developed countries continued subsidy to agricultural inputs, they would be able to produce at relatively low price and be in a position to sell at lower prices and this would be detrimental to the marketing of farm products of developing countries like India. If exportable subsidies on agricultural products continued in developed countries, India would be at a disadvantage in international market.

In recent years, there have been attempts of phasing out of input subsidies in India and such a step will have major implications for the cropping pattern and the crop diversification process that has been taking place in the country, especially since the eighties. In recent years, there has been a shift in the cropped area from coarse cereals to relatively higher value-crops. The total area under the food grains which was 127.6 million hectares during the triennium ending (TE) 1984-85 declined to 123.1 million hectares during TE 1994-95. The effort to compensate the farmers for the increased input prices by other methods would help this process, Removing the input subsidies and adjusting it on final product prices may not be a feasible method to encourage crop diversification or even to retain the suitable cropping pattern that has already been achieved in certain regions.

Patenting of Seeds

The Agreement on patents is in substantial variance from the Indian Patent Act of 1970 and therefore had given rise to a lot of controversy in India. As per the Indian Law, agricultural products, including seeds and plants, animals and all life forms including microorganisms and microbiological process are not patentable. There was no *suigeneris* system as such under the Indian Patent Law. As per TRIPS under GATT, agricultural products — Microorganisms and Microbiological processes are patentable. There is a lot of ambiguity associated with the concepts of Microorganisms, Micro biological processes and *sui generis* system.

Farmers' Suicides, Hunger Deaths and Globalisation

The corporate hijack of our food and agriculture

Navdanya - Press Release , 3 January 2003

Globalisation is killing the people of India. Farmers are being pushed to suicides with rising debts due to deregulation of inputs such as seeds and chemicals and imports by the removal of quantitative restrictions. The poor are facing starvation. Reports of hunger deaths have become routine even as 65 million tonnes of foodgrain are rotting in godowns.

At a seminar on Food Sovereignty organised by Sustainable Agriculture Movement - Navdanya, as part of the Asian Social Forum, farmer leaders and food right activists presented analyses and testimonies on why are farmers committing suicide and why are the people being starved to death.

- Over 8000 children have died of malnutrition in Maharashtra since globalisation
- Nearly 2000 farmers have committed suicide in Rajasthan in the last 3 years
- More than 100 farmers from three villages - Rentachintala, Khambhampadu, and Macherla in East Andhra Pradesh have sold kidneys to avoid starvation.
- Between 1997 and 2000 in just one district - Anantpur - in Andhra Pradesh, 1826 people, mainly marginal farmers, committed suicide.
- Wheat is being exported at Rs. 3.96 a kilo even while the BPL price is Rs. 4.20 and the economic cost to FC I is Rs. 8.30
- The Supreme Court's Commissioners on Food found that almost 70% of the food offtake by Rajasthan government was for exports.

Dr. Vandana Shiva, the founder of Navdanya, and a leading figure of the anti-globalisation movement, said these glaring facts show that under globalisation, the Indian food system is being hijacked for super profits of MNCs and is no longer designed to serve either peasants or the poor. She gave an overview of the impact of a decade of globalisation on the food sovereignty of the country and the food entitlement of the people of India. She also laid out the strategies for fighting WTO and agribusiness at the national and international levels, especially in the context of the upcoming Ministerial eeting of WTO in Cancun and the total collapse of the negotiations on agriculture.

Arun Bhatia, the Director of the Tribal Research and Training Institute Pune, who was asked by the central government to study the tribal deaths in Maharashtra, presented his data showing that the percentage of hunger deaths among 0-6 year olds in Nandubar district has gone up from 0% in 1993 to 46.20 percent in 2001.

Prafulla Samantra of Orissa who broke the news of the hunger deaths of Kashipur last year, shared with the participants details of the continuing crisis of hunger in the state.

Other eminent food rights activists who spoke about hunger deaths at the Seminar included P. Sainath and Colin Gonsalves.

The food sovereignty of the country and the food system that gave food security to the poor has been hijacked by global corporations using WTO and the World Bank.

- Farm prices of agricultural produce are collapsing. Coconut prices in 2000 were less than half their price in 1996. In just two year, between 1998-99 and 2000-2001 Kerala farmers lost a staggering Rs. 17,000 crore.
- The Conoor tea industry lost Rs. 86 crore in 2002.
- The price of rice has fallen to lows of Rs. 320 in many places; wheat prices have fallen by more than a 100 rupees per quintal in many mandis of UP and Punjab.
- As a result of unfair trade practices legalised by the WTO, the import figures for India has dramatically increased from Rs. 50,000 million in 1995 to Rs. 200,000 million in 2001.

Farmer leaders Sunilam, Atul Kumar Anjan, Suneet Chopra, G.S. Dittupur, G. Nammalvar, K.R. Chowdry, and Gopal Iyer, gave reports from different parts of the country on the survival crisis being faced by farmers as a result of globalisation.

WTO was sold to the Indian people as a means of creating a level playing field and for removing northern subsidies. Subsidies in the US and Europe have however increased after the WTO came into force. While the US used the WTO to force India to remove quantitative restrictions, it has enacted the new US Farm Bill which increases subsidies to agriculture by 73.5 billion dollars to $180 billion over the next 6 years. Most of these subsides go to agribusiness like Cargill, ADM and Conagra for dumping artificially heap agricultural products on our markets. Removal of import regulation in the face of these unjust and high subsidies is a death knell to Indian farmers.

Cargill has cornered the oilseed trade in the country, and is now building a new edible oil refinery in Paradeep. Conagra, which has tied up with ITC's Agro Tech, and has taken over Rath vanaspathi, has now also taken a broad-based patent on Indian "atta" chakkis to over almost any type of grinding and milling at all levels - from the household and cottage industry to large flour mills.

Participants called for an immediate re-introduction of quantitative restrictions on imports in agriculture and a ban on patents on indigenous technologies in the food sector. They also called for fair prices to farmers for their produce based on MSP as a floor price as recommended by the Long term Grain Policy Committee of the government. They declared food as a human right and food sovereignty as the basis of economic democracy. This requires an expansion of the public distribution system rather than its shrinkage as is being imposed by the World Bank and implemented by the government.

It also requires that food and agriculture be moved out of the WTO, and be governed by principles of food sovereignty, not by principles of "free-trade".

Navdanya, which has been at the cutting edge of research, action and campaigns on WTO and food issues, also released its two new reports related to Globalisation and Food sovereignty - Corporate Hijack of Agriculture: How trade liberalisation and market access rules of WTO are killing farmers and Corporate Hijack of Food: How World Bank and WTO are pushing the poor to starvation.

However, the plant varieties are to be protected through the System of Protecting Breeders Rights (PBR). The PBR System protects the right of plant breeders to exclusively market commercially, the new plant variety, one develops. The basic objective of PBR system is to encourage plant breeding capabilities and to stimulate investment in the field.

There is a provision in this regard for farmers' privilege. The farmer can use seed of his farm for growing subsequent crops. The PBR system should not impinge on the farmer as long as he continues to be a grain producer and does not become a commercial seed seller. A plant breeder and a farmer are said to be not adversely affected and one is complement to the success of another.

Further, there is freedom available to a researcher to use one protected variety to breed another new variety. India has abundant plant breeding skills with which seed requirements

can be met on a large scale. The seed produced by Indian Agriculture Research Association and used by farmer would not come under the purview of GATT. In India nearly 80 per cent of the production and supply of seed is still controlled by farmers, farmer to farmer systems and use of seed from one's own field being widely prevalent. Such rights should be well protected and necessary legislation be enacted to ensure such rights to individual farmers, researchers and plant breeders. The Indian Patent Law should protect the interests of farmers, researchers and plant breeders, from MNC role in this field.

Imports to the extent of three Per Cent of Domestic Demand

The obligation to import three per cent of the agricultural products required is not applicable to India at present due to deficit position in the balance of payments (BOP). For most of the concessions given to developing countries like India, the BOP crisis or deficit in BOP is listed as the main eligibility requirement. Sooner or later India would come out of the BOP crisis and then lose these concessions. What is important is to fully exploit the scope for betterment of agriculture and related sectors through export promotion under WTO. There is a mandatory minimum access of the domestic markets of the developed countries to farm produce from outside. As such, the European countries, the erstwhile USSR countries, would provide opportunity for Indian exports of agricultural products. In order to tap these markets and their requirements, their expectation of quality must be well assessed and accordingly plan our agricultural production strategy. Apart from stepping up of productivity levels of cereals as well as non-cereal crops leading to substantial marketable surplus, care must be taken for cost effective production of high quality, meeting the demand of international market. The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) keeping in view the changed scenario of liberalisation, emphasises on: (1) the development and promotion of market and products, brand name and dissemination of information among exporters, (2) improvement in quality and packaging, keeping in view the health, sanitation and international standards, (3) encouragement to export orient units, (4) development of cold chain system, (5) creation of infrastructures at airport/seaports, (6) Integrated long-term policy to improve the production and productivity and increasing use of bio-fertilizers and bio-pesticides to ensure quality of products and (7) encouragement to private sector to invest in infrastructure which can promote agro-exports.

Food Subsidy

The issue of food subsidy has also been brought under the purview of WTO. In India Public Distribution System (PDS) has been in operation since many decades. Its main objective is to make available food grains through a network of Fair Price Shops to the vulnerable sections of the society at reasonable prices. This would also act as an effective instrument of price stability in National Economy.6 The PDS is supposed to insulate poor or weaker sections of population against inflation. In India, still some 40 per cent of people are below the poverty line with the ghost of food scarcity haunting the country with persistence of nutritional gap. Against the caloric intake of 2616 per capita at the global level and 2484 calories at the Asian level, the intake of an Indian is only 2204 calories. The intake of protein by an Indian is much less and its availability is sharply declining and it is currently put at 36.2 gms per day, per person against the recommended minimum requirement of 80 gms. The per capita level of consumption of food grains has been almost stagnant. The problem in India is one of poverty and lack of purchasing capacity. Under these circumstances the really poor need to be identified and supply of food stuffs at subsidised rates through effective PDS must continue.

New Economic Policy

One has to view the WTO in the background of New Economic Policy (NEP) of liberalisation and globalisation pursued since June 1991. The NEP is a complete reversal of policies advocated during the days of Independence movement and later in the post-Independent era. During the time of India's Independence, leaders exhorted the people to boycott foreign goods and buy only Indian goods. After Independence, the policy was to encourage domestic industries and hence the flow of foreign capital was discouraged. The imports were restricted by raising customs duties. Indigenisation and import substitution were the cherished goals of at least the patriots in the country. In the early phase of planned development, emphasis was on self-reliance and import-substitution. The emphasis now is towards export-led growth.

The change in economic policies was found necessary. The crisis in the balance of payments, huge external debt, inflation of high magnitude by 1991, necessitated the Government of India, to yield to the advice of the IMF and the World Bank to adopt a new economic policy of Liberalisation. While the concepts like Public Sector, Socialistic Pattern of Society, Controls, Regulation, etc., were very popular till 1991, instead, now a new set of concepts like Stabilisation, Liberalisation, Privatisation, Disinvestment, Decontrol, Deregulation, etc., are gaining currency.

The liberal trade under the WTO and New Economic Policy of Liberalisation and Globalisation are expected to (1) increase competition and give the consumers higher quality goods and services at lower prices, (2) debureaucratise economic activity and promote entrepreneurship and individual initiative, (3) increase productivity, eliminate social waste and create additional wealth with the utilisation of advances in science and technology and (4) enable utilization of the vast potential of the global market in terms of export promotion and development of competitive spirit of high order.

From the day India signed the GATT agreement and India had chosen to have a New Economic Policy of globalisation and free market economy, concerns about Indian agrarian prospects are being expressed. The Farmers' Forums and intellectuals are divided with varying views on the implications of GATT/ WTO and New Economic Policy on agriculture and rural development. The controversy is mainly centered round the Patents Rights and Intellectual Property Rights relating to seeds, withdrawal of subsidy, modification in public distribution system, role of Multinationals in India and corporation of agriculture. Some argue that liberalised trading system under WTO is "silver lining for exports" of Indian Agricultural

products, while others opposed, view the whole exercise as an unholy alliance between two unequals and a planned design of subjugation of Indian interest. With advancement in Information Technology, different nations are brought closer towards "One World." It is but appropriate that Indian economy is integrated with the global economy. Dr. Abid Hussain (Hindu, Aug 31, 2000. The other Face of Liberalisation) who has authored a report on small scale industries policy reforms, describes "globalisation as a process driven by the forces of science and technology and no country can remain isolated from them." However, India should make sure that her interests are not jeopardised in any way as a member of the WTO. India has certain basic advantages. It has her own well proven native technology and plant breeders who have evolved new strains of high quality. There are innumerable innovative contributions of Indians in areas of Mathematics, Medicine, Engineering, Agricultural Technology etc. Further, the very geographical size of India and the size of her population and wide domestic market for different goods and services provide strength to her trade and bargaining capacity in International markets.

India had chosen to be a member of WTO and pursue policies of liberalisation and globalisation. Now questions to be answered are: who are the beneficiaries of the new policy? Will the new measures benefit the assetless poor? Will the new measures generate employment on a wider scale so as to absorb growing labour force? Will these measures help agriculture and rural development in India?

Expectation From WTO/Economic Liberalisation

Expectations from globalisation of Indian economy and liberalisation of trade under WTO are many. There are many opportunities for enhanced exports of horticulture, sericulture, aquaculture and other agricultural products. This might improve the economic conditions of farming community as they would be able to get better prices for their produce in the International Markets. Under liberalised trade, the imports of certain items such as oil seeds, pulses are being allowed and this would meet the nutritional gaps in the country. Since WTO has opened up new opportunities for export of agricultural products, both raw and processed, that would help in value addition in agriculture and create conducive environment for investment.

The New Economic Policy of globalisation is expected to benefit consumers in terms of better quality products of one's choice, and that too at acceptable prices.

In recent years, a new breed of entrepreneurial class from the rural sector is emerging and this is attributed to liberalised economic policies. Of late, there has been a trend towards non-agricultural occupation within the rural sector. Also, trend towards dairying, poultry, cultivation of grapes and other horticulture crops is a clear indication of emergence of entrepreneurial class in the rural areas. Liberalisation and globalisation policy provide ample opportunities for the growth of entrepreneurial class in rural India. Emergence of such promising entrepreneurs would certainly put a halt to the investment flight from rural to urban and migration of people from rural to urban centres and enhance the rate of returns accruing on the capital invested in rural areas. The rural entrepreneurs have now better access to World market under WTO and can acquire improved inputs including technology available in other countries and apply the same in their own farming and other activities.

Indian Scenario

After decades of planned economic development and a mixed economy, India accelerated her liberalisation programme from 1991. The reforms were started to contain a fiscal and balance of payments crisis. But the declared objective of these reforms wasnot only to correct the errors in the past, but also to carry outstructural reforms in the long term in order to increase the efficiency of the productive system and to aim to achieve the rates of growth of countries in East and South East Asia.

This opening up to the international economy was obtained by a progressive dismantling of quantitative restrictions and tariff barriers and by opening up sectors of the economy so far restricted to the public sector to private and foreign capital. The opening up of the economy has increased the purchasing power of a middle class estimated at more than 150 million. This domestic market, coupled with the export potential of the country represents an important advantage for attracting foreign direct investment, especially in the domains where India possesses a very high quality of human resources (electronic, software engineering). In addition, India has the political, legal and financial institutions capable of accompanying these reforms; along with a powerful State, there exists a strong tradition of the market economy as well as a very active entrepreneurial class in India.

However, the reform of the public sector has proved to be slow and difficult. The liberalisation has done very little to improve the conditions of one third of the Indian population living under the poverty line. In spite of a socialist rhetoric, compared to a lot of other Asiatic countries, India has invested very little in social infrastructure (health, education) and in measures destined to reducing poverty.

Today, the real challenge for India is to develop a dynamic comparative advantage based on its industrial capacities as well as its human capital. In this context, the dimension of regional development becomes very important : the federal political structure could probably allow partnerships between entrepreneurs and regional or local governments, notably for foreign investment. Already the signs of an internal regionalisation of the globalisation process have become visible, which could create regional disequilibrium in the short term, but would have a very positive effect on long term development.

Limitations under Liberalization / WTO

The expected benefits out of liberalisation/WTO are based on many conditions and assumptions linked with individual enterprise qualities and policy measures. The shift from subsistence agriculture to commercial farming is possible only if there is adequate investment in agricultural sector, particularly on infrastructure development at village level. Creation of infrastructure at village level such as roads and communication, irrigation, electricity, godowns, processing centres and marketing centres would accentuate the pace of agriculture and rural

development. In recent years, there has been gradual decline in both public and private investment in agriculture with all its adverse effects on capital formation and rural development. As rightly viewed by G. Parthasarathy (1998), export potential of horticulture crops would be realised only if adequate infrastructure is built up. Further, a rise in exports of horticulture crops is not without adverse effects on the poorer people. As a consequence of shift in area to horticulture crops, there is likely to be decline in foodgrains production and increase in further market dependence. This may result in price rise and erosion of wages of the poor.

In recent years, there has been change in consumption pattern due to improvement in the level of income and increasing awareness about new quality products. This is bound to influence domestic demand for new variety of consumer goods, particularly superior food items. In a situation of low average food consumption levels as in India, the increase in export of agricultural commodities ignoring local demand of poor people is highly questionable and not desirable. It is estimated that India has surplus foodgrains stock of about 30 million tonnes at the existing consumption level. With improvement in consumption standards the so called surplus stocks would be much less. At the same time, some 30% per cent of the urban population and 40% of the rural population are not able to meet the basic requirement of food due to lack of purchasing capacity. Under Liberalisation Policy, there is a tendency to shift cropped area from food to high value export crops and this is bound to create food shortage, unless productivity of food crops is stepped up significantly. Food security to people is more important and pressing than earning through export of foodgrains. India has not reached the take-off stage in agricultural production so as to concentrate on exports leaving behind millions who suffer from chronic hunger. Further, inter-regional transfers of foodgrains under the PDS is not well taken care of. Under these circumstances, there is bound to be resistance for transfer of foodgrains to International Markets.

Withdrawal Of Subsidies And Small Farmers

In India nearly 75% of the cultivators are of small and marginal holdings category with less than 2 hectares. The benefits of globalisation, would only go to small number of fanners of large size holdings. The farmers of small holdings being substance cultivators, have little marketable surplus. Any attempt of withdrawal of subsidy even partly on fertilizer or electricity would cause great hardship to the small and marginal farmers. It is feared liberalisation of policy benefiting the rich farmers would further accentuate the existing disparity in the income levels between small and large farmers.

It is to be noted that some of the development countries continue to provide subsidies to fertilizer and resort to raising high tariff walls to prevent imports from the developing countries. India must be well guarded against such attempts. The Indian farmers should not be placed at disadvantage in matter of enjoying subsidy and tariff benefits.

Protecting Indian Products

Each country has its own Patent Laws including India. India is entitled for TRIPS in certain items. In India, Scientists and Plant Breeders have evolved new strains such as Basmati Rice, Darjeeling Tea, Neem and Turmeric-based products. It is rightly pointed out that Indian products which have acquired a commercial significance by usages over time as that of Basmati Rise, etc., may be vulnerable to encroachments by others. As an example, it is stated that recently a company has filed an application in Britain for "American Type of Basmati Rice." It is necessary that we enact a suitable national legislation for protecting products with Geographical Indication and Products having specific characters in order to prevent such encroachments in future.

A decade after the new economic policy in vogue, the goals set remain far from met, and on the other hand, there are indications of unbalanced growth and widening of income disparities. The conclusions of some studies11 of an autonomous organisation on the outcome of the new economic policy of liberalisation and globalisation are worth noting- It is pointed out "Poverty and unemployment situation in the country has worsened in the Nineties and Income disparities have widened than never before.... These Policies lead to greater inequality in the society. In 1999-2000 only 0.05 per cent of the population earned in the stock market Rs. 4,00,000 crores, while this was the income in the entire agriculture sector, on which 67 per cent of the population depends" notes Dr. Arun Kumar. It is also pointed out that in the years of Liberalisation, over 63 per cent of the workforce engaged in farming has to make do with about 25% of the GDP, while a little over one-fifth of the workforce engaged in the services sector obtains a little over half of the GDP. In this context, says Dr. Kabra, "No one Policy will trigger development; human needs have to be addressed directly; a comprehensive approach is needed... sustainable development should be rooted in processes that are socially inclusive."

Need fur Sustainable or Eco-Friendly Agricultural Development

The need of the hour is sustainable or eco-friendly development, particularly sustainable agricultural development in India. Over-exploitation of ground water using pressure irrigation systems, excessive dosage of chemical fertilizer in areas of assumed irrigation, prawn farming in the coastal belt, encroachment of irrigation tanks, large-scale grazing, tree felling, hunting, clandestine timber trading and consequent damage to forest wealth, etc., endanger environment and biodiversity. There must be check on the investment pattern of the Multinationals in India so as to ensure that there is no exploitation of nature and the poor people.

Rural Infrastructure for Rural Industries

The rural infrastructure in terms of energy, rural roads, and communication, rural transport, warehousing, irrigation, marketing etc. remain neglected. If liberalisation policy attracts investment in these areas, that would go a long way in the development of agriculture and rural areas. Rural infrastructure development is bound to pave the way for development of rural industries.

R&D Development

Strengthening Research and Development (R & D) in private sector, with adequate State support is necessary to address,

among others, seed multiplication and distribution with a focus on dry-farming technology. Appropriate steps need to be taken to protect the indigenous seed industry against competition from the Multinational Corporations,

We cannot expect miracles to happen always through privatisation. Due to privatisation of Dairy Sector, for example, the co-operative sector which has sustained the livelihood of landless poor and small and marginal cultivators is on the verge of collapse in some parts of India. A healthy competition between private, co-operative and public sectors need to be encouraged and that would ensure better quality products which can enjoy International Market.

Effective Steps to ensure Quality of Farm Products

To meet the requirements of the international markets, the farm production needs to be diversified. Fruits, vegetables, better quality rice, prawns and other aquacultural products have to be produced on a priority basis. The quality of Indian farm produce is under cloud in International Markets. Effective steps to ensure quality of farm produce are immediately called for to enjoy the benefits of export promotion under liberalisation policy. The grade specifications and standards of agricultural products in India should be harmonised with International standards and specifications. As Gokhul Patnaik, indicated, the package of practices recommended for application of chemicals and pesticides in agriculture should be suitably modified to ensure the level of chemical residues in agricultural food stuffs remained within the tolerable limits prescribed by importing countries.12 At the same time, export should be allowed only after meeting fully the domestic requirements.

Inflow of Multinationals and Impact on Economic and Social Life

It is feared that the inflow of multinationals and foreign capital under globalisation and liberalisation may result in capital intensive "mass production" with exploitative element and not labour intensive "Production by Masses" as pleaded by Mahatma Gandhi. Further, there is a fear that free flow-in of foreign capital into India, apart from adversely affecting small producers — both farm and non-farm categories, "may create a class that becomes a part of global consumerist class with all its adverse effects on social life and well cherished moral values of India."

Today India, as a member of WTO and with a policy of economic liberalisation, has to face a great technological challenge. The international competition should be met through technology advancement, emergence of entrepreneur-ship in rural sector and quality upgradation of varying product profile.

Export-Import Policy (Exim Policy) and Agriculture and Rural Development

The EXIM policy announced on March, 31,1992 aims to further carry forward the process of liberalisation. The EXIM policy so announced for the first time covered a period of five years and it coincided with the Eighth Plan Period (1992-97). The current EXIM policy (1997-2002), which seeks to consolidate the gains of the previous policy and to strengthen the process of liberalisation coincides with the Ninth Plan.

With specific reference to agriculture, the objectives of the EXIM policy (1997-2002) are stated as "To enhance the technological strength and efficiency of India agriculture, industry and services, thereby improving their competitive strength while generating new employment opportunities and encourage the attainment of internationally accepted standards of quality and to provide consumers with good quality products at reasonable prices."

Under the EXIM policy, it is said that now there is freedom and licensing, quantitative restrictions and other regulatory and discretionary controls have been substantially eliminated or relaxed. All goods, except those coming under the negative list, may be freely imported and exported.

The negative list consists of three categories: (1) Prohibited (2) Restricted by Licensing or otherwise and (3) Canalised. As per the EXIM policy effective from April 1,1997, there are three prohibited items of import, namely, animal tallow — fat and/ or oils; animal rennet and wild animals including their parts and products and ivory. The prohibited items of export cover all forms of wild animals including their parts and products with certain exemptions; exotic birds; animal tallow — fat and/ or oils excluding fish oil; beef; human skeletons; sandlewood excluding fully finished handicrafts and machine finished sandlewood products; certain wood and wood products and certain chemicals.

Through licensing the export or import transaction are restricted with certain terms and conditions stipulated by the licensing authority. The terms and conditions of licensing include (1) quantity description and value of the goods, (2) actual user condition, (3) export objective, if any, (4) value addition to be achieved, (5) minimum export price and, (6) the country of origin and destination of the goods.

The restricted items in the negative list of imports include consumers goods, animals, birds, and reptiles; aircraft and relicopters and certain drugs. The restricted items of exports cover cattle, camel; chemical fertilizer; hides and skins; industrial leathers and paddy.

The third category comes under canalisation. Canalisation means that the import or export of the goods concerned may be done only through the designated public sector agencies like State Trading Corporation (STC), Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation of India (MMTC), Indian Oil Corporation (IOC). National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) etc. There are eight canalised items of imports, namely, petroleum products; certain vegetable oils like coconut oil, certain seeds like copra and groundnut, and fertilizers. There are six canalised items of export like petroleum products; certain mineral ores and concentrates; wiger seeds; and onion.

The new EXIM policy is quite in line with the economic reforms introduced in India. The expectation is that the technological strength and efficiency of Indian agriculture along with industry and services development would enhance leading to employment generation in the rural sector. If once quantitative restrictions on import of agricultural commodities go, after

India's position in Balance of Payments becomes quite comfortable, as part of EXIM policy, the apprehensions of adverse effects of such policy are genuine. India's' strategy in the ongoing and coming negotiations on the agreement on agriculture in WTO should be one of protecting agriculture, rural development and livelihood of rural masses.

Corporatisation of Agriculture

As a part of globalisation and liberalisation, corporatisation of agriculture is advocated and promoted in certain parts of the country. The case for such policy is based on (1) economies of scale in production, storage and marketing, (2) potential for higher investment in agriculture, drawingthe surpluses from industry and service sectors, (3) acceleration of agricultural exports to earn much needed foreign exchange for imports, and (4) upgradation of farm technology to ensure cost-effectiveness and competitiveness in international markets.

The critics argue that the strategy is fraught with certain adverse consequences like , (1) opening up of agriculture to MNCs, depriving the entrepreneurial opportunities for individual farmers, (2) accentuation of regional inequalities in the levels of agricultural development, (3) curtailment of employment opportunities in the farm front, (4) small and marginal farmers will be driven to the ranks of agricultural labourers, (5) market dependence for food articles will increase leading to reduction in food security, and (6) prospects for reduction in rural poverty become bleak, rendering the policy of land reforms ineffective. In short, it is felt that in the corporate arrangement, equity issues become secondary.

In view of the adverse consequences, hasty pursuit in the matter is not warranted.

Note

LESSON 23:
GLOBAL DEBT AND THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected to*

To learn how foreign debt affect development

To know the situation of India.

Vincent Ferraro and Melissa Rosser, (1994) state that foreign aid and foreign debt has tremendous impact on third world countries' development.

In 1919, writing about a massive debt imposed upon Germany by the Allied Powers as reparations for a catastrophic war, John Maynard Keynes expressed contempt for the wisdom of the policy:

The policy of reducing Germany to servitude for a generation, of degrading the lives of millions of human beings, and of depriving a whole nation of happiness should be abhorrent and detestable - abhorrent and detestable, even if it were possible, even if it enriched ourselves, even if it did not sow the decay of the whole civilized life of Europe.

Some preach it in the name of justice. In the great events of man's history, in the unwinding of the complex fates of nations Justice is not so simple. And if it were, nations are not authorized, by religion or by natural morals, to visit on the children of their enemies the misdoings of parents or of rulers.

Twenty years later, the debt, partially responsible for the rise of the Nazis, had been repudiated and Keynes's views had been confirmed.

Seventy-four years later, the world confronts another massive debt, although not one imposed by a treaty of peace. Indeed, this debt, totaling $1.362 trillion in 1991, has no identifiable demons: One cannot point to the vindictiveness of a Clemenceau, or the opportunism of a Lloyd George, or the naive idealism of a Wilson. Nonetheless, this debt has had the effect of plunging millions of people into conditions of economic despair and desperation. Most tragically, this debt will jeopardize the chances for the happiness of millions of children who will have committed no crime other than that of being born into a poor society. Ultimately, this debt, like the German debt, will not be repaid in full.

This chapter will examine the causes and consequences of the global debt crisis. It begins by first defining the crisis and then develops an explanation for the crisis from two perspectives: first, a general explanation based upon the desperate economic conditions that characterize developing countries; and second, an explanation of the more specific reasons why poorer countries expanded their debt burdens so dramatically in the 1970s. The chapter then examines the costs of the debt crisis to both developing and developed countries, and pays some close attention to the possibility of an international banking collapse in the early 1980s. Finally, the chapter reviews some general solutions to the debt crisis and offers suggestions for future responses.

What is the "Debt Crisis?"

To be fully accurate, one should refer to the multiple debt crises that exist in the world today. For our purposes, however, the "debt crisis" will refer the external debt, both private and public, of developing countries, which has been growing enormously since the early 1970s. Our focus should obscure, however, the other debt crises that trouble much of the global economy: the budget deficits of the United States government, its balance trade deficits, and the insolvency of many of its savings and loans institutions. These crises are highly interconnected, particularly as they relate the issues of interest rates, export values, and confidence in the international banking system. The "debt crisis," then, is a global phenomenon, and an attempt to understand it fully needs a global perspective.

However, the greatest suffering thus far in the crisis is found within developing countries, and therein lies the justification for our focus. But even within the developing world, our attention can be directed toward a variety of problems depending on how one chooses to think about debt. One can focus on the integrity of the international financial system, in which case one's emphasis is on the countries with the largest debts, such as Mexico or Brazil. Alternatively, a primary concern can be on the desperate human costs of the debt, which would direct attention to sub-Saharan Africa, for example. Yet another perspective, the strategic dimensions of the problem, would concentrate on debtors such as Turkey or South Korea.

We will pay primary attention to what have been termed the most heavily indebted nations within the developing countries. This focus is not neutral, since it generally refers to those nations with the largest debts a whose threat of default represents a serious concern to lending agencies.2 The bias of the focus, however, should not divert attention from the smaller countries, particularly those in Africa, whose debts are crushingly large to their people, even though the banks and international lending agencies consider them less important or less threatening.

Selected Debt Statistics of the Fifteen Most Severely Indebted Developing Nations

Country	Total External Debt (Millions Of $US) 1990	Total External Debt (as a % of GNP) 1980	Debt Service (as a % of Exports) 1980	1990
Algeria	26,806	47.1	27.1	59.4
Argentina	61,144	48.4	37.3	34.1
Bolivia	4,276	93.3	35.0	34.1
Brazil	116,173	31.2	63.1	20.8
Bulgaria	10,927	1.1	0.3	56.9
Congo	5,118	98.0	10.8	20.7
Cote d'Ivoire	17,956	58.8	28.3	38.6

Country	Total External Debt (Millions Of $US) 1990	Total External Debt (as a % of GNP) 1980	Debt Service (as a % of Exports) 1980	1990
Ecuador	12,105	53.8	33.9	33.2
Mexico	96,810	30.5	49.5	27.8
Morocco	23,524	53.3	32.7	23.4
Nicaragua	10,497	112.1	22.3	4.1
Peru	21,105	51.0	46.5	11.0
Poland	49,386	16.3	17.9	4.9
Syria	16,446	27.1	11.4	26.9
Venezuela	33,305	42.1	27.2	20.7

Source: World Bank, *World Development Report, 1992* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1992) Tables 21 and 24, pp. 258-259, 264-265.

The accelerating magnitude of debt for the most heavily indebted nations is staggering. In 1970, the fifteen heavily indebted nations (using the World Bank classification of 1989 - see note 2) had an external public debt of $17.923 billion - which amounted to 9.8 percent of their GNP. By 1987, these same nations owed $402.171 billion, or 47.5 percent of their GNP. Interest payments owed by these countries went from $2.789 billion in 1970 to $36.251 billion in 1987. Debt service, defined as the sum of actual repayments of principal and actual payments of interest made in foreign currencies, goods, or services on external public and publicly guaranteed debt, accounted for 1.5 percent of their GNP and 12.4 percent of their to exports of goods and services in 1970. In 1987, those figures had risen 4.3 percent and 24.9 percent, respectively. Table gives the statistics using the World Bank's 1992 classification of heavily indebted countries.

For the developing world as a whole, in 1991, the total external debt was $1.362 trillion, which was 126.5 percent of its total exports of goods and services in that year, and the ratio of debt servicing to the gross domestic product of the developing world reached 32.4 percent.

The Causes of the Debt Crisis: (1) Poverty as a General Motive for Borrowing

The economic debts of the developing world will not be fully repaid, quite simply because the people who live in the developing world cannot afford to repay them. The harsh reality of poverty in poorer countries was an initial stimulus for the loans. As we shall see below, economic conditions suggested that borrowing money was a reasonable course of action in the 1970s, particularly for poor countries, which perceived few, if any, alternative ways to address the economic plight of their citizens. Those who live in the rich countries of the developed world can readily observe profound poverty: all who live in the wealthy, industrialized nations do not have equal access to education, health care, good nutrition, and housing. The fact that these deprivations exist alongside great wealth is shocking, but they pale when compared to the scale of global poverty. The hunger, homelessness, illness, and suffering of the poor in the developed countries must be multiplied a thousand times, in some respects a million times, to begin to reflect the scope of poverty in the world's poorest nations. In 1987, the average per capita income for people living in the poor countries in the South was only 6 percent of the income in the developed countries of the North. In Africa, one-fifth of the population lives in poverty, with those in sub-Saharan Africa bearing the heaviest burden.6 A child in the developing world suffers a risk of death four to ten times greater than that of a child in Western Europe or North America. A pregnant woman in the developing world is 50 to 100 times more likely to die in childbirth than women in the wealthy, developed nations.

Despite the overwhelming number of statistics and indicators, global poverty is as hard to measure as it is to conceptualize. Although it is simple to characterize abstractly the living conditions of the world's impoverished population, there is no widely accepted, standard method of identifying the poor, and, therefore, of measuring the exact extent of global poverty. Economists, social scientists, politicians, and agencies for international aid each advocate their own particular definition of poverty depending upon the interests, whether noble or self-serving, which they are protecting or pursuing. Nonetheless, whatever the bias of the analyst or the method used to estimate the number of global poor, the statistics are appallingly high, almost beyond comprehension. Consider, for example, these estimates taken from the September 1990 UN *Chronicle* (p. 46):

- 1 billion people live in absolute poverty
- 100 million persons are completely homeless
- 800 million persons go hungry every day
- 1.75 billion people are without access to safe drinking water
- 1.5 billion persons are without access to primary health care

The central debate concerning the definition of poverty centers around the two most prominent types of measurements: income analysis and basic needs analysis. Income analysis, the most common measure of poverty, assumes that poverty is a direct function of income and individual purchasing power within nations. It argues that citizens with a higher income should have greater access to goods and services that will satisfy their basic needs. The countries with a higher GNP and GNP per capita presumably will have a proportionally higher standard of living for all their citizens. Consequently, the income analysis approach uses a cross-national comparison of GNP, GNP per capita, and GDP (gross domestic product) statistics to define poverty. In 1990, the World Bank's definition of poverty was all of the world's population living on less than $370 a year; a figure derived from the average of the poverty lines of the poorest nations in the world. By this criteria, over 20 percent of the world's population live in poverty.

The relative ease with which GNP and related economic indicators can be calculated, and the ability to set an actual "poverty line" based upon these "hard" figures, are attractive features of the income analysis method. However, the method has many hidden weaknesses. First, despite the seemingly accurate nature of the income definition of poverty, it is, in fact, based upon averages. For instance, the GNP per capita indicator measures the average income of each person in a nation by dividing the total gross national product by the total population. It is a highly inaccurate measurement because it does not

consider the unequal distribution of wealth within the country. Many people in developing nations do not live within the organized market economy, and, in many countries, a rigid class and social structure prevents the integration of the poor into the economic activity of the country as a whole. Most of the very poor meet their needs through subsistence methods, such as farming, hunting, and bartering. The national income has no direct, or even indirect, effect on their existence, and a money income definition of poverty will not reflect their standard of living whatsoever.

The basic needs approach to the definition of poverty conceptualizes poverty differently. It is not a lack of money that causes people to live impoverished lives, it is a lack of food, shelter, education, sanitation, safe drinking water, and health care. Basic needs analysis sets a minimum standard for each of these life-sustaining variables and classifies as poor those who have access to less than a minimum allowance. The picture of the impoverished, according to the basic needs analysis, is one who is malnourished, illiterate, short-lived, sickly, and lacking proper shelter and sanitation. The poorest nations, as ranked by a basic needs index, are those who do not provide for the basic needs of their people. Significantly, they are not always the nations with the lowest GNP. For example, Sri Lanka is ranked 120th in the world by per capita GNP, but is listed as 75th in the United Nation's 1990 Human Development Report (which ranks countries by the HDI or Human Development Index), well above the United Arab Emirates, whose real GDP per capita is six times that of Sri Lanka.

Although the basic needs analysis illustrates the living conditions of the world's poorest people better than a simple income definition, it, too, has its drawbacks as a method for measuring the extent of poverty in the world. The data for basic needs analysis is extremely difficult to collect. An accurate study is a time-consuming, expensive, and meticulous undertaking. Consequently, basic needs analysis often relies upon rough estimates and averages and even some income-related data. In addition, the categories of basic need and their importance relative to one another are somewhat subjective.

Creating a definitive way of calculating global poverty is much more than merely a matter of precision or exactitude. The way one defines poverty has a decisive impact on the kinds of policies that are chosen to combat it. Those who use income analysis regard economic growth as the answer to world poverty. This method of analysis depends on the theory of "trickledown economics," that is, any increase in the productivity and relative wealth of a nation will eventually trickle down to benefit every sector of a country's economy and, consequently, each family unit and individual. The World Bank, for instance, implements economic recovery programs and internal structural readjustments to help poor nations increase the rate of growth in their GNPs, and ostensibly raise the standards of living in their society. Those who favor the basic needs analysis do not think that national economic growth is enough to eradicate world poverty, and, rather, emphasize questions of how that growth is distributed. They cite evidence that few of the benefits of increased productivity ever reach the most disadvantaged in low-income countries, and, therefore, advocate programs that directly target the poor and their suffering by subsidizing and redistributing basic needs and services. Such programs include vaccination and health outreach services, nutritional supplements, campaigns against illiteracy, infant and maternal mortality, and the problems of sanitation and clean water resources.

Regardless of the method of calculation, it is clear that many people in the world are suffering needlessly and living lives of wretched deprivation. This is especially true for women and children in the developing world. Women and children are the most vulnerable members of any society, but they are the principal victims of poverty. Females as a group, in poor regions, regardless of age, receive less education, less health care, and less food than men or male children. The female literacy rate in the developing world is three-quarters that of the male literacy rate. Women work, on average, twice as many hours, including the unpaid labor of subsistence farming, gathering, and caring for the young, the old, and the ill. Due to poorer nutrition, hard labor, lack of professional health care, and unsanitary living conditions, women in the developing world account for 99 percent of maternal deaths worldwide. The health of children is even more threatened. Every six seconds, a child dies and another is disabled by a disease for which there is already an effective immunization. Each year seventeen million children die from the combined effects of poor nutrition, diarrhea, malaria, pneumonia, measles, whooping cough, and tetanus, diseases that are rarely fatal in the developed countries. One in twenty of these impoverished children dies before reaching the age of five."

These are the conditions that cause nations to borrow. There were, however, specific economic conditions in the 1970s that led to a massive explosion of the debt burden of developing countries. The tragedy of the debt crisis is that this borrowing only made the suffering significantly worse.

The Causes of the Debt Crisis: (2) The Specific Economic Conditions of the 1970s

The conventional explanation is that the debt crisis of the 1980s was due to a number of highly contingent circumstances that were essentially unpredictable at the time many of these loans were made. For example, William R. Cline of the Institute for International Economics summarized the causes as follows:

The external debt crisis that emerged in many developing countries in 1982 can be traced to higher oil prices in 1973-74 and 1979-80, high interest rates in 1980-82, declining export prices and volume associated with global recession in 1981-82, problems of domestic economic management, and an adverse psychological shift in the credit markets.

The story actually begins earlier than 1973 because debt has been solidly entrenched in the finances of developing countries for many years. The United States was a heavily indebted country in the nineteenth century, and poorer countries have always needed outside infusions of investment capital in order to develop their resources. The logic of indebtedness is commonplace and not especially arcane: one incurs a debt in hopes of making an investment that will produce enough money both to pay off the debt and to generate economic growth that is self-sustain-

ing. An important characteristic of developing-country debt prior to 1973 was that it was largely financed through public agencies, both bilateral and multilateral. These agencies, such as the World Bank, presumably guided the investments toward projects that held out genuine promise of economic viability and success.

After the oil crisis of 1973-74, however, many commercial banks found themselves awash with "petrodollars" from some oil-producing states, and these private banks were eager to put this windfall capital to productive use. The banks assumed that sovereign debt was a good risk since there was a prevalent belief that countries would not default. Many developing countries, reeling from oil price increases, were eager to receive these loans. These countries assumed that loans were an intelligent way to ease the trauma of the oil price increases, particularly given the very high inflation rates at the time. Other developing countries, the oil-exporting ones (Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nigeria, and Venezuela, for example), saw the loans as a way to capitalize on their much-improved financial status, and they assumed that oil prices would remain high in real terms for an extended period of time.

In retrospect, it is easy to point out that these actions did not conform to the typical logic of indebtedness. These loans were being used to pay for current consumption, not for productive investments. The money was not being used to mobilize underutilized resources, but rather to maintain a current, albeit desperate, standard of living. Moreover, these loans were being made in an unstable economic environment: since the unraveling of the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1971 (precipitated by the U.S. termination of the gold standard), global economic relationships had been steadily worsening. The developing countries began to experience a long-term, secular decline in demand for their products as the developed countries tightened their economic belts in order to pay for oil and as they initiated tariffs and quotas to reduce their balance of payments deficits.

The proof of the wrongheadedness of the lending in the 1970s became dramatically apparent in 1981. Interest rates shot up, and global demand for exports from developing countries plummeted. The very deep global recession of 1981-82 made it impossible for developing countries to generate sufficient income to pay back their loans on schedule. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), commodity prices (for essentially foodstuffs, fuels, minerals, and metals) dropped 28 percent in 1981-82, and between 1980 and 1982 interest payments on loans increased by 50 percent in nominal terms and 75 percent in real terms. In 1982, Mexico came to the brink of what everyone had thought impossible just two years earlier - a default. This critical situation marked the beginning of what is conventionally termed "the debt crisis." Private banks abruptly disengaged from further lending because the risks were too great. In order to prevent a panic, which might have had the effect of unraveling the entire international financial system, a number of governmental and intergovernmental agencies, led by the United States, stepped in to assure the continued repayment of the Mexican loans.

At this same time, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) emerged as the guarantor of the creditworthiness of developing countries. The IMF had performed this role in the past, but primarily with regard to its "own" money - that is, money lent by the IMF to assist countries in addressing balance of payments problems. This new emphasis on creating conditions primarily to assure payments to private institutions, while in theory not a new undertaking, was different in character and content from what the IMF had done in the past, largely because of the enormous amount of money involved. Unfortunately, the IMF, in spite of the unprecedented situation, did not perceive that its responsibilities had changed in any significant way, and gave its seal of approval for additional loans only to those countries that accepted its traditional policies, which are generally referred to as stabilization programs of "structural adjustment."

Programs of structural adjustment are designed to address balance of payments problems that are largely internally generated by high inflation rates, large budget deficits, or structural impediments to the efficient allocation of resources, such as tariffs or subsidies. The IMF structural adjustment programs highlight "productive capacity as critical to economic performance" and emphasize "measures to raise the economy's output potential and to increase the flexibility of factor and goods markets." A fundamental assumption in a structural adjustment program is that current consumption must be suppressed so that capital can be diverted into more productive domestic investments. A further assumption of an IMF stabilization program is that exposure to international competition in investment and trade can enhance the efficiency of local production. In practice, these programs involve reduced food and transportation subsidies, public sector layoffs, curbs on government spending, and higher interest and tax rates. These actions typically affect the poorer members of society disproportionately hard.

When one is dealing with a particularly inefficient economic system, structural adjustment is perhaps acceptable medicine; and there were many examples of gross inefficiency, not to mention outright corruption, in many of the countries that were soliciting IMF assistance. In this respect, the IMF programs were probably regarded as the correct approach by the public and private agencies that were being asked to reschedule or roll over loans. But the critical difference between the traditional IMF role and its new role as guarantor of creditworthiness is that the suppression of demand, previously designed to free capital for domestic investment, simply freed capital to leave the country.

Moreover, the approach assumes that it was primarily inefficient economic management in the developing countries that led to the debt crisis. From this point of view, the developing countries had gorged themselves on easy money in the 1970s, with the debt crisis being the rough equivalent of a fiscal hangover. Indeed, according to Stephen Haggard, the IMF believed that a large majority of the failures of adjustment programs were due to "political constraints" or "weak administrative systems," as opposed to external constraints that were largely beyond the control of the developing countries, for example, high interest rates.

It is extraordinarily difficult to determine the validity of this perspective. Clearly, some loans have been used in inappropriate ways. Nonetheless, developing countries cannot be accused of fiscal irresponsibility in such matters as the increase 'in interest rates or the global recession in 1981-82. The assessment of culpability is in some respects crucial and in other respects irrelevant: crucial, because one would like to understand the crisis so that a repetition of a similar crisis can be avoided in the future; irrelevant, because the current situation is so desperate that solutions must be found no matter where the blame for the crisis actually lies. In the final analysis, blame rests on a system of finance that allowed developing countries and banks to engage in transactions reasonable only in the context of wildly optimistic scenarios of economic growth. Additionally, much blame rests on policies of the United States government that were undertaken with insufficient regard for their international financial implications.

William Cline attempted to distinguish between the internal and external causes of the debt crisis by looking at figures for the effects of oil price and interest rate increases in order to determine the degree to which each were responsible for the crisis. His figures, reproduced in Table 17.2, should be treated as only suggestive because there is a high degree of "double counting" (loans were taken out in some cases to cover earlier loans) in many of these figures. Nonetheless, as a rough approximation, the data suggest that external factors were significantly more important than the internal causes of inefficiency and corruption.

The IMF stabilization programs, with their nearly exclusive emphasis on the internal economic policies of heavily indebted countries and relative disregard for the factors that Cline identifies, have failed to encourage the very type of economic growth that might have helped the developing countries to grow out of their indebtedness. In fact, these programs have had exactly the opposite effect: they have further impoverished many of the heavily indebted countries to a point where their future economic growth must be seriously doubted. Many observers have come to share Jeffrey Sachs's assessment of structural adjustment programs: "The sobering point is that programs of this sort have been adopted repeatedly, and have failed repeatedly."

This failure of traditional techniques to alleviate the debt problem suggests that perhaps the conventional interpretation of the debt crisis is incomplete or misleading. Indeed, much evidence suggests this inference. Perhaps the most compelling evidence is the fact that periodic debt crises seem to be endemic to the modern international system. There have been cycles of debt and default in the past, and some of the same debtors have experienced similar crises in almost regular cycles. Thus, the debt crisis of the 1980s cannot be ascribed solely to the contingent circumstances of oil prices and U.S. monetary and fiscal policy, at least as the conventional perspective portrays these factors. This explanation must be supplemented by factors that are more structural and deep-seated.

There are at least two issues relatively unexplored by the conventional explanation of the debt crisis that deserve greater attention, and they both relate to the vulnerability of the developing countries to changes in the world economy over which they have little direct control: their sensitivity to monetary changes in the advanced industrialized countries, and their dependence on primary commodities as sources of their export earnings. The first consideration is perhaps the more dramatic.

It is no mere coincidence that the United States experienced its own very serious debt crisis in the same year that panic arose over the external debt of developing countries. The massive government debt of the United States and its related balance of trade deficit precipitated a deliberate strategy of economic contraction that had global effects. Interest rates in the United States had achieved very high levels in 1979, but the inflation rates at the time were also very high. After the deep economic recession of 1981-82, the inflation rate declined markedly, but the interest rates remained high. Interest rates remained high because they were necessary to attract foreign investments to finance the extraordinary U.S. budget deficits created by the tax reductions pushed by the Reagan administration and passed by the Congress. In turn, the high interest rates inflated the value of the dollar, reducing U.S. demand for developing-country exports and further diminishing the ability of the indebted countries to repay their loans.

The United States, however, did not experience a debt "crisis" because it was able to reassure its creditors that its promises to pay were plausible. But the high real interest rates forced upon the developing countries as their loans were turned over created a situation where no similar guarantees could be offered. As it became obvious that the debtor countries could not meet the increased payments, the private banks tried to pull back, bringing about the very crisis they wished to avoid. Only very persistent efforts by official governmental agencies managed to stabilize the situation enough to avoid a precipitous default. In a very real sense, however, it was the actions of the United States that created the immediate crisis, and not some event or pattern of events in the developing world itself.

Similarly, this debt crisis aggravated an already bad situation with respect to the ability of the developing countries to pay back their loans. Many of the developing countries were extremely poor prior to the crisis, which was one reason why they took out such massive debts in the first place. There was no evidence, before 1973, that this condition of relative poverty was changing in any but a few of the developing countries, such as the newly industrializing countries of South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan. In fact, most of the traditional measures of economic development suggest that most developing countries were falling farther behind the advanced industrialized countries at an increasingly faster rate.

The developing countries will always be relatively poorer than the advanced industrialized countries as long as they rely heavily on primary commodities, such as copper and rubber, for export earnings. Trade may be a stimulus to growth, but trade is not an effective way to overcome relative poverty if the values for primary commodities fail to keep pace with the value of manufactured products. This relationship between the values of manufactured exports and the values of primary commodities exports (the terms of trade) has been carefully examined by many economists, and some of them, such as Prebisch, have

argued that the international division of labor is systematically biased against the interests of countries that rely heavily on the export of primary products. This debate, which has been extended into what has been termed a theory of dependency, is a difficult one to resolve with clear empirical evidence. Some recent evidence, however, suggests that raw materials producers have indeed suffered relative economic losses in the twentieth century. Enzo R. Grilli and Maw Cheng Yang analyzed the terms of trade between primary commodities and manufactured goods since 1900 and found that "the prices of all primary commodities (including fuels) relative to those of traded manufactures declined by about 36 percent over the 1900-86 period, at an average annual rate of 0.5 percent."

Thus, the developing countries are at a structural disadvantage compared to the advanced industrialized countries. The newly industrializing countries of East Asia are the exceptions that prove this rule. Because they have been able to expand manufactured exports, they have improved their relative economic situation tremendously in recent years. Other countries have been less successful, and the recent resurgence of protectionist measures against manufactured products from the developing world will make this type of transition only more difficult. Ultimately, the solution to the debt crisis, and the underlying poverty that spawned it, must address this terms of trade issue. This imperative will be discussed in further detail below. Clearly, however, the solutions to the debt crisis will require a perspective that looks at the problem as more than a temporary aberration precipitated by bad luck and incompetence.

What are the Costs of the Debt Crisis?

This explosion of debt has had numerous consequences for the developing countries, but this section will focus on only three consequences: the decline in the quality of life within debtor countries, the political violence associated with that decline, and the effects of the decline on the developed world. The next section of this chapter will explore separately the most publicized cost of the debt crisis, the possibility that it might have instigated a global banking crisis.

The first, and most devastating, effect of the debt crisis was, and continues to be, the significant outflows of capital to finance the debt. According to the World Bank: "Before 1982 the highly indebted countries received about 2 percent of GNP a year in resources from abroad; since then they have transferred roughly 3 percent of GNP a year in the opposite direction." In 1988, the poorer countries of the world sent about $50 billion to the rich countries, and the cumulative total of these transfers since 1984 is nearly $120 billion. The problem became so pervasive that even agencies whose ostensible purposes included aiding the indebted countries were draining capital: in 1987 "the IMF received about $8.6 billion more in loan repayments and interest charges than it lent out." The IMF has since reversed the flow of money in a more appropriate direction, aided principally by the global decline in interest rates, as well as by some success in renegotiating some of the loan agreements.

Effects of External Debt on Economic Growth and Trade

	Gross Domestic Product (Average Yearly Growth)		Terms of Trade (1987=100)	
	1965-80	1980-90	1985	1990
Algeria	**	3.1	174	99
Argentina	3.4	-0.4	110	112
Bolivia	4.4	-0.1	167	97
Brazil	9.0	2.7	92	123
Bulgaria	**	2.6	**	**
Congo	6.2	3.6	145	99
Cote d'Ivoire	6.8	0.5	110	80
Ecuador	8.8	2.0	153	109
Mexico	6.5	1.0	133	110
Morocco	5.7	4.0	88	86
Nicaragua	2.5	-2.2	111	110
Peru	3.9	-0.3	111	78
Poland	**	1.8	94	103
Syria	9.1	2.1	125	87
Venezuela	3.7	1.0	174	164
Averages	6.3	1.7	118	101

Source: The World Bank, *World Development Report, 1992* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1992), Tables 2 and 14, pp. 220-221 and 244-245.

This capital hemorrhage has severely limited prospects for economic growth in the developing world and seriously skewed the patterns of economic development within it. The implications for growth are summarized in the Table.

The decline in average growth, from 6.3 percent a year to 1.7 percent a year, is even worse than it seems. Given the rate of population increase in these countries, a 1.7 percent increase in GDP translates into a net decline in per capita GDP. In other words, the populations of these countries were significantly worse off economically during the period of the debt crisis; and this decline further jeopardizes opportunities for future economic growth given its implications for domestic demand and productive investment. The terms of trade statistics, which reflect the relative movement of export prices to import prices, are similarly grim: developing countries are getting much less in return for their exported products when compared to their costs for imported items. In short, these countries must export even more of their products in order to maintain current levels of imports. The total effects for the quality of life in the highly indebted countries were summarized by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development:

Per capita consumption in the highly-indebted countries in 1987, as measured by national accounts statistics, was no higher than in the late 1970s; if terms of trade losses are taken into account, there was a decline. Per capita investment has also fallen drastically, by about 40 percent between 1980 and 1987. It declined steeply during 1982-83, but far from recovering subsequently, it has continued to fall.

Jeffrey Sachs portrays the situation in even starker terms:

As for the debtor countries, many have fallen into the deepest economic crisis in their histories. Between 1981 and 1988 real per capita income declined in absolute terms in almost every country in South America. Many countries' living standards have fallen to levels of the 1950s and 1960s. Real wages in Mexico declined by about 50 percent between 1980 and 1988. A decade of development has been wiped out throughout the debtor world.

Sachs is not overstating the case. Before the debt crisis, global poverty had reached staggering proportions, as described above. One can document the extent of poverty in the world by pointing out statistics on gross national product, per capita income, or the number of telephones per thousand in a particular country. But these statistics obscure too much in their sterility. In 1988, one billion people were considered chronically underfed. Millions of babies die every year from complications from diarrhea, a phenomenon that typically causes mild discomfort in the advanced industrialized countries. Millions of people have no access to clean water, cannot read or write their own names, and have no adequate shelter.

And this misery will only continue to spread. The debt crisis has a self-reinforcing dynamic. Money that could have been used to build schools or hospitals in developing countries is now going to the advanced industrialized countries. As a consequence, fewer babies will survive their first year; those that do will have fewer opportunities to reach their intellectual potential. To raise foreign exchange, developing countries are forced to sell more of their resources at reduced rates, thereby depleting nonrenewable resources for use by future generations. Capital that could have been used to build factories and provide jobs is now sent abroad; as a result, the problems of unemployment and underemployment will only get worse in poor countries.

A second effect of the decline in living standards in the heavily indebted countries concerns the increased potential for political violence. There have been over twenty violent protests in recent years specifically against the austerity measures imposed by the IMF, with over 3,000 people killed in those protests." The most recent outburst occurred in Venezuela, where about 300 people were killed. Harold Lever posed the problem well in 1984:

Will it be politically feasible, on a sustained basis, for the governments of the debtor countries to enforce the measures that would be required to achieve even the payment of interest? To say, as some do, that there is no need for the capital to be repaid is no comfort because that would mean paying interest on the debt for all eternity. Can it be seriously expected that hundreds of millions of the world's poorest populations would be content to toil away in order to transfer resources to their rich rentier creditors?

Political violence will only continue in the future, but its implications are hard to predict. Political instability may make it more difficult for democratic regimes to survive, particularly in Latin America, and may lead to the establishment of authoritarian regimes. Similarly, popular pressures may lead to regimes radically hostile to market economies, thus setting the stage for dramatic confrontations between debtor countries and the external agencies that set the terms for debt rescheduling or relief. Finally, political violence can spill over into international security issues. One can only imagine what sustained political conflict in Mexico would do to the already troubling issues of drug smuggling and immigration between Mexico and the United States. Debt-related issues complicated political relations between the United States and the Philippines over the military bases, and the extraordinary impoverishment in Peru (a decline in real GNP of between 15 to 25 percent from September 1988 to September 1989) has certainly led to an 31 increase in the drug-related activities of the Shining Path.

Debtor governments will find themselves forced to demand certain concessions on debt repayment in order to maintain their legitimacy, and these concessions will invariably be cast at least in terms of lower and more extended payments, if not reduction or outright debt forgiveness. If the debt crisis is not resolved in terms that address the inevitable political consequences of declining living standards, then the prognosis for recovery is dim, even if debtor governments, banks, and the international lending agencies agree upon acceptable financial terms. The political dynamics of the debt crisis must be considered an integral part of the solution: to ignore the violence and protest as less important than the renegotiated interest rates will produce agreements that have little hope of success.

A final cost of the debt crisis has been one experienced by the developed countries themselves, in particular by the United States. Increasing poverty in the developing countries leads to a reduction of economic growth in the developed countries. The debtor countries have been forced to undergo a dramatic decline in imports in order to increase the foreign exchange earnings needed to pay back their debts. The decline in the average annual growth rate for imports of the seventeen most heavily indebted countries is dramatic: the average annual growth rate for these countries in 1965-80 was 6.3 percent; in 1980-87, that figure had fallen to minus 6 percent, for a total shift of minus 12.3 percent. One estimate is that the seventeen most heavily indebted nations decreased their imports from the developed world by $72 billion from 1981 to 1986.

The United States has been profoundly affected by this decline in imports because most of its exports to the developing world have, historically, gone to the Latin American states most seriously affected by the debt crisis. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development suggests that this decline in U.S. exports is a more important explanation for U.S. trade difficulties than for the deficits of other countries:

Because of this import compression by the highly-indebted developing countries, United States exports to them actually declined by about $10 billion between 1980 and 1986.... As a result, the United States recorded a negative swing in its trade

balance of about $12 billion between 1980 and 1986; the corresponding negative swings for the other developed market economy countries were much smaller: about $3 billion for Japan, $2.4 billion for the Federal Republic of Germany and $1.6 billion for the other EEC countries.

These declines seriously aggravated an already bad trade situation for the United States. The absolute declines were quite large; and if one extrapolates losses from an expected increase for export growth based on recent history, the declines are quite significant. Richard Feinberg translated the export loss to the United States in terms of lost jobs when he testified before the Senate: ". . . roughly 930,000 jobs would have been created if the growth trend [of U.S. exports to the Third World] of the 1970s had continued after 1980. In sum, nearly 1.6 million U.S. jobs have been lost due to recession in the Third World."

This final point deserves more sustained attention than it has yet received: it is also in the interests of the advanced industrial nations to seek an equitable solution to the debt crisis. No one's long-term interests are served by the increasing impoverishment of millions of people. The financial health and stability of the richer countries depends crucially on debt-resolution terms that allow and foster the economic growth and development of the poorer countries.

How Real was the Threat of an International Banking Collapse?

The global cost most talked about in lending circles was that of a massive default by the debtor countries, which might have had the effect of unraveling the international financial system. The point at which the debt crisis actually made it to the front pages of newspapers in the advanced industrial countries was in 1982, when it became clear that Mexico was unable to meet its financial commitments. The size of the Mexican debt, coupled with the overexposure (lending in excess of capital assets) of the private banks that had provided loans to Mexico, raised the possibility of a widespread banking collapse, reminiscent of the bank failures in the 1930s. Table gives some idea of the extent of overexposure in 1982.

Table 17.4 / Exposure as a Percentage of Capital, Major Banks, end of 1982

	Argentina	Brazil	Mexico	Venezuela	Chile	Total
Citibank	18.2	73.5	54.6	18.2	10.0	174.5
Bank of America	10.2	47.9	52.1	41.7	6.3	158.2
Chase Manhattan	21.3	56.9	40.0	24.0	11.8	154.0
Morgan Guaranty	24.4	54.3	34.8	17.5	9.7	140.7
Manufacturers Hanover	47.5	77.7	66.7	42.4	28.4	262.8
Chemical	14.9	52.0	60.0	28.0	14.8	169.7

Source: William R. Cline, *International Debt: Systemic Risk and Policy Response* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1984), p. 24.

The threat of a banking collapse was perhaps overstated at the time since these types of measures only imperfectly reflect the vulnerability of banks to a profound crisis of confidence. Nonetheless, it was clear that some of the most important banks in the United States stood to lose a great deal of money if one of the major debtor nations defaulted on its loans. Under even normal conditions, a banking collapse is always possible since banks rarely have enough capital to cover their commitments. Indeed, it is generally considered inefficient to maintain this much available capital. Banks generally have nothing to fear from their overcommitment of resources since it is almost never the case that people wish to question the financial integrity of banks. In 1982, however, it became clear that psychological confidence in the banking system had lost some important underpinnings, and only the rapid intervention of governmental institutions averted events that might have completely undermined public confidence. Since that time, most private banks have stopped lending money to developing countries and have increased their reserve holdings to offset any potential losses from a major loan default. At the end of 1982, the nine major U.S. banks had lent out over 287 percent of their capital to the developing countries; by the end of 1988, that percentage had dropped to 108 percent.

In addition, the major private lenders have increased their reserve holdings to cover possible losses on their loan accounts. Citicorp first announced that it was enlarging its loss reserve in 1987, and the other major banks quickly followed suit.

The net effect of these two actions - the sharp reduction in loan exposure and the creation of reserves against potential losses - has insulated the major banks from any threat of a banking collapse precipitated by a widespread default on loans by developing countries. Indeed, these actions have been partially responsible for the revival of the stock prices of these banks, signaling renewed investor confidence in the banks, as well as supplying new capital to offset the equity losses generated by the creation of the reserve holdings. The strengthened position of the major banks led William Seidman, chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, to assert in 1989 that the banks would remain solvent even if they were forced to "write-off 100 percent of their outstanding loans" to the six largest debtor countries. Indeed, talk of the "debt crisis" was rarely heard in the developed world in the early 1990s, even though the total amount of debt owed by developing countries steadily increased.

The newly protected position of the banks alleviates the threat of a collapse, but leaves the developing countries with fewer sources of external assistance. Banks are not apt to enter into any new or extensive commitments to developing countries now that they do not necessarily need to protect the loans already made. If there were a serious downturn in global economic activity that would further imperil the ability of the developing countries to raise the money to pay back their debts, the only alternative for the debtors would be public assistance, either bilateral or multilateral. In short, while the gains from

debt repayment will still be private, the costs will be shifted onto the public sector.

This shift now appears to be the strategy of the major banks. In response to new proposals for debt reduction, the banks, represented by an organization called the Institute for International Finance, have demanded certain conditions for accepting these proposals. In the words of Walter S. Mossberg of *The Wall Street Journal,* "the banks indicated they would be willing to make major debt reductions and new loans only if they receive new loan guarantees, tax breaks, and other financial sweeteners from the U.S., other countries, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund." The institute also asserted that "any government effort to force debt forgiveness would be contested in the courts' as 'an unconstitutional taking of property' unless the government pays the banks compensation." The truculent tone of this position confirms that the banks no longer fear an imminent collapse of the international financial system.

Solutions

One fact is undeniable: Someone is going to have to pay for past debts. It could be the people in debtor countries, or the banks, or the people in advanced industrial countries. Most likely it will be some combination of these three groups. In the last ten years, there have been a variety of proposals which, unfortunately, usually reflect only the special interests of the groups proposing them. Generally speaking, these solutions fall into three categories: repudiation, minor adjustments in repayments, or reduction.

Debt repudiation, in the sense of a unilateral cessation of repayment, occurred in a number of countries: Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru.43 With the exception of the Peruvian cessation, however, most of these actions have been taken with assurances that the stoppages were only temporary. Peru announced that it was unilaterally limiting its debt repayments to a percentage of its export earnings; and since Peru took this action, other nations have indicated that they will act similarly. There have been no serious proposals for a widespread and coordinated repudiation of global debt.

The economist Jeffrey Sachs offers several reasons for this absence of a general repudiation. First, debt repudiation is a dramatic and abrupt act. Most nations would prefer to defer such decisions as long as there are advantages to muddling through, and growth prospects are sufficiently ambiguous to make this muddling a viable course. Second, debtor countries fear retaliation from commercial banks. If the banks were to cut off nondebt related activities, such as trade credits, the situation could be made even worse. Third, the debtor countries fear retaliation from creditor governments and multilateral lending agencies. Grants from development banks could be affected, and trade relations would probably be seriously disrupted. Finally, the leaders of most of the debtor countries have interests in maintaining good relations with the richer countries, and repudiation would jeopardize these interests.

Repudiation would also seriously disrupt global economic relations, probably far beyond the immediate losses of the debts themselves. Retaliations would follow, because it would be politically impossible for lenders not to react, and because there would be a conscious effort to warn other potential defaulters against similar action. The escalation of economic warfare would have the effect of sharply reducing international economic interactions in trade, investment, and exchange. Such an outcome is in no one's interest.

The vast bulk of activity since 1982 has involved adjusting the timing and method of repayment. The number of specific proposals is bewildering. One can read about debt-equity swaps, in which businesses or properties in the debtor country are purchased at a discount by the banks as partial repayment; debt-for-debt swaps, where bonds are offered as discounted repayments; exit bonds, which are long-term bonds tendered essentially as take-it-or-leave-it offers to creditors who have no interest in investing any further and wish to cut their losses; or cash buy-backs, where the debtor country simply buys back its loan at a deep discount. Some of these proposals, notably the debt-for-nature swaps, where the debtor country promises to protect the environment in return for purchases of the debt by outside groups, are creative and could have important effects.

This array of proposals is referred to as a "menu" approach to debt repayment, and its logic is superficially sound. It was the logic of the plan offered by Secretary of the Treasury James Baker in 1985. By providing a number of different options, repayments can be tailored to the specific circumstances of a country, thereby easing the burden. Critical to the success of the menu approach is the assumption that countries will "grow out of" their debt. Yet, the evidence suggests that this assumption is not entirely sound. This approach further assumes the repayment of debts on terms that are essentially dictated by the creditors. No lender is obligated to accept any one of these possibilities. Moreover, the opportunities for swaps and buy backs are limited: there are, after all, a relatively small number of investment opportunities in poorer countries, and the debt crisis itself has further limited those possibilities. Finally, some of these swaps can actually increase the drain on the capital of a country, particularly if profit remittances on successful investments turn out to be very high.

The final proposals have to do with debt reduction, and these only became a real possibility in the spring of 1989 with the announcement of a new plan, dubbed the Brady Plan, after U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady. The plan originally called for a total reduction of about 20 percent of global debt, with the IMF and the World Bank offering guarantees for the repayment of the other 80 percent of the debt. Since 1989, Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, Morocco, the Philippines, and Venezuela have reached agreements concerning their debts under the auspices of the Brady proposal. This approach recognizes that many of the menu approaches were, in fact, schemes for debt reduction on a case-by-case basis. This formal recognition of the need for systematic debt reduction is a hopeful sign, but the plan clearly does not go far enough. In market terms, developing-country debt is already selling on the secondary market at about thirty-five cents to the dollar. In other words, debt reduction has already occurred in the marketplace, and any plan that incorporates reductions must take this into account.

There are some serious problems with debt reduction. Debt reduction could reduce the incentive for debtor nations to make economic changes that could lead to greater efficiency. Or, it could set a precedent that would have the effect of reducing, or even eliminating, the possibility for any future bank lending for economic development projects. Finally, debt reduction could have the effect of saddling public lending agencies, like the World Bank, with enormous burdens, thereby vitiating their future effectiveness.

These concerns are genuine. Counterposed to these possibilities, however, is the stark reality of hundreds of millions of people living in desperate conditions with no hope of relief in the near- or medium-term future. Any plan for easing the debt burden, therefore, must try to incorporate a number of legitimate, but competing, concerns of varying importance. First, the repayment of the debt itself has ceased to be the central concern. Private banks obviously have an interest in the repayment of the debt and, to the extent possible, these interests must be accommodated. But the security of the international banking system is no longer at risk, and that, as a legitimate public concern, can no longer dictate possible necessary actions. The central concerns now are the reestablishment of economic growth in the heavily indebted countries, the effective and meaningful distribution of that growth into all sectors of their societies, and their reintegration into the international economic system. Only after sustained economic growth returns to the heavily indebted countries can the international community even begin to determine manageable rates and methods of debt repayment.

Second, the International Monetary Fund must fundamentally reassess its policies. Programs of structural adjustment may be appropriate for the original purpose of the IMF-to assist nations having temporary difficulties in maintaining currency values because of transient balance-of-payments difficulties. But these programs are profoundly counterproductive in current circumstances and, indeed, are guided by a wildly inappropriate perspective. The inflows of capital to the IMF from the heavily indebted countries were more than a gross embarrassment; they were conclusive evidence of the IMF's misunderstanding of the causes of the debt crisis. The IMF should shift its perspective to more creative or appropriate ways of stabilizing or depressing interest rates rather than raising them, or ways to prevent capital flight from developing countries, or any number of issues that concern the specific conditions of economic growth. The mechanical application of a "model" of economic growth is wrongheaded."

Third, the resolution of the debt crisis depends upon a clear recognition that much of the debt, as formally constituted, will not, because it cannot, be repaid. Some countries, such as those in sub-Saharan Africa, ought not to repay their debts. Other countries, particularly the heavily indebted ones, can pay something on their debts, and perhaps the appropriate percentage is about half. Viewed in this light, the real question becomes one of allocating the costs of this nonpayment of debts. The current emphasis of forcing the poor to pay with broken lives and broken spirits is demeaning to both rich and poor, and ill-serves the long-term interests of rich as well as poor.

Finally, there are genuine issues of responsibility that deserve to be made explicit. The debt "crisis" is only a symptom of an international economic system that tolerates growing and abysmal poverty as a normal condition. This need not, and should not, be the case. The developed countries have a responsibility to create conditions whereby the poorer countries can interact more productively in international economic activities: their single most important contribution to this end might be in the area of reducing trade restrictions on the products of poorer countries. Similarly, the developing countries have a responsibility to see that money is more effectively utilized within their own borders. The obscene personal profits accumulated by such leaders as Marcos of the Philippines and Mobutu of Zaire should not be fostered by the strategic interests of other countries. The banks should also face up to the fact that their single-minded pursuit of profits almost led them to the brink of bankruptcy. The lesson to be learned from this experience is that for economic growth to be sustained, close attention must be paid to the mutual interests of all parties involved.

Impact of Foreign Aid on India's Economic Development

In principle, foreign aid is meant to do three things, viz., (a) to supplement domestic savings, (b) make available additional supplies of foreign exchange, and (c) facilitate transfer of technology. The extent to which foreign aid can contribute to the development of the productive capacity of the country depends in the last analysis, on the judicious use of foreign aid; the effort and the total disposable resources of the recipient country. Besides, foreign aid creates growth potential far beyond the point where it is applied. The import of capital goods may release non-aid resources for increasing the current consumption while aid in terms of consumer goods may, in effect, help release domestic resources for capital formation. Therefore, it is difficult to assess the impact of aid precisely. Consequently we shall discuss the significance of the participation of aid in creating productive capacity.

External Debt and Debt Servicing (1980 –2002)

Year	Rs. Crores	US $ billion	Debt GDP Ratio %	Debt Servicing as % of Current Receipts
1980-81	19,470	23.50	13.1	9.3
1989-90	1,30,278	75.86	26.7	30.9
1990.91	1,63,001	83.80	28.7	35,3
1991-92	2,52.910	85.28	38.7	30.2
1992-93	2,80,746	90.02	37.6	27.5

1993-94	290,418	92.70	33.8	25.6
1994-95	3,11,685	99.01	30.9	26.2
1995-96	3,20,728	93.73	27.1	24.3
1996-97	3.35.827	93.47	24.7	21.2
1997-98	3,69,684	93.53	24.4	19.0
1998-99	411,297	96.88	23.4	17.8
1999-00	428,555	98.26	21.9	16.2
2000-01	471,724	101.13	22.4	16.1
2001-02*	480,724	98.49	20.9	15.4

Source : Reserve Bank of India, *Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy* (2001) and *Economic Survey (2002-2003),* * Revised

1. Foreign aid has helped to raise the level of investment. The rate of investment has substantially increased from the annual level of over 10 per cent of the national income at the beginning of the First Plan to nearly 25 per cent of the national income. With this increase in the rate of investment the foreign exchange outlay had also to be correspondingly increased which was beyond the resources of the country. Ever since 1972-73, the country has faced serious foreign exchange crisis. But for aid. it would have been well nigh impossible for the country to tide over this difficulty.
2. Aid used to stabilize food prices and import raw materials. Of the total aid utilized, a significant proportion represented aid in kind or commodity, the bulk of which has been utilized to import food grains which played a significant role in stabilizing food grain prices. A part of the aid has been used to import raw materials or spare parts in short supply in the economy and this contributed substantially to increase in production in the country.
3. Aid used for the enlargement of irrigation and power potential. External assistance has contributed to the productive capacity of agriculture in a big way by enlarging the irrigation potential of the country. In the field of dairy and fishery, foreign aid has helped to modernize the technique of production. Foreign aid has, in a big way, helped enlarge power potential of the country. It has enabled the country to import machinery and equipment, which has helped to increase the installed capacity in the country from 2.3 million K.W. in l950 to 113million K.W. in 1999-2000.
4. Aid for improving transport. Transport absorbed large proportion of total utilized aid, i.e., 14 per cent, out of which 12per cent has gone to the railways. It has played an important role in the renovation and modernization of the railway transport and it has helped to increase the rolling stock and locomotives.
5. Aid used for building up steel industry. Foreign aid has played an important role in the creation of capacity in such a basic line of production as steel in the country. Over eighty per cent of the amount of aid utilized by manufacturing industry has gone into the expansion and creation of capacity in the steel industry. The necessary aid was received from West Germany, erstwhile U.S.S.R. and U.K.
6 Aidusedtodeveloppetro-chemicalandelectronics industry. India is making efforts to develop the complex of petro-chemical and electronics industries. The 'sunrise industries', as they are generally referred to, are the harbingers of new industrial revolution in the world. This cannot be accomplished without the help of foreign aid and Government is now making all-out efforts to modernize ^ our industrial structure by entering into foreign collaborations.
7. Aid used to enlarge technical resources. External assistance has also helped to enlarge technical resources through: (a) the provision of expert services, (b) training of Indian personnel and (c) helping the establishment of new or the development of existing educational research and training institutions in the country.

Problems of Foreign Aid

Political Pressure: Various difficulties and constraints arise as a result of foreign aid. The most serious of these problems is the heavy and continuing dependence of India on other countries, especially the U.S.A. There have been times when India has not been able to resist the pressure these donor countries have been exerting on the economic policies of India, not to speak of her foreign policy. American influence is seen in the shift in emphasis from capital goods to consumer goods industries, much greater reliance on private enterprise for industrial expansion, non-availability of foreign aid for public sector projects in manufacturing industry, greater resort to foreign private capital as the only means for securing foreign exchange for the rapid expansion of industries: like the chemical fertilizers to which high priority is attached in India's development programme. The U.S. Government/ used stoppage of aid as a threat to the Indian Government in the Indo-Pakislan conflict in December 1971. More recently the U.S. Government decided in 1978 not to honour its agreement to supply nuclear fuel to Tarapur Atomic power plant Forcing India to accepts Dunkel proposals is the most recent onslaught of USA on the Indian government.

Debt Trap: By deducting debt servicing from gross' disbursements of external assistance during a certain period, we derive net inflow of external assistance. If the cumulative effect of debt servicing increases, a relatively smaller net proportion of gross aid will be available for the benefit of the economy. The traditional definition of a debt trap underlines the stage in which the country has to seek external assistance to meet debt service obligations. India, it appears, has reached that stage.

Uncertainty: Another difficulty is the uncertainty of the magnitude and character of foreign aid, which is likely to become available over a period of time. Such an element of uncertainty stands in the way of perspective planning. Thus, advance knowledge of the resources that are likely to become

available through aid becomes important. If the donors could indicate the magnitude and character of aid on the basis of five-year periods, the planning programmes could be greatly facilitated.

Capacity to absorb Foreign Aid: The absorptive capacity of a country depends on a number of factors. For the optimum utilization of aid, the projects must be efficiently executed. It is not basically a shortage of capital which retards the rate of industrial development in many countries but the shortage of good, well-developed projects is, in many cases, the limiting factor on economic growth. The most important factor which limits the absorptive capacity is the country's capacity to repay in future the loans currently contracted. The easy terms of repayment of loans may temporarily widen the limit of our absorptive capacity but that is no solution to the problem. Till the country reaches the stage of 'self-sustaining growth', its needs for larger volume of imports will ever grow. The problem becomes more serious in view of the fact that the country has not built large exportable potential. So the burden of repayment obligations becomes more acute.

Burden of Debt: During the Sixth Plan (1980-81 to 1984-85), total debt servicing aggregated to Rs. 4,809 crores, out of which 60 percent was towards amortization and 40percent towards interest payments. The snowballing effect of contracting more foreign aid became visible daring the Seventh Plan, (1985-86 to 1989-90) when debt servicing rose to Rs. 12,652crores. Butduring Eighth Plan, (1992-93 to 1996-97), debt servicing skyrocketed to Rs. 53.536 crores, out of which 57 per cent represented amortization and 43 per cent interest payments. The situation has worsened during the first four years of the Ninth Plan in 1997-98 and 2000-2001.

To reduce the burden of repayment of foreign aid, a two-pronged drive may have to be made. Firstly, while seeking, assistance, India should make. agreements for external assistance with those nations and agencies which charge lower rates of interest and are prepared to liberalise their terms of trade so as to facilitate repayment; and secondly, the quantum of foreign assistance should be progressively reduced.

Communication and Social Revolution

Humanity stands at the turning point of its long and turbulent history; indeed, it has now passed the turning point. To begin with, we have acquired the nuclear, chemical biological and other weapons that are capable of making the human race extinct, indeed all of life on this earth. Perhaps even more importantly, the pollution of the atmosphere caused mainly by industrial manufacturing threatens to disrupt the biosphere, to produce holes in the ozone layer that protects life on the earth.

In other words, knowingly, or unknowingly, humanity has acquired the devil's capability of destroying life. Humanity now needs to develop the god life capability to protect life and nature. This may be the reason why we talk about the necessity that we should have the "willingness to take the prophetic role of challenging systems and powers that threaten to erode…. community based values…"

The demonic power annihilation has not developed out of evil motivations. Albert Einstein, whose revolutionary theory of relatively, with its famous formula of E=MC2, helped to bring about the production of nuclear weapons, was himself a saintly individual. Indeed, in later life he regretted that his work had been put to such destructive use, and he might not have conducted the research if he had known to what it might lead. Of course, in course of time someone else would have produced similar results. Einstein had also written to President Roosevelt, along with some other scientists, to produce the atom bomb, mainly because they were afraid that Nazi Germany might develop it and thereby win the Second World War.

But even dangerous than the military weapons of mass annihilations is the impact of general growth of technology and consumerism, which threaten to disrupt the ecological balance on the one hand and to weaken the soul of man, his or her inner conscious and moral being, on the other hand. These patterns of development are more dangerous because they are spread all over the globe, particularly in the so-called developed countries, which the so – called developing nations are trying desperately to imitate. This conquest of nature, mastery over the forces of nature, was impelled by thoroughly legitimate motivations. Mankind wanted to ensure its sustenance and survival. Shortage of food and other necessities had to be made good; disease and suffering curtailed. Knowledge of nature has advanced as far as one might carry it. Today we have reached close to the limits of the knowable. Scientists produce life out of non – living matter; they clone individuals. Industrial production rushes far beyond consumption in many countries. Where do we go from here? What is the role of the Community, of Communication, of prophecy?

We have to face the reality that the revolutions of science and technology have become transformed into counter – revolutions. What man has achieved up to now is beyond his power to control within the existing framework of values, especially of political values, industrial structures, communication processes, and community dynamics. Can man develop the godlike prophetic capabilities to orient the natural forces and human capabilities in a creative and constructive manner? The answer is by no means certain; hence we meet some persons who say that humanity should disappear so that nature may survive. Well, in any case we should recognize that divine attributes would imply humility in man; today we have to face the reality that either through a nuclear or biochemical holocaust, or through ecological disruption, humanity may disappear form this earth. The issue of the saving of humanity is not merely one of physical survival but, much importantly, an ethical or a spiritual one. Indeed, the two have become virtually inseparable, for humanity cannot survive physically unless it develops a higher ethical, indeed a prophetic character. Here one may quote Mahatma Gandhi, who said. "I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind." Identification with the whole of reality with nature as well as with living beings is an essential aspect of the prophetic self. In other words, it involved transcendence of the ego and the self, but also of all other boundaries and sectarian divisions, whether these be caste, religion, political affiliation, etc.

The new dimension that has been added to this aspect of the prophetic personality is inclusion of nature itself within the

purview of the ethical commitment and consciousness. Hence the key term "Ecology" which is now being used increasingly in the industrial societies and which means the unity of man and nature. The term "environment" is being discarded because it implies a separation of man and nature, whereas the two are now being treated as inseparable. To enrich nature is part and parcel of man's ethical responsibility; the destruction of nature may mean the self-dehumanization of man. In other words, a holistic approach is now unavoidable. Everything has to be attended to the whole self, the whole community, the whole of the biosphere. How it is to be done remains to be worked out, but the time at our disposal is very limited; it has to be worked out in very short order. On the one hand, the new world-view or philosophy of life and nature has to be disseminated as quickly as possible, for the context must be understood and accepted if the tasks are to be carried out with commitment and in an effective manner. Appropriate values must be inculcated, developed, and made functional. At the same time, the methods and processes have also been developed. It involved institutional structures, operation procedures, and the necessary division of functions, and coordination between them, with the feedback mechanisms worked out and utilized properly. In other words, communication is the key factor in the development of the new global community; it implies social revaluation of uniquely inclusive nature, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

To make this point somewhat clearer, let us return briefly to the prophetic role and activity. On the one hand, the prophet comprehends and includes everything. Nothing is foreign to him; no one is a stranger or an alien. Hence all the great prophets were men of peace, promoting the brotherhood and sisterhood of humanity, asking each one to turn the other cheek rather than to strike back, promoting peace and kindness, forgiveness, generosity, and empathy. On the other hand, the prophet operates at a given time and place, operates in a particular cultural milieu at a given point in history, and inevitably confronts hostility from the established power and belief structures. Hence his major task is to communicate the universal message of love and brotherhood in idioms and through social relations that are liable to be misunderstood and misinterpreted. Hence virtually the great prophetic individuals had to confront persecution or even crucifixion.

How may one communicate effectively? Since the message is radically different from the prevailing values and patterns of social conduct, it is perceived by the established leaders and elites that the prophet wants to create a new community that would replace the existing one, hence to the established loaders, it means that he would destroy, the existing society. It has to be the community of new faith and beliefs, which have to be communicated in an effective manner to those who would listen in the face of the attempts of the established power structures to obstruct, or to distort, this the new message. Since acceptance of the new message involves risks, indeed a threat to the life of the listener as well, yet it requires action, including further transmission of the message, it can be carried out only with a strong sense of the new community, which, in this case, is woven around the new values and insights. The struggle between the new social order and the existing becomes essentially one of the effectiveness of communication. Which one conveys its message more effectively, more convincingly, with the greater transformative power of values of personality and social relations?

One should add here that the pattern of communication – its content as well as the form which is required for the impending, indeed the ongoing social revolution, is somewhat different in many ways from the type of communication that was necessary in the past in similar situations. Some of the aspects of historical transformation are trans-nationalization of communication media, the development of sophisticated technology, and the concentration of information power. Let us distinguish here between the means, namely the technology communication, and the end, which is its content, as well as between the inputs and the output or impact as well as the consequences of communication. Trans-nationalization of communication media is part and parcel of the revolutionary thrust of science and technology, which has emerged as the most potent force operating in the world today. But it also provided the means for evasion through person-to-person linkages as well as evoking a certain psychological self-isolation. In other words, too much communications input lowers its values and impact. Small communes are formed to act as barriers to the flood of communication as well as excessive consumerism. They are surging towards participatory communication. Networking is the key method in this process of counteracting transnational mass communication that becomes exploitative and oppressive.

However, the global unity of humanity is fact of life. Prophetic movements and persons have addressed themselves to the whole of humanity, but this has now become a functional possibility, indeed a necessity. This, in other words, is the positive aspect of the growth and development of transnational communication. Apparently on the one hand it requires the transcendence of geographical, linguistic, historical values etc., so that the message is potentially meaningful to all; at the same time, however, it must not weaken but promote and enrich the distinctive identities of individuals, groups and communities. In other words, what it implies is that humanity as a whole, and all of the communities, groups and individuals, have to undertake the tasks that confront us all.

An essential feature of the transformation that has taken place, as we have noted, is the transcendence of the dualisms, such as that of man and environment or nature, and hence the emergence of ecology. Indeed, the other dualisms that have characterized human culture and civilization for the past several millennia are also being transcended. Among these dualisms that have become obsolescent are those between religion and science, between mind and body, emotions and the intellect. It should be easier for us in India and Asia to develop and practice the new holistic outlook, because it is inherent in our cultural legacy. However, the transcendence of the dualism does not imply any sort of monism, but rather the well-known saying about "unity in diversity" expresses it well.

This theme is important in a discussion on the role of communication in social revolution. Communication is of different types and levels. There is the transmission and reception of invisible and inaudible electro-neural waves that bind us

together, giving rise to what is known as "Social protoplasm". There is also organic communication, emotional communication and intellectual communication of several grades. When all, or nearly all of these different types and levels of communication take place in a certain rhythmic harmony, we come close to what may be called "total" or "perfect" communication, which tends to take place in certain profound crisis situations, and whose communicators may be called charismatic" personas, miracle workers, etc., who may launch the so-called "prophetic" or "millenary" movements.

The total self, the complete personality, is in action or motion; its impact, is described in poetic language when it is said that the trees begin to swing, the birds to chirp and be restless, even the air begins to move in waves. It remains to be known whether the personality that functions in this manner has the capacity already inborn in it, or whether and to what extent it is capable of development through education and training. To what extend do crisis situations help in the growth of such charismatic communication? Yet it is clear that what we call revolutionary transformation, which implies a radical reach with the preexisting conditions, particularly with the prevailing beliefs, social values and individual attitudes. A prophet needs apostles, who may be said to mediate between total or absolute communication and that which is of a more restricted and functional nature.

The point here is that total communication, as outlined above in passing, is inherently, revolutionary for it overwhelms and threatens to disrupt the pre-existing patterns that determine the existing values, beliefs, social and cultural interrelations and activities. In that sense it plays a negative or destructive role for, as the well-known saying goes, you cannot create something new, radically different, without destroying the old. Assuming that the total communication that overwhelms the whole personality and society cannot become permanent without destroying all specificities or concrete interrelations activities and structures, it therefore follows that the revolutions of total communications will be followed by the articulation and emergence of a specific social and cultural order. By some, it will be seen as a kind of counter – revolution, or the re-emergence and return of the old order. Depending upon the extent and nature of the revolution, the old order might even return stronger and more powerful or it might have become highly reformed or even transformed.

To sum up this cursory analysis, we may say that revolution as well as reaction are at the in-core different patterns and levels of communication. Similarly, an unjust exploitative and oppressive social order emerges and is sustained by distorted communication patterns. One of the problems that besets humanity today and prevents the liberation of the oppressed and exploited is a misunderstanding of the message of prophets of humanity. All of them are united on one point; the poor will enter heaven; they are God's children. The rich will not be able to pass the eye of the needle; the food they eat, however delicious, is soaked in blood. In other words, it is the rich who have to be saved, who have lot be liberated. The problem of India, the problem of humanity, is not the poor; it is not poverty, but the wealthy and their wealth. It is wealth, which has to be removed. Why the great prophets praised the poor and pitied the rich? One can be truly human only when she or he is unburdened by material possessions that produce greed, selfishness and whose accumulation, protection and increase involve disorientation of personality. Only someone who is poor in this sense is capable of total communication. To pity the poor, to sympathies with them, to try to carry out programmes for eradication of poverty means that we have aligned ourselves with the wrong people, with those whose personalities are distorted and disoriented. To pity the rich, to sympathies with them, to try to develop and carry out programmes for eradication of wealth, thereby to enable the rich to become truly human, that is the path of the revolution for which humanity waits desperately.

Not communication for revolution but communication as revolution. Today we live under the shadow of the quantitative explosion of communication media that stretches worldwide and also touches the far reaches of the universe. The oppressive and erosive impact of this quantitative growth of communication can be transcended only through a qualitative upsurge so as to make it possible to the whole of humanity, indeed whole of nature as well; in other words, the rise and growth of the new human self, with intimate and empathic linkages with all of us, all of the humanity, and indeed nature as well; for an ecological humanness. Such communication, as indicated, will be complete from the level of the silent and invisible neuro electronic vibrations, through the organic, emotional up to the intellectual levels.

Obviously, these different levels will operate in varied configurations according to the needs and requirements of the situations as well as the differentiated personalities of the individuals, groups and communities. Perhaps the first step is that of openness, for at the present time our upbringing, education, social requirements and values produce the suppression of certain levels and exaggerated emphasis on other levels of communication. What is equally disruptive is the delinking of the different levels from one another so that a person is supposed to react in one way when he is listening to classical music, or taking a walk in beautiful natural surroundings, sitting or praying in a church or temple of at home or doing business, confronting strangers or when trying to solve scientific problems.

No doubt the orientation has to be different in different situations, but the person is the same, and his integrity, his holistic personality has to remain basically unaltered. More specifically, the vast dimensions of the reality with which we have to deal, the issues of human and ecological survival that we confront, the global society with which we have to interact and in which we and our children will live all these require a renewed emphasis on the neuro-electronic, organic and emotional levels of communication.

To develop this integral communication is the task for today's and coming days.

LESSON 24:
NEED FOR INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION POLICY

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To be aware about the need for a communication policy

To learn the salient features of a communication policy

Government and other institutions create policies to ensure coherence and to avoid contradictions in the actions of various public and private entities. Policy instruments also seek to solve social and technical problems and to legitimise the implementation of programs and projects. In some countries these are merely cosmetic documents virtually moribund, with no living dynamic reality, and not much possibility of being implemented. In other countries these policies provide sectoral orientations that can contribute to the overall goals of national development.

A communication policy may be seen as a further contribution to the national development environment through consolidating actions around issues that cut across several sectors.

Communication policies can be described as "Sets of principles and norms established to guide the behavior of communication systems. They are shaped over time in the context of society's general approach to communication and to the media. Emanating from political ideologies, the social and economic conditions of the country and the values on which they are based, they strive to relate these to the real needs for and the prospective opportunities for communication."

In every society, public and private institutions and individuals undertake internal and external communication for many reasons. There is often no over-arching idea or vision to help coordinate or rationalize these various actions, probably because policy-makers and planners do not see how they can be related.

A national policy on information and communication for development provides a necessary conceptual and institutional framework for the coordination and integration of technical and social interventions undertaken by institutions ranging from agricultural extension to education and health ministries, from NGOs such as women's resource groups and human rights activists, to private sector interests such as chambers of commerce or banks. The contribution of a national policy is to articulate principles, values and norms that are applicable to communication at all levels of government, to civil society and the private sector, within the context of the development goals of the nation. An approach that considers information and communication as a sector for development planning would also help to rationalize investments as well as provide a basis for integrating information and communication interventions within national development strategies.

A communication policy can, therefore, be an instrument for supporting the systematic planning, development and use of the communication system, and its resources and possibilities, and for ensuring that they function efficiently in enhancing national development.

Efficient, widespread and continuous public communication is an important prerequisite for democratic governance. In the developing or re-emerging democracies of Africa, social communication provides the cement that binds various communities and social groups together in their resolve to build new societies. It can create linkages between political, religious, traditional and community leaders and their followers, and can build bridges between rural and urban communities and across generations.

It is through communication that government agencies and NGOs attempt to provide technical information and social services for improving the quality of life of citizens, and that civil society seeks to broaden and sustain participation in governance. New agricultural practices and policies, health campaigns, literacy classes, adult political and civic education and other development efforts have succeeded largely through communication support. In the context of current development challenges posed by the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS, communication for social mobilization and social change to support preventive behavior and to support the infected and affected is a crucial necessity.

But communication can also divide people along various socio-cultural lines, contributing to social cleavage, marginalization and even violence. These seemingly contradictory possibilities pose the challenge of choice, of making deliberate decisions to ensure that communication plays a positive role in society. The results of such decisions can be articulated in a policy statement.

Within this general framework, strategies can be devised to facilitate organized and intensified use of interpersonal, group and mass media channels of communication that are sensitive to cultural resources and orientation, and that are decentralized as necessary, in support of development programs. There is increased need to encourage local organizations to make use of new communications technologies, such as the Internet, to promote social linkages and to ensure widespread support for development efforts; so that in a dynamic and organic sense, communication can become an instrument for building solidarity for the common national and community goals of good health, economic recovery, poverty eradication, empowerment of women and youth, and good governance. These outcomes can be facilitated through a deliberate communication policy linked to national development policy.

Reasons for Communication Intervention's Failure

John L Woods states that the basic objective of most development programmes is to create a bridge between people who possess knowledge of technology and people who need it. Leaders in the development field are now realizing that creating

new technology does not automatically mean it will be accepted by the intended beneficiaries. The new innovations - high-yielding rice varieties, high-protein diets, family-planning techniques, classroom-teaching techniques, small-industry practices, community-oriented forestry-must be put into practice by people before a development programme is successful. This means one component of the development process must focus on people understanding and participating in the programmes.

Some times investments in communications have had only limited impact on development programmes. There are two basic reasons:- First, development workers have not utilized communication resources properly in the planning and implementation of their development programmes. As a result, most of the communication efforts in the development field tend to focus on public, relations aspects of the programme rather than being an integral element of the transfer of technology and educational process. Also, since communication flow has not been an integral part of development planning, often there is almost no coordination of the information flowing through the various channels of communication. For example, it is very common to have a farm radio broadcast giving different recommendations than the agricultural extension workers in the village. - Second, communications workers do not understand the development process and, therefore, the information flowing through the various channels is not suitable to support development programmes. Handling an educational development message is much different from news, public relations, advertising, and entertainment, in which most channels of communication specialize. The managers of the communications resources must be motivated to support a country's development process and their staff should be trained to handle development messages correctly.

The resources and tools of communications have long been successfully used for political and commercial activities. But they have seldom been made an integral part of development; programmes.

A third-generation communication technical assistance is now needed -one which concentrates on helping governments build a linkage between development programmes and communications resources.

An important aspect of stimulating the transfer of technology is to ensure the proper flow of relevant information among the numerous groups of people who are involved. This requires the systematic utilization of all appropriate communications methods, starting at the earliest stages of development planning and continuing through out the programme implementation. While numerous communication resources have long been successfully used for political and commercial activities, they have not often been adopted as an integral part of development programmes. It was against this background that in 1972, Mr. Rudolph A. Peterson, then UNDP Administrator, said, " Development must be carried out with people, not just for them or through them. We must build into an increasing number of UNDP-assisted projects an imaginatively conceived and adequately financed human communication component."

Most countries now have available the basic communications resources that have the capacity of carrying development messages. Examples of these individual channels of communication include mass media (radio, television, newspapers, cinema); audiovisual/educational technology production centres; field cadre programmes (agricultural extension, auxiliary health workers, small industry training personnel, schoolteachers); scientific information clearing-houses; social-survey research organizations; management information systems; and traditional/folk media.

Development workers do not utilize communications resources properly and communications workers do not understand the development process. What is needed is to help governments link development projects to communications resources.

In many cases there is still a great need to improve the capabilities of these individual channels of communication. However, I feel the most urgent need right now is to start getting the proper utilization of these communications resources within the development process. This means encouraging communications workers to take their country's development tasks seriously. Also, it means assisting development planners and implementors to select, programme and coordinate all appropriate communication resources to ensure the flow of relevant development information for development programmes.

There are three basic problems of communication in a project:

Beneficiaries do not Communicate Well to the Planners

Starting at the earliest stages of planning a development programme and going throughout the implementation, there is a need for information about the intended beneficiaries. Information on their needs, attitudes, current practices, and many other characteristics should be one of the inputs for designing relevant development programmes. A continuous monitoring or " feedback" of the reaction of the beneficiaries to the programme is also important. Communication methods utilized for this information flow include pre-project social survey research, certain types of field reporting and management information systems, and some media such as video tape and photography to document field conditions.

Planners and Implementers do not Communicate well among Themselves

Frequently, the successful implementation of a development programme is hampered by a leek of communication and coordination between the many agencies that must be involved. These include subject-matter researchers, administrative support units such as civil service commissions, field-level workers, non-governmental cooperating agencies, administrators and political

leaders, training institutions, e le. There is a constant need for a flow of relevant information related to programme policies, technology and field conditions within the organizational framework. Communications methods utilized for this information flow include many administrative communication techniques such as reports, newsletters, conferences, management information systems, staff development training programmes, information clearing-houses.

Implementers do not Communicate well to the Beneficiaries

A great amount of effort must be focused on ensuring the systematic information flow to the intended beneficiaries. This flow involves information that is both motivational and educational. For the programme to be successful the beneficiaries must understand, accept, and be able to properly use the innovations which are recommended. Among the communications methods utilized in this information flow are personal channels, such as extension field workers, local leaders and schoolteachers; traditional or folk media such as village plays, puppet plays, etc.; mass media such as radio, posters, publications, mobile units; and all forms of non-formal education.

One component of the development process should focus on people understanding and participating in programmes.

It should be pointed out that communication integrated into development planning and programme implementation does not guarantee dramatic successes. It is no panacea. In fact, the use of communication methods to maximize the information flow can cause strong negative reactions in a poorly conceived and run development programme. Examples can be cited of a programme recommending inappropriate innovations or the use of materials such as fertilizers that are not available. Judiciously used, and starting at the earliest stages of planning, communication support can be one of those important ingredients that contribute to the successful implementation of development programmes.

Strategic communication is a powerful tool that can improve the chances of success of development projects. It strives for behavior change not just information dissemination, education, or awareness raising. While the latter are necessary ingredients of communication, they are not sufficient for getting people to change long-established practices or behaviors.

Meaningful communication is about getting information out to particular audiences, listening to their feedback, and responding appropriately. Whether discussing a development project or broader economic reforms — from health, education or rural development to private sector development, financial reform or judicial reform — the idea is to build consensus through raising public understanding and generating well-informed dialogue among stakeholders.

Well-conceived, professionally implemented communication programs that are tied directly to reform efforts or development project objectives that bring understanding of local political, social and cultural realities to bear in the design of development programs can make the difference between a project's success and failure.

Designing a Communication Policy for Development

Because of the multi-sectoral and comprehensive nature of national development needs and objectives, a national strategy on information and communication for sustainable development must be seen also as a multi-sectoral, multi-dimensional issue, around which different development stakeholders can find a rallying point, and to which they can make invaluable constructive contributions.

Previous attempts in some countries to deal with information and communication policy issues, because they lacked an overarching development-oriented framework and justification, have tended to be ad hoc, and overly politicized. (Ilboudo, Jean-Pierre)

As the 1972 UNESCO report states: "A national communication policy will seek to balance the needs of the day after tomorrow with the realities of today". In the process of designing a national policy of communication for development, the following factors are fundamental" (FAO)

- awareness of the interdependence between communication and other development sectors and areas;
- the creation of a new approach of communication for development which includes the involvement of the entire population in the country's affairs;
- to envisage an approach that gives communication a human dimension by ensuring that it is not monopolised by the media but that it is carried out by teachers, agricultural workers, health officers, field veterinarians, community and religious leaders as well as members of NGOs and farmers' organizations;
- to understand that the implementation of a communication for development policy must be placed in an appropriate juridical and institutional framework;
- to choose a multimedia approach that includes interpersonal and group communication, traditional means of communication, the media and new communication technologies;
- to take into account specific situations as well as the realities and needs of the countries concerned and in particular of their own means and their human, material and financial capacities.

Steps in the Design and Implementation

The following steps seem to be necessary in the process of designing and implementing a national communication for development policy.

Planning Phase

1. Expressed national willingness to design a national communication policy in support of development programs.
2. Establishment of a National Committee to provide strategic guidance to the design effort.
3. Identification and selection of themes and sectors to be involved in the situation analyses and background studies, in the context of national possibilities.
4. Preparation of a summary document outlining the major development thrusts, and the socio-cultural-economic challenges and realities of the country. This will serve as a reference/guide for national experts preparing sectoral and other studies.
5. Organisation of a national training and consensus building workshop for national experts and others involved in the design process, to facilitate common understandings and set common values and goals.
6. Undertaking of desk and field research in the identified areas, using a common methodology and especially participatory approaches.
7. Organisation of regional/provincial consultations to assess information and communication needs at these levels, and to involve the views and ideas of frontline development workers and grassroots communities in policy the design process.
8. Preparation of a summary document of the results of field research and information collected at national and regional levels, as a background paper and stimulus for national dialogue.
9. Organisation of a national workshop to design a national communication for development policy, involving a broad spectrum of stakeholders from government, civil society, private sector, NGOs and community based organisations. Inputs to the workshop include the conclusions and recommendations of the regional/provincial workshops, which are then discussed, noted and actioned as necessary.
10. Report back consultations to stakeholders especially at regional/provincial levels.
11. Design of a national communication for development program with short, medium and long-term action plans, sectoral programs and budgets.

Implementation Phase

1. Reaffirmation of the national will to commit to the implementation of the adopted policy. This should involve government, civil society and all actors in national development.
2. Establishment of a credible, independent, flexible institutional framework for the implementation and management of the policy. This should include both a policy-level organ and a technical secretariat of qualified experts.
3. Identification and allocation of human and financial resources for the national coordinating mechanism.
4. Promotion of the national communication for development policy to obtain support from development partners and national stakeholders, including grassroots communities.
5. Organisation of donors' round table and other actions for resource mobilisation.
6. Monitoring and evaluation of the national communication for development policy.

These steps while not meant to be followed mechanically should be thoroughly examined in each national exercise, to ensure that the most suitable design and implementation process has been followed, so that the resultant policy and its implementation will add value to national development.

Note

LESSON 25:
DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT COMMUNICATION (DSC)

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To learn what is development support Communication

To differentiate it from development communication

To know the principles of DSC

Development Support Communication is an Offshoot of Development communication, which specifically refers to the communication integration in a development project.

Rogers says, "development communication refers to the uses to which communication is put in order to further development. Such applications are intended to either further development in a general way, such as by increasing level of the mass media exposure among a nation's citizens, in order to create a favorable 'climate', for development, or to support a specific development programme or project this type of development communication is often termed as development-support communication".

The practice of DSC is a multi-sectoral process of information sharing about development agendas and planned actions. It links planners, beneficiaries and implementers of development action, including the donor community. It obligates planners and implementers to provide clear, explicit and intelligible data and information about their goals and roles in development, and explicitly provides opportunities for beneficiaries to participate in shaping development outcomes. It ensures that the donor community is kept constantly aware of the achievements and constraints of development efforts in the field.

Development Support Communication makes use of all available structures and means of information sharing. Therefore it is not limited to mass media alone. It also uses both formal group and non-formal channels of communication, such as women's and youth associations, as well as places where people gather.... markets, churches, festivals, and meetings. But its contribution is in using these in a systemic, continuous, coordinated and planned manner, to perform linkage and enabling functions. It requires analysis of the communication environment, of the available and needed communication competencies and resources (hardware, software, financial and human), and clearly indicates expected results from specific resource inputs, so as to maintain accountability.

Comparison

Development Communication	Development Support Communication
Applied to National or Macro entities	Applied to micro or local entities
Non-directed	Directed and goal oriented
Open ended and persuasive	Time bound, good for campaigns
Limited to tech-based media (Mass media)	Inter personal, group and mass media
General Culture Based	Local culture based
Participatory (Low level)	Participatory (High level)
Policy changes in project slow	Policy changes in project fast
Research -difficult, more variables	Easily researchable, variables can be isolated
Lost credibility over years	Still gains popularity and credibility

In short, DSC is a legitimate function of development planning and implementation. DSC therefore needs to be examined as a valuable 'technology' for using the social communication process to foster and strengthen sustainable development at local and national levels. It should be taken more seriously in programs of social change, and should be reflected explicitly in development policy and strategy. One way of doing so is through the enunciation of a national information and communication policy, which can be explicitly integrated into national development thinking and practice.

Thus, development Support communications is the integration of strategic communication in development projects.

Jayaweera defined DC as communication strategies meant for whole society and DSC as the application of development strategies specifically designed for concrete development programmes.

Concept & Practice of DSC

People should be informed about what is going on in a project. The human communication gap, may cost high. Boyd, Paul D refers to three kinds of communication gap.

Non-communication: In a new irrigation project, farmers were not informed that the irrigation water was for them, let alone how they should use it. Consequently, the water was left idle at great expense.

Mis-communication: In promoting a new fertilizer, another project used mass radio broadcasts to farmers who were then frustrated in their attempts to get more detailed information and actual supplies because local agricultural extension workers knew nothing about it.

Confusing communication: Often, technologies produced in the lab environments may prove futile in real farm environment. Further various and contradicting information will confuse people. Scientists in the lab may assume profit and yield as the first and only the aspiration of the farmer. But for the farmer, taste and the thrill of farming may be of vital interest. Further, all the doubts shall be cleared. For example, if the government asks the couples to have only two children, farmers will wonder if there will be enough hands to harvest a greatly increased high yield crop.

Even among the many communicators who care deeply and work hard to see their skills applied to development, there appears to be a number of quite different interpretations, in concept or in practice, as to how to plan and promote development through use of communication techniques. For convenience, we can group these varying approaches under four broad schools of thought as follows:

The media-centered approach: The real motivation and professional interest among people in this school is to help strengthen the mass media almost exclusively as an end in itself.

The focus may be television, film, videotape, radio, press, or combinations of such mass media. The emphasis is on raising the technical and artistic standards of media people as a profession and on expanding media facilities, infrastructure and staff. These efforts may eventually contribute to development objectives, if the strengthened media increase the development content of their output. But there is frequently little or no built-in planning to make this happen.

The social-process approach: The main interest here is to explore and promote the role of communication in society, e.g. in stimulating self-awareness at the community level ("conscientisation" a la Paolo Freire), increasing community access to media, using media to help express community interests, etc. Film, television, videotape, radio or the press thus become tools in seeking the objective of community self-expression. They can be powerful tools for this purpose. But they will more often lead to ultimate frustration, unless adequately linked to realistic, achievable, tangible actions and goals that the community can undertake within its own resources, plus such outside resources as are immediately visible and available.

The diffusionist/ extensionist approach: Especially prevalent among scientists, technicians and central Government planning and political authorities, this view is to disseminate information to potential users of research findings, new technologies, improved practices, etc.. Depending on national circumstances, communication seen in this light can be a kind of conveyor belt to help spread development benefits more widely; or a tool for promoting citizen complience with the wishes and policies of the central Government.

The development support communication approach: This work focuses on development objectives and takes as its twin starting points both the "felt needs" at community level (whether village communities, or groups of industrialists) and the "action needs" as seen at the planners level (whether multi-sectoral, or sectoral or project planners).

In the development support communication (DSC) analysis, all three elements described above are taken into account. Planning for DSC:

- begin s with identifying and analyzing the innovations sought by the community and those that development projects aims to introduce- to whom, when, and with what materials means;
- then determines how existing social, cultural, psychological and indigenous communication factors, as well as government organizational factors, would help or hinder adoption of the new practices among the groups of people concerned;
- next looks at what combinations of communication channels exist and can be used;
- and finally, after repeating these analyses for geographically or sectorally related projects, locally tailored communication programs are drawn up and implemented in phase with the real action potential in the communities (taking into account available supplementary inputs from outside the community).

Levels of DSC Planning and Action

Individual project level

Proper communication analysis begins at the level of real development action- the project level. A project consists of a series of planned activities and inputs designed to achieve a set of immediate objectives, which will in turn contribute to the attainment of specified medium or long term objectives. The project level is where national/ sectoral/ provincial development goals are supposed to be translated into realities. It is the level where participation, involvement and benefit by the people is actually supposed to occur, and where well-informed awareness, understanding, acceptance and implementation of change by the people are fundamental prerequisite for successful development. It is therefore at the project level where communication support can best be designed and carried out, attuned to the whole range of human expectations, development potentials, and the social, cultural, and psychological characteristics that are present in the project community.

A key element at this level is to access what can be called the real potential of specific groups of people under given circumstances. It is obviously no use merely to exhort people to adopt purportedly advantageous new ideas and practices. The people involved must also be able to:

- weigh the risk and benefits for them;
- foresee a positive net outcome in their own productivity, income or status;
- bear the initial economic, social and psychological costs of such change that falls on them;
- have confidence that promised support from outside the community (e.g. from government) will be timely and tangible in accordance with needs as and when the people see them.

For project planners, this perspective frequently poses the need for an entirely new type of pre-project research that seriously transforms into practical data much of the mere talk about 'people as the ends and means of development.' Research data are required on attitudes and aspirations, existing knowledge and knowledge-gaining methods, individual and social behavioral patterns, incentives for change, and a host of other non-physical, non-technical facts, often including detailed study of language questions, since new ideas are naturally sometimes hard to express in existing vocabularies and colloquialisms. It takes very practical social science knowledge that can tune in to sub-surface currents, and that realistically assesses what likely questions/ resistances/ stresses or what unanticipated creativity/ impetus/ dynamism, may come to light in the community once a specific type of developmental change actually begins to be carried out.

This kind of analysis can often lead to fundamental re-thinking of the design and phasing of a total project. Thorough examination of human communicating factors is bound to reveal obstacles that are hidden from the eyes of pure economists and technicians, and to influence assumptions about the pace and style of project implementation.

For communication specialists, project-level planning and action calls for a wide-angle view of communication processes that

takes into account all actual and prospective communication paths within and into the project community (and not just the mass media). It means asking such questions as how, in a health campaign, doctors and nurses will really perform as information conveyors, as compared to midwives and herbalists, and what specially tailored orientation programs are needed for these categories of change agents, with what communication aids for their communication roles in the community if they are to be credible and effective? It means asking, in an agricultural scheme, how rural radio programs can be dove-tailed with ground-level advice from extension workers, so that the use of radio to promote awareness about, say, new fertilizers is backed on time by realistic recommendations from field agents on fertilizer application under local conditions, and by adequate supplies of the right fertilizer at an economic price.

Communication support has to be governed by the phasing and timetable, as well as the technical content, laid down in the detailed program of the individual development project being supported. Communication support, by definition therefore, has to be:

- a systematic project input and activity, throughout the project's life (and sometimes before and after the project as well);
- synchronized with the project's work plan and schedule of other related inputs;
- built into the project budget and plan of expenditure;
- adjusted as necessary when the project is revised or changes direction;
- evaluated as part of total project evaluation in terms of the efficiency and ultimate impact of the project.

Multi-Project Level

Individual projects are the primary objective and framework for communication appraisal and planning, essentially because projects have to operate among or closest to the people. However, it is characteristics of most development planning that clusters of projects are formulated for simultaneous or sequential implementation in pursuit of objectives which are or should be linked.

At the multi-project level, prior analysis of the ability to communicate and the ability of the people to absorb the recommended innovations within a project can also lead to revised notions about which projects, in what order of logic and need as from the standpoint of the community should be launched with what precise physical inputs (and obviously, with what sets of communication messages through what channels within the audiences involved).

Another advantage of assessing the aggregate communication needs of related projects is the opportunity it presents to share communication resources of all kinds, and the second basis it provides for planning to strengthen communication resources in the light of the real development support task to be achieved. Instead of allocating and committing such resources in ad hoc and probably competitive fashion it becomes possible either to curtail/ rephase/ revise planned communication activities (and in turn re-shape other project inputs)

Wherever ideas for projects may originate within a developing country, it is an inescapable fact that government has the primary responsibility for deciding on the directions that development should take. Government, has the principle vehicle for identifying and responding to people's needs, is not only logically in charge of the process of overall development planning and administration (under whatever pattern of State, private or mixed participation may prevail); it must also take the initiative at least in the planning, if not also in some or most of the action, to ensure that development benefits are realized as widely and quickly as possible and that adequate development support communication is undertaken.

Given that communication support needs advance planning and sustained attention, it follows that communication analysis and action must be integrated with development planning and administration. To treat communication as a separate sector by itself would be to ignore the sources and nature of its content, its supporting rather tan independent role, and its main justification as the conveyor of the motivation and knowledge for best use of the physical and technical resources employed in development.

Development support communication is a complex and long-term endeavor that calls for the combined insights and experience of social and behavioral science, information and education disciplines, and development administration. As such, it is a specialized support function requiring specialized people; it cannot be left to the occasional attention of politicians, bureaucrats and technicians alone

In deciding how to organize the DSC system within government, a first step is to survey and assess the various resources of all types available for DSC planning and action. Five main types of resources should be examined:

1. Behavioral data and research facilities
2. Community groups that exist on a fairly widespread and organized basis (co-operatives, trade unions, farmers clubs, religious groups, professional associations, credit unions, etc.) and their leadership at all levels
3. Extension systems of all types, agricultural, health, education, etc. within the government structures
4. Traditional media and their role in relaying new ideas (folk theatre, music, village fairs and markets, etc.)
5. Modern media and the design/ production/ distribution resources for them- publications, flipcharts, flannel-graphs, slide/ filmstirp, exhibits, 16mm film, radio, television, etc.

The key question regarding location of the DSC planning function within Government is: "Where is the most efficient point at which project proposals, wherever originated, can be stopped long enough to being asking communication questions about them? ' In most countries, the answer to this question involves study of the development planning process, its nature and participants. Most important, it requires posing a challenge to traditional thinking (or non-thinking) about peoples roles in their own development and about the role of communication in human development.

Ensuring Effective Communication flow in DSC

There are three basic communication flows within a development programme: downward, upward and horizontally through the system. Many administrators limit their communicating to the downward flow, which is probably the least important in the planning and implementation of a development programme.

Katz and Kahn (1966) describe downward communication as going along the authority pattern of hierarchical positions; horizontal communications as being among peers at the same organizational level; and upward communication ascending the hierarchical ladder.

Berelson and Steiner (1964), stated that communication down the organizational hierarchy is likely to be critical and to consist of authoritarian instructions; communication up the organizational hierarchy is often inaccurate; horizontal communication tends to be the most accurate, but is often restricted by the organizational structure.

Downward

Most organizational researchers have found that downward communication flows are more frequent than upward flows. Administrators originate a considerable amount of communication that they assume will " trickle down " through the system and eventually cause the intended beneficiaries of the development programme to change their current practices. But too often, certain basic questions are ignored: (a) is the message that is being communicated relevant; (b) is it being understood and acted upon by subordinates within the system; and (c), does it reach the intended beneficiaries?

Peter Drucker (1966) suggests that the biggest problem for administrators in making effective decisions is that they too often are talking when they should be listening-one of the major reasons why many development programmes fail.

Upward

During the planning of a development programme and the later monitoring of its progress the upward communication flow is vital. However, as Sagasti (1975) points out: "The single greatest problem in rural development has been the lack of active participation of the local people. In communications terms this means an overemphasis on transmission of information by project managers and staff to the rural people, rather than transmission of information from the rural people to each other and to project staff and development decision-makers."

Most researchers agree that the upward flow of communication in an organization is usually distorted. The nature of the hierarchical structure and. the related reward, system discourages subordinates from passing bad news to their bosses (Wilensky, 1967). A superior receives reports that tell him primarily what his subordinates want him to hear (Downs, 1967) and almost always contain positive information. Most management information systems are designed to control subordinates rather than to encourage relevant upward communication. What an administrator needs most is the accurate description of problems in programme implementation. Field workers have the information, but are afraid to communicate it to the administrators who desperately need it. A major overhaul in current administrative practices will be required before the upward communication flow can become a valid element in development programme implementation.

Horizontal

At the operational level of implementing a development programme, horizontal communication becomes extremely important, but faces many barriers because of the bureaucratic structure and rules and regulations in most government organizations. It is difficult to establish effective communication linkages between departments and even more so between ministries; between government departments and the private sector or non-governmental organizations it can become almost impossible.

The "gate-keeper" effect of the organizational structure causes massive problems for most administrators who are implementing development programmes. It results in delays of recruiting personnel, of budget approvals, of information on new technology from researchers. In a study of the organizations involved in helping rubber small-holders in south Thailand, James French (1977) commented that administrative obstacles frequently prevented coordination and cooperation between planners and field personnel, even though the need for a single administrative body which would examine and be responsible for all aspects of rubber development had repeatedly been pointed out.

Much of the horizontal communication that does go on at the operational level is informal in nature and bypasses the formal organizational system. But in using informal channels there are definite restrictions on achieving official action. Much more thought is required for facilitating " official" horizontal communication at all levels of the hierarchy in order to improve the implementation of development programmes.

While the identification of these three types of communication flows appears to be fairly elementary, not enough thought is given to properly using them by most administrators of development programmes.

More attention must be focused on improving the upward and horizontal communication flows. The use of the downward communication flow should be evaluated and where possible reduced. The downward communication flow should be closely linked and coordinated with the upward and horizontal communication flows.

A Case Study on Policy

The Role of Communication And The Media For National Development In The Caribbean Area: The Formation And Implementation Of National Communication Policies

Definitions

To put the topic in perspective, the Committee established working definitions of "communication" and "development."

We concluded that the definition of communication as developed at the Ibadan meeting could be applicable here but with a rider clause:

"Communication" in this context may be taken to mean all forms of information transfer from interpersonal contacts to satellite broadcasting. However, we consider that there should be an "inbuilt feedback network" in any information transfer. Under this definition of communication, both traditional (verbal and non-verbal) and modern media have a role to play.

"Development" is here taken to mean the process by which the people achieve an improvement in the quality of life as it relates to their cultural, social, economic and political growth.

The Concept of Development Support Communication (DSC)

Definition

Under this concept, communication is seen as part of the whole process of development, starting with development planning. The planning of development support communication includes mechanisms for the synthesis of ideas about development priorities and emphasis held by planners and the communities, to be involved in development processes, so that the innovations to be introduced are both "communicable" and "absorbable". The Committee agreed to following definition and application:

"Communication in the context of the seminar was taken to mean all forms of information transfer, from interpersonal contacts to satellite broadcasting". (Page 4, Seminar on Motivation, Information and Communication for Development in African and Asian Countries, available from the IBI)

The systematic use of communication techniques for the planning, decision-making and execution process of development programs, in order to ensure, at all stages, participation by all relevant groups of people and the success of the development objectives.

Methods

The methods would be to use all available channels of communication (as already defined) including educational systems, extension workers and other change agent systems.

Furthermore, DSC must be based on the understanding of social, cultural, motivational and communications factors within the particular community. Analysis to this effect should be undertaken from the earliest possible stage.

Premises

(a) The responsibility for development support communication rests with the government, assisted by other relevant groups in society.

(b) It must be integrated in development planning and project execution;

(c) It is a specialized function which ideally should be given its own institutionalized support. Since this might not be possible at this time in all Caribbean countries because of a shortage of human and financial resources, development planners should be alerted that special attention should be paid to development support communication, even if resources are scarce.

Implementation

The implementation of DSC within a program requires, in the committee's view, that attention be given to a number of points:

a. there is need to carry out a survey which may be designed to reveal a number of things; for example,

- whether there exists any study or data by social or behavioral scientists; and with the help of such study to identify the characteristics of the community to be served;
- what factors influence attitudes to development messages;
- what kinds of extension systems, community group or community leaders exist that should be involved in DSC;
- media availability-media credibility;
- feedback capabilities for analyzing existing programs;
- Follow-up evaluation –to ascertain to what extent specific development information has reached specific audiences and to what degree it has changed their opinions, attitudes and behavior in keeping with the objectives of the development program.

b. There should be decentralization use of the mass media and other communications channels, according to the requirements of the project; for example, its sociological and environmental patterns; opportunities to involve local participation by and through local voluntary news correspondents; promoting cheap print duplicating methods, regional and local broadcasts, etc.

c. Technical alternatives should be carefully considered so as to make possible the choice of the most appropriate communication technology. Special care should be taken to try to foresee all the implications of introducing "high" technology and to make fullest possible use of "intermediate" technology;

d. The Committee emphasized that the software content of development support communication cannot be imported since it must be produced according to the adopted development objectives and projects and must be geared to the specific communities and audiences concerned;

e. It was also agreed that development support communication must be co-ordinated with the educational systems, particularly at the policy level, so as to avoid contradictory messages being transmitted by the two systems;

f. No matter how elaborate a system of plans is laid, no matter how integrated, the committee took the view as stated by Clarence Ellis…"the most effective means of communication in planning and plan implementation is the media of committed officials." However, they need special support and training to equip them for their communication function.

Communications Policy

The Committee was convinced that the whole communication network had an important role to play in support of development and it was the responsibility of government to ensure there was integration of the mass media and other communications channels in the total development effort.

Bearing in mind the present relative underdevelopment of the media and the region, the committee felt it was opportune and still possible to devise a comprehensive and forward looking development communication policy.

The Need

Basic to the concept of an organized society is the need to co-ordinate the activity of its several communities. The lynch pin to this process is communication. A communication policy should aim at:

- preventing contradictory messages by integrated planning;
- establishing an investigatory system, e.g. through DSC, to ensure that technological hardware will meet a county's developmental needs;
- Providing a framework for a rational allocation of resources for development of the mass media infrastructure and the conduct of development support communication program.

Organization and Structure

In order to achieve the required co-ordinated national communication policy, there is a need to provide for an institutionalized framework and support in the form of a national body (e.g. a National Communication Council).

a. Function

This national body should be entrusted with three main functions: policy and planning; regulation; evaluation.

It should be charged with examining such issues as are identified above for the development of mass communication infrastructure and the conduct of development support communication.

In formulating communication policy, this body should work closely with the development planners and ensure that the nation's information policy is consciously designed to support its development strategy. It should also ensure the required co-ordination with regard to international communication questions.

It will be the task of this body to ensure that the adopted communication policies and plans are co-ordinated and implemented at all levels.

The national communication body should also support a research unit to assist in the evaluation of DSC program and policy.

b. Composition

In order to achieve the integrated approach needed, the body should comprise:

- representatives of the concerned government ministries (information, planning, communication, education, agriculture, etc.)
- Representatives of a DSC unit
- Representatives from a central communication research unit
- Management of the print and electronic media
- Representatives of citizens or community groups.

The body should be chaired by a designated minister who will report to Cabinet.

3. Issues to Examined

a. Staff Recruitment and Training

Staff recruitment and training plans should be formulated as part of the total communication plan. In particular, three elements for the communication plan have new and major implications regarding the types of training required:

- for the development support communication, there is a need to create virtually a new breed of communicator who has knowledge of multiple media, is sensitive to the characteristics and needs of differing audiences, and can relate both of these to development activities needing communication support;
- communication specialists should be helped to understand both the process of development planning and implementation, and the interaction among traditional, extension-type and modern media systems. Extension workers or other change agents should be specially trained for their functions as group and inter-personal communicators in project implementation and in relation to mass media. For their part, development planners need orientation regarding the role and priority of communication in planning and project formulation;
- decisions on staff technical training should be linked with advance-planned improvements in the working environment (e.g. operating equipment, software budgets, individual functional roles, etc.) that trainees will face on return to the job.

b. Media Financing

In order to free the mass media from dependence on advertising, the committee recognizes the vital importance of direct or indirect financial support from the government. If they expect the media to perform the task assigned to them, a possible method of financing might be making support to the media conditional on whether they were fulfilling their development role. In addition, with the proper planning and budgeting of communication support for development projects, costs of producing media materials and programs could be built into the budget of project communication components.

c. Media Ownership and Regulation

- the media should be owned nationally, that is to say, foreign ownership is unacceptable. How national ownership may be achieved is a matter for each individual government to decide in keeping with their philosophy and the resources available. In addition, the owners should not be motivated solely by the profit incentive, but should have a commitment to the role of the media in development support;
- it may be possible to extend the present operating licensing system used in broadcasting to print media. This arrangement would be regarded as contractual, with rights and duties on both sides;
- both methods should be supervised by the National Communication Council.

d. Co-ordination with Cultural and Educational Policies

Cultural and educational policies, like communications policy must form part of overall development strategy. As there is a great degree of interaction between these three particular components, they should be formulated together in harmonious and mutually supporting fashion.

Recommendations

1. This Committee recommends that governments' attention be drawn to the concept of development support communication and the need for an overall communication policy.
2. To the extent that governments of the region decide individually or jointly that they need external assistance in designing or implementing DSC programs and communication policies, they may seek assistance from the UNDP or other international bodies through the designated channels. For example, the committee felt that such assistance might be needed in:
   - A survey inventory and assessment of the available resources of all types needed for DSC.
   - The establishment of policies, systems and specialized staff for the planning of DSC.
   - The design and execution of research activities needed for the planning, implementation and evaluation of (DSC) work; one possibility could be to propose UNDP regional funding for the provision of a DSC team in the Caribbean. Such a team would provide advisory and operational assistance to individual countries wishing to study or create national DSC system and / or to design and implement communication components in development projects.
3. Priority should be given to convincing senior government officers and ministers of the value of development support communication.
4. There should be decentralized use of the mass media and other communications channels, according to the requirements of the development program.
5. That training should assist in the creation of a new breed of communicator and such training should be directed at not only the members of the media, but also other change agents within the society.
6. There should be set up a small working party drawn from IBI, FNS and participants of the Ibadan and Georgetown seminars to advance the implementation of the recommendations coming out of these seminars.

Annex

An Overall View Of Communication Systems In The Caribbean

Regional Facilities

Important steps are being taken to provide greater access to and from the Caribbean Area in the telecommunications field.

An 800 mile long microwave system is presently under construction in the Eastern Caribbean. On completion it will link the chain of Commonwealth, French and Dutch islands from Tortola (British Virgin Islands) in the north to Trinidad and Tobago in the south. The system is intended to provide the island with a telecommunication system of sufficient quality and capacity to contain demand well into the 1980s.

The first section of the wideband microwave backbone chain for Tortola to Antigua with a microwave relay on the Dutch island of Saba has been completed and is in service. A microwave link from Saba to St. Marten has also been completed and gives the population of St. Maarten direct access to the Cable & Wireless Caribbean system.

Section two of the project will link Antigua- Guadeloupe- Marie Galante- Dominica- Martinique- St. Lucia. The work on this section will be completed by early 1976. Section three will continue from St. Lucia to St. Vincent- Carriacou- Grenada- Trinidad and Tobago, and will be completed by late 1976.

http://www.geocities.com/Broadway/Orchestra/5108/cap6.html

Note

LESSON 26:
PARTICIPATORY PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To learn the principles of PPM

To manage a DEVCOM people participatory project

Participation of People in Development Intervention

Participation means that people are closely involved in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives. People may, in some cases, have complete control may be partial or indirect. The important thing is that people have constant access to decision-making and power.

Participation, certainly not a new term, has been a part of the development vocabulary since the 1960s, or even before. But it has generally referred only to people's involvement in particular projects or programmes.

People can participate as individuals or as groups. As individuals in a democracy, they may participate as voters or political activists — or in the market as entrepreneurs or workers. Often, however, the participate more effectively through group action - as members of community organization perhaps, or a trade union or a political party.

People, everywhere are certainly demanding much greater access to political, economic and social opportunities. They might not expect "full participation" - but they do want a steady advance towards it. Participation is, after all, a process not an event.

Since participation required increased influence and control, it also demands increased empowerment in economic, social and political terms, in economic terms, this means being able to engage freely in any economic activity. In social terms, it means being able to join fully in all forms of community life, without regard to religion, colour, sex or race. And in political terms, it means the freedom to choose and change governance at every level from the presidential palace to the village council.

Participation, from the human development perspective, is both a means and an end. Human development stresses the need to invest in human capabilities and then ensure that those capabilities are used for the benefit of all. Greater participation has an important part to play here: it helps increasing levels of social and economic development. But human development is also concerned with personal fulfillment. So, active participation, which allows people to realize their full potential and make their best contribution to society, is also an end in itself.

Democracy cannot be achieved overnight. Just as economic growth means little unless it is translated into improvements in human lives, so democracy can be merely an empty ritual of periodic elections unless people participate, aware and empowered, in all the institutions of civil society. Elections are a necessary, but certainly not a sufficient, conditions for democracy. Political participation is not just a casting of votes. It is way of life.

Despite the accumulating forces for greater participation, large numbers of people continue to be excluded from the benefits of development: the poorest segments of society, people in rural areas, many religious and ethnic minorities -and, in almost every country, women. Also excluded are those millions, particularly children, whose preventable and premature deaths cut short their lives.

Many of these groups necessarily overlap but it is useful to identify some of them individually.

The poorest people - find that their very poverty is a formidable barrier to entering many aspects of social, economic and political life.

Poverty has its greatest impact on children and is a denial to future generations. Infant mortality rates in the least developed countries are still 114 per 1,000 live births, and nearly 13 million children die each year before their fifth birthday.

Poverty can also be harsh for the elderly. In the formerly socialist countries, the pensioners are among those who suffer most from the current reforms process.

For millions of people all over the world, the daily struggle for survival so much of their time and energy that. even if they live in democratic countries, genuine political participation is, for all practical purposes, a luxury.

Women - are the world's largest excluded group. Even though they make up half the adult population, and often contribute much more than their share to society, inside and outside the home, they are frequently excluded from positions of power. They make up just over 10% of the world's parliamentary representatives, and consistently less than 4% of cabinet minister or other positions of executive authority.

Minorities and indigenous peoples - often find it difficult to participate fully in societies that consistently operate in favour of the dominant groups. Sometimes this discrimination is embedded in legal frame work denying minority groups equal access to education, to employment opportunities or to political representation. But exclusion is generally less a matter of official policy than everyday practice.

People in rural areas - have very restricted participation in economic and social life in the developing world. The rural per capita income in many countries is around half that in towns and cities. And rural people have much less access to government services. Despite making up around two-thirds of the population, they receive on average less than a quarter of the education, health, water and sanitation services.

The disabled - make up at least 10% of the world's population. They include all those who have experience injury, trauma or disease that results in long-term physical or mental changes.

Disability is common to both industrial and developing countries, but the sources tend to be different in the industrial

countries, the principal causes are degenerative diseases associated with ageing, while in the developing world the causes are more likely to be disease, malnutrition and war.

Obstacles to Participation

Participation is a plant that does not grow easily in the human environment, Powerful vested interests, driven by personal greed, erect numerous obstacles to block off the routes to people's political and economic power. These obstacles include:

Legal systems - Laws are often arbitrary and capricious and favour those with political influence or economic clout. In too many countries, legislation fails to measure up to ideals of transparency, accountability, fairness - and equality before the law. Some countries' law exclude the participation of women, for example, or of religious or ethnic minorities, or deny certain rights to workers.

Bureaucratic constraints - Many developing countries have shackled their people with innumerable regulations and controls, demanding all sorts of permits and permissions for even the most modest business initiative. Fortunately, many governments have started to dismantle the most stifling of these controls and are opening new avenues for entrepreneurial activity.

Social norms - Even when laws change, many old values and prejudices persist, whether against women or different tribes, castes or religious groups - and are often deeply embedded in everyday language and behaviours. Laws may promote equality, but it is usually left to the discriminated group to struggle against prejudice. Thus, working women for example, even when they prove themselves better, are not given equal treatment.

Maldistribution of assets - In developing countries, one of the most significant assets is land. A high proportion of the people struggle to make a living in agriculture, but their efforts are often thwarted by the dominance of feudal elites who exert on overwhelming control over land.

Participatory Approaches to Development

The term "people's participation" entered development literature in the 1970s, in response to the failure of many externally-designed assistance efforts to achieve desired developmental goals, with particular reference to disadvantaged beneficiary groups. Until that time, conventional project strategy had tended to view development in terms of technology transfer aimed at increasing production and assumed that benefits would accrue to all levels of society. Evidence, however, indicated that benefits of technology transfer, when they occurred, were mostly realized by large or medium-scale producers, often accompanied by even greater marginalization of the rural poor.

At the same time, it was recognized that people in rural communities were rarely consulted about the aims of projects and were not involved in their implementation. Target beneficiaries were assumed to share the same perceptions and goals of (usually external) project designers, which was not often the case. Results of projects based upon this assumption were often disappointing.

Food & Agricultural Organization (FAO) began to focus on participatory approaches to development dates back to the early 1970s, through the Freedom from Hunger/Action for Development (FFHC/AD) campaign, the Small Farmers Development Programme (SFDP) in Asia and numerous other field projects aimed at generating informed and conscious participation of local people at all stages of the development process. By 1975, FFHC/AD's objective was identified as "to encourage people's participation in their own development, stimulating at the same time a critical awareness of what this participation means". The SFDP arose from studies that showed that large, more formal organizations (often governmental) were not effective in delivering services to small farmers, particularly the poorest farmers. It organized thousands of small (8-15 persons) participatory groups to engage in joint economic activities, in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

A major boost to the principle of people's direct involvement in the development process came at the 1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD). WCARRD affirmed that "participation by the people in the institutions and systems which govern their lives is a basic human right and also essential for realignment of political power in favour of disadvantaged groups and for social and economic development". One of the major points emphasized at WCARRD, which influenced many of the action programmes that followed, was the importance of strengthening the institutional and organizational capacities of disadvantaged people to collectively participate in rural development.

Subsequent to WCARRD, people's participation gained considerable momentum in donor agencies and international organizations, including FAO. Around this time, a number of donor-funded participatory programmes were begun, including People's Participation in Agricultural and Rural Development through the Promotion of Self-help Organizations (PPP), Community Action for Disadvantaged Rural Women (CADRW), Forestry for Local Community Development (FLCD), Development Support Communication programmes (DSC), Forests, Trees and People Programme (FTPP) and the Programme for Small-scale and Artisanal Fisheries. All these programmes involved local people through community-based organizations in the design and implementation of development activities and made conscious efforts to embrace the poorest of the poor as a principal target beneficiary group. Similarly, the FFHC/AD programme placed increasing focus on ensuring local ownership of projects and to non-project forms of support like training in participatory development for field workers.

The Governing Bodies retained a strong interest in participation and in 1989, the FAO Council recommended that participatory development should be integrated into all development policies and programmes of FAO and that FAO develop a Plan of Action for People's Participation.

The FAO Conference adopted a Seven-point Plan of Action in 1991. The Plan contained proposals for action for both FAO and governments and was aimed at:

- promoting greater public awareness of the role of people's participation and people's organizations in agriculture and rural development;
- creating favourable legal and policy conditions for people's participation;
- strengthening internal capacities of the rural people's organizations at local and national levels;
- decentralizing government decision-making;
- promoting increased dialogue and collaboration between governments, development agencies and people's organizations;
- introducing appropriate operational procedures and methods; and
- monitoring and evaluating people's participation.

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in and trend towards participatory approaches to development, brought about by several factors. Government downsizing and decentralization have redefined the responsibilities of the state and private sector, thus creating institutional and service gaps at various levels and increasing the potential role of communities in decision-making. A broader and more assertive range of civil society actors is present. NGOs, often important users of participatory approaches, are becoming more active in filling the gaps as government retreats as the major actor in front line service delivery. New information technologies potentially shift information much faster and networking possibilities are increasing demands for participation, particularly through e-mail and the Internet, and these are expected to increase rapidly in the coming years. In these conditions, it is generally felt that neither donor nor government may act unilaterally to plan, coordinate, or direct development activity. Wider consultation and involvement is not merely desirable on normative grounds but operationally essential.

Participatory approaches are thought to be more effective in ensuring sustainability even though they may cost more in the short term because change is embraced more quickly and fully by engaged participants and the costs of achieving change may actually be less in the long term. Specific impacts of participation have not been clearly indicated in these projects, but these may be extrapolated as:

- better decisions made because a variety of knowledge is applied to the complex problems at hand, including the local knowledge held by community members as well as the "professional" knowledge of the institutions and project experts involved;
- leadership built within different sectors of an organization or society which will help solve both present and future challenges;
- initiative and motivation generated by shared responsibility and authority;
- different sub-groups given the opportunity to advance their particular interests in development; and
- stakeholder ownership built in the outcomes, so that change is facilitated.

At the same time, it has proved very difficult to practise participatory management because:

- participatory management usually results in more conflict;
- participatory management requires more openness about how decisions are made;
- managers must find a balance between being decisive and participatory;
- participation must be managed strategically in order to be effective;
- participation is perceived as leading to a loss of control; and
- participation is perceived as being more important in itself than the quality of the decision and the results.

In order for participatory projects to be successful and sustainable, the following conditions are necessary:

- the policy framework and institutions must be open to decentralized decision-making;
- beneficiaries must be able to see a continuing economic and or social benefit from their participation;
- training and other institution capacity-building support, often in various areas, is a major input;
- capacity building of participatory institutions/organizations must be addressed; and
- donors and governments must provide additional time and money to cover the initial and recurrent costs associated with participatory projects.

The Importance of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation

Participatory planning is an important part of participatory development approaches. Participatory planning, at its best, includes a strategic approach to decide who should be involved at each different stage of the project, why it is important that they be involved and how they should participate. It should also include an analysis of the needs, desires and constraints of the community, and also of the partner institutions involved. From this information, communities, project staff and government agencies can jointly develop a strategy that they are collectively committed to and capable of carrying out.

Poor planning of participatory projects has led to overly complex project design, poor project implementation, and lack of understanding within the community, partner institutions and even the project staff of what the project aims to accomplish. This is especially true in cases where a project attempts to meet multiple objectives within a variety of technical areas. More narrowly focused projects tended to be better understood and more likely to achieve their objectives.

The project design phase is critically important to establishing the foundation for a successful participatory project. There is little systematic information about the impact of participation in improving project performance, reducing costs involved and ensuring the long-term sustainability of effects. Monitoring and evaluation, therefore, need to be given more attention as essential tools for improving systematic learning.

Conclusion

Collaborative management is a philosophy that incorporates all the participants in the whole process, from the very conception of the project to its operation and decommissioning. As this collaboration encompasses both ends and means, it allows for the generation of flexible and feasible alternatives.

The need to incorporate issues such as community participation, interaction between institutions and organisations was also discussed. Customers or consumers are no longer passive recipients, the more they become involved in the process, the better results.

A Case Study

Integrated Food Security Programme (IFSP), Trincomalee, Sri Lanka. October 2003.

Introduction

Participatory project management promotes capacities of village communities and community based organizations (CBO) in particular. They are supported through an organized process of addressing needs and demands, potential and resources for planning, implementation and management of projects. Dialogue in the form of open communication, participation at all levels of the project cycle, transparency and accountability of the flow of funds and finally, efficient management and operation by the local communities themselves are key principles for ownership. Ownership expresses responsibility for the good use of the assets created with the support of IFSP. Ownership of community assets also aims at the higher objective of generating additional benefits.

The project shows how village communities can be actively involved in project planning and management. The experience and know-how in supporting local development through efficient project planning, implementation and management is laid down in a large number of formatted, procedures, which are annexed to this manual. They include methods and forms for data collection and analysis, formatted project planning, criteria for decision making, project management, administration and programming. All forms have been applied in the day-today work of IFSP. They follow to a certain extent wed established government procedures. All forms are ready for use. These forms could be easily adapted to the specific requirements of government institutions, nongovernment organisations, agencies and development projects.

IFSP Trincomalee encourages development agencies, government institutions, non-government organizations and development projects to follow a transparent and participatory approach in their work. The manual aims at contributing to the application of simple but effective systems for planning at village, divisional and district level.

Project Management Means Dialogue

Since its inception in August 1998, the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP) has encouraged and promoted community development that involves people in decisions and actions taken at village level: Passive recipients become active partners in development.

A new atmosphere is implanted in the community: Projects respond to needs that are real, felt and expressed. Projects are implemented to solve real problems. A community will be wise to think about how to spend limited money allocated for village development so that it makes a difference to their lives.

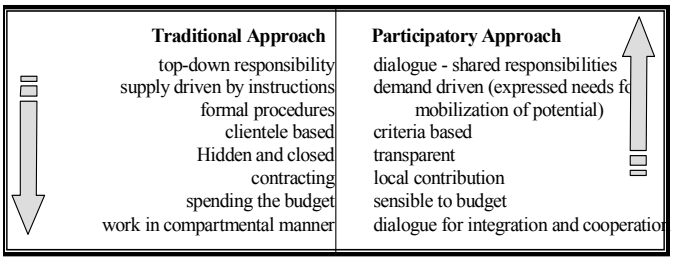
Why is this important? Community development in times of political instability aims at confidence building for investment and development. It supports the involvement of people to stabilise their livelihood strategies and to promote their self-help capacities, as individuals and as a community.

Projects are means of community development and not the goals. The key of development is that local partners take over responsibility for village development in a process of strengthening their functional capacities.

This includes day-to-day support in project management, training and advice. The strategy of community development is thus two-pronged:

- Support needy people fulfill their needs, and
- Strengthen local organizations and their capacities through these projects, with the final aim to reduce the service's gap.

When planning and managing community-based projects, it is essential to involve all stakeholders. Stakeholders are all those who contribute to or benefit from a project. Participatory project management means that all stakeholders are involved in a dialogue and jointly develop the way forward during all stages that a project goes through and subsequently, ensure sustainability.



Principles

Participatory project management aims at promoting local development. Projects address real needs with the support of local partners. This is reflected in four basic principles:

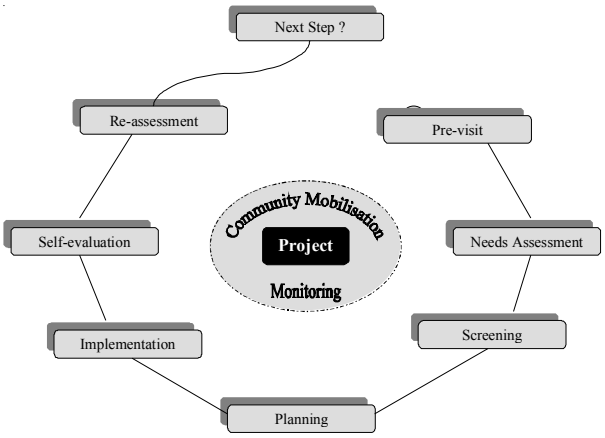
- Needs oriented: Projects reflect felt needs and expressed demands from communities.
- Local contribution: Local implementing partners contribute actively in time, labour and funds to the project.
- Balanced output and process: Projects support people fulfill their needs (output) and strengthen their self-help-capacities (process),
- Networking: Projects encourage the establishment of links to other projects and institutions.

Participatory project management ascribes roles and responsibilities to all who are involved: Local implementing partners (CBOs, action groups), service providers (NGOs, departments) and the IFSP as facilitator.

Participatory project management demands following positive attitudes. Everyone in his or her role and responsibility in project management should commit him or herself to four essential attitudes:

- Shared responsibility: I am willing to hand over responsibilities to others, also those who are lower in rank or hierarchy.
- Accountability: I am responsible for what 1 am doing.
- Transparency: I am transparent to others in what I am doing.
- Integration: I am willing to work with other organizations.

These principles apply to the relationship between villagers and engineers and community mobilizers of IFSP as much as within the hierarchy of an institution itself. Sharing responsibility can take place between officers and representatives of village communities, and at different levels of the hierarchy in an organization.



Participatory Planning, Implementation and Management

Each project goes through a cycle of steps

- Assessment of needs - potential, identification of project priorities and proposals,
- Screening of project proposals according to technical and socio-economic criteria - feasibility,
- Planning the social, economic and technical details of the project, assessing the sustainability,
- Implementation, including monitoring,
- Evaluation of project achievements and impacts.
- These are described briefly below:

Identification: Assessing Needs and potentials

The request for a project can arise in three different manners:

1. Participatory needs assessment (PNA) is the standard approach in villages where the IFSP wants to establish a broader cooperation and commitment over a longer period of time.
2. Project requests can come from local and institutional partners of IFSP (CBOs, NGOs, government departments, divisional secretariat).
3. Rapid appraisals (substituting PNA) could be suitable for focused projects where needs are quite apparent, local organizations are weak or not yet fully established.

Relevance criteria for selection of projects - targeting:

• Food insecurity: Does the project request address issues of food and nutrition insecurity?

• Village vulnerability (village data sheet); What is the degree of conflict affectedness, social deprivation, and food deficit?

• Does the project fall within the geographical working area: (i) PNA villages, (ii) 'Crucial and / or complementary projects' elsewhere (cluster villages), subject to approval by project management? Necessity for support?

• Responsibility assured: Do local partners and communities contribute?

Screening

All project proposals are submitted to the Technical Project Committee (TPC) of IFSP. The TPC consists of the programme managers (one technical, one social), one representative of the District Planning Secretariat (DPS), one programme officer (community mobiliser) and one civil engineer. If necessary, the TPC consults the officers working in the specific area (engineer, programme officer).

The TPC screens the project requests according to relevance criteria. These criteria indicate whether or not a project fits into the objectives of IFSP.

For promising project requests, the TPC can ask programme officers, partner institutions and the requesting organisation to collect and provide more information about the feasibility and technical viability of a proposed project.

With this information at hand, the TPC then asks IFSP field staff to finalize the proposal in closest cooperation with partner staff and the village community. The final proposal is forwarded to IFSP management for approval.

The IFSP management team takes the principal decision of approval or disapproval. If necessary, the management team can ask the TPC to provide more information and to resubmit a proposal. Decisions are recorded in minutes.

Planning

The planning stage begins with the approval of a project by the management team. Participatory planning serves two purposes: First, it provides a sound basis for the technical implementation of the project. Second, it starts a process of local capacity building, thereby involving all stakeholders.

In the planning stage, the community mobilisers and engineers of IFSP conduct a feasibility assessment, check technical criteria and negotiate the terms of implementation. They clarify roles and responsibilities with all stakeholders: Local implementing partners, service providers and IFSP.

Feasibility assessment

The feasibility assessment is the next step after the project proposal. It specifies all social and technical aspects of project implementation:

- Target group (who will benefit from the project),
- Food and nutrition security (availability, access, utilisation),
- Selection criteria for beneficiaries
- Technical viability

- Livelihood aspects (social and economic benefits, sustainability),
- Cost efficiency (how can costs be minimized).

Local Contribution

The active contribution of local implementing partners is essential. The contribution depends upon the poverty - vulnerability level of the respective village. Comparatively better-off villages are expected to contribute more. In a second round of projects. IFSP expects local partners to provide a higher contribution than in the first projects. Programme officers have to negotiate the terms of the local contribution with the local partners.

Local Pricing

The IFSP engineers prepare financial and technical estimates with the local partners (mostly CBOs), Estimates are based-on real prices, not assumed prices. The engineers discuss with villagers where material is available and what the local prices are. Quotations are called for, preferably from local contractors or traders for material and services. It is the process that matters: Village communities and local partners gain an awareness and sensitivity for the value of money and the budget available for development.

Service Providers' Involvement

Service providers take over responsibilities in providing services. In the planning stage, IFSP programme officers and local implementing partners consult service providers and discuss about the services required. A critical question is: Will service providers assure the delivery of services beyond the project duration?

Implementation

Facilitating the implementation of a village project does not follow a simple procedure, but is a constant process of dialogue and community mobilisation. Important modules in this process are:

Awareness and Consensus Building

A common meeting involving the community actively is essential at the beginning of implementation; Information exchange, negotiation of roles and responsibilities, gaining the formal commitment from local implementing partner and service providers,

How long this process takes depends on the capacities of local implementing partners. Sometimes, one common meeting is enough, sometimes one will need several ones to gain the commitment of local partners and beneficiaries.

Learning by Doing

Leaders of CBOs and action groups gradually acquire knowledge and skills on organising the community. They communicate with villages and service providers. They practice the setting of priorities for projects based on technical and economic criteria (which confronts individual interests) and they team to manage the implementation and the operation of projects.

Project Agreement

The project agreement is the written contract between the local implementing partner, the IFSP and the service provider. It contains all-important technical and organizational, details of the project and provides a legal background for the responsibilities of all partners. This written contract documents the responsibilities and commitments of each of the stakeholders and makes these transparent. The project agreement is kept at village level. It is accessible by the public.

Local Commitment

Before IFSP or service providers start delivering their services or works, the local partner and beneficiaries commence their work first, e.g. digging pits for toilet, excavation works for foundations of culverts or clearing the jungle for road construction. Local commitment often needs constant feedback and encouragement. One should, on the other hand, avoid a 'spoon-feeding' approach: Programme officers encourage, advise local partners, but do not instruct them around or do everything for them.

Continuous Dialogue

Depending on local capacities, the programme officers and staff from service providers call for regular community meetings and discuss matters regarding all ongoing projects in a village. Urgent matters are taken up directly with contact persons of the local partners. Community leaders and villages gradually develop their skills to resolve internal conflict and continue working together.

Accountability and Transparency

Accountability

The handling of funds is crucial for participatory project planning. The traditional way of local 'contracting' encourages malpractice: Only few people are involved and may only look at their personal benefits, since the procedures are often not transparent and clear to local people. Estimates are not openly accessible. Technical layout is not understandable to local people. Planning is carried out without the local communities. This opens space for mishandling of funds. Often, completed projects are of low quality or even remain uncompleted, because fund allocations are wasted or mishandled.

Selecting Proposals

Consider you have ten proposals for village development, but you can only implement five. How are you selecting?

You have to select participants for specific projects that shall benefit the poorest families in a community, say 30 out of 100. For this decision to be accountable and fair. you need clear, transparent criteria and an open decision making process.

Since funds are limited, it is essential to carefully allocate resources in order to achieve results that significantly improve the life of people.

The joint team of community mobilisers and engineers does monthly progress review. The progress of all community projects and poverty projects is presented, success and shortcomings are discussed and solutions are identified. The IFSP field staff conveys possible solutions to the implementing partners for consent and implementation.

Accountability and transparency must be practiced in the day-to-day work. This concerns the work within IFSP (and should apply to any development organisation), between IFSP and its local implementing partners (CBOs) and between IFSP and its institutional partners (service providers). It is also essential in the work of the local implementing partners and amongst communities themselves.

Good practices in project management reduce mistrust and suspicion and allow that all stakeholders understand decision-making and cash flow. Three fundamental mechanisms support good practices:

- Agreement and consensus: Open discussions of approaches, priorities, selection of beneficiaries and budgets ensure that people are informed and involved.
- Written documents (Forms): Every decision, technical and financial detail must be accessible to the focal beneficiaries and to partner organisations. This is why IFSP has introduced the Project Book.
- Shared responsibility: Financial handling should not be ascribed to one individual, but to a group of people that can control each other.

Fund management

Community Selection

Selection of beneficiaries for individual projects, such as toilet construction, income-generating activities, always takes place in groups. This procedure is transparent and follows clear criteria. The village selection committee together as well as the whole village are accountable for decision-making.

Local fund Management

Local implementing partners need to J learn about the new responsibility attributed to them. How practically they have to handle funds in an accountable manner, dealing with bank officers, handing in cheques, keeping records, using formats, collecting documents (vouchers, bills, expenditure reports) and writing reports. According to the available capacities of the local partners, this requires care, support and training.

Beneficiary selection for toilets

In a common meeting, the IFSP programme officer explains the general procedures of beneficiaries' selection to all villagers.

A team, consisting of the Public Health Inspector (PHI), two representatives from the implementing partner of the local community, the Grama Sevaka (G.S.), Samurdhi Development Officer and the IFSP community mobiliser carry out a pre-selection according to predefined criteria.

This pre-selection is counter-checked through house-by-house visits. The list of selected beneficiaries is then discussed in a common meeting and crosschecked. The community can decide to add or remove beneficiaries from the list. The final list is to be approved by the community meeting.

Traditionally, funds allocated to CBOs were often managed as a one-man show, which resulted in misallocation and mishandling of funds. The IFSP demands a system where the cash flow has to be witnessed by several persons of a CBO. IFSP engineers and community mobilisers, in closest cooperation with officers from departments and Divisional Secretariats, crosscheck expenditure reports and accounts of local implementing partners. The cash flow is transparent to all, the budget estimate for the project is known to the whole community.

Local partners are encouraged to entrust specific tasks to small groups and committees to spread responsibility amongst community members. This aims at removing some of the burden of responsibility of the office bearers and allows others to build management capacities as well.

Management of Cash Flow

Forms help to control the flow of cash and material. This makes the handling of money transparent. Local implementing partners, service providers and IFSP staff who handle funds can be hold accountable and responsible.

Payments by cheque and in exceptional cases also by cash are done in stages, depending on the project progress and the former expenditure pattern of local implementing partners. This ensures a continuous control of cash flows.

After the first advance is paid to the local partner, subsequent payments are only released after local partners submit a payment request through IFSP staff that is witnessed by local office bearers, government officers.

All original vouchers have to be submitted. Local partners also have to forward requests and receipts for material.

Prior to each fund release, the IFSP community mobiliser or civil engineer has to submit a written request to the IFSP management. The purpose of the release of funds or material, the estimated amount of services, material, food baskets and labour as well as the progress have to be stated. This procedure ensures efficient fund management within IFSP.

Project Book

The project book contains:

- The project agreement between IFSP, the local implementing partner and service provider in Tamil or Sinhala, including a summary of the budget estimate,
- The design plan and the fulf budget estimate in English, Tamil or Sinhala and the contribution from IFSP, CBO or action group and other partners,
- A socio-economic summary sheet from the village data sheet or the PNA summary report,
- White pages for any notes from IFSP staff and officers from partner institutions that visit the project.

The project book documents all important features of a project and allows any visitor and aft villagers to know the technical and financial details. This is essential for transparency and accountability. The local implementing partners maintain the project book.

Integration

Link to the Service System

Beyond the projects and services that 1FSP and its service partners can offer to local CBOs, the 1FSP community mobilisers and engineers also seek to facilitate cooperation with other institutions, e.g. government agencies, nongovernmental organisations and private companies that offer services. Local partners are thereby encouraged to establish links and communication with several service providers, aiming at reducing the

dependence on 1FSP support and learning to demand services that are needed for community development and get ready to pay for such services.

Complementary Programmes

These are programmes that complement the community and poverty group projects of 1FSP, for example, the programmes in the field of health and awareness (mid-day meal for school children, awareness campaigns on personal and public hygiene, de-worming, drawing competition on health, drama performance on health and hygiene). Complementary programmes address the whole village community and are be carried out by service partners in collaboration with the local implementing partners.

Opportunities for Cooperation

1FSP addresses cross cutting subjects such as environment, gender, good governance, reconciliation and peace building. This brings different stakeholders together: Government institutions, non-government organisations, agencies are encouraged to share common subjects (1FSP health team with EHED and PHIs and mid wives from DOHS; DOA and DOE). This is quite a rare practice since most institutions work within their self-defined boundaries. In many cases, 'hedging* against other institutions, projects or agencies is observed.

Capacity Building

Village Development Fund

Local partners for the village development fund (VDF) are selected from those CBOs that have successfully cooperated with IFSP before, A village development fund provides financial resources to local partners that they can make use of for community development.

Local partner organisations develop self-defined rules, organise and conduct meetings on their own, are fully in Charge of problem solving, criteria forming and other aspects of participatory project management. Programme officers of IFSP have a final say in releasing the funds through their signatures, but should not interfere in the internal management of the local partner. The signature is only the last control step to ensure the proper use of funds.

Accountability is the key amongst the selection criteria for local partners:

- Accountability and responsibility of office bearers,
- Account maintenance,
- Timely management,
- Unity within CBO; They manage internal conflicts themselves.

CBO Leader Workshop

Local office bearers from different villages can learn from each other. IFSP therefore facilitates meetings and workshops for exchange of ideas and experiences. One such forum is the CBO leader's workshop at the level of the DS Division. Staff from service providers are also invited, e.g. the Rural Development Officer (RDO), Samurdhi Manager and departmental officers.

Such workshops can focus on any issue that comes up. Common topics include;

- Accounting,
- Sharing responsibilities within projects, •
- Sharing good practices and problems (learning from each other),
- Develop shared rules for good management
- Encouraging inter-communal cooperation, and
- Addressing economic interests of the local communities as the common denominator for peace and stability.

These topics can be discussed in a plenary and in small working groups. Small groups are good for effective learning. In one workshop, for example, the RDO explained how to establish an account for rural development funds. The CBO leaders then practiced this in-group work and presented their results in the plenary. Such exercises train their knowledge and capacities, while they exchange ideas with colleagues from other locations.

Divisional Planning Workshop

Project identification and screening should involve service providers and the Divisional Secretary as coordinator of development activities. From 2000 to 2003, IFSP facilitated joint planning workshops, where project proposals from various organisations were presented and discussed:

- CBOs, NGOs and departments submitted project proposals.
- Basic information about each project was documented on charts,
- Local leaders participated in the meeting to explain their concerns, needs and the background of the requested support.

These meetings were also essential to keep the Divisional Secretary aware of the development activities in his area that were facilitated by IFSP. The dialogue process also made clear what IFSP could facilitate and what it cannot. All participants could contribute to a revision and improvement of project plans at later stages.

Initially, project requests need to follow the screening process within IFSP. In the long run, this screening process should be done on divisional level and should involve all organisations that support development activities in the area. The Divisional Development Committee would be the appropriate forum to discuss priority setting and framework planning.

Team Management

Participatory project management addresses all management levels.

Sharing responsibilities is essential within IFSP as much as it is on the village level. The IFSP management is delegating decision-making power and management steps to field staff and CBOs;

- Programme officers on the spot can take routine decisions.
- Technical preparation for decisions is delegated to IFSP committees without involvement of the IFSP management.
- IFSP management is only consulted for key decisions: Approval of project proposals, signing of project agreement, decisions over village development funds.

- Responsibilities are shared in groups of officers to make management and decision making transparent: The Technical Project Committee (TPC) screens project proposals. Quotations for services and works are only opened and discussed by sub-teams.
- Programme officers and programme managers (senior IFSP engineer and community mobiliser) take responsibilities in preparing and moderating internal and external meetings, in making presentations at partner institutions and advising the IFSP management.

All these steps are part of a strategy to encourage capacity development of IFSP staff and partner staff. Capacity is built through training and practice, combined with regular coaching by outside consultants.

Final Handing Over

Once a project is successfully implemented, the local implementing partner or the competent local authority takes over the responsibility for operation and maintenance. The handing over-taking over is officially documented. IFSP and local partners develop an operation and maintenance plan beyond the project duration.

Successful handing over of responsibilities depends on the success of capacity building: Local partners take over long-term responsibility of community assets and service providers show firm commitment and ownership in particular beyond the point of project completion. In reality, the commitment often vanishes steadily with project completion, since capacities are limited.

There are no simple recipes. Successful handing over of responsibilities remains a prime challenge in participatory project management.

PPM: The Perspective Change

Practicing genuine participatory project management poses a lot of challenges. Some of the anecdotal evidence of IFSP staff is compiled here:

- When villagers see vehicles with big flags or 'white people', they think that these people will give everything free. This can reduce the willingness to contribute.
- Many local partners still have a 'contract mentality'. Sometimes, they feel that IFSP staff would fool them when they demand local contributions and that the balance from the allocated funds would be appropriated in the pockets of IFSP staff. It takes a lot of explanation and transparency in estimates, procedures to convince villagers that the 'gap' is real and that it is their contribution that has to fill this.
- Selection of beneficiaries is always a troublesome procedure, regardless of how transparent and 'fair' . the process is. Some villagers think: "If I do not get any benefit, I will trouble those that receive this benefit". This mentality can make selection processes very difficult and demands a lot of negotiation abilities from programme officers.
- The functioning of a CBO or local group often depends a lot on one or two key persons- If these persons slow down their commitment or leave the area, the workability of the CBO is often affected. Or, if a key person resigns from its post, and new committee members are elected, there is often no transfer of knowledge from the old to the new committee members.
- Often, very poor and remote villages that would need support most urgently are also those where the involvement of local implementing partners is difficult and tiresome, since the capacities of CBOs are meagre. On the other hand, more developed villages often have better functioning CBOs. There is an inherent danger that projects with a focus on vulnerability and poverty, such as IFSP, continue working with the success cases more than would be justified according to poverty criteria.

It is predominantly here that responsibilities can be handed overfull heartedly and the success stories take place in the capacity building of local partners.

Note

LESSON 27:
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL MARKETING

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To learn the basics of social marketing

The health communications field has been rapidly changing over the past two decades. It has evolved from a one-dimensional reliance on public service announcements to a more sophisticated approach which draws from successful techniques used by commercial marketers, termed "social marketing."

Rather than dictating the way that information is to be conveyed from the top-down, public health professionals are learning to listen to the needs and desires of the target audience themselves, and building the program from there. This focus on the "consumer" involves in-depth research and constant re-evaluation of every aspect of the program. In fact, research and evaluation together form the very cornerstone of the social marketing process.

Social marketing was "born" as a discipline in the 1970s, when Philip Kotler and Gerald Zaltman realized that the same marketing principles that were being used to sell products to consumers could be used to "sell" ideas, attitudes and behaviors. Kotler and Andreasen define social marketing as "differing from other areas of marketing only with respect to the objectives of the marketer and his or her organization. Social marketing seeks to influence social behaviors not to benefit the marketer, but to benefit the target audience and the general society." This technique has been used extensively in international health programs.

Social marketing is the planning and implementation of programs designed to bring about social change using concepts from commercial marketing.

Many social and health problems have behavioural causes: the spread of AIDS, traffic accidents and unwanted pregnancies are all the result of everyday, voluntary human activity. The most dramatic example of this is tobacco use, which kills one in two smokers (Peto 1994) - an estimated 6 million people in the UK alone since the health consequences were first established in the early 1950's. Social marketing provides a mechanism for tackling such problems by encouraging people to adopt healthier lifestyles.

However, health problems have a social, as well as an individual, dimension. This phenomenon is most clearly demonstrated by the epidemiological data which shows that poverty is one of the most consistent and basic predictors of ill-health in the UK (Smith 1997, Jarvis 1994, Marsh & MacKay, 1994), Europe (Whitehead & Diderichsen 1997), the USA (McCord & Freeman 1990, Pappas et al 1993) and the southern hemisphere (WHO 1995). The lack of opportunity, choice and empowerment it generates prevents people from adopting healthy lifestyles. Social marketing also has a great deal to offer here by influencing the behaviour, not just of the individual citizen, but also of policy makers and influential interest groups. Social marketers might target the media, organisations and policy and law makers.

Social marketing, like generic marketing, is not a theory in itself. Rather, it is a framework or structure that draws from many other bodies of knowledge such as psychology, sociology, anthropology and communications theory to understand how to influence people's behaviour (Kotler and Zaltman, 1971). Like generic marketing, social marketing offers a logical planning process involving consumer oriented research, marketing analysis, market segmentation, objective setting and the identification of strategies and tactics. It is based on the voluntary exchange of costs and benefits between two or more parties (Kotler and Zaltman, 1971). However, social marketing is more difficult than generic marketing. It involves changing intractable behaviours, in complex economic, social and political climates with often very limited resources (Lefebvre and Flora, 1988). Furthermore, while, for generic marketing the ultimate goal is to meet shareholder objectives, for the social marketer the bottom line is to meet society's desire to improve its citizens' quality of life. This is a much more ambitious - and more blurred - bottom line.

The Development of Social Marketing

Social marketing evolved in parallel with commercial marketing. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, marketing academics considered the potential and limitations of applying marketing to new arenas such as the political or social. For example, in 1951, Wiebe asked the question, "Can brotherhood be sold like soap?", and suggested that the more a social change campaign mimicked that of a commercial marketing campaign, the greater the likelihood of its success.

To many, however, the idea of expanding the application of marketing to social causes was abhorrent. Luck (1974) objected on the grounds that replacing a tangible product with an idea or bundle of values threatened the economic exchange concept. Others feared the power of the marketing, misconceiving its potential for social control and propaganda (Laczniack et al 1979). Despite these concerns, the marketing concept was redefined to include the marketing of ideas and the consideration of its ethical implications.

The expansion of the marketing concept combined with a shift in public health policy towards disease prevention began to pave the way for the development of social marketing. During the 1960s, commercial marketing technologies began to be applied to health education campaigns in developing countries (Ling et al 1992, Manoff 1985). In 1971, Kotler and Zaltman published their seminal article in the Journal of Marketing *'Social marketing: an approach to planned social change'*. This was the first time the term "social marketing" had been used and is often heralded as its birth. They defined social marketing as *"the design, implementa-*

tion and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research." (p5).

In practice, social marketing was being explored by a number of people at the same time, including Paul Bloom, Karen Fox, Dick Manoff, and Bill Novelli. Early examples of social marketing emerged during the 1960s as part of international development efforts in third world and developing countries (Manoff 1985, Walsh et al 1993). For example, family planning programs in Sri Lanka moved away from clinical approaches and examined the distribution of contraceptives through pharmacists and small shops (Population Services International 1977). They began to experiment with marketing techniques such as audience segmentation and mass communication. Similarly, oral rehydration projects in Africa began to take a more consumer oriented approach to programme development. Important initiatives in the developed world included the Stanford Heart Disease Prevention Program, the National High Blood Pressure Prevention Program, and the Pawtucket Heart Health Program (Farquar et al 1985, National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute 1973, Lefebvre 1987). While many of these early programs were primarily exercises in social communications, they were important for the inception of social marketing.

By the 1980s, academics were no longer asking *if* marketing should be applied to social issues, but rather *how* should this be done? During this period, practitioners shared their experiences and made suggestions for the development of social marketing theory and practice (Ling et al 1992). Fox and Kotler (1980) described the evolution of social advertising into social communications. Bloom (1980) explored the evaluation of social marketing projects and found that many studies were poorly designed and conducted. In 1981, Bloom and Novelli reviewed the first ten years of social marketing and advocated more research to dispel criticism that social marketing lacked rigour or theory. They identified a need for research to examine audience segmentation, choosing media channels and designing appeals, implementing long term positioning strategies, and organisational and management issues (Bloom and Novelli, 1981).

Lefebvre and Flora (1988) and Hastings and Haywood (1991, 1994) then gave social marketing widespread exposure in the public health field, generating lively debates about its applicability and contribution. While social marketing was being practised in many countries by this time, the publication of these papers was followed by a widespread growth in its popularity (Lefebvre, 1996). Centres of expertise began to emerge, most notably at the College of Public Health at the University of South Florida, the Centre for Social Marketing at Strathclyde University in Scotland, and at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada.

Key concepts of Social Marketing

The ultimate objective of marketing is to influence behavioral change.

Action is undertaken whenever target audiences believe that the benefits they receive will be greater than the costs they incur;

Programs to influence action will be more effective if they are based on an understanding of the target audience's own perceptions of the proposed exchange;

Target audiences are seldom uniform in their perceptions and/or likely responses to marketing efforts and so should be partitioned into segments;

Marketing efforts must incorporate all of the "4 Ps," i.e.:

- Create an enticing "Product" (i.e., the package of benefits associated with the desired action);
- Minimize the "Price" the target audience believes it must pay in the exchange;
- Make the exchange and its opportunities available in "Places" that reach the audience and fit its lifestyles;
- Promote the exchange opportunity with creativity and through channels and tactics that maximize desired responses;

Recommended behaviors always have competition which must be understood and addressed;

The marketplace is constantly changing and so program effects must be regularly monitored and management must be prepared to rapidly alter strategies and tactics.

Scope of Social Marketing

Social marketing has been one of the approaches that has carried forward the premises of diffusion of innovation and behavior change models. Since the 1970s, social marketing has been one of the most influential strategies in the field of development communication.

The origins of social marketing hark back to the intention of marketing to expand its disciplinary boundaries. It was clearly a product of specific political and academic developments in the United States that were later incorporated into development projects. Among various reasons, the emergence of social marketing responded to two main developments: the political climate in the late 1960s that put pressure on various disciplines to attend to social issues, and the emergence of nonprofit organizations that found marketing to be a useful tool (Elliott 1991). Social marketing was marketing's response to the need to be "socially relevant" and "socially responsible." It was a reaction of marketing as both discipline and industry to be sensitive to social issues and to strive towards the social good. But it was also a way for marketing to provide intervention tools to organizations whose business was the promotion of social change.

Social marketing consisted of putting into practice standard techniques in commercial marketing to promote pro-social behavior. From marketing and advertising, it imported theories of consumer behavior into the development communication. The analysis of consumer behavior required to understand the complexities, conflicts and influences that create consumer needs and how needs can be met (Novelli 1990). Influences include environmental, individual, information processing, and decision-making. At the core of social marketing theory is the exchange model according to which individuals, groups and organizations exchange resources for perceived benefits of

purchasing products. The aim of interventions is to create voluntary exchanges.

In terms of its place on the "family tree" of development communication, social marketing did not come out of either diffusion or participatory theories, the traditions that dominated the field in the early 1970s. Social marketing was imported from a discipline that until then had little to do with modernization or dependency theories, the then dominant approaches in development communication. Social marketing grew out of the disciplines of advertising and marketing in the United States. The central premise of these disciplines underlies social marketing strategies: the goal of an advertising/marketing campaign is to make the public aware about the existence, the price, and the benefits of specific products.

Social marketing's focus on behavior change, understanding of communication as persuasion ("transmission of information"), and top-down approach to instrument change suggested an affinity with modernization and diffusion of innovation theories. Similar to diffusion theory, it conceptually subscribed to a sequential model of behavior change in which individuals cognitively move from acquisition of knowledge to adjustment of attitudes toward behavior change. However, it was not a natural extension of studies in development communication.

What social marketing brought was a focus on using marketing techniques such as market segmentation and formative research to maximize the effectiveness of interventions. The use of techniques from commercial advertising and marketing to promote social/political goals in international issues was not new in the 1970s. Leading advertising agencies and public relations firms had already participated in support of U.S. international policies, most notably during the two wars in drumming up domestic approval and mobilization for war efforts. Such techniques, however, had not been used before to "sell" social programs and goals worldwide.

One of the standard definitions of social marketing states that "it is the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving consideration of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research" (Kotler and Zaltman 1971, 5). More recently, Andreasen (1994, 110) has defined it as "the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part." Others have defined it as the application of management and marketing technologies to pro-social and nonprofit programs (Meyer & Dearing 1996).

Social marketing suggested that the emphasis should be put not so much on getting ideas out or transforming attitudes but influencing behavior. For some of its best-known proponents, behavior change is social marketing's bottom line, the goal that sets it apart from education or propaganda. Unlike commercial marketing, which is not concerned with the social consequences of its actions, the social marketing model centers on communication campaigns designed to promote socially beneficial practices or products in a target group.

Social marketing's goal is to position a product such as condoms by giving information that could help fulfill, rather than create, uncovered demand. It intends to "reduce the psychological, social, economic and practical distance between the consumer and the behavior" (Wallack et al, 1993, 21). The goal would be to make condom-use affordable, available and attractive (Steson & David 1999). If couples of reproductive age do not want more children but do not use any contraceptive, the task of social marketing is to find out why and what information needs to be provided so they can make informed choices. This requires sorting out cultural beliefs that account for such behavior or for why people are unwilling to engage in certain health practices even when they are informed about their positive results. This knowledge is the baseline that allows a successful positioning of a product. A product needs to be positioned in the context of community beliefs.

In the United States, social marketing has been extensively applied in public information campaigns that targeted a diversity of problems such as smoking, alcoholism, seat-belt use, drug abuse, eating habits, venereal diseases, littering and protection of forests. The Stanford Three-Community Study of Heart Disease is frequently mentioned as one of the most fully documented applications of the use of marketing strategies. Designed and implemented as a strictly controlled experiment, it offered evidence that it is possible to change behavior through the use of marketing methodologies. The campaign included television spots, television programming, radio spots, newspaper advertisements and stories, billboard messages and direct mail. In one town the media campaign was supplemented by interpersonal communication with a random group of individuals at risk of acquiring heart disease. Comparing results among control and experimental communities, the research concluded that media could be a powerful inducer of change, especially when aligned with the interpersonal activities of community groups (Flora, Maccoby, and Farquhar 1989).

Social marketing has been used in developing countries in many interventions such as condom use, breast-feeding, and immunization programs. According to Chapman Walsh and associates (1993, 107-108), "early health applications of social marketing emerged as part of the international development efforts and were implemented in the third world during the 1960s and 1970s. Programs promoting immunization, family planning, various agricultural reforms, and nutrition were conducted in numerous countries in Africa, Asia and South America during the 1970s…The first nationwide contraceptive program social marketing program, the Nirodh condom project in India, began in 1967 with funding from the Ford Foundation." The substantial increase in condom sales was attributed to the distribution and promotion of condoms at a subsidized price. The success of the Indian experience informed subsequent social marketing interventions such as the distribution of infant-weaning formula in public health clinics.

According to Fox (N.D.), "problems arose with the social marketing approach, however, over the motives of their sponsors, the effectiveness of their applications, and, ultimately, the validity of their results. The social marketing of powdered milk products, replacing or supplementing breastfeeding in the third world, provides an example of these problems. In the 1960's multinational firms selling infant formulas moved into the virgin markets of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Booklets, mass media, loudspeaker vans, and distribution through the medical profession were used in successful promotion campaigns to switch traditional breastfeeding to artificial products. Poor people, however, could not afford such products, and many mothers diluted the formula to make it last longer or were unable to properly sterilize the water or bottle. The promotion of breast milk substitutes often resulted in an erosion of breastfeeding and led to increases in diarrheal diseases and malnutrition, contributing to the high levels of infant mortality in the third world."

Critics have lambasted social marketing for manipulating populations and being solely concerned with goals without regard for means. For much of its concerns about ethics, critics argue, social marketing subscribes to a utilitarian ethical model that prioritizes ends over means. In the name of achieving certain goals, social marketing justifies any methods. Like marketing, social marketing deceives and manipulates people into certain behaviors (Buchanan, Reddy & Hossain 1994).

Social marketers have responded by arguing that campaigns inform publics and that they use methods that are not intrinsically good or bad. Judgments should be contingent on what goals they are meant to serve, they argue. Moreover, the widely held belief that marketing has the ability to trick and make people do what otherwise they would not is misinformed and incorrect. The reluctance of people to tailor behavior to the recommendations of social marketing campaigns, and the fact that campaigns need to be adjusted to socio-cultural contexts and morals are evidence that social marketing lacks the much-attributed power of manipulating audiences. If a product goes against traditional beliefs and behavior, campaigns are likely to fail.

Social marketing needs to be consumer oriented, and knowledgeable of the belief systems and the communication channels used in a community (Maibach 1993). Products need to be marketed according to the preferences and habits of customers. Market research is necessary because it provides development specialists with tools to know consumers better and, therefore, to prevent potential problems and pitfalls in behavior change. This is precisely marketing's main contribution: systematic, research-based information about consumers that is indispensable for the success of interventions. Marketing research techniques are valuable for finding out thoughts and attitudes about a given issue that help prevent possible failures and position a product.

For its advocates, one of the main strengths of social marketing is that it allows to position products and concepts in traditional belief systems. The inclination of many programs to forgo in-depth research of targeted populations for funding or time considerations, social marketers suggest, reflects the lack of understanding about the need to have basic research to plan, execute and evaluate interventions. They argue that social marketing cannot manipulate populations by positioning a product with false appeals to local beliefs and practices. If the desired behavior is not present in the local population, social marketing cannot deceive by wrapping the product with existing beliefs. When a product is intended to have effects that are not present in the target population, social marketers cannot provide false information that may resonate with local belief systems but, instead, need to provide truthful information about its consequences. For example, if "dehydration" does not exist as a health concept in the community, it would be ethically wrong for social marketing to position a dehydration product by falsely appealing to existing health beliefs in order to sell it. That would be deceptive and manipulative and is sure to backfire. The goal should be long-term health benefits rather than the short-term goals of a given campaign (Kotler and Roberto 1989).

Theorists and practitioners identified with participatory communication have been strong critics of social marketing. For them, social marketing is a non-participatory strategy because it treats most people as consumers rather than protagonists. Because it borrows techniques from Western advertising, it shares it premises, namely, a concern with selling products rather than participation. To critics, social marketing is concerned with individuals, not with groups or organizations. They also view social marketing as an approach that intends to persuade people to engage in certain behaviors that have already decided by agencies and planners. It does not involve communities in deciding problems and courses of action. The goal should be, instead, to assist populations in changing their actions based on critical analysis of social reality (Beltrán 1976, Diaz-Bordenave 1976). According to participatory approaches, change does not happen when communities are not actively engaged in development projects and lack a sense of ownership.

Social marketers have brushed aside these criticisms, emphasizing that social marketing is a two-way process and that it is genuinely concerned about community participation. As Novelli (1990, 349) puts it, "the marketing process is circular." This is

why input from targeted communities, gathered through qualitative methods such as focus groups and in-depth interviews, is fundamental to design campaign activities and content. Social marketing is premised on the idea of mutual exchange between agencies and communities. Marketing takes a consumer orientation by assuming that the success of any intervention results from an accurate evaluation of perceptions, needs, and wants of target markets that inform the design, communication, pricing, and delivery of appropriate offerings. The process is consumer-driven, not expert-driven.

Also, social marketing allows communities to participate by acting upon health, environmental and other problems. Without information, there is no participation and this is what social marketing offers. Such participation is voluntary: Individuals, groups, and organizations are not forced to participate but are offered the opportunity to gain certain benefits. Such explanation is not satisfactory to participatory communication advocates who respond that social marketing does not truly involve participation. More than a narrow conception of participation, they argue, social marketing offers the appearance of it to improve interventions that are centralized. Social marketing's conception of participation basically conceives campaigns' targets are "passive receivers," subjects from whom information is obtained to change products and concepts.

After three decades of research and interventions, the lessons of social marketing can be summarized as follows (Chapman Walsh et al 1993):

- Persistence and a long-term perspective are essential. Only programs with sustainable support and commitment have proven to have impact on diffusion of new ideas and practices, particularly in cases of complex behavior patterns.
- Segmentation of the audience is central. Some researchers have identified different lifestyle clusters that allow a better identification of different market niches.
- Mapping target groups is necessary. Designers of interventions need to know where potential consumers live, their routines, and relations vis-à-vis multiple messages.
- Incentives foster motivation among all participants in interventions.
- The teaching of skills is crucial to support behavior change.
- Leadership support is essential for program success.
- Community participation builds local awareness and ownership. Integrating support from different stakeholders sets apart social marketing from commercial advertising as it aims to be integrated with community initiatives.
- Feedback makes it possible to improve and refine programs. Health promotion and health education

The trajectory of health promotion in development communication resembles the move of social marketing and diffusion of innovation, from originally gaining influence in the United States to being introduced in interventions in developing countries. The same approaches that were used to battle chronic diseases, high-fat diets, and smoking in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, were adopted in development interventions such as child survival and other programs that aimed to remedy health problems in the Third World.

As it crystallized in the Lalonde report in Canada in 1974 and the U.S. Surgeon General's 1979 Healthy People report, health promotion was dominated by the view that individual behavior was largely responsible for health problems and, consequently, interventions should focus on changing behavior. It approached health in terms of disease problems (rather than health generally), namely, the existence of lifestyle behaviors (smoking, heavy drinking, poor diet) that had damaging consequences for individual, and by extension, social health (Terris 1992).

The prevalent view was that changes in personal behaviors were needed to have a healthier population. Although the idea that institutional changes were also necessary to achieve that goal made strides, health promotion remained focused on personal change at the expense of community actions and responsibility. A substantial number of studies were offered as conclusive evidence that personal choices determined changes in health behavior, and were positively related with new developments that indicated the decrease of unhealthy practices.

This highly individualistic perspective was initially criticized in the context of developed countries for "blaming the victim" and ignoring social conditions that facilitated and encouraged unhealthy behaviors. It gave a free ride to larger social and political processes that were responsible for disease and essentially depoliticized the question of health behavior. To its critics, individual-centered health promotion ignores the surrounding social context (poverty, racism) in which individual health behaviors take place as well as the fact that certain unhealthy behaviors are more likely to be found among certain groups (Minkler 1999, Wallack and Montgomery 1992). They pointed out that the overall context needed to be considered both as responsible and as the possible target of change.

Recent understandings of health promotion such as the one promoted by the World Health Organization have moved away from individualistic views by stressing the idea that individual and social actions need to be integrated. The goal of health promotion is to provide and maintain conditions that make it possible for people to make healthy choices.

Health education is an important component of health promotion. It refers to learning experiences to facilitate individual adoption of healthy behaviors (Glanz, Lewis & Rimer 1990). The evolution of health education somewhat mirrored the evolution of the field of development communication. Health education was initially dominated by conventional educational approaches that, like modernization/diffusion models, were influenced by individual behaviorist models that emphasized knowledge transmission and acquisition as well as changes in knowledge, attitudes and beliefs. Later, theories and strategies that stressed the importance of social and environmental changes gained relevance. This meant that both health education and health promotion became more broadly understood. Health education includes different kinds of interventions such as conventional education, social marketing, health communication, and empowerment actions (Steston & Davis 1999). Consequently, a vast range of activities such as peer

education, training of health workers, community mobilization, and social marketing are considered examples of health education interventions.

Health promotion became no longer understood as limited to educational efforts and individual changes. It also includes the promotion of public policies that are responsible for shaping a healthy environment. The goal of health promotion is to facilitate the environmental conditions to support healthy behaviors. Individual knowledge, as conceived in traditional approaches, is insufficient if groups lack basic systems that facilitate the adoption of healthy practices. The mobilization of a diversity of social forces including families and communities is necessary to shape a healthy environment (Bracht 1990, Rutten 1995).

The emphasis on social mobilization to improve general conditions does not mean that behavior change models are absent in health promotion but, rather, that they need to be integrated among other strategies. Still, the behavior change model has incorporated the idea that interventions need to be sensitive to the education and the choices of receivers (Valente, Paredes & Poppe 1998), understanding the interests at stake, using social marketing technique to know individuals better, and the role of the community in interventions.

Defining Social Marketing

A social marketing campaign or programme contains the following elements: a consumer orientation (Lefebvre and Flora 1988, Lefebvre 1992b, Andreasen 1995), an exchange (Lefebvre and Flora 1988, Lefebvre 1996, Leathar and Hastings 1987, Smith 1997) and a long-term planning outlook (Andreasen 1995).

A Consumer Orientation

Consumer orientation is probably the key element of all forms of marketing, distinguishing it from selling - and product - and expert-driven approaches (Kotler et al 1996). In social marketing, the consumer is assumed to be an active participant in the change process. The social marketer seeks to build a relationship with target consumers over time and their input is sought at all stages in the development of a programme through formative, process and evaluative research.

In short, the consumer centred approach of social marketing asks not *"what is wrong with these people, why won't they understand?"*, but, *"what is wrong with us? What don't we understand about our target audience?"*

An Exchange

Social marketing not only shares generic marketing's underlying philosophy of consumer orientation, but it also its key mechanism, exchange (Kotler and Zaltman 1971). While marketing principles can be applied to a new and diverse range of issues - services, education, high technology, political parties, social change - each with their own definitions and theories, the basic principle of exchange is at the core of each (Bagozzi 1975). Kotler and Zaltman (1971) argue that: "marketing does not occur unless there are two or more parties, each with something to exchange, and both able to carry out communications and distribution" (p4).

Exchange is defined as an exchange of resources or values between two or more parties with the expectation of some benefits. The motivation to become involved in an exchange is to satisfy needs (Houston and Gassenheimer, 1987). Exchange is easily understood as the exchange of goods for money, but can also be conceived in a variety of other ways: further education in return for fees; a vote in return for lower taxes; or immunisation in return for the peace of mind that one's child is protected from rubella.

Exchange in social marketing puts a key emphasis on **voluntary behaviour**. To facilitate voluntary exchanges social marketers have to offer people something that they really want. For example, suppose that during the development of a programme to reduce teenage prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) by encouraging condom use, research with the target finds that they are more concerned with pregnancy than STDs. The social marketer should consider highlighting the contraceptive benefits of condoms, rather than, or at least as well as, the disease prevention ones. In this way consumer research can identify the benefits which are associated with a particular behaviour change, thereby facilitating the voluntary exchange process.

Long-term Planning Approach

Like generic marketing, social marketing should have a long term outlook based on continuing programmes rather than one-off campaigns. It should be strategic rather than tactical. This is why the marketing planning function has been a consistent theme in social marketing definitions, from Kotler in 1971 to Andreasen in 1996.

The social marketing planning process is the same as in generic marketing. It starts and finishes with research, and research is conducted throughout to inform the development of the strategy. A situational analysis of the internal and external environment and of the consumer is conducted first. This assists in the segmentation of the market and the targeting strategy. Further research is needed to define the problem, to set objectives for the programme and to inform the formulation of the marketing strategy. The elements of the social marketing mix are then developed and pre-tested, before being implemented. Finally , the relative success of the plan is monitored and the outcome evaluated.

Moving Beyond the Individual Consumer

Social marketing seeks to influence the behaviour not only of individuals but also of groups, organisations and societies (eg. Hastings et al 1994c, Lawther & Lowry 1995, Lawther et al 1997, Murray & Douglas 1988). Levy and Zaltman (1975) suggest a sixfold classification of the types of change sought in social marketing, incorporating two dimensions of time (short term and long term) and three dimensions of level in society (micro, group, macro). In this way social marketing can influence not just individual consumers, but also the environment in which they operate

Types of social change, by time and level of society

	Micro level (individual consumer)	Group level (group or organization)	Macro level (society)
Short term change EXAMPLE:	Behaviour change Attendance at stop-smoking clinic	Change in norms Administrative change Removal of tobacco advertising from outside a school	Policy change Banning of all forms of tobacco marketing
Long term change EXAMPLE:	Lifestyle change Smoking cessation	Organisational change Deter retailers from selling cigarettes to minors	'Socio-cultural evolution' Eradication of all tobacco-related disease

(Adapted from: Levy & Zaltman 1975)

Group and macro level change are important because they also impact on health and lifestyle decisions. For example, people's choices about taking up exercise may be limited by their income, local service provision or social mores. Macro-level factors can also have a more direct impact on health: for example, the presence of fluoride in the water (whether natural or artificial) can improve dental health, especially among children. This example demonstrates that there are many measures that can be taken to improve people's health without the individual citizen having to do anything at all. Better roads, reduced industrial pollution and improved safety standards on cars are similar examples.

Departures from Commercial Marketing

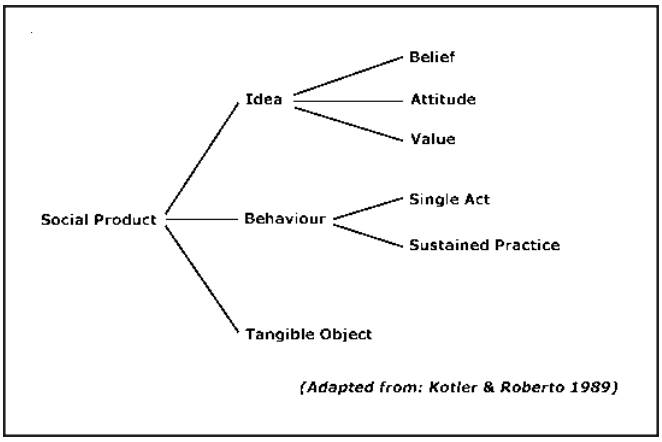
There are some important differences between social and commercial marketing. Specifically, in social marketing:

- the products tend to be more complex.
- demand is more varied.
- target groups are more challenging to reach.
- consumer involvement is more intense.
- the competition is more subtle and varied.

The Products are More Complex

The marketing product has traditionally been conceived of as something tangible - a physical good which can be exchanged with the target market for a price and which can be manipulated in terms of characteristics such as packaging, name, physical attributes, positioning and so on. As marketing has extended its scope beyond physical goods, marketers have had to grapple with formulating product strategy for less tangible entities such as services (see Chapter 29 in this volume for a discussion of the characteristics of services; Woodruffe 1995). In social marketing, the product is extended even further from the tangible to encompass ideas, and behaviour change. Figure illustrates the different types of social marketing product.

The Social Marketing Product



This complexity makes social marketing products difficult to conceptualise. As a consequence, social marketers have a bigger task in defining exactly what their product is and the benefits associated with its use.

Varied Demand

Marketing cannot create needs but commercial marketers do manage to harness needs previously unknown for new product categories such as CDs, catalytic converters and "new" washing powders. Social marketers must not only uncover new demand, but in addition must frequently deal with *negative demand* when the target group is apathetic about or strongly resistant to a proposed behaviour change. Young recreational drug users, for instance, may see no problems with their current behaviour (Andreasen 1997). In these situations, social marketers must challenge entrenched attitudes and beliefs. Demarketing approaches may help here (Lawther et al 1997, Hastings et al 1998).

Rangun et al (1996) suggest a typology of the benefits associated with a behaviour change. The benefits may be: tangible, intangible, relevant to the individual or relevant to society. Demand is easier to generate where the benefits are both tangible and personally relevant. In those situations where the product benefits are intangible and relevant to society rather than the individual (as with CFCs in aerosols), social marketers must work much harder to generate a need for the product. This, they argue, is the hardest type of behaviour change, as the benefits are difficult to personalise and quantify.

Challenging Target Groups

Social marketers must often target groups who commercial marketers tend to ignore: the least accessible, hardest to reach and least likely to change their behaviour. For example, health agencies charged with improving population health status must, if they are to avoid widening health inequalities further in the general population (Whitehead 1992, Smith 1997), target their efforts at those groups with the poorest health and the most needs (Hastings et al 1998b). Far from being the most profitable market segments, these groups often constitute the least attractive ones: hardest to reach, most resistant to changing

health behaviour, most lacking in the psychological, social and practical resources necessary to make the change, most unresponsive to interventions to influence their behaviour and so on. This poses considerable challenges for segmentation and targeting.

Greater Consumer Involvement

Marketing traditionally divides products into high and low involvement categories, with the former comprising purchases for items such as cars or mortgages which are "expensive, bought infrequently, risky and highly self-expressive" (Kotler 1994) and the latter comprising items such as confectionery or cigarettes which are much more habitual. High involvement products typically command careful consideration by the consumer ('central processing') and demand detailed factual information from the marketer. Low involvement products are consumed much more passively, with very limited (or no) search and evaluation ('peripheral processing'), and simple advertising emphasising "visual symbols and imagery" (ibid) is called for.

Both the categorisation scheme - high and low - and its marketing implications need to be extended in social marketing. Social marketing frequently deals with products with which the consumer is very highly involved (complex lifestyle changes such as changing one's diet fall into this category). While high involvement can result in a motivated and attentive consumer, higher involvement may be associated with feelings of anxiety, guilt and denial which inhibit attempts to change. At the other extreme, social marketers might seek to stimulate change where there is very low or no involvement - for example, persuading Scots to save water.

More Varied Competition

Social marketers, like their commercial counterparts, must be aware of their competition (Andreasen 1995). The most obvious source of competition in social marketing is the consumer's tendency to continue in his or her current behavioural patterns, especially when addiction is involved. Inertia is a very powerful competitor.

Other sources of competition involve alternative behaviours. For example, time spent donating blood is time which the consumer could spend doing other more enjoyable, more convenient and more personally beneficial activities.

Competitive organisations include other health promoters, educators or government organisations trying to use similar methods to reach their target audiences. For example, the typical doctor's surgery in the UK displays such a plethora of leaflets and posters that any one message or idea stands little chance of being noticed. Social marketers must then be innovative and careful not to overwhelm their target audience.

Finally, one of the most serious forms of competition comes from commercial marketing itself where this markets unhealthful or unsocial behaviours. The most obvious examples are the tobacco and alcohol industries.

Social Marketing and Commercial Marketing

Like commercial marketing, the primary focus is on the consumer—on learning what people want and need rather than trying to persuade them to buy what we happen to be producing. Marketing talks to the consumer, not about the product. The planning process takes this consumer focus into account by addressing the elements of the "marketing mix." This refers to decisions about 1) the conception of a Product, 2) Price, 3) distribution (Place), and 4) Promotion. These are often called the "Four Ps" of marketing. Social marketing also adds a few more "P's." At the end is an example of the marketing mix.

Product

The social marketing "product" is not necessarily a physical offering. A continuum of products exists, ranging from tangible, physical products (e.g., condoms), to services (e.g., medical exams), practices (e.g., breastfeeding, ORT or eating a heart-healthy diet) and finally, more intangible ideas (e.g., environmental protection). In order to have a viable product, people must first perceive that they have a genuine problem, and that the product offering is a good solution for that problem. The role of research here is to discover the consumers' perceptions of the problem and the product, and to determine how important they feel it is to take action against the problem.

Price

"Price" refers to what the consumer must do in order to obtain the social marketing product. This cost may be monetary, or it may instead require the consumer to give up intangibles, such as time or effort, or to risk embarrassment and disapproval. If the costs outweigh the benefits for an individual, the perceived value of the offering will be low and it will be unlikely to be adopted. However, if the benefits are perceived as greater than their costs, chances of trial and adoption of the product is much greater.

In setting the price, particularly for a physical product, such as contraceptives, there are many issues to consider. If the product is priced too low, or provided free of charge, the consumer may perceive it as being low in quality. On the other hand, if the price is too high, some will not be able to afford it. Social marketers must balance these considerations, and often end up charging at least a nominal fee to increase perceptions of quality and to confer a sense of "dignity" to the transaction. These perceptions of costs and benefits can be determined through research, and used in positioning the product.

Place

"Place" describes the way that the product reaches the consumer. For a tangible product, this refers to the distribution system—including the warehouse, trucks, sales force, retail outlets where it is sold, or places where it is given out for free. For an intangible product, place is less clear-cut, but refers to decisions about the channels through which consumers are reached with information or training. This may include doctors' offices, shopping malls, mass media vehicles or in-home demonstrations. Another element of place is deciding how to ensure accessibility of the offering and quality of the service delivery. By determining the activities and habits of the target audience, as well as their experience and satisfaction with the existing delivery system, researchers can pinpoint the most ideal means of distribution for the offering.

Promotion

Finally, the last "P" is promotion. Because of its visibility, this element is often mistakenly thought of as comprising the whole of social marketing. However, as can be seen by the previous discussion, it is only one piece. Promotion consists of the integrated use of advertising, public relations, promotions, media advocacy, personal selling and entertainment vehicles. The focus is on creating and sustaining demand for the product. Public service announcements or paid ads are one way, but there are other methods such as coupons, media events, editorials, "Tupperware"-style parties or in-store displays. Research is crucial to determine the most effective and efficient vehicles to reach the target audience and increase demand. The primary research findings themselves can also be used to gain publicity for the program at media events and in news stories.

Additional Social Marketing "P's"

Publics—Social marketers often have many different audiences that their program has to address in order to be successful. "Publics" refers to both the external and internal groups involved in the program. External publics include the target audience, secondary audiences, policymakers, and gatekeepers, while the internal publics are those who are involved in some way with either approval or implementation of the program.

Partnership—Social and health issues are often so complex that one agency can't make a dent by itself. You need to team up with other organizations in the community to really be effective. You need to figure out which organizations have similar goals to yours—not necessarily the same goals—and identify ways you can work together.

Policy—Social marketing programs can do well in motivating individual behavior change, but that is difficult to sustain unless the environment they're in supports that change for the long run. Often, policy change is needed, and media advocacy programs can be an effective complement to a social marketing program.

Purse Strings—Most organizations that develop social marketing programs operate through funds provided by sources such as foundations, governmental grants or donations. This adds another dimension to the strategy development-namely, where will you get the money to create your program?

Example of a Marketing Mix Strategy

As an example, the marketing mix strategy for a breast cancer screening campaign for older women might include the following elements: The product could be any of these three behaviors: getting an annual mammogram, seeing a physician each year for a breast exam and performing monthly breast self-exams. The price of engaging in these behaviors includes the monetary costs of the mammogram and exam, potential discomfort and/or embarrassment, time and even the possibility of actually finding a lump. The place that these medical and educational services are offered might be a mobile van, local hospitals, clinics and worksites, depending upon the needs of the target audience. Promotion could be done through public service announcements, billboards, mass mailings, media events and community outreach.

The "publics" you might need to address include your target audience (let's say low-income women age 40 to 65), the people who influence their decisions like their husbands or physicians, policymakers, public service directors at local radio stations, as well as your board of directors and office staff.

Partnerships could be cultivated with local or national women's groups, corporate sponsors, medical organizations, service clubs or media outlets.

The policy aspects of the campaign might focus on increasing access to mammograms through lower costs, requiring insurance and Medicaid coverage of mammograms or increasing federal funding for breast cancer research.

The purse strings, or where the funding will come from, may be governmental grants, such as from the National Cancer Institute or the local health department, foundation grants or an organization like the American Cancer Society.

Each element of the marketing mix should be taken into consideration as the program is developed, for they are the core of the marketing effort. Research is used to elucidate and shape the final product, price, place, promotion and related decisions.

Note

LESSON 28:
THE SEVEN STEP SOCIAL MARKETING MODEL

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*
To learn the seven step model in social marketing

'Education', like grief counselling, has become the universal panacea of public policy. If there is a problem of domestic violence, we will solve it with an education campaign. The same applies to drink driving, lack of civic participation, gun ownership, brain injuries, and so on.

But what is this thing called education? You can't buy it off a shelf. There's no recipe book. You can't do a course in it.

We are not even sure that it works...a few years ago Social Change Media carried out a consultancy for the Roads and Traffic Authority. We were asked to evaluate 20-odd evaluations of road safety campaigns. Every one of these campaigns had been evaluated to be a success. But, funnily enough, the proof of 'success' was whatever attitudinal change the campaign happened to achieve, even if it was marginal.

Whatever 'education' is, it's not going to be easy. After all, 'education' is really a misnomer - our aim is not to get people to KNOW MORE THINGS. We are trying to get people to CHANGE WHAT THEY DO. Changing people's behaviour has always been the most problematic enterprise in human affairs.

It's worth noting that many of the techniques and tools of 'education' have been developed in the advertising and public relations industries. But these fields have quite different goals to 'education'. Advertising, for instance, is mostly NOT about changing behaviour. It's about changing *brands*. We still drink beer...We still buy the car...We just buy a different brand of beer or car.

Public Relations, on the other hand, has nothing to do with behaviour at all, it's is about manipulating the media to project your interests into the public realm.

Social change marketing, however, looks beyond advertising and PR techniques. It extends to things like community development, recruitment, training, infrastructure planning and more.

So...as a panacea 'education' is not only elusive, it's always going to be a demanding and tough discipline.

Health communication programs cannot compensate for a lack of health care services or produce behaviour change without supportive program components or be equally effective in addressing all issues or relaying all messages.

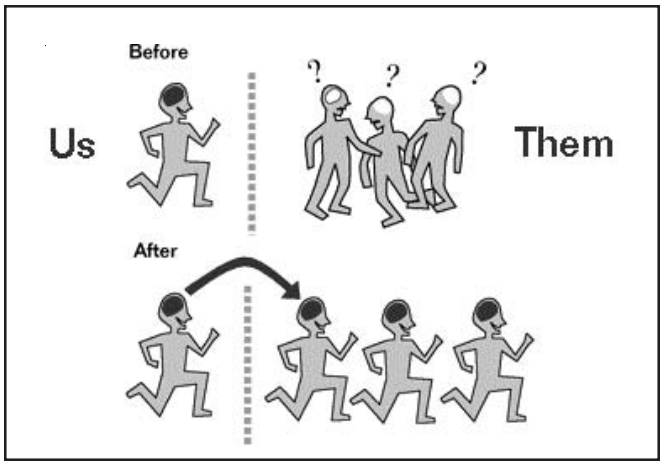
A lot of people who are not educators, especially (and I hope I'm not insulting too many potential clients here) engineers and professional managers, imagine that behaviour change is like any other constructed thing.

You decide what behaviour change you want to make. You draw a plan, assemble the tools and resources and manufacture the thing.

When it comes to behaviour change, there is a distinctly managerial hubris to all this. WE are the managers. We have the TRUE KNOWLEDGE and CORRECT BEHAVIOUR. THEY do not. If we can INJECT our knowledge into the (passive) audience, then they will realise the error of their ways and start behaving correctly.

I call this the 'engineered awareness' approach. It's widespread, especially amongst, well, engineers and managers. It is based on the assumption that AWARENESS BUILDING is the key to behaviour change.

The 'engineered awareness' approach, before and after -



Even *Making Health Communication Programs Work* suffers from this. It is, after all, not a manual for behaviour change...only on how to do the communication bit.

There are, in fact, no lack of models and approaches that guide us in designing awareness campaigns. But I want to propose that lack of awareness may not always be the problem and because of that we may need a much wider definition of what we mean by 'education'.

Is Ignorance Really the Problem?

Back when I was a cartoonist on Streetwize comics we interviewed some young people in a refuge. As usual, they discussed with great affection and enthusiasm their recent drug experiences - and, in this case, I am talking seriously irresponsible drug taking! When I asked the most irresponsible and drug damaged individual there what message he would like to pass on to other young people he became suddenly serious and said 'Don't take drugs'. And he meant it.

Now here is an example of the failure of awareness. It was quite clear that no amount of awareness-building would change these kids' behaviour - they already knew what they were doing was dangerous and stupid.

Maybe our addictions to environmentally-damaging behaviours are similar. After all, we know exactly what's right - but there are still a lot of situations when we do wrong to the environment.

In fact there is no shortage of social research that shows that the general population have levels of environmental concern and knowledge that are way above that of regulators and politicians.

I've heard managers and others tell me that the public just don't understand environmental issues. And in a way it's true - there is a poor understanding of the purely technical facts of, for instance, the landfill crisis.

But, while people may not understand the technical issues - they are not stupid. People are very smart when it comes to making judgements about their own lives. And, when you think about it...whether landfills are full is not nearly such a MOBILISING idea wether OUR ENVIRONMENT is under threat. If people understood that landfills were in trouble BUT didn't connect this to a larger problem of the HUMAN ENVIRONMENT, we'd be in trouble!

So perhaps there is already plenty of 'awareness' - and of the right kind. But if that is the case why is there so little personal change?

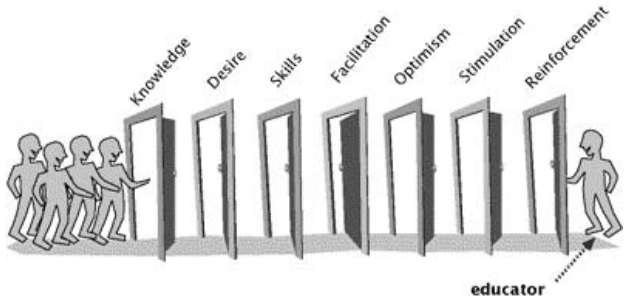
What if the REAL obstacles to behavioural change are things other than ignorance?

What if, people already KNOW plenty about the problem AND have a pretty good idea what they should do and WANT to do it, but something else is stopping them?

The Seven Steps to Social Change

This worried me and so I spent a few months considering what it would take to change my own behaviour. I came up with these 7 pre-conditions which can be expressed as affirmations...

Each one of these conditions is actually an *obstacle*, so you can think of this model as a set of 7 doors...



Notice how 'education strategy' is now about *clearing away obstacles* rather than awareness building.

Notice also that the educator or social marketer has the humble role of a door opener, rather than a font of ultimate truth.

Elements of the Model

This model allows us to identify which elements are already being fulfilled, and so concentrate resources on the gaps.

The seven elements are -

- knowledge
- desire
- skills
- optimism
- facilitation
- stimulation
- reinforcement

Knowledge/awareness

An obvious first step is that people must -

- know there is a problem;
- know there is a practical, viable solution or alternative. This is important. People are practical - they will always demand clear, simple, feasible road maps before they start a journey to a strange place.
- identify the *personal* costs of inaction and the benefits of action in concrete terms people can relate to (ie. they 'own' the problem).

An awareness campaign aims to harness people's *judgement*.

Desire - Imagining yourself in a different Future

Change involves *imagination*. People need to be able to visualise a different, desirable, future for themselves.

This is different to being able to recognise rational benefits.

Desire is an emotion, not a kind of knowledge. Advertising agencies understand this well - they stimulate raw emotions like lust, fear, envy and greed in order to create desire. However, desire can also be created by evoking a future life which is more satisfying, healthy, attractive and safe.

Example of a marketing campaign based on desire:

IMAGE: Sexy image of desirable partner rolling around in the compost heap

COPY: Get in touch with the good earth

- Call 1300 for your Good Earth home composting package.

To design a campaign that harnesses your audience's imaginations, you'll have to start by liberating your own (I'm the first to admit that in an era where everything has a strategic plan, this can be difficult!)

Skills - Knowing what to do

Being able to easily visualise the steps required to reach the goal. This is not about emotion - it is purely rational (it is what we have rationality for).

People learn skills best by *seeing* someone else do them. The best way to do this is to break the actions down into simple steps and use illustrations to make visualisation easy. It's

amazing how many social marketing campaigns forget this element.

Example:

Home composting is easy!

[Illustrate step1, step 2, Step 3]

Call 1300 for your free 3-step Easy-compost booklet.

Optimism (or confidence)

The belief that success is probable or inevitable. Strong political or community leadership is probably an important ingredient of optimism.

I can't over-emphasise optimism. EPA research showed about 14% of the population are disabled from environmental action by their sense of isolation and powerlessness. If government and business are not leading by example, who can blame people for sensing their individual efforts may be futile?

Facilitation - Having Outside Support

People are busy with limited resources and few choices. They may need accessible services, infrastructure and support networks that overcome practical obstacles to carrying out the action.

If personal behaviour change is blocked by real-world obstacles (and it usually is) then all the communications on earth will be ineffective. The role of an 'education' strategy might therefore need to be expanded to involve the establishment of new services and infrastructure. This is why recycling has been successful - we now have simple, quick, low-cost collection services which make recycling easy.

Example:

Home composting is easy!

Sign up for a free home compost bin delivery service.

Stimulation - Having a Kick-start

We are creatures of routine. Even with all the knowledge, desire, good will and services in the world, there is still the inertia of habit to overcome. Consciousness is the tool human beings use to overcome habit, but we are unconscious most of the time. How can social marketers create moments which reach into our lives and compel us into wakefulness?

When I think of the moments which have compelled me to act, they are of two kinds - either threatening (direct and personal, like an airport being proposed in the next suburb; or a threat to my world-view like a terrible famine in Sudan); or inspirational. The inspirational has always happened in a collective context - a kind of inspirational mass conversion which is based on our human social instincts (like the mass meeting where we make a personal commitment or give an extra large donation).

So the stimulation could be an imminent threat (like a cost increase), a special offer or competition (based on self-interest), or, better still, some communally shared event which galvanises action (e.g. a telethon, a public meeting, a festival).

Feedback and Reinforcement

A host of voices, situations and institutions daily compel us to act in undesirable, unhealthy and anti-social ways. These forces don't disappear just because we've run a campaign. Effective social marketing is about continuous recruitment and reinforcement of messages - with regular communications which report back to people on the success of their efforts and the next steps which are expected of them.

Many NGOs (CAA, Amnesty, Greenpeace etc) have learnt this lesson and devote considerable resources to continuously feeding success stories and updates to their contributors, as well as new calls for support and action. We need to learn the same lesson and devote resources to celebrating people's successes (a Waste-Not Week might be a useful focus).

The Importance of Empowerment

Empowerment is the feeling of confidence that you can be a cause of genuine change. In practice, it's an elusive mixture of many ingredients - like skills, optimism, leadership, belief and experience. Empowerment can be built in a social marketing project by close association with your audience, even to the point of taking directions from them.

However empowerment is surprisingly fragile. It can easily be destroyed by dishonesty or mixed motives. But it can also be destroyed by a well-meaning social marketing project. Here is a cautionary tale -

In the 1970s, the $180m 'Mr Fit' health research program in the United States set out to determine how effectively professional intervention could reduce the risk of heart attacks. 12,000 men in the high-risk group for heart attacks were selected. Half were told that they had a high-risk of heart attack, but would be the used as the control group. The others were provided with intensive medical intervention - they were booked into cooking classes, fitness classes, family counselling sessions and so on.

The result, after several years, took the researchers by surprise. The control group improved their prognosis, while the intensively assisted group did less well. The explanation is that the assisted group were disempowered by the intensive intervention - they did not need to really take responsibility for their lives, because a health professional was doing it for them!

A 7-step Research Methodology

To be useful, a 7 step approach needs to feed into a research methodology. We need to figure out where the obstacles are (ie. which gates are closed) with a given audience. Here is an example of the kind of research questions you could ask, assuming that home composting was the goal of the proposed campaign.

Knowledge

STATEMENT: The best way to have great garden is to compost kitchen scraps and lawn clippings.

Strongly agree/Agree/Neither/Disagree/Strongly disagree

Skills

STATEMENT: I know how to make a clean, odour-free home compost.

Strongly agree/Agree/Neither/Disagree/Strongly disagree

Desire

STATEMENT: A home compost is part of a healthy, natural lifestyle.

Strongly agree/Agree/Neither/Disagree/Strongly disagree

Services

STATEMENT: I know where to find compost bins and advice on how to use them.

Strongly agree/Agree/Neither/Disagree/Strongly disagree

Optimism

STATEMENT: I don't bother to compost because it won't make any difference.

Strongly agree/Agree/Neither/Disagree/Strongly disagree

Stimulation

STATEMENT: I don't compost because I'm too busy OR just not interested.

Strongly agree/Agree/Neither/Disagree/Strongly disagree

[There's no need to test for Reinforcement - it's a given!]

Not many social marketers suffer from hubris because they know their task is tough and there are few unequivocal success stories out there. That's because real social change is not made by marketers. It's made by history.

Social marketing in general, and the above 7 points in particular, represent a rather pallid kind of mediated social change.

Sustained social change is made by our natural responses to inspiring people and great historical events and circumstances. It's impossible to fabricate the inspirational factor of a Dalai Lama, a Cathy Freeman, or an Ian Kiernan. Or the enormous national response to the government's failure to apologise to the stolen generations. Or the decisive national assault on firearm ownership in the wake of the Port Arthur massacre.

Social marketers have always know that they must be alert to, and go with the social flow. Engineers and managers, however, often don't appreciate this. They expect that they can engineer change - but the truth is they can only influence changes which are already occurring.

Educators therefore need to be alert, flexible and opportunistic for ways to connect their campaign to social shifts and movements as they occur.

Social marketing and Health Practices

Case study 1: Honduras and Health Practices

The Mass Media and Health Practices project was the first major test of social marketing applied to reduction in infant mortality in developing countries. The project soon outgrew its name and became a full-fledged social marketing program as data poured in from grassroots consumer research pointing out the needs for new products, lower complexity costs and massive teaching of new skills.

Mothers were being asked to adopt a new product - an oral rehydration solution - that required they learn when it was needed, how to find and prepare it, and then how to administer it safely to their child. The product was differentiated in the two test sites, home-mix sugar, salt and water in Africa and pre-package salts in Latin America.

In Africa a mass mobilization strategy was taken, driven by the use of a radio course that involved thousands of women learning and then practicing to mix the home-mix safely. In Latin America the program evolved from a package salts to a broader childcare during diarrhea product. In Latin America infant mortality due to diarrheal dehydration dropped from 47.5% to 25% in the first year. Both programs became models for a decade of child survival programs that successfully attacked infant mortality in a dozen countries around the world.

Infant Mortality

In 1978, the World Health Organization, UNICEF, and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) embarked on a crusade to combat infant mortality in the developing world, which during this time averaged more than 200 per 1000 live births. Children in developing countries were dying in large numbers from such preventable diseases and illnesses as diarrheal dehydration, measles, and respiratory infections, all of which had long been under control in the rest of the industrialized world. Inadequate medical resources and facilities and the lack of effective immunization programs in developing countries allowed diseases such as these to persist, and kept infant mortality inordinately high.

As part of this movement to significantly reduce infant mortality in developing countries, USAID contracted a number of non-profit development organizations to take the lead in developing and implementing consumer-oriented social marketing programs. One such program was the Mass Media and Health Practices Program initiated by the Academy for Educational Development to address the growing epidemic of acute diarrheal dehydration in infants in Honduras.

Evaluation

A year after AED's Mass Media program's implementation, an evaluation conducted by Stanford University to chart the project's impact. Consisting of a data sample collected from 750 randomly selected families from more than 20 communities, the study showed that the diarrheal dehydration project in Honduras had achieved significant results in both disseminating important health information and in fostering specific changes in behavior related to treating infant diarrhea.

Decreased mortality: Between 1981 and 1982 mortality rates for children under five years of age had decreased from 47.5 percent to 25 percent.

Significant campaign awareness: After little more than a year of the project's start, 93 percent of the mothers sampled from rural Honduras knew that the program's radio campaign was promoting Litrosol, the brand name of the locally packaged oral rehydration salts (ORS) used to treat diarrhea; and 71 percent could recite the radio jingle used to promote the administration of liquids during diarrhea affliction.

Increased health knowledge and changed behavior: Of the mothers sampled in the study, 42 percent had knowledge that the use of Litrosol prevented dehydration; and 49 percent had actually used the ORS Litrosol. Of those that had used Litrosol, 94 percent were accurate in describing the correct mixing volume and 96 percent knew that the entire package of ORS was to be used in treatment. Sixteen months after the program's start, 39 percent of all of the cases of diarrhea within the prior two weeks among the sampled families had been treated using Litrosol.

The Diarrheal Dehydration Problem in Honduras

Before the start of the USAID funded program, diarrheal dehydration accounted for 24 percent of all infant deaths in Honduras and represented the single leading cause of infant mortality. In 1977, the year preceding the program's commencement, diarrheal dehydration caused the deaths of 1,030 infants. Treatment during this time was expensive and limited both in scope and availability. The only treatment available to Hondurans for diarrheal dehydration was intravenous (IV) therapy, which requires trained medical personnel and a sterile environment, and was offered exclusively in fixed health facilities serving only a small percentage of the country's rural population.

Initiating the Program

To address the limited availability of medical treatment for this illness, the Honduran Ministry of Health collaborated with the Academy for Educational Development (AED) to develop a comprehensive public education campaign. The project was designed to deliver information for the home treatment of infant diarrhea, and to demonstrate the proper preparation and administration techniques of oral rehydration therapy (ORT), the primary home diarrheal treatment.

In January of 1980, after considerable investigation of the medical and social issues being addressed and preparation of the instructional and training tools, AED's Mass Media and Health Practices Program was launched; its primary objectives included: 1) substantially reducing the number of deaths from diarrheal dehydration among children under the age of five; 2) extending rehydration therapy to isolated rural areas of Honduras; 3) Reducing the per-patient cost of rehydration therapy; and 4) Introducing a significant portion of Honduras' isolated rural populace to diarrhea-related prevention behaviors.

Training

The program operated in a carefully chosen site that included a representative population of 400,000 individuals. The campaign began by providing 900 health care workers with four to eight hours of ORT training. The training program concentrated on teaching the proper mixing and administration of ORT salts and instructing other village assistants, who would ultimately have to conduct the same exercises directly with rural families. Using props and training dummies, the program trainees repeatedly practiced each step of the mixing and administration processes. The health workers and village trainees then began instructing mothers and grandmothers in ORT and other health behaviors such as breastfeeding, infant food preparation and person hygiene. When rural families completed their ORT training, a flag was posted at their house to let other mothers in the area know where they could obtain health advice and instruction.

Marketing and Media

As the training program was being carried out, a media campaign was implemented to reinforce the health care instruction effort. The campaign developed print materials and radio advertisements to issue basic messages related to the diarrhea rehydration therapy and the AED training program. The messages emphasized the correct administration of oral rehydration salts "Litrosol," the continuation of breastfeeding during infant diarrhea periods, and encouraged mothers to seek medical assistance if a child's condition deteriorates. Posters and flipcharts were also created to illustrate ORT and to deliver supporting messages. The radio advertisements were placed in 30-60 spot announcements and often included some form of jingle, slogan, or song. Many of the ads included a familiar announcer, Dr. Salustiano, the program's spokesman for technical information, who subsequently became a nationally known figure.

The tone of the campaign was serious, straightforward and caring. It successfully promoted a mother-craft concept, where a mother's current actions and beliefs are supported and the program's health techniques become an added complement to her care-giving regimen. ORT training was presented as a new development in modern medicine: the latest remedy for lost appetite and a recovery aid. With a high rate of literacy (87 percent of each household with at least one literate member), and 71 percent of all households owning a functional radio, the media campaign became an effective communication and education tool.

Case Study II: Social Marketing against Smoking:

Florida "truth" Campaign

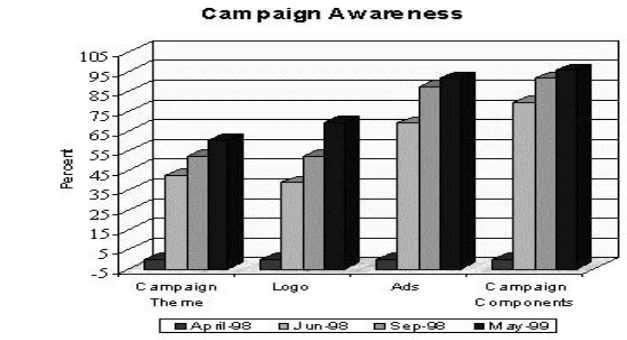
The Florida TRUTH anti-smoking campaign built a new *product* and *branded* it. The product/action was being cool by attacking adults who want to manipulate teens to smoke. The campaign reduced the price of the behavior (attacking adults) by selecting adults everyone agreed had been manipulating them. They created places where kids were found by means of a statewide train caravan and the founding of local "Truth chapters." And, of course, they used *promotion* - but promotion that went beyond the traditional media ads to having kids directly confront the tobacco industry and publicize this teen "terrorism" in the popular media. The Campaign routinely carried out surveys of its target audience that allowed the campaign to discover important micro-market segments (south Florida Hispanics) where impacts were lagging. The Truth campaign has been a dramatic success; it is now the model for the Legacy Foundation's national anti-smoking campaign. In just two years, from 1998 to 2000, the percent of Florida middle schoolers who smoked cigarettes in the past 30 days fell from 18.5 to 8.6 percent while the percentage for high schoolers went from 27.4 to 20.9. These market share gains would be the envy of ANY private sector marketer.

The "truth" campaign incorporates research and evaluation throughout its marketing plan to ensure that program goals are meeting their objectives and to systematically improve marketing efforts. During the course of the campaign's first year several independent surveys were administered to collect baseline data and make incremental program evaluations. Program monitoring was also used to measure the effectiveness of the Florida Tobacco Pilot Program's (FTPP) contracted marketing agencies, whose financial incentives were directly linked to the achievement of certain performance benchmarks. These campaign evaluations indicated the following results.

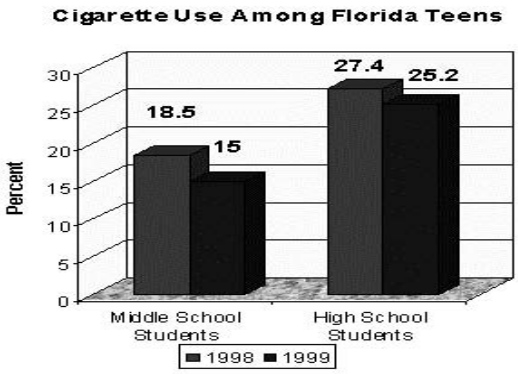
Increased brand awareness: In September of 1998 the Florida Anti-Tobacco Media Evaluation (FAME) was conducted through a comprehensive telephone survey testing the confirmed awareness of the campaign and its paid media advertisements among Florida teens ages 12-17. The initial goal for the program was to achieve a confirmed level of awareness of 85 percent by the time the test was conducted. Results of the survey showed that the "truth" program, only five months into its marketing campaign, had surpassed its goal and achieved a brand awareness of 92 percent. The FAME survey also tested changes in attitude among the campaign's target audience and found that the percentage of teens agreeing with certain negative statements about smoking had risen by fifteen percent since baseline data was gathered the previous April. Successive FAME surveys have shown that campaign awareness and evidence of changing attitude among Florida youth are following an increasing trend.

Country/State:	State of Florida, USA
Target Audience:	Florida teens (ages 12-17)
Objectives:	The "truth" campaign was initiated to: 1. Reduce youth tobacco use by changing the attitude of Florida teens about tobacco and the tobacco industry. 2. Reduce the availability of and youth access to tobacco products. 3. Reduce youth exposure to second-hand smoke. 4. Increase youth empowerment through community involvement.
Media/Marketing:	Television and print ads, billboards, posters, the Internet, program sponsorship, merchandise (i.e. t-shirts, baseball caps, lanyards), youth advocacy groups
Donors/Sponsors:	State of Florida's Office of Tobacco Control (formed in February 1998 following the State's settlement with the tobacco industry).
Duration:	1998 - Present

Evaluation



Increased behavior and attitude change: More recent FAME results indicate that the "truth" campaign was instrumental in preventing teens from starting to smoke cigarettes. Follow-up surveys show that non-smoking teens that refrained from smoking through the duration of the campaign were 2.3 times more likely to say they had been influenced by the campaign's message that tobacco companies were trying to manipulate them. In addition, the campaign was successful in attracting more than 10,000 middle and high school teens to join and participate in the pilot program's youth advocacy organization SWAT.



Decrease in teen smokers: According to the second Florida Youth Tobacco Survey (FYTS) conducted in February 1999, over the course of one calendar year between 1998 and 1999, the number of middle and high school teens defined as "current smokers" declined by 19.4 percent and 8.0 percent respectively. Twenty-nine thousand Florida teens made the decision to not smoke during that time period, ten thousand of whom would likely have continued smoking and died early as a result. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) stated that this decrease represented "the largest annual reported decline observed in this nation since 1980."

The "truth" Campaign

On August 25, 1997, the State of Florida won a landmark victory against the Tobacco Industry worth $11.3 billion over twenty-five years (increased to $13 billion a year later). In addition to a number of other concessions, the settlement included a clause providing an earmarked budget of $200 million for a state-run pilot program to fight youth tobacco use. Operating out of the State's Office of Tobacco Control, the newly formed Florida Tobacco Pilot Program (FTPP), known better by its marketing component "truth," achieved significant results in its first year and continues to serve as the state's primary prevention program, and as a model to other social marketing campaigns.

As the FTPP was beginning to take shape in the fall of 1997, tobacco use among high school students had reached more than 36 percent nationwide, an increase of one-third since 1991. Research findings that same year showed that 70.2 percent of high school teens had tried smoking and that 35.8 percent of that group would continue smoking on a daily basis. Surveys also indicated that 86 percent of teen smokers routinely purchased one of the three most advertised tobacco brands.

A comprehensive review of previous anti-tobacco campaigns by the FTPP confirmed the presumption that past prevention

strategies were ineffective and outdated. Teens were already well-acquainted with the negative effects of tobacco use and didn't consider smoking a significant issue in the context of their lives. Furthermore, research showed that despite their knowledge and awareness, teens still saw smoking as rebellious and self-identifying.

The FTPP approached the anti-tobacco campaign with the knowledge that in order to reach teens they would ultimately have to drive a wedge between the tobacco industry's advertising and their target audience. The program's managers initiated this strategy by assembling a team of advertising and public relations firms to develop the marketing portion of the campaign, and by going directly to Florida's youth themselves and listening to their attitudes and opinions. After a short time, the program emerged with the concept of a youth movement against Big Tobacco promoted through grassroots advocacy and a creative, youth-driven advertising campaign.

Make Anti-smoking Advocacy Cool

At the Teen Tobacco Summit in March of 1998, the teen delegates, invigorated by what they had learned about the tobacco industry's false statements and manipulation, voted to change the campaign's theme to "Truth, a generation united against tobacco." The new "truth" campaign also included the formation of a new youth anti-tobacco advocacy group called SWAT (Students Working Against Tobacco).

Target Credibility Through Teen Action

The FTPP and its marketing team established a plan to give the "truth" campaign message maximum reach and visibility through a wide range of multi-media ads, teen events, merchandising, and media outreach. The marketing plan also included using teen input in every phase of the development to add style and legitimacy and to empower the teen movement. With these efforts, they hoped to make the "truth" into a credible brand name easily recognized by the campaign's target audience.

In April of 1998, the FTPP launched a $25 million dollar advertising campaign that ultimately included 33 television commercials, seven billboards, eight print ads and four posters. Taking the same approach as commercial marketers do to engage teens, the "truth" campaign incorporated a variety of in-your-face styles into its ads using everything from edgy-humor to high technology. The ads also depicted real teenagers taking on the tobacco industry at the Teen Tobacco Summit and statewide SWAT functions.

Initially, because of a clause in the state's settlement, the campaign was restricted from directly attacking the tobacco industry. This challenge was overcome by focusing the campaign on the supporters of tobacco in the advertising and publishing industries, a tactic that received considerable attention in the national media and inspired other prevention programs. The "truth" campaign had repositioned tobacco control as a hip, rebellious youth movement with the message that tobacco use is an addictive drug marketed by a callous adult-establishment. (The restriction was later lifted following the Texas settlement.)

Support "truth" Coolness

Putting equal emphasis on its advocacy campaign, the marketing team designed "truth"-branded merchandise, such as T-shirts and baseball caps, and distributed it via an official campaign van at teen functions throughout the state. Other grassroots promotional efforts included "truth"-sponsored teen events and development of an FTPP website containing facts and statistics on tobacco, SWAT information, and online advocacy activities.

Events Pump-up the Program

In August 1998 the FTPP launched the Reel "truth," a program designed to expose how the tobacco industry has permeated popular culture to manipulate society's attitude towards smoking, and to empower teens to combat it. The program included a number of conferences and seminars and ran in conjunction with the "truth" tour, which featured a 13-city train ride and concert series. Carried out by the marketing team through members of SWAT, the Reel "truth," with the help of celebrities and politicians, encouraged advocacy participation and petitioned the entertainment industry to portray smoking more accurately and denormalize its use.

Case Study III: Social Marketing to Control the Spread of Aids: Switzerland

Stop Aids is an example of one of the longest running and most carefully evaluated social marketing programs for AIDS prevention in the world. Its initial audience was gay men, but as the epidemic began to expand it reached out to a truly national audience. Its most important difference was to constantly measure not only condom use, but changing attitudes toward the epidemic. Condom use among men between the ages of 17-30 yrs old, for example increased from 8% to almost 50% between '87 and '90. One *product* was the condom, but another product was anti-discrimination and later needle exchange. The Swiss were convinced that as long as AIDS was feared, risky sex would remain underground. The *price* of prevention was lower than the price of high-risk behavior, because the price of prevention no longer included the fear of discovery. In addition to condom promotion and needle exchange being promoted on radio and TV, community groups were organized, a special Hot rubber brand created for gay men, and new *distribution*

points opened throughout the country for condoms and for counseling and testing.

Country: Switzerland

Target Audience: General population and targeted population segments: heterosexuals, homosexuals, hemophiliacs, adolescents, drug users, foreign nationals, prostitutes and their customers.

Objectives: The Stop AIDS Campaign was initiated to:

1. Increase condom use among Switzerland's general population and among targeted risk groups.
2. Decrease discrimination against individuals with HIV/AIDS.
3. Increase solidarity among the infected and between those infected and the general population.

Media: Billboards, print ads (newspapers, tabloids, magazines, student newspapers), television, radio, movie theater commercials, sporting events.

Donors/Sponsors: Federal Office for Public Health, Swiss AIDS Foundation

Duration: 1987 – Present

Evaluation

Evaluation of the STOP AIDS prevention campaign was based on a model that assumes that acceptance and retention of protective behavior is due in part to changes in attitude, opinion and knowledge motivated by intervention and prevention programs. The program was evaluated from the onset using both qualitative and quantitative measurements; and because it was often not possible to measure individual campaign segments, the evaluation included a variety of the elements affecting protective behavior including the attitude and level of awareness of the general population and targeted groups.

Increased condom sales: Observed changes in the market for condoms, the central focus of the campaign, was one of the key factors used to measure the program's impact on the population. After systematic market observation of the manufacturers supplying at least 80 percent of condoms in Switzerland, results indicated that between 1986 and 1990, condom sales had increased by 80 percent (from 7.6 million to 15 million units).

Increased condom use: The campaign's impact attitude and behavior change was measured through recorded changes in condom use among targeted age groups. Between 1987 and 1990 condom use among 17-30 year-olds increased from 8% to almost 50%. Condom use among 31-45 year-olds also increased during that time (from 22% to 35%).

STOP AIDS did not increase the number of partners: It had been suggested that the campaign's support of condom use would promote promiscuity among young adults and result in an increase in the number of individuals' sexual partners. This argument was contradicted by a study conducted between 1987 and 1989 that found the number of people that considered mutual faithfulness effective protection against HIV transmission had increased from 18% to 49% between those years. In the 17-20 year age group, the number of those who had had more than three partners actually decreased slightly.

The STOP AIDS Campaign

Created by a joint task force of the Swiss AIDS Foundation and the Swiss Federal Office for Public Health, STOP AIDS is the longest running HIV/AIDS prevention program in the world. It was launched in 1987 as a national, multi-media campaign designed to: (1) increase condom use among Switzerland's general population and targeted risk groups, (2) reduce discrimination against individuals with HIV/AIDS, (3) increase solidarity among those living with HIV/AIDS and with the rest of the population. Through an advertising strategy of persuasive, gradually phased in messages and mainstream imagery, and a system of constant evaluation, the program achieved successful results during the first few, critical years of its operation. The STOP AIDS campaign remains in place as Switzerland's primary AIDS prevention program, and is one of the hallmark examples of successful social marketing.

Introducing a New Condom Product for Gay Men: The Hot Rubber

Prior to the STOP AIDS campaign, there were two successful national prevention efforts initiated in Switzerland. The first occurred in 1985 when the Swiss AIDS Foundation established its own brand of condom, *Hot Rubber*, to market to gay men. Through its own distribution channels and targeted marketing, the Swiss AIDS Foundation set out to make condoms readily available, to diminish the stigma and embarrassment associated with purchasing them, and to encourage consistent use. The effectiveness of the Hot Rubber brand's promotion is illustrated in its sales volume from that time. In just a nine- month period of 1985, condom sales rose from 2,000 units per month to more than 55,000, leveling off a year later at 75,000 units.

The Early Effort: Build Awareness

The second effort, initiated by the Swiss Federal Office for Public Health in 1986, was an informational brochure about the AIDS virus mailed to every household in the country. Its main purpose was to confront the population with an official government recognition of the virus, to present the known facts about transmission, and to dispel some of the fear-inducing rumors that had developed out of media speculation. A survey conducted immediately after the brochure's distribution showed that at least 75 percent of the population had looked at the pamphlet, and that 56 percent said they had read it.

The STOP AIDS marketing plan was designed to maximize behavior change and individual responsibility through a series of products and messages promoting increased knowledge, awareness, and action. The central strategy of the campaign was based on the learning method, a concept that assumes that

individuals are capable of both changing their behavior and taking responsibility for protecting themselves. As part of this strategy, inducement of fear was eliminated as possible means for altering behavior. Scare tactics were seen as a cynical method for affecting change, and because they often produced their own set of negative results, fear was deemed inappropriate as a credible prevention technique. The campaign, instead, used a positive message promoting individual awareness and self-determination, and avoided imposing a judgmental or moralistic view on any particular behavior. This was seen as a more effective way to address the socially sensitive subjects of sexuality and illicit drug use, while encouraging safe prevention habits.

Target Condom Use

Building on the success of the Hot Rubber Program and the raised awareness of the national brochure, STOP AIDS made condoms the central focus of its campaign, promoting their use as the most reliable and effective method of preventing the spread of HIV. The campaign's logo itself incorporates a pink, rolled condom within the STOP AIDS title, and delivers a clear visual message about preventing HIV transmission. In less than a year's time, the logo enjoyed a recognition factor of over 90% among the Swiss population. Initially, the condom was treated more as a neutral technical aid, but as the campaign evolved it was shown in its unrolled form placed over a model's thumb to illustrate its use for foreigners, tourists and adolescents that didn't understand the symbol's meaning. Later on, the STOP AIDS condom ads also began to feature individuals as the focal element in order to inject reality, voice and emotion into the campaign's message. These ads used young adults from different walks of life and sexual orientations to show their support for condom use and responsibility.

Monitor and Readjust Strategy

An important element of the STOP AIDS campaign was its strategy of gradually phasing in different messages over a period of several years. This approach had the effect of allowing the population to slowly digest the information being presented while making subtle changes in attitude and behavior. Soon after the initial condom campaign, the media strategy began to include ads targeting the issues of needle sharing and faithfulness.

Target Needle Exchange and Faithfulness

Because media campaigns addressing drug use are relatively ineffective due to their inability to influence drug availability or distribution, STOP AIDS concentrated its messages around preventing needle sharing and first-time drug-users while making the connection between drug use and the spread of AIDS. That same year, the campaign also promoted the concept of mutual faithfulness among partners as an important means of protection from infection and as a complement to the central message of condom use.

Target Isolation and Discrimination

In 1989, to address the stigma and isolation felt by those living with HIV and AIDS, the concept of mutual solidarity was introduced into the campaign. With large-scale exposure on numerous television and print ads, the campaign sought to fight all the various forms of discrimination taking place against those living with HIV/AIDS. The ads showed prominent Swiss personalities, elders and AIDS victims making a public appeal for solidarity and promoting the basic human rights of dignity, equality and respect. It was thought that by promoting unity among those with the disease and between those infected and the rest of the population, the HIV/AIDS issue would be dealt with in a more effective and caring manner. With the other elements of the campaign, this additional message formed a more complete package of social awareness.

Media

During its first five years, the STOP AIDS campaign's multi-media strategy featured numerous messages and employed every media available to reach the maximum number of sexually active individuals. By 1992, the campaign had produced and placed over 75 different billboards and posters in three languages at 1,200 locations around Switzerland. Billboards were used because of their wide exposure and ability to impose the maximum visual image with minimal copy, an ideal format for communicating simple messages to the population at large. For the more complex messages, print, radio and television ads were employed. Television ads ran on all of the major networks and in each of the three language areas to achieve a reach of 72.6% of the overall population. Other targeted populations such as adolescents and foreign nationals were reached through movie theater advertisements, student newspapers, and sporting events. In the two months in which they ran, movie theater commercials were successful in reaching more than 50% of Switzerland's 14-34 year age group. Because of lessening attention in the media and the lack of effective treatment available for HIV/AIDS victims, the STOP AIDS Campaign enacted a policy of permanent presence.

Case Study: Social Marketing in India for AIDS Prevention

Approximately 6,000 sex workers serve more than half a million male clients a year in Sonagachi, a red-light district in central Calcutta. In 1992 the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health launched a program to reduce the transmission of HIV/AIDS in Sonagachi. The project began with two key interventions: a health clinic and outreach by peer educators. It has since triggered a broader self-empowerment movement by sex workers in the state of West Bengal.

From the first, it was clear that the project's original focus on the prevention and treatment of STIs, including HIV/AIDS, was too narrow. Indeed, the first nine sex workers who sought medical advice from a project doctor wanted help with infertility—a common problem among sex workers who contract multiple STIs. Therefore, the Sonagachi clinic was designed to offer a full range of primary health care services to sex workers, their children, and other local people. During its first 15 months of operation, the clinic drew more than 4,500 clients, over three-quarters of them women. A second clinic was opened during evening hours to target sex workers who commuted to work in Sonagachi and their male clients. The project has since expanded into other red-light districts and now operates 13 health clinics in Calcutta and Howrah.

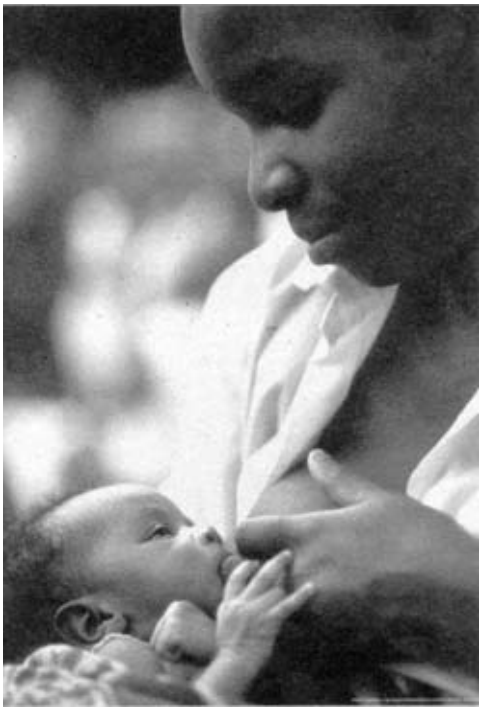
Hundred of peer educators carry the project's message directly to sex workers, madams, and pimps in their homes and brothels. Peer educators are current and former sex workers from the local community who are paid to work four hours a day, during clinic hours, although they volunteer far more time than that. They receive extensive training in:

- transmission and treatment of STIs, including HIV/AIDS;
- negotiation skills needed to persuade clients to use condoms;
- reproductive health;
- treatment and prevention of common communicable diseases;
- lab training to carry out general medical tests; and
- local laws and the legal system as it pertains to the sex trade and women's rights.

Because rapid growth has strained program resources, volunteers are now recruited to supplement the efforts of paid peer educators.

The peer educators, who are easily recognized by the green medical jackets they wear over their saris, visit sex workers at home during the day to educate them about HIV/AIDS and other STIs, to distribute condoms, and to motivate them to visit the project's clinics and to return for follow-up care. Initially, madams and pimps resisted the peer educators' efforts, because they believed that insisting on condoms would drive customers away. The peer educators persisted and eventually convinced the madams that condoms would be good for business since they keep sex workers healthy and working.

As the peer educators gained experience and confidence, they played an increasingly important role in every aspect of the project, participating in strategic planning, policy formulation, implementation, and monitoring. They also sparked a broader empowerment movement among Sonagachi's sex workers. Literate peer educators began teaching uneducated sex workers how to read and write in the clinic courtyard each day. Later, they tackled other problems, such as police raids, police corruption, and violence against sex workers. With the encouragement of project leaders, the peer educators and other sex workers established the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee (DMSC), or Women's Collaborative Committee, in 1995. DMSC acts as a trade union and now has 30,000 dues-paying members throughout West Bengal, including more than half of the sex workers working in Sonagachi. Since 1999, it has run the STI/HIV prevention project, having taken over from the consortium of NGOs and government agencies that first implemented it.



Organizing gave sex workers the power to challenge the local madams, pimps, and hoodlums who preyed on them. Peer educators and other DMSC members have successfully pressured reluctant madams into accepting a condom-only policy, rescued children who are sold or duped into prostitution, picketed police stations to demand action against criminals who injure sex workers, and staged a protest march against police corruption. In 1998, sex workers and their children began staffing the Positive Hotline for sex workers and other people in Calcutta who are HIV-positive. Positive Hotline teams make home visits to offer counseling, medical and legal referrals, and social support and to sensitize the local community. In addition, the DMSC has formed its own financial cooperative so that sex workers can borrow money at reasonable rates, and it operates a nursery and other programs for sex workers' children.

Under the banner of DMSC, Sonagachi peer educators work after hours to network with other red-light districts in West Bengal, to explain the importance of unionism, to promote social marketing of condoms, and to fight the trafficking of women. They founded a regional network of sex workers in 1998 and have developed links with sex worker projects in Nepal and Bangladesh, where many Sonagachi workers come from.

In 1997, the DMSC organized the first of its annual conferences of sex workers from all over India to highlight their problems and demand recognition from the government.

The conference manifesto (available online at www.bayswan.org/manifest.html or at www.walnet.org/csis/groups/nswp/conferences/manifesto.html) explores issues of gender, poverty, and sexuality that define and limit sex workers'

existence and reduce the quality of their lives. With slogans like, "Sex work is real work, we demand workers' rights," the conference sought an independent governing board that would recognize prostitution as a means of livelihood and address corruption.

While it has branched out from its original health objectives, the Sonagachi project has made a major health impact. Its many achievements include:

- Condom use by sex workers in Sonagachi increased from 3 percent in 1992, to 70 percent in 1994, to 90 percent in 1998. In fourteen catchment areas outside of Sonagachi that are served by DMSC clinics, condom use rose from 30 percent in 1996 to 52 percent in 1998.
- HIV prevalence among sex workers in Sonagachi has remained steady at about 5 percent since 1992, while HIV rates among sex workers in most parts of India have increased dramatically.
- STI rates have dropped: the proportions of sex workers with recent syphilis and genital ulcers fell from 28 percent and 7 percent, respectively, in 1993 to 11 percent and 2 percent in 1998.

The project has accomplished this at a relatively low cost by relying heavily on part-time peer educators and DMSC volunteers and by selling condoms at bulk rates rather than distributing them free.

An even greater accomplishment, however, has been the project's success in building self-esteem, self-reliance, and self-respect among sex workers. The Sonagachi project relies on the three R's: respect for, reliance upon, and recognition of sex workers. Active participation in planning and implementing the Sonagachi project helped sex workers realize that they had the power to fight all forms of social exploitation. The result has been a community movement, under the leadership of DMSC, that has improved all aspects of sex workers' lives. DMSC also has expanded the network of health clinics for sex workers in West Bengal by opening clinics in 19 red-light districts outside of Sonagachi and by launching an HIV-intervention program for street-based sex workers and their clients. The government of India also plans to replicate the Sonagachi model in other cities, but it is not clear how well it can succeed in places like Bombay, which lacks Calcutta's strong tradition of trade unionism and where the sex trade is controlled by organized crime.

Among the many lessons learned by the Sonagachi project are:

1. Information and a supply of condoms is not enough to change the sexual behavior of sex workers. Sex workers must value themselves before they will take steps to protect their health; they must overcome the fear of losing clients and income to other sex workers; and they must be able to enforce condom use by the client. This requires self-confidence, negotiation skills, and the cooperation of madams and pimps. The goal of the Sonagachi project was to create an enabling environment, so that sex workers as a community could practice safer sex.
2. Sex workers' health needs reach beyond STI prevention and treatment to the full range of primary health care services for themselves and their children. Broader social and economic issues, such as sex workers' uncertain legal and social status, create or exacerbate some of their health problems.
3. Health care is not enough. Sex workers also need the social and political power to protect themselves from being victimized by corrupt policemen, exploitative madams and pimps, violent clients and criminals, greedy money lenders, and so on.
4. To make an impact, project leaders must continually negotiate with the people who hold power within the community and control the sex trade. These include politicians, gang leaders, brothel landlords, madams, and pimps.

Sonagachi workers also attribute the success of their efforts to:

- working to reduce the harm caused by sex work rather than to abolish the sex trade;
- taking a positive judgmental stand toward sex workers and their profession;
- using a noncoercive approach;
- giving priority to the perceived needs of sex workers;
- involving sex workers throughout the planning, design, and implementation process;
- supporting the sex workers' fight against social exploitation and injustice;
- being flexible in planning and executing programs so that adjustments can be made at the field level;
- designing strategies that fit the local power base, culture, and functioning of sex trade rather than looking for universal solutions; and
- relying on the syndromal management of STIs.

Further information about the Sonagachi project and DMSC activities is available online in the UNAIDS Best Practice Collection and at www.walnet.org/csis/groups/nswp/dmsc/index.html.

Communication in Health Education: An Appraisal

Though the mass media has long played a prominent role in the area of health, nutrition and medicine, it is questionable as to whether it plays an important role in health education. Does the advertising of various drugs and nutritional food items equip the masses with sufficient information to improve health or does it create more psychological dissonance by confusing them with conflicting information? Answers to these questions may provide some conclusions about the communication obstacles to health education.

As Amunugama (1972) points out, in Sri Lanka today, health communication has become a competition between various advertisers. The competition is not only between Western medicine and local (Ayurvedic) medicine but also with the miracle healings, etc. Confusion created by this is common in many Third World countries and is a hindrance to efforts at health and nutritional education.

Apart from this, as Bunnag (1981) points out, there are many inherent problems with the perception of the Western medical

system, which generates many communication obstacles. According to her, the overriding reason for the inability of doctors and patients to communicate is the exclusionist and elitist nature of the professional medical system. Selection of medical trainees is usually done from within the middle and upper levels of society, and therefore, the profession is 'mystified' to a great extent among ordinary people. The doctor-patient relationship is clearly unequal and it inhibits communication between them.

Bunnag asks, if this is the case in those developed societies where the system is indigenous, how much more critical is the situation in countries where the Western medical system is imported. Quoting Franz Fanon's Algerian example, Bunnag further points to medical science rather than eliminating social roots of ill health to promote commodity-based disease therapy.

In spite of the high status of the medical profession, and the doctor-patient communication gap in the Third World, in most of the health-based programmes, the educators/ communicators such as the health officers or the village level health workers have low status vis-a-vis the physicians. As many examples show, they are inadequately trained. under-equipped and have low credibility as communicators/ educators among rural people. The reason for this, as Bunnag points out, is that the physicians' belief that communicators have little to offer is self-fulfilling.

Just as in agricultural development, in health education too, technology bias and linguistic, semantic and cultural barriers operate. The introduction of nutritional elements of food to rural people sometimes ignored the taste and cultural and religious values of food. Rogers (1971) illustrates how a two-year campaign in a Peruvian village failed to introduce the habit of boiling drinking water for cultural reasons. The technical typology such as protein, iron, calcium, malnutrition, etc. could not be translated into observable meaning. Beyond all this, the economic conditions of poor people did not permit behavioral change toward a higher nutritional status.

As far as development is concerned, in many health programmes, the lowest segments of the population seem to be left out (Arole 1980). Even in welfare states where free medicine is available, this problem is observed. However, recent efforts in some pans of India seem to have been able to elicit participation of the lowest segments of the population such as lower castes and tribes through awareness building (Arole 1980; D'Abreo 1980).

Note

LESSON 29:
SOCIAL MARKETING FOR FAMILY PLANNING

Objectives : *After completing the lesson you are expected*

To know the importance of family planning

To lean how social marketing can help to control population growth

Family planning is one of the success stories of development. Today, over half of all couples in developing countries are using contraception, whereas less than 10 per cent were doing so 30 years ago. Family size has dropped in most areas of the world, and in some countries by as much as a third. Consequently, the health of women and children has improved and the rate of global population increase is slowing down.

Most governments around the world are now convinced that family planning is an essential part of maternal and child health services, and accept the responsibility of providing contraceptive information and services. But there is still a long way to go before a wide choice of family planning services is universally available.

In spite of the progress that has been made, there are still hundreds of millions of couples worldwide who wish to plan their families but have no access to information or quality services. There are millions of unwanted pregnancies and the health of both mothers and children suffers when pregnancy is too early, too late or too closely spaced. Half a million women still die each year as a result of pregnancy or childbirth - as many as 100,000 of them from the consequences of unsafe abortion. And it has been estimated that 20 per cent of infant deaths could be averted if all births were spaced by at least two years.

The need for services will continue to grow: the number of women of childbearing age in the developing world will rise from 1 billion in 1990 to 1.5 billion by 2010. The challenge remains to provide family planning and reproductive health services for this increasing population.

Some segments of society require special efforts because their needs are often overlooked: young people, ethnic minorities and other marginalized groups, and the urban and rural poor.

The Sexual and Reproductive Health Dimension

It has been clear for some time that the health and wellbeing of women and their families improve when mothers are able to decide the number and spacing of their children. But there are a number of health problems and other issues related to sexuality and reproduction that concern people during the course of their lives, and the terms sexual and reproductive health have evolved to take account of such concerns.

IPPF recognized these additional needs when, in 1992, it adopted its Vision 2000 Strategic Plan. The plan, which was approved by all IPPF's member family planning associations, commits the Federation to adopting a sexual and reproductive health approach to its work. It makes promoting sexual and reproductive health as a human right and responding to people's sexual and reproductive health needs one of IPPF's six priorities for the 1990s.

Family planning services remain at the core of sexual and reproductive health care. But there are a number of other elements which are also considered important. These include:

- providing gender-sensitive information, education and counselling on sexuality;
- providing care during pregnancy, delivery and post- partum;
- monitoring infant growth and development with particular attention to the girl child and her nutrition, to ensure she grows up in an environment conducive to her development, including the development of her sexuality;
- taking care of people's concerns over sexually transmitted diseases and infertility;
- HIV/AIDS prevention;

The Cairo and Beijing Conferences

In 1994, two years after IPPF's Strategic Plan was approved, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo gave an important impetus to IPPF's reproductive and sexual health agenda. This conference, which involved representatives from more than 180 world governments, was a decisive one in that it firmly moved the focus of family planning away from fertility targets and national demographic goals towards meeting the needs of individuals for family planning and reproductive and sexual health care. The ICPD Programme of Action made it a goal for the world's governments to make available universal access to a full range of high quality reproductive health services, including for family planning and sexual health, by 2015.

The commitment to take action on sexual and reproductive health was reinforced at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The Platform for Action recognized that the "human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related

to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence".

Communication in Family Planning

Family planning is another area included in health programmes, which has received much attention during the last decade. Family planning programmes are often promoted through health services in Third World countries. Despite the immense effort made in instituting family planning programmes in the Third World, these have been criticized for failing to meet its goals. Critics attribute several reasons for their failure. But most observers place the biggest share of the blame on poor communication strategies, which were based on faulty assumptions.

Bogue (1975) lists 25 communication obstacles to the success of family planning. These could be summarized into several categories. For the most part, the failure to adopt or to continue family planning methods seem to be based on the subjects' own fear. This fear is created either by their own false beliefs or miscommunication by family planning agents. Secondly, many subjects seem to have been pressured either by their peers or family members and relatives against planning their own family. The major obstacle seems to be communicators' unawareness of the obstacles that prevent the subjects from adopting family planning methods.

Family planning messages are faced with linguistic and semantic barriers inherent in much scientific information. Many terms used in family planning are simply borrowed or translated from English. As Rogers (1973) points out, the word for the 'pill' in Pakistan and Kenya is the same used for aspirin and for other medications. In Sri Lanka, however, the family planners successfully invented the word 'Preethi' meaning happiness, instead of a foreign name and found it to be very effective (Clearing House on Development Communication 1979). The irrational psychological fear of adopting vasectomy (Wolfers 1970), was partly based on the terminology itself particularly in Muslim societies such as Pakistan, North India and Indonesia where 'vasectomy' was confused with 'castration'. As Rogers (1973) reports, family planning or birth control methods are considered a taboo topic in many rural areas of Asia.

Similar to agricultural innovations, Bogue (1975) argues that in family planning too, the use of the innovation diffusion model was inadequate to convey the complexity of the situation. Even though it created broader awareness of family planning methods and the necessity for family planning, the indiscriminate borrowing of mass media were unable to produce enough message credibility to generate actual behaviour change (Bunnag 1981).

Banergee (1979) has explained why the use of film in family planning campaigns in India did not succeed in getting the message across for several reasons. For a long time films in India have mainly been a medium of entertainment rather than an educational or informational tool. Furthermore, the films were produced by urban-based elites and did not really capture the idiom of the illiterate rural folks. Contributing to the lop-down attitude of the family planning effort was the traditional education system, which is truly pedagogical, a means of banking knowledge, rather than encouraging dialogue. Added to all these, the unavailability of mass media—television and films—was a problem in the rural areas. Thus, the enthusiastic family planning communication programme of the first 'Five-Year Plan' in India failed to achieve its ultimate goals.

Overcoming mass media bias in disseminating family planning messages was attempted by some researchers using traditional folk media such as puppetry or folk drama (Crawford and Adhikarya) or some intermediate technologies such as audio-cassettes (Colle 1974; Adhikarya and Colle). Prospects such as 'Mothers Club of Oryu Li' in Korea, have successfully used the group participatory methods to promote family planning (Kincaid et al. 1974). The implication of these efforts is that the success of family planning does not depend on one particular media, but on the use of the most appropriate media. However, some combination of interpersonal media seem to bring better success.

Social Marketing & Poverty Eradication

Broad improvements in human welfare will not occur unless poor people receive wider access to affordable, better quality services in health, education, water, sanitation, and electricity. Without such improvements in services, freedom from illness and freedom from illiteracy - two of the most important ways poor people can escape poverty - will remain elusive to many.

The World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People says that too often, key services fail poor people - in access, in quantity, in quality. This imperils a set of development targets known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which call for a halving of the global incidence of poverty, and broad improvements in human development by 2015.

The report provides powerful examples of where services do work, showing how governments and citizens can do better. There have been spectacular successes and miserable failures in the efforts by developing countries to make services work. The main difference between success and failure is the degree to which poor people themselves are involved in determining the quality and the quantity of the services which they receive.

"Too often, services fail poor people. These failures may be less spectacular than financial crises, but their effects are continuing and deep nonetheless," says World Bank President, James D. Wolfensohn. "Services work when they include all people, when girls are encouraged to go to school, when pupils and parents participate in the schooling process, when communities take charge of their own sanitation. They work when we take a

comprehensive view of development - recognizing that a mother's education will help her baby's health, that building a road or a bridge will enable children to go to school."

The report comes at a time when rich countries have pledged to increase foreign aid, and poor countries have pledged to improve their policies and institutions, to try to reach the MDGs. "To accelerate progress in human development, economic growth is of course necessary, but it is not enough," says World Bank Chief Economist and Senior Vice-President for Development Economics, Nicholas Stern. "Mobilizing to reach the 2015 development goals will require both a substantial increase in external resources and more effective use of all resources, internal and external. The report offers a practical framework for using resources more effectively."

How Services are failing Poor People

Personal accounts from poor people in the new report describe how they receive shoddy services.

In Adaboya, Ghana, "children must walk four kilometers to attend school because, while there is a school building in the village, it sits in disrepair and cannot be used in the rainy season." In Potrero Sula, El Salvador, villagers complain that "the health post here is useless because there is no doctor or nurse, and it is only open two days a week until noon." A common response in a client survey by women who had given birth at rural health centers in the Mutasa district of Zimbabwe is that they were hit by staff during delivery.

Anecdotes like these are supported by accounts from other countries as well. The average poor child in rural Mali has to walk 8 kilometers to primary school. Her counterpart in rural Chad has to walk 23 kilometers to get to a clinic. A billion people worldwide lack access to an improved water source; 2.5 billion lack access to improved sanitation.

Even when poor people have access, the quality of services is distressingly low. In random visits to 200 primary schools in India, investigators found no teaching activity in half of them at the time of visit. Up to 45 percent of teachers in Ethiopia were absent at least one day in the week before a visit - 10 percent of them for three days or more. A survey of primary health care facilities in Bangladesh found the absenteeism rate among doctors to be 74 percent.

"Improving the delivery of key services such as healthcare and education to poor people is critical to accelerate progress in human development, because more public spending by itself will not do it," says Jean-Louis Sarbib, the World Bank's new Senior Vice-President for Human Development, and former Vice President for the Middle East and North Africa Region of the World. "The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region spends more on public education than any other developing region, and yet it has some of the highest rates of youth illiteracy in the world. A girl in MENA is as likely to be illiterate as a girl in Sub-Saharan Africa, which is a much poorer region."

Services can Work for Poor People

The report points to several success stories. Indonesia used its oil windfalls to build new schools and hire more teachers, doubling primary enrollment to 90 percent by 1986. The number of children enrolled in primary schools in Uganda increased from 3.6 million to 6.9 million in five years. A program in Mexico that gives cash to poor households if they visited a clinic regularly and their children attended school reduced illness among children by 20 percent, and increased secondary enrollment by 5 percentage points for boys and 8 for girls.

"Services can work when poor people stand at the center of service provision - when they can avoid poor providers, while rewarding good providers with their clientele, and when their voices are heard by politicians - that is, when service providers have incentives to serve the poor," says Shanta Devarajan, Director of the World Development Report 2004 , and Chief Economist of the World Bank's Human Development Network.

The report documents three ways in which services can be improved:

1. By increasing poor clients' choice and participation in service delivery, so they can monitor and discipline providers. School voucher schemes - such as a program for poor families in Colombia, or a girls' scholarship program in Bangladesh (that paid schools based on the number of girls they enrolled) - increase clients' power over providers, and substantially increased enrollment rates. Community-managed schools in El Salvador, where parents visited schools regularly, lowered teacher absenteeism and raised student test scores.
2. By raising poor citizens' voice, through the ballot box and making information widely available. Service delivery surveys in Bangalore, India, that showed poor people the quality of the water, health, education and transport services they were receiving compared to neighboring districts, increased demand for better public services, and forced politicians to act.
3. By rewarding the effective and penalizing the ineffective delivery of services to poor people. In the aftermath of a civil war, Cambodia paid primary health providers in two districts based on the health of the households (as measured by independent surveys) in their district. Health indicators, as well as use by the poor, in those districts improved relative to other districts.

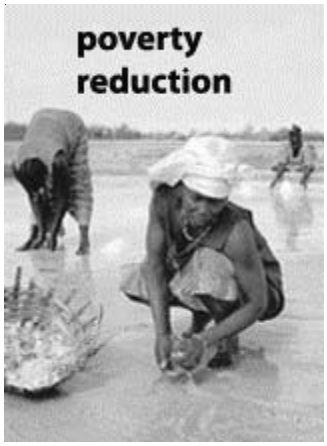
Public Services versus Private - a False Argument ?

Providing communities with healthcare, education, and other services has been a contentious issue in many countries, with government services pitted against large-scale privatization.

The report says that while there are frequent problems with public services, it would be wrong to conclude that government should give up and leave everything to the private sector. If individuals are left to their own devices, they will not provide levels of education and health that they collectively want. Not only is this true in theory, but in practice no country has achieved significant improvement in child mortality and primary education without government involvement.

Furthermore, private-sector participation in health, education, and infrastructure is not without problems - especially in reaching poor people. The extreme position that the private sector should do everything is clearly not desirable either.

"Instead of getting caught up in the public versus private services argument, the only issue that really matters is whether the mechanism that delivers key services strengthens poor people's ability to monitor and discipline providers, raises their voice in policymaking, and gets them the effective services they need for their families," says Ritva Reinikka, the Co-Director of WDR 2004, and Research Manager for Public Services at the World Bank.



The report says that some aid donors take a variant of the "leave-everything-to-the-private sector" position. If government services are performing so badly, donors may ask, why give more aid to those governments?

"That would be equally wrong," says Reinikka. "There is now substantial research showing that aid is productive in countries with good policies and institutions, and those policies and institutions have recently been improving. The reforms detailed in this Report (aimed at recipient countries and aid agencies) can make aid even more productive."

When policies and institutions are improving, the report argues, aid should increase, not decrease, to realize the mutually-shared objective of poverty alleviation, such as the Millennium Development Goals. At the same time, simply increasing public spending - without seeking improvements in the efficiency of that spending - is unlikely to reap substantial benefits. The productivity of public spending varies enormously across countries. Ethiopia and Malawi spend roughly the same amount per person on primary education - with very different outcomes. Peru and Thailand spend vastly different amounts - with similar outcomes.

The Report concludes that no one size fits all. The type of service delivery mechanism needs to be tailored to characteristics of the service and circumstances of the country. For instance, if the service is easy to monitor, such as immunization, and it is in a country where the politics are pro-poor, such as Norway, then it can be delivered by the central government directly, or contracted out. But if the politics of the country are such that these resources are likely to be diverted to the well-off by way of patronage, and the service is difficult to monitor, such as student learning, then arrangements that strengthen the client's power as much as possible are necessary. Means-tested voucher schemes, as in Colombia or Bangladesh, community-managed schools as in El Salvador, or transparent, rule-based programs, such as Mexico's 'Progresa", are more likely to work for poor people.

Taking good examples nationwide

Innovating with service delivery arrangements will not be enough, according to the report. What is needed are ways of widening the reach of these innovations or 'scaling up' so the entire country can benefit. To achieve this, the report emphasizes the role of information - as a stimulant for public action, as a catalyst for change, as an input to making other reforms work. In Uganda, publishing in the newspaper the fact that only 13 percent of the money due to primary schools was actually reaching the schools, galvanized the populace. The share now is 80 percent and the entire budget of the school is posted on the schoolroom door.

Systematic evaluations of these innovations, with a control group assessed alongside the "treatment group," gives policymakers confidence that what they are seeing is real. Such an evaluation of Mexico's Progresa led to the program being scaled up to cover 20 percent of the Mexican population.

The authors of the report warn that achieving these reforms will be difficult. "There is no silver bullet," says Devarajan, "just the hard slog of reforming institutions and power relations.

But the needs of the world's poor people are urgent. And services have too often failed them. We must act now."

Social Marketing in Education

Education aims at creating a person to achieve his/her full potential. "The ultimate aim should be to enable the participant to become an independent learner." It is a process of active learning from experience, leading to systematic and purposeful development of the whole person: body, mind and spirit. "Development Training ... enhances individual effectiveness by evoking a sense of purpose, developing coping and learning skills and increasing self-understanding ... Development training accelerates learning and cultivates the habit of learning from life." (Everard, 1993).

Development training embraces a range of active approaches to learning which aim to develop people's ability to learn from experience.

Definitions of development training often make use of its two component words to describe it as two concepts in one. For example:

'Whole person development' is central to development training philosophy but it is usually expressed more modestly in programme aims. Commitment to self-development and customer satisfaction makes it difficult for providers of training to have purposes other than those of meeting customer needs and providing opportunities for self-development. Because of this difficulty (let alone the difficulty of evaluating whole person development) I have argued in a research report that:

"Development training may be better represented as being development through the whole person, rather than as development of the whole person. The learning climate in development training enables development through the whole person." (Greenaway, 1986)

Communication Support in the Spread of Literacy

Mahatma Gandhi had considered illiteracy a 'sin and shame' for the simple reason that the spectre of illiteracy usually afflicts people at grassroots level. Education is the key to a nation's self-sufficiency and progress. There is a need for every citizen to lead a happy life and also participate in societal affairs. To this end, education is the most effective instrument to bring about a desired change in the lower strata of society.

The rapid improvements in the fields of industry economics, politics, and progress in arts, science and technology are essential to growth. Therefore, literacy plays a pivotal role in our daily lives. India will have the dubious distinction of having 500 million illiterates by the year 2000 which is a serious threat to the nation. Why has illiteracy increased and its growth surpassed even that of population growth? This is because the goal of universalization has not been achieved. We are thinking of secondary schools, college and university education without giving much importance to the primary education which is the very foundation for all human progress.

Among the 100 million children admitted to schools every year 60 percent drop out. Besides, multiplicity of languages makes the literacy drive a formidable task. The annual relapse from literacy to illiteracy is 20 per cent.

The political commitment by [lie Government since independence to wipe out illiteracy on its own without assistance from other organizational or institutional help has aggravated the situation.

INDIA & LITERACY . 2001

India/ State/	Union territory *	Literacy rate (%)	
	Persons	Males	Females
INDIA [1,2]	65.38	75.85	54.16
Jammu & Kashmir	54.46	65.75	41.82
Himachal Pradesh [3]	77.13	86.02	68.08
Punjab	69.95	75.63	63.55
Chandigarh *	81.76	85.65	76.65
Uttaranchal	72.28	84.01	60.26
Haryana	68.59	79.25	56.31
Delhi *	81.82	87.37	75.00
Rajasthan	61.03	76.46	44.34
Uttar Pradesh	57.36	70.23	42.98
Bihar	47.53	60.32	33.57
Sikkim	69.68	76.73	61.46
Arunachal Pradesh	54.74	64.07	44.24
Nagaland	67.11	71.77	61.92
Manipur	68.87	77.87	59.70
Mizoram	88.49	90.69	86.13
Tripura	73.66	81.47	65.41
Meghalaya	63.31	66.14	60.41
Assam	64.28	71.93	56.03
West Bengal	69.22	77.58	60.22
Jharkhand	54.13	67.94	39.38
Orissa	63.61	75.95	50.97
Chhatisgarh	65.18	77.86	52.40
Madhya Pradesh	64.11	76.80	50.28
Gujarat [4]	69.97	80.50	58.60
Daman & Diu *	81.09	88.40	70.37
Dadra & Nagar Haveli *	60.03	73.32	42.99
Maharashtra	77.27	86.27	67.51
Andhra Pradesh	61.11	70.85	51.17
Karnataka	67.04	76.29	57.45
Goa	82.32	88.88	75.51
Lakshadweep *	87.52	93.15	81.56
Kerala	90.92	94.20	87.86
Tamil Nadu	73.47	82.33	64.55
Pondicherry *	81.49	88.89	74.13
Andaman & Nicobar Is.*	81.18	86.07	75.29

Illiteracy in India is a phenomenon most people in developed countries can hardly imagine. The number of people who cannot read and write is nearly 450 million, the combined population of USA and UK (see Table 1). Illiteracy leads to ignorance, exploitation, unemployment and poverty. To cite an example: a villager might refuse primary medical care for his family putting all his faith in superstitious beliefs and black magic, and wasting his money in the process. Literacy in such a situation can create an atmosphere of understanding, sagacity and self-confidence.

In a series of attempts to raise the literacy level, there were several schemes and programmes to raise the standard of education. But there were also problems in the implementation process. The latest attempt by the Government of India is the introduction of the National Technology Mission for Literacy. When the planning process began in 1951, barely 16 per cent of the population could claim knowledge of alphabets or numbers. The rate had gone up to 24 percent in 1961 and 36.23 per cent in 1981-The rate is believed to be much higher now, as the total population (including O. 4 age group) of 300million during that period has been increased to 550 million approximately. The situation is very grim and needs corrective measures from ground level.

The position of literacy among Scheduled Castes (SCs) is much worse compared to the general populace. While [he general figure is 21.38 per cent, specifically the SC women have only a 1) per cent literacy rate. In the case of Scheduled Tribes (STs) this is even worse, the general figure being 16.35 per cent with only 8 per cent among women.

Literacy has a direct impact on raising the status of women and improving the health of the family. An educated mother makes a tremendous difference to a child's health and education. Studies show that an illiterate mother has six children on the average, while a tertiary-educated mother has two.

Voting patterns are directly affected by literacy too. The 1984 general elections showed that the highest amount of voting took place in those states whose literacy rates were above the national average.

People have now begun to realize that adult education classes arc not training grounds for white collar Jobs, but for helping villagers improve their skills in trading and farming. The conditions in workers' education centers attached to industrial establishments may be slightly better due to greater trade union involvement. But the functional literacy classes in villages still need much improvement.

Need to Improve Girls' Education

For all those who believe female literacy has been rising, here is some startling news. Indian girls dropped out of school much faster in 1981 than 1971. The trend may be continuing as shown by the 2001 census. One reason seems to be that girls are increasingly being taken out of school and put to work.

In 1971, some 38 per cent of girls completed primary school. By 1981, the figure dropped to 33 per cent. In rural areas, the dropout rate was even sharper—from 43 per cent to 37 per cent.

While the rural figures rose from 12.32 percent to 15.04 per cent, it actually declined in urban areas from 19.79 per cent to 8.98 per cent. A steep rise has occurred in female child labour. To sum up, it is a reflection of the population growth itself. But the difference between male and female figures is so large that population expansion cannot be the only answer.

In the 0-14 age group, there should have been a further break up to correspond to the primary and secondary school ages. In 1971,6.65 per cent of males were working and the figure dropped to 5-46 per cent in 1981.

Lack of adult education in women has adversely affected the many opportunities for women. Women working in factories, mines, plantation, public undertakings, railways, etc., need to be made participants in the program. At present, women working in the industrial sector (not to mention those working in the rural sector) have been relegated to jobs requiring minimum skill and lower remuneration. They have also been denied training and consequent promotional opportunities. Women workers in semi-organized industries like construction, bidi-making, agarbatti-making, etc., need education. So also women in low-paid jobs. Women attending educational programmes should be given off-duty during class hours and these classes should be organized in work premises.

Mission to End Illiteracy

What is National Literacy Mission (NLM)? It was on 8 September 1965 that the World Congress of Ministers of Education had met in Teheran to discuss the problems of illiteracy for the first time at an international level. Since then, this date has become historic and has been officially declared as International Literacy Day by Unesco at its 14th Session in November 1966.

Every year, September is therefore a very important month for all those engaged in literacy and adult education programmes. For the Indians who are working for me National Literacy Mission it is a very significant occasion this year as it provides an opportunity to lake stock of the progress already made to eradicate illiteracy and also to chalk out and organize new programmes/movements to create awareness and promote literacy.

In a developing country like India with large resources and manpower, to gel optimum results, the development efforts, (he skills, altitudes and knowledge of manpower have to be developed and utilized. With limited capital and few resources available for investment in the rural areas, the only potent instrument for ushering in development seems to be adult education. No doubt it can also help in removing the inequalities in the social, cultural and economic fields. Literacy has to be considered as a fundamental human right. It is perhaps not only a means of liberation but also an instrument of social change.

What is most crucial for the success of NLMs is sincere motivation, scrupulous dedication and meticulous monitoring. In fact, the central issue in literacy is motivation.

It is the linchpin on which the entire mission hinges. But can these illiterates who are fighting a losing battle for their livelihood be motivated to the three R's whatever may be the relative importance of literacy.

Women, particularly those in the rural areas rank foremost among the illiterates in the country. The National Literacy Mission promises to give special attention to them, but as they are thoroughly occupied throughout the day in domestic chores, farming operations and raising their families, they have no will left after going through the day's strenuous routine. Literacy programmes will have to be designed in accordance with their daily engagements.

It is essential for the National Literacy Mission that an appropriate monitoring mechanism be set up. Unless such a mechanism is created, co-ordination between different organizations and agencies contributing to the programme will suffer. It will also be appropriate to link the literacy mission with projects pertaining to drinking water, oil needs, dairy development, immunization and telecommunications. Literacy is a societal mission where success depends not only on Government support but also on the active participation of the potential beneficiaries.

With the higher emphasis on rural development projects and people's participation, it is anticipated that the NLM will be able to motivate the backward and rural areas to lake an active part in the programmes. NLM aims at making people acquire skills in specific areas and imbibe values like national integration, women's equality, environment conservation and the small family norm.

It has a new concept of continuing education through Jana Shiksha Nilayams (JSN). One nilayam consists of a cluster of four to five villages, with a population of about 5000 and by 1990 it is planned to set up 60.000 nilayams. These nilayams will hold evening classes for adults for upgrading literacy and skills, providing literacy, reading rooms, discussion groups. The learners will be encouraged to participate in sport and adventure activities and cultural programmes.

The NLM document of the Union Human Resources Development Ministry (Department of Education) containing the main objectives of the mission: imparting literacy and numeracy, making people aware of the causes of deprivation and moving towards the amelioration of their conditions through organization and participation in the process of development acquiring skills to improve [heir economic status and general well-being.

What are, therefore the basic requisites for the success of the National Literacy Mission? These, according to the official document, are; national commitment, creation of an environment conducive to learning, motivation of learners and teachers, mass mobilization and people's involvement, techno-pedagogic inputs and efficient management and monitoring. If the NLM is to meet with any degree of success, it will be essential to ensure that all these or most of these requirements are provided in full measure.

But the reality is that if one considers all these factors step by step, the findings will be almost discouraging, in fact, disheartening for the promotion of literacy in the country. For example, there seems to be Government commitment as re fleeted in the preparation of plans, designs and schemes and even in the allotment of funds. But what is grievously lacking in the field of education at all levels is their commitment in implementation. The bitter truth is that instead of creating an environment conducive to learning and teaching, hurdles are created at every step and in every way. The whole approach to the entire NLM project is elitist. A major part of the budget is to be spent on running a giant network and laying an extended infrastructure for executing literacy imparting programmes. It is proposed to set up a national institute. 26 state institutes and some 400 district-level institutes to support NLM activities including the provision of raiding rooms, libraries, and recreation centres for music and cultural programmes for people living in remote areas where the literacy programme is being introduced. Although these things are important in some ways it is not clear how these will constitute an essential part of the literacy mission.

National Literacy Mission Authority Launched (NLMA)

The Government has constituted a National Literacy Mission Authority (NLMA) to administer the literacy mission which aims at imparting functional literacy to 80 million illiterate persons in the 15-35 age group by 1995.

The NLMA is headed by the Minister of Human Resource Development and functions as an independent and autonomous wing' of the Human Resource Development Ministry. It is vested with full executive and financial powers in its sphere of work. The education secretary heads the 17-member executive committee.

The NLMA would go a long way in removing bottlenecks in the traditional administrative procedures and make for effective implementation of the various schemes under the new mission.

NLMA would strive to de-bureaucratize the administration and evolve cost-effective processes for implementing the schemes under the mission. 'Management-wise, the mission promises to be a success'. While the NLMA will be the national apex body, the state governments and Union Territories have been asked to set up similar organizations at their end.

The evaluation of the 382 voluntary agencies during 1987-88 showed that the performance of only 27 of them was 'fully satisfactory'. Deficiencies were found in 115 cases. The performance of 45 agencies was unsatisfactory and their bonafides were not in doubt. The work of 155 agencies was not only unsatisfactory, but their bonafides were also in doubt.

Political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, ex-servicemen, the territorial army, prison Staff and paramilitary organizations are-proposed to be involved in one way or another in the implementation of the literacy mission.

Role of Media in Implementation of Literacy Mission

Technology mission is an experiment to create public awareness to help and reach out to people to a large extent. It is a mechanism to have people's participation, perform concurrent evaluation, suggest improvements for delivery. There is a need

to set up a system of credible and objective feedback that would be responsible to people's needs, concern and problems in the spread of literacy through communication support.

The need of the hour is to give top priority to improve the quality of services delivered particularly to the poorer sections of society for their betterment The poor and the illiterate do not have access to communication. The media should support or should enlist the involvement and support of all sections of society.

The mass media should work out elaborate plans to give meaning to the literacy mission. There is an urgent need to formulate a media policy which could give positive communication support

without Government interfering in the functioning of the media, be it newspapers, radio or television. The media should clearly define the extent of government involvement.

The prevailing system of literacy-spread through media shows no concern for any obligations. If the emphasis is more on television which is allocated nearly half of the total outlay of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and expansion of the television network all over the country neglecting other media units (there are 13 other units including All India Radio), it is Justified in terms of people's actual access to the medium. With a population of nearly 800 million, we still have only 12 million TV receivers three quarters of which are in the urban areas. The small newspapers have not resulted in great diversity of views nor promoted media at the grassroots. While the urban population, a much smaller section, has access to all modem mass media, the much larger rural section is being neglected. These are the people who are deprived of information, education and entertainment through the mass media. Thus for want of a clear approach and their relevance to the people we have created media-rich and media-poor.

The rural people do not have access to modern technology like satellite and computer technology. Media should address the social effects of high technology to all age groups. Media support should not be exploited for a narrow purpose. Any Government that comes to power in India is accused of using public funds to promote their political and social programmes, which are related to the political party in power. This undermines media credibility rather than strengthens it because the political power is widely recognized.

A mechanism can be evolved to ensure the implementation of literacy mission, which commands authority over Government-controlled media like radio and television. There should be no interference whatsoever in the freedom enjoyed by the media in executing its policies. The media should be committed to support the technology mission for literacy in India, It should be allowed to serve in an objective, unbiased, and a socially responsible manner to build national awareness with deepening interest.

It is equally difficult to say to what extent communication support will be extended in achieving the above objectives because media is not independent of" the national ethos nor can it reverse the democratic process. Freedom of the press has been guaranteed in Article 19 of the Constitution of India which confines to speech and expression subject to reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right 'in me interests of the country, and the security of the state.

Traditional Folk Forms as a Vital Tool of Communication

India is a repertory to traditional art forms which are routed in its culture. Of late, it has been realized by media experts and scholars that the traditional art forms should be used for development communication because they are close to the hearts of the rural people and they are acceptable to the rural population. There is a growing need for communication support for development in the rural areas to preserve, adopt and utilize traditional media in the spread of literacy.

One of the basic problems of the implementing agencies concerning literacy is the low motivation of the intended learners because the learners scarcely understand the need for education. Also, the communication pattern used by the rural folk is the holistic oral model with folk rhetoric, which is just the opposite in urban areas where an atomistic model with a disjointed rhetoric is used.

The communication matrix employed by the rural folk ranges from face-lo-face communication to group communication through established traditional forms of folk songs, drama, puppetry, theatre, Harkatha (songs), and Yakshaghana (theatre). These acquire a special status as media of social interaction, information exchange and cohesion. These art forms derives importance due to the fact that the villagers trust and derive values and directions from the content of the theme delivered to them. So the technology mission can make best use of traditional art forms in propagating literacy.

Folk composers and singers should be encouraged to compose songs on the importance of literacy in their lives. The misconception about education should be removed from the minds of the rural people. It is possible to uncover things in which the importance of the programme might be communicated to the people for whom the technology mission is intended. The oneness of Indian ethos should become a reality depicting social concern or event by identifying the actual problems of a particular village especially regarding their disinterest in educating themselves.

In a literacy scheme, the medium of communication is very important. With the launching of the technology mission, communication media has assumed greater significance, relevance and importance. Folklore has always played an important role in educating the rural communities, constituting the most popular and widespread media of communication.

Folk artistes should he given a chance to express them selves to the rural masses on television and radio because they are the performers who know their people and can be identified as one among them. They need to visit the Jana Shiksha Nilayams to speak to the rural people and make them aware of the importance of literacy. Folk artistes must be motivated to work for the technology mission conducting training camps, workshops and seminars because they have always been closer to the masses.

Integration of MASS Media and Folk Media

Motivation is a long and continuous process and therefore the task is not an easy one. Motivation comes from clarity of purpose. It is a critical element. Nebulous goals do not motivate people. The youth and student community, social workers and voluntary organizations need to play their role in imparting literacy. The question of motivation cannot be tackled by itself. Concrete steps need to be taken to improve the lot of a rural folk.

One way of keeping the tempo and focus on literacy programmes is to integrate both mass media and traditional media. The modem media like radio and television can help promote literacy blending with traditional media. Folk composers and singers should be allowed to give their best in the programmes they arrange for showing on television or on air. The poor people do not have access to electronic media. Newspapers do not reach them because they cannot read. Radio and television are beyond their means. If media men could project local folk forms weaving themes based on literacy programmes on television, radio and newspaper. The villagers may get the feel of education. Adaptation of folk forms on mass media where roots of folk arts are still strong, and giving exposure to modem media can be quite effective.

Puppetry serves as a powerful vehicle for communication. It forms the basis for situations, judgments and leaves a lasting impact on the minds of the people because they depict interesting subjects both appreciative as well as critical. It reflects the values and culture and is seen with rapt attention when it is shown by a folk performer. Puppetry has found appreciation among the masses. In the final analysis, the message finds acceptance. The folk performer has the knack of presenting the message very convincingly. It is here that both the modern media and traditional media have the facility to spread literacy to alt sections of the rural masses.

Television and radio need not be blamed for the decline of traditional media or performing arts. Actually, they form the most potent media in disseminating the messages to vast segments of the Indian population provided they are properly used and managed by reviving, revitalizing and disseminating the traditional media and its art forms. Though the reach of television is low in the rural areas, it can enhance the popularity of folk arts. Even in the urban areas, one finds most people have village backgrounds and they look for local culture which they can enjoy and appreciate.

With suitable chances, some states in India arc showing performing arts on television, but it is time the national media wakes up and brings about desired changes by blending mass media and traditional media which can be treated as an educational tool in familiarizing the masses with the cultural and literary values. The traditional forms can educate the rural people by utilizing the rural and visual modes giving scope to interaction. A suggestive model for communication support to technology mission in the spread of literacy is exhibited in the model framed to suit the existing communication system.

Enriching Learning with Media Support

The program of action of the National Policy on Education envisages mobilizing media support as one of the essential strategies needed to make education 'reach out' to the most distant and deprived areas simultaneously with areas of comparative affluence. It states: Education requires media support which is related to the curriculum as well as enrichment. Curriculum-based education also requires materials which the teacher can draw upon in the course of his teaching. This could be provided in the form of charts, slides, transparencies, etc. Video technology offers considerable potential for improving the quality of education especially at higher levels.

Further, it must be noted that all technology requires supporting infrastructure, and unless that infrastructure like trained manpower, competent and willing teachers, school buildings, etc. exists, no technology—direct/distant—is likely to succeed. The present paper considers the issue of mobilizing media support and suggests an action programme adding to the existing system to enable proper media use in education.

The action programme to be proposed should be one that provides media support to curriculum programmes of educational institutions. This can be of two kinds: a. supplementary; and b. complementary.

The supplementary support should be what is being taught on a complete audio visual mode. Complementary support should provide instruction in selected areas and topics enabling coverage of actual content of the curriculum. It should also provide media support to reach out and enrich all recipients of education—laymen, workers, students, teachers and al] educated in general—with latest information on relevant fields of interest.

Note

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