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**The thesis traces Ghana's political, economic and social development during the 1970s and 1980s, and the incipient role of project communications, including efforts made at setting up printing and communications facilities.**

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DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT COMMUNICATION AND THE ROLE OF THE  
COMMUNICATION SPECIALIST:  
A PERSPECTIVE FROM A PROJECT IN GHANA

by

Gary Richard Gleason

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in Mass Communications  
in the Graduate College of the  
University of Iowa

July, 1981

Thesis supervisor: Associate Professor Joseph Ascroft

## ABSTRACT

This study explores the concept and practice of development support communication and the role of the communication specialist in development.

Beginning with a review of recent literature on development and communication research the study finds that old concepts of modernization and diffusion of innovations have become inappropriate as a definition of development and as a basis for designing communication strategies to support international and national projects. New perspectives emphasizing participation by clients in planning social change and new strategies for equitable, grass roots programs are gaining dominance in the field.

A model of the communication process founded in a humanistic approach which postulates mass media producers as agents of the audience, was chosen as a conceptual guide to assist in a communication support project.

This model's utility is demonstrated as it assisted in analyzing the project experience and in an effort to delineate parameters for development support communication.

The study utilizes participation by the author in a communication support project in Ghana to describe of an attempt to design and set up an agency for operationalizing client-centered communication strategies through media production, training, and programming assistance. This description details accomplishments, failures, and changes the project made in response to unanticipated environmental constraints.

Analysis of the project showed that development support communication is not restricted to media production and training. It encompasses a approach to human problem solving in development assistance.

Based on project interpretation, the study proposes general functions and qualifications for those attempting to implement development support communication.

These functions include examination of institutional plans, structures, and goals and assistance in modifying them to improve the potential for client participation and organizational coordination. Other functions include monitoring project implementation to assess problems that occur on the ground and allow for advocacy within the institution for maintenance of a client-centered operational model.

Through presenting, analyzing, and discussing the Ghana project in the framework of communication research on development, the study assists in mapping the new field of development support communication.

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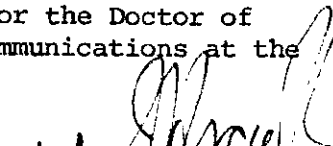
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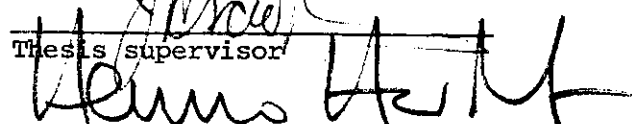
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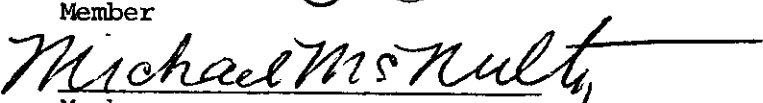
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CHAPTER I  
COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT --  
SEARCHING FOR PRAGMATIC LINKS

Introduction

This study contributes to the ongoing effort to clarify the scope and provide additional operational guidelines for development support communication.

The study is based on literature relevant to this new area of applied communication research and on three years of participation in a communication support project in Ghana. The study explores what aspects of communication research were included in the project's scope, what models were used as a guide for the project's activities, and how the interaction between various planned strategies and unanticipated environmental constraints led to new communication strategies and reformulated goals.

From this base the study attempts to add new insight into the following questions:

1. What was the potential scope of applied communication research in a communication support project?
2. How useful is a client-centered model of the communication process, specifically the model of Bruce

Westley and Malcolm MacLean, as a conceptual tool for explaining a communication support project?

3. What general contributions can analysis of activities, problems, and achievements of such a project make to current research and debate on development support communication?
4. Based on current literature and the experience of the project, what planning and implementation problems does a communication specialist need to address in order to make an effective contribution as an agent for development assistance programs?

Communication and  
Development -- Recent  
Changes

This review of literature on development support communication begins with a brief review of the general areas of communication research and development. Relationships of communication and development have been examined through research and practice for over thirty years despite changing views of key concepts, and controversies about their relationship in programs of planned social change.

In particular, communication research and theory, because of its significance in understanding all levels of human interaction from interpersonal dialogue to messages

a topic area at several levels of international and national policy considerations. Thus, at the macro-systems level, the relationship of communication and information flows between nations and global regions to world wide development has been the topic of a vibrant, controversial debate for the past seven years. As stated by Louis Beltran:

International communication used to be, for the most part, a territory of quiet waters. No longer. In the present decade it has become a center of major, often heated controversy as part of a broader and increasing confrontation between developed and developing countries.<sup>1</sup>

While this international macro-systems level is a rich and important field of inquiry<sup>2</sup> for the communication researcher, this study focuses on national institutions and grass roots organizations dealing with planned social change. It addresses communication in relation to the social, institutional, and governmental systems that directly impact on the lives of development's ultimate client, the abject poor of the developing world.<sup>3</sup>

This area of inquiry is not new, but this study examines a new and as yet inadequately defined approach known among the executive agencies of the United Nations as "development support communication." The term was originally coined by Erskine Childers while working for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Bangkok. In essence, it implies the design and implementation of mass and

interpersonal strategies of communication aimed at helping or "supporting" projects in such sectors as health, agriculture, and adult education achieve the national objectives of the Third World more effectively and reliably. In the early 1970's, three UN agencies, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF), and UNDP, formally adopted development support communication and set up branches within their divisions of information.

In 1976, Childers, then the the Director of Information Services for of UNDP explicated the concept of development support communication as follows:

Development support communication is a discipline in development planning and implementation in which more adequate account is taken of human behavioral factors in the design of development projects and their objectives. Then, on the basis of a behavioral analysis and the development of a feasible design, the requirements for technical human communication are built into that project as part of its plan of operation and budget.<sup>4</sup>

Since this definition was offered five years ago, there has been no agreement as to what these "behavioral factors" consist of, what is meant by "technical human communication," or what form "behavioral analysis" should take. In a recent conversation with Childers, he stated that the field remains, for the most part, undefined and lacking in operational guidelines for assisting project planners and implementers in building effective development support communication into their efforts.<sup>5</sup>



This first chapter uses literature from relevant fields and information from the United Nations to demonstrate that development support communication is indeed, a justified area of inquiry, and one which both researchers and professionals would agree is on the cutting edge of current problems in international development assistance.

Justification for the study comes from both academic literature and the professional development assistance field. In the academic domain of communication research on development strategies, there has been a major reevaluation of the types of research needed and the questions researchers need to ask. This reevaluation has been going on for approximately 15 years. Perhaps it was most significantly addressed in a 1975 conference on "Communication and Change in Developing Countries" at the East-West Studies Center in Hawaii. This conference brought together several leading communication scholars and professionals in the area of development, including the principle architects of the older approaches who came together and frankly discussed the need for change.

In the 1950's and 1960's, these "architects" -- Wilbur Schramm, Everett Rogers, and Daniel Lerner -- had postulated the importance of the communication discipline to the study of social change in the Third World. They used a definition of development that was Western-centered, and labeled as

"modernization." This theory postulated a cross-cultural model of social change in which all societies moved toward a universal goal which the industrialized, capitalistic societies of Western Europe and the United States had already reached.<sup>7</sup>

Communication researchers at this time viewed modernization from a scholastic and strategic perspective. Most of them were operating from a process and effects model of communication which suggested that identification of strategies to bring about attitude and behavioral change was primarily a matter of scientifically explaining interactions of messages, senders, channels, and receivers. As reflected in the work of Daniel Lerner, which Schramm subsequently built upon, they saw themselves helpfully elaborating an extremely broad set of related variables which, if used in a development strategy, would improve the attitude of rural peasants toward change.<sup>8</sup>

This change was assumed necessary in order to have modern practices adopted by the population. In essence, the answers to development were presumed known, the most efficient strategies for achieving modernity were the problem. Diffusing innovations that were used in modern societies was one of the prime strategies adopted. From this perspective on development, communication research in the diffusion of innovations evolved. Many of the conference's papers also

contributed to an evaluation of this communication research on the diffusion of innovations. The myriad descriptive results from ex post facto research on variables such as adopter categories, media channels, rates of adoption, and effective persuasion-oriented relationships were questioned, not for their validity, but for their utility.<sup>9</sup>

This question of utility arose out of attacks which had been made both in the academic literature and in the planning debates of the Third World on the acceptability of modernization as a definition of development. In the 1960's, modernization had been challenged on both ideological and empirical grounds. Both Lerner's work and the research Rogers presided over on diffusion of innovations had been related to development based on the premises of modernization theory. With those premises questioned, communication researchers found themselves in need of new definitions of development. They criticized the appropriateness of their past work, and called for new problem areas and methods. However, communication researchers at the 1975 conference, and for the most part during the six years since, have had difficulty in clarifying new study problems and appropriate methods, in part because there has been no clear statement of the new development ideas. What has been clear is that the old theory of modernization has been given a much lower priority than it previously had.

While development remains unclearly defined, and some advocate jettisoning the term entirely, there are several new elements that have become dominant in most discussions of Third World social change. It is important to explain why modernization has been pushed aside and explain these new factors before attempting to suggest an appropriate response from the field of communication.

Ideologically, the values of modernity were equated with advanced stages of industrialization, technology-based specialized labor systems and urbanization.<sup>10</sup> The appropriateness and likelihood of attainment of these goals have been debated and challenged in many developing countries.<sup>11</sup> Modernity, as the valued future state of developing countries, has thus come under widespread questioning, along with the set of strategies that accelerated growth toward it. For one thing, modernization's assumption of an evolutionary and unilinear path of social progress toward a future similar to that of the United States and Western European nations was attacked. Reinhard Bendix had argued in 1967 that the poor countries of the 20th Century could not possibly progress in ways similar to the historical economic growth of Western Europe and the United States.<sup>12</sup> The early economic growth of these industrialized nations to a considerable extent sustained itself on exploitation of resources from what became known as the "Third World".

Bendix argued logically that the Third World had no similar resource systems to exploit even if they had so desired.<sup>13</sup>

During the late 1960's and early 1970's, modernization theory was also countered by research on social progress in countries that did not fulfill the development criteria of the modernization paradigm. Empirically, this theory of evolutionary growth from traditional to modern Western society was found lacking. China's development demonstrated that social change can occur without several of the so-called essential components of the unilinear path to modernity postulated by modernization theory. For example, there was no basic technological improvement in China's mass communication system and no basic change in the "rural character" of her people, yet there was significant "urbanization" and progress in a variety of her production systems.<sup>14</sup>

With these attacks on its underlying values and premises, modernization theory in the early 1970's became an unacceptable framework for research and planning for most scholars and professionals in development agencies.

Change Constraints in Institutions  
and Environments, Not in Clients

Modernization theory was replaced by a less unified concept of development that contained a variety of empirically and ideologically founded components. Empirical studies had shown that at a societal level a social system's

change was dependent on its own particular history, culture, and relationships with other social systems.<sup>15</sup> These factors as well as the collective goals and resources of the system affected its progress in a planned direction.

Additional studies, several in areas outside of communication research, found that at micro-systems levels such as villages, families, and even individuals, the major constraint on change was not a general resistive attitude but a lack of resources perceived by members of these systems to be necessary to allow change to take place.<sup>16</sup> In some cases, the failure to adopt new practices was found to have little to do with negative attitudes toward change itself, but rather with insufficient institutional support. Diffusion agencies frequently neglected to provide to potential adopters the required information and materials related to innovation adoption and sustained use.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to these findings about the complexity of institutional support required for sustained adoption of many innovations, some researchers seriously questioned the premise of traditionalism from a systems theory perspective. There were questions about the theoretical basis for presuming that rural farmers and peasants in developing nations were any different than other human beings when it came down to struggling to improve control over their lives. The question raised frequently was: why shouldn't every human

being act to maximize his control over variables essential to his welfare?<sup>18</sup> Communication researcher and communication support consultant Joseph Ascroft has argued that all humans, like all living systems, behave in ways oriented toward what they perceive as improving their control. Therefore, innovation adoption should be assumed to be consistent at a basic human needs level across all humans and social systems.<sup>19</sup> From this perspective, the basic problem of progress in poor areas of developing countries becomes not a lack of predisposition to change but a lack of knowledge and resources to allow change.

This rejection of modernization, along with the new emphasis placed on grass roots participation and respect for traditional values, had significant implications for the field of applied communication research. There was no rejection of the importance of human interaction as an essential component of acceptable social change. But the persuasion oriented, control based strategies of diffusion research were attacked.

If one were to adopt Ascroft's perspective, the communication problems associated with development would shift away from persuasion and control. This view emphasized effective communication to organize required resources for change, but eliminated emphasis on persuasion strategies aimed at altering traditional people's attitude toward

change itself. Ascroft argued that all open systems were predisposed to change perceived as enhancing control over essential environmental variables when such change did not conflict with other control enhancing or maintaining behavior.<sup>20</sup>

#### Institutional Resources and Participation in Planned Change

A position on change similar to Ascroft's has become dominant in academia and international agencies during the past ten years. There has been a growing acceptance that the rural and urban poor are not against change *per se*. This position has shifted the emphasis in theory and definitions of development from top-down strategies to an approach which emphasizes the broader use of communication in channels going from the bottom up, from the top down, and from one section of an institutional or social system to another.

Strategies generated by modernization theory attempted to change behaviors in the rural population, such as adoption of technological innovations. Strategies based on an idea of development that viewed the rural poor as dynamic and continually striving to improve, stressed participation of the client system in development planning and called for change facilitating resources to be equitably distributed throughout the social system.<sup>21</sup>



Environment, Organizations, and Relationships Affect Change

At the 1975 conference, the limited usefulness of past modernization and diffusion of innovations research was not disputed by even its most eminent spokesman, Everett Rogers. While Rogers maintained that diffusion research could address the new issues being raised, he seriously questioned whether the diffusion of technological innovations was an important aspect of social change.<sup>22</sup>

Rogers placed conditions on the potential value of future communication research in the diffusion field. He stated that researchers must recognize the importance of social structures in the overall process of social change.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, new communication research would require an orientation toward relationships between individuals and systems rather than toward the individual or the system itself. This new orientation implied that a change was needed in development strategies. Rogers advocated network analysis (studying all connections and the nature of those connections in a social system) and field experiments as the most useful tools for a new pragmatic orientation in diffusion research.<sup>24</sup> New communication strategies would be oriented toward improving relationships between individuals and systems. Improving these relationships rather than improving (or changing) the people and systems themselves, has become one of the keys to planned assistance programs.

Farmer-Centered Premise  
Required by New Research

Other conference members responded to the shifts in the definition of development by posing new questions for communication researchers. Bryant Kearn, a communication and agricultural development specialist, reviewed the relationship between applied communication research and the models for agricultural development programs in the developing world. The evolution of these agricultural change models clearly showed the shift away from an emphasis on diffusion of technological innovations and attempts to persuade "resistive" farmers to adopt them to a call for communication research to explore ways of addressing the problems of farmers from their own perspective. These new models were not fully developed in Kearn's paper, but they stressed integration of services and identification of farmer needs.<sup>25</sup>

Kearn admitted that communication research was slow to respond in examining questions raised by such new models, but he did suggest communication researchers were at least beginning to ask more relevant questions. The most important of these were:

1. What channels of communication, administrative and otherwise, will best integrate the contributions of diverse public and private agencies in meeting agricultural needs?

2. What communication channels and devices will help rural people clarify their alternatives, organize their resources, and make those outside the community aware of their needs?<sup>26</sup>

#### New Communication Questions Raised In Bangladesh

Akter Hameed Khan, a participant at the 1975 conference and former director of the Comilla Academy for Rural Development in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), had already spent several years addressing the challenging questions Kears raised. While Khan worked within no strict theoretical or research framework,<sup>27</sup> his discussions on communication strategies for assisting rural poor decidedly leaned toward the newer development ideas. Khan's conference paper, containing several rich vignettes from his experiences in the field, stressed that artfully applied communication strategies were effective tools for generating and increasing "people involvement" in rural development. Khan viewed communication as a strategic concept. But in his work at Comilla, he also treated communication as a dynamic process. Strategies were not planned a priori. Rather, they were tentatively chosen in response to the goals and environments of the academy and its clients.<sup>28</sup> Application, redefinition, and reconstruction were, according to Khan, the starting points of model building rather than a consequence of failures in model application.<sup>29</sup>

Khan's paper suggested the importance of communication throughout the broad, complex environment of directed social change. On "participation", he was succinct:

For us participation was the sine qua non, an indispensable condition. To find true representatives was imperative because in our villages the wolves quickly volunteer to herd the sheep. It was their traditional privilege. For the peasants and the laborers, the emergence of leaders from their own ranks was the fulcrum of uplift.<sup>30</sup>

Khan did not restrict use of communication to the direct or indirect interaction of the academy with peasants. He also described communication as a component of strategies to deal with of each level of bureaucracy impacting on the academy and its internal relationships. In analyzing the conditions of students, instructors, secretaries, government ministers, and foreign advisors, Khan describes communication problems, communication processes of groups in relation to other groups, and the need to interrelate these into the academy's overall environment and goals.<sup>31</sup>

Khan's paper, uncomplicated by the conceptual language of scholarly inquiry, was rich in example. His work eloquently addressed several gaps in communication research which related to the major problems of those applying existing knowledge as a resource for sparking grass roots participation in development planning and implementation.

Persuasion of Rural  
Development Clients  
Deemphasized

The conference concluded that the use of communication research and theory, when conceptualized beyond the confines of diffusion research, does act to accelerate development. Planned communication can function outside the persuasive role emphasized by diffusion/modernization research. A major challenge was to explore the use of media in sparking grass roots participation in development planning and implementation.<sup>32</sup>

Daniel Lerner summarized the shift in the application of communication studies in future development assistance programs:

Such a program aimed at catalyzing local activities, local planning, and local communication cannot be done with conventional mass communication thinking that emphasizes one-way communication and generalized messages. It must include a strong component of interpersonal communication and social organization. It requires persons in charge of communication planning to understand the social structure and how change can take place in it -- not merely how messages go out.<sup>33</sup>

The bold assertion that communication research had the potential to make a substantial contribution to building new strategies for more participatory and locally conceptualized development goals thus emerged from the conference. However, to make a useful contribution, communication research would have to explore new areas and give greater priority to field studies and less to purely descriptive research.

As Wilbur Schramm has noted, the use of communication to solve development problems is one of the few areas in the field that as yet has no map to guide researchers and practitioners in setting priorities and choosing strategies.<sup>34</sup> Currently, work in the field requires research which defines and delineates its breadth and limitations. Without such work, the new field of development support communication, may well proceed in multiple directions without a coherent attempt to build theory and overall evaluative guidelines for its application.

This study, however, is not the first step in this relatively uncharted area. Indeed, there have been numerous forays by professionals faced with the types of communication problems that the new ideas of development breed. Many of these professionals have been well trained in research, but their operational base has been in governments, institutes, and international agencies that are directly responsible for finding immediate solutions to development problems. Seldom do such persons have the time to write more than a broad outline of this new field, although it is undoubtedly true that they know much more about it than is contained in the present literature.<sup>35</sup>

UN Agencies Have Seen Rapid Growth  
of Communication Based Franchises

Within the professional realm of development assistance, communication problems and efforts to build suitable strategies to overcome them have become prominent. The area of development support communication, also called project support communication, extension communication, and communication support, has had a rapid growth in the past decade. This can be verified by a cursory review of recent developments at the United Nations agencies.

Originally, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) concentrated its communication oriented assistance to financing and providing technical expertise to install and improve the telecommunications systems of developing countries. However, during the 1970's UNESCO expanded this role. In addition to hosting the heated international debate on proposals for a change in the world information order, UNESCO has responded to suggestions that mass media technology should be placed in the rural areas to encourage small scale production. In the past decade, UNESCO has sponsored projects giving portable video systems and other types of production equipment to rurally based development projects.<sup>36</sup> This emphasis on rural production of media products is to be institutionalized further in 1981, when UNESCO makes its first international award for rural press systems.<sup>37</sup>

Beyond UNESCO's provision of media technology for the rural population, several international and bilateral aid organizations have specific sections established to provide developing countries with various forms of communication support. In three UN organizations, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), "project support communication" or "development support communication" has become a recognized function that has its own units and staffs.

At UNICEF, about 10 "project support communication" officers have been recruited for various headquarters and country offices world-wide. By 1984 the organization plans to have over 40 officers providing communication input, including training, planning, and technology advice to all UNICEF related development assistance efforts.<sup>38</sup>

FAO has a Development Support Communication Branch that has administered projects using small audio cassette recorders to create programs for use in rural areas which have inadequate or inappropriate broadcasting systems. This quasi-mass communication system is inexpensive, has potential for participation by farmers, and can be used in areas with several languages. Perhaps most important, it can operate as a top-down, bottom-up, or horizontal communication channel.<sup>39</sup>



FAO has also sponsored small-scale video use projects for training, and has developed a new type of slide-film-strip format emphasizing dramatic presentation of educational materials. In an effort to explore communication support beyond use of various media, FAO sponsored a project from 1976-1979 that attempted to design a complete communication support system for Ghana's Ministry of Agriculture. (This project, in fact, provided the experience on which this study is based.)

UNDP has been involved in efforts to institutionalize organizational communication concepts and strategies at all levels of a government system. In the mid-1970's, UNDP sponsored a major two year national effort by Guyana to insert communication planning and evaluative procedures throughout the government bureaucracy.<sup>40</sup> During the past decade, UNDP has become sufficiently committed to the importance of communication variables in development planning world-wide to institute a policy requiring communication support plans in all proposals for UNDP funded projects.<sup>41</sup>

UN Agency Communication Sections  
Require Relevant Research

At present many officers attempting to elaborate development support communication may be constrained by their organizational position in national and international agencies. During the past decade several of these agencies have

recognized that communication support was not the same as the functions performed by their information and education divisions. However, when communication support related offices were set up they were placed inside of the information divisions as a specialized branch or office.

For those who are beginning to see development support communication as a field which defines problems throughout organized systems of development assistance, while continually emphasizing the client's perspective, questions have arisen as to whether information is indeed the most appropriate organizational parent to the new field.

Another problem area is the concern by some DSC officers as to the dedication of the agencies to defining and operationalizing useful development support communication guidelines and strategies in response to increasing requests for communication support from the Third World.

Revi Tulahungwa, Chief of Project Support Communication at UNICEF, who has had frequent opportunities to participate in UN conferences on communication support and to interact with other UN communication units, has suggested that the interest of the several UN agencies in communication support may be waning because of uncertainty as to how to proceed. In a 1980 conference paper, he wrote that communication activities by several agencies were "stagnating or even slackening."<sup>42</sup>

Tuluhungwa's concern is acknowledged by several other UN agencies' communication support personnel. Actions arising out of an insufficient definition of and operational guidelines for development support communication are currently being planned. UNICEF has arranged a seminar for its project support communication officers from around the world in December 1981 in Bangkok, Thailand. In a multi-agency effort, the Joint United Nations Information Committee (JUNIC) has commissioned a new study to define and outline new basic development support communication policy recommendations for UNESCO, WHO, FAO, UNDP, UNICEF, and the World Bank.<sup>43</sup>

UNDP plans to utilize the JUNIC study as the basis for designing a major new emphasis on development support communication during its next planning cycle.<sup>44</sup>

These ventures indicate an interest in and recognition of communication studies and strategies as an intergal component of international and national development assistance. But they also reveal the current lack of a guiding theory in this area. In short, the agencies of the UN share Schramm's research oriented opinion that this is an important field that remains insufficiently mapped.

Lack of Exchange Between  
Research and Practice Fields

One of the factors contributing to development support communication remaining a relatively uncharted territory has been a lack of collaboration and resource exchange between researchers and professionals.

The professional community has been critical of the utility of what many researchers provide. In a 1977 article Andreas Fuglesang wrote:

If communication is difficult in today's world it is perhaps because it is difficult to be human. Communication experts do not make it easier when they try to develop science out of what is essentially art.\*5

The importance of Fuglesang's criticism is enhanced by the high esteem he enjoys in the professional development support communication field. However, it is unclear whether his criticism is of scientific research on communication in general, or of the failure of many academically oriented experts to suggest artful applications of what has been learned through research.

Neils Roling, a Dutch communication scholar and development consultant, offers as a reason for the failure of many communication based projects, the problem of the rapid diffusion of descriptive diffusion research to development assistance personnel and the misuse of these results in the formulation of communication strategies for diffusion campaigns:

Diffusion research findings diffused quite rapidly... [But] the findings were distorted, probabilities taken for certainties, results of descriptive analysis of what is were used as recommendations for actions to achieve what-should-be, concepts were taken out of context to justify current practice, and diffusion was criticized as an inequitable "strategy" of development even though the research sought only to describe an ongoing process.<sup>46</sup>

A problem which compounds those noted by Roling is that diffusion research findings, for the most part, have been conducted in the West. There have been few significant attempts to experimentally verify generalized findings in the Third World context.<sup>47</sup>

The mode has been to apply the descriptive findings prescriptively without sufficient consideration of local contexts of locally relevant theory.

These substantive problems can be addressed by studies which are specifically intended to contribute to mapping the development support communication field. Such studies require a focus on communication research as well as data generated within the context of Third World conditions and constraints.

In the final analysis, the role of communication in helping Third World development projects remains unclear both in the area of social scientific research and in the field of professional practice.

By their own admission (the 1957 Hawaii Conference and Schramm's follow up comments in 1981) the researchers are agreed that the dominant paradigm with its emphasis on the diffusion model and modernization, has resulted in a stalemate. To overcome this constraint, they have suggested field studies emphasizing the centrality of the rural client as an active participant in planning his own development rather than the former reliance on survey data and externally generated planning. To this end, they have called for alternative models of communication to help in guiding this process.

Likewise, the professional communicators are, by their own admission agreed that the notion of development support communication is in need of clearer explication (commissioning of JUNIC study). To date, projects carried out under the rubric of development support communication have not met with much success not only because the area itself is ill-defined, but also because little is known of the knowledge, skills, and functions encompassed by the role of the development support communication specialist.

The present study seeks to address these twin problems. It explores the utility of an alternative conceptual model to guide the conduct of social scientific inquiry and research in the area of communication as a support for development projects. The model is not a new one. It was

developed in the 1950's by Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean to describe the process of communication in an attempt to better organize communication research.<sup>48</sup> The present study will attempt to find a new use for the model for development inquiry to replace the erstwhile dominant paradigm of the diffusionists.

To accommodate the concern of the professional practitioners, the present study will describe in detail several quasi-experimental attempts to investigate the operational problems, constraints, and strategies of development support communication as a field undertaking. The context of these investigations is the country of Ghana in which the author participated in activities related to projects involving several UN agencies and national organizations.

Finally, a synthesis of the theory-oriented conceptual domain and the practice-oriented operational domain will be attempted; during the course of which it is hoped that a clearer view of the notion of development support communication will emerge.

### Notes

1. Louis Ramiro Beltran. "Horizontal Communication," Communication, 5 (Spring, 1980), 5.
2. A systems perspective would allow other researchers to demonstrate many links between problems and relationships at the lowest village levels where abject poverty exists to the most complex organizational levels involving the North-South question and the global community. While this study fully agrees that these linkages exist, it does not emphasize them. Rather it concentrates on the level of national and grass roots social change in an effort to answer communication related questions that exist there.
3. The emphasis in development assistance shifted from a capital intensive "trickle down" approach to one with goals more directly oriented toward directly assisting the rural poor in the late 1960's. The benchmark of this change from the United Nations' perspective was World Bank President Robert MacNamara's address to the Bank's board of governors in 1968.
4. Erskine Childers. "Taking Humans Into Account," Media Asia, 3:2 (1976) 87.
5. Erskine Childers discussed the concept and problems of development support communication with the author at a seminar on development support communication at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of Iowa, April 9, 1981.
6. The conference papers were compiled in, Communication and Change in Developing Countries, The Last Ten Years and the Next, eds., Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (Honolulu, Hawaii: East West Center Press (1976)).
7. Everett Rogers and F. Floyd Shoemaker define development as, "modernization at the societal level." Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach, (New York: The Free Press, 1971) p. 11. This definition was based on the work of Daniel Lerner as referenced in his, The Passing of Traditional Society (New York: The Free Press, 1964). Lerner's work on development had its roots in the capitalistic approach of W. Walt Rostow in, The Stages of Economic Growth, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).
8. The lack of a favorable attitude toward change was at the top of a list of several attributes separating



- traditional from modern social systems and individuals. These attributes included a less developed technology, low rate of literacy, low rate of education, low understanding of technology, social enforcement of the status quo, little communication with outsiders, and a lack of ability to empathize with others, particularly outsiders. See Rogers and Shoemaker, Communication of Innovations: Cross-Cultural Approach, p. 32.
9. Everett Rogers, "Where Are We In Understanding The Diffusion of Innovations?" Communication and Change in Developing Countries: The Last Ten Years and the Next, eds., Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1976), p. 219.
  10. B. Reinhard Bendix. Embattled Reason: Essays in Social Knowledge, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 250-314.
  11. Paulo Friere. Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), and Andre Gundar Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," Monthly Review 18:4 (October, 1966).
  12. Bendix, Embattled Reason, pp. 270-272.
  13. Bendix, Embattled Reason, pp. 270-272.
  14. Michael Okesenberg, ed. China's Development Experience (New York: Praeger, 1973). See also, "Urbanization in Asia and the Far East," in Tensions and Technology, UNESCO/UN Conference paper from Bangkok conference, August 8-18, 1957.
  15. S. N. Eisenstadt. "The Changing Vision of Modernization and Development," Communication and Change in Developing Countries: The Last Ten Years and the Next, eds., Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1976), pp. 37-44.
  16. Lawrence Brown. "Diffusion Research in Geography: Thematic Account," Studies in the Diffusion of Innovations, Ohio State University: Department of Geography, 1976.
  17. Niels Roling, Joseph Ascroft, and Fred Wa Chege, "Innovations and Equity in Rural Development," Paper prepared for VIII World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, Canada (August, 1974), p. 17.

18. Joseph Ascroft. "Communication and Modernization," Unpublished dissertation, Michigan State University, 1968, p. 15.
19. Ascroft. "Communication and Modernization," p. 31.
20. Joseph Ascroft, "Communication and Modernization," pp. 64-65.
21. Roling, et. al., "Innovation and Equity in Rural Development," pp. 5-7.
22. Everett Rogers. "The Passing of the Dominant Paradigm -- Reflections on Diffusion Research," Communication and Change in Developing Countries: The Last Ten Years and the Next, eds., Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1976), pp. 51-52.
23. Rogers, "Where Are We in Understanding The Diffusion of Innovations?" p. 220.
24. Rogers, "Where Are We in Understanding the Diffusion of Innovations?" p. 220.
25. Bryant Kearn. "Communication for Agricultural Development," Communication and Change in Developing Countries: The Last Ten Years and the Next, eds., Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1976), pp. 161-83.
26. Kearn, "Communication for Agricultural Development," p. 180.
27. Akter Hameed Khan. "The Comilla Experience in Bangladesh, My Lessons in Communication," Communication and Change in Developing Countries: The Last Ten Years and the Next, eds., Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1976), pp. 67-75.
28. Khan, "The Comilla Experience in Bangladesh," p. 70.
29. Khan, "The Comilla Experience in Bangladesh," p. 70.
30. Khan, "The Comilla Experience in Bangladesh," pp. 70-71.
31. Khan, "The Comilla Experience in Bangladesh," p. 68-72.
32. Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm. "Looking Forward," Communication and Change in Developing Countries: The Last Ten Years and the Next, eds., Wilbur Schramm and

- Daniel Lerner (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1976), p. 342.
33. Lerner and Schramm, "Looking Forward," pp. 343-44.
  34. Wilbur Schramm. Guest Lecture at the University of Iowa, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, April 15, 1981.
  35. One of the first and most comprehensive discussions of what is called development support communications was a series of interviews and short articles by professional and government officials working with information and communication. See, "Development Communication -- Is It New Rhetoric?" Media Asia, 3:2 (1976).
  36. Jack Moore, Personal interview, January 18, 1979. Mr. Moore is the head of the Videoheads, a Dutch foundation that has been used by numerous UN agency projects for video consulting work.
  37. Hugh Swofford. Personal interview, October 19, 1980. Mr. Swofford was representing the Gestetner Corporation which is the joint sponsor with UNESCO of a \$10,000 rural press award for Africa in 1981.
  38. Revi Tuluhungwa, Personal interview, December 19, 1981. Mr. Tuluhungwa is the head of the Project Support Communication Branch of the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF).
  39. The notion of "horizontal communication" can apply both at the global level of regional news and information flows and also at the less complex levels of village and organizational communication. See, Beltran, "Horizontal Communication."
  40. "Proposed Policies and System for Development Support Communication," Vol. 1, Report submitted to Ministry of Economic Development, Co-operative Republic of Guyana (February, 1976), with assistance from UNDP.
  41. Paul Boyd. Personal interview, November 20, 1979. Mr. Boyd is the head of the Development Support Communication Section of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).
  42. Revi Tuluhungwa. "Project Support Communication Service: Achievements, Problems and Perspectives," Paper prepared for the Global Information and Communication Conference, June 21-25, 1980, New York, p. 4.

43. The JUNIC study is being done during the summer of 1981 for presentation to the United Nations All Agency Committee (AAC) in November of the same year. Dr. Joseph Acroft of the University of Iowa School of Journalism and Mass Communication has been commissioned to undertake this study.
44. Erskine Childers. Class presentation at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, April 12, 1981.
45. Andreas Fuglesang. "Off the Cuff on Communication," Educational Broadcasting International (March, 1978), p. 4.
46. Niels Roling. Diffusion and Adoption of Innovations," Unpublished manuscript prepared as draft chapter for text on extension communication and the diffusion of innovations. 1977 version, p. 4.3.
47. Joseph Acroft and Gary Gleason. Development Support Communication in Ghana, Paper prepared for the International Communication Association Conference, (May 1980), Acapulco, Mexico, pp. 12-14.
48. Bruce Westley. "MacLean, and I and 'The Model'," Journal of Communication Inquiry (Spring, 1976), p. 28.

CHAPTER II  
A CONCEPTUAL MODEL USEFUL IN  
EXAMINING COMMUNICATION SUPPORT  
PROJECTS

Introduction

This study utilizes as its conceptual base a model of the communication process that has not previously been applied to problems of communication support in international and national development assistance.

In this chapter the problems of the dominant model of communication and diffusion research are discussed and the alternative model is explained and justified. The chapter concludes with an outline of how this alternative model is utilized in examining a description of a communication support project to shed new light on the scope of development support communication and a role for the communication specialist in development.

Diffusion Model of  
Communication Inadequate

Traditionally, the application of diffusion strategies was founded in a communication model that conceptualized the process from a deterministic and mechanistic perspective.

This model was linear and implied that the process of communication proceeded through successive stages.<sup>1</sup> Communication was described as a predictable process that began with a sender creating some message which then went via some channel to a receiver (S-M-C-R Model).<sup>2</sup>

This model was used as the basis for research on a specific communication process, the diffusion of innovations. In this process, a new idea or practice was communicated through certain channels, over time, among members of a social system.<sup>3</sup> Both the model of communication and the definition of diffusion each implied a passive receiver. The receiver responded to a message (or didn't respond) -- he adopted or he didn't adopt.

The S-M-C-R model of communication was thus heavily employed to study the "effects" of communication and mass communication. The idea was to analyze (or manipulate) variation in the source, the channel, and the message in order to look for (or test) predictable behavior by the receiver. In diffusion research, hundreds of ex post facto descriptive results analyzed channel variables, source variables, message variables, and receiver variables in relation to adoption rates and other indicia of behavior change.<sup>4</sup>

But, as discussed in the previous chapter, not only was the application of descriptive results of predominantly Western studies potentially inappropriate in the Third

World, but also, the whole approach to development assistance through attempts to manipulate clients toward specific innovation adoption has given way to new ideas.

New ideas of development hold that the developing system and its members should not be conceptualized as passive receivers waiting to be manipulated and persuaded. A more useful model may include an orientation toward individuals and groups as active environmental information seekers with social and individual goals. This shift in the orientation makes the S-M-C-R model and the diffusion of innovations research variables an inadequate base from which to describe Third World project activities.

In a review of possible alternatives, the model of the communication process developed by Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean presented itself as a potentially more appropriate conceptual base.

Westley-MacLean Model Describes  
Receivers as Problem Solvers

Although Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean developed this model over twenty five years ago, they had a bias toward social change that was very similar to what came to be shared by most development theorists in another ten to twenty years.

This bias was evident in their "Conceptual Model For Communication Research."<sup>5</sup> The model is based, in part, on

work by Theodore Newcomb and Kurt Lewin. Theodore Newcomb who was studying interpersonal communicative acts,<sup>6</sup> had developed the idea that it was useful to think about communication between two persons (denoted by "A to B") in terms of the people, their relationship, and some objective referent in one or both of their environments (A to B with regard to X).<sup>7</sup>

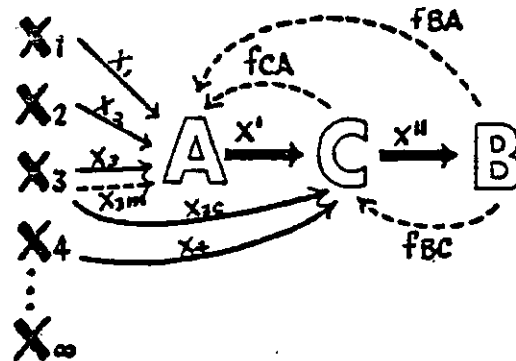
Westley and MacLean agreed that a large amount of communication among people is based in part on some thing they are talking about (A -> B about X), and in part on their relationship (A<->B). The initiator of the communicative act (A) was seen as frequently trying to influence the behavior system of another person, group, or social system (B) with regard to something in the environment (X).<sup>8</sup>

Westley and MacLean developed a model that went beyond the realm of interpersonal communication and dealt with situations where a person was alone in his environment (X -> B), and also systems where people did not have access to the entire environment that was important to them. The latter included professional communications persons and institutions (Cs) capable of allowing people or systems to extend their environment. (X->A->C->B or X->C->B)

Westley's and MacLean's description of their model concentrated on two main roles in the communication process, neither of which was that of the "purposive communicator"



Figure 2.1: Westley and MacLean  
Conceptual Model for Communication  
Research



(A) who attempts to influence "behavioral systems" (Bs) in specific ways. The first role carefully specified was their conception of behavioral systems (Bs). These behavioral systems, or in their words, "roles", could be people, institutions, or even entire social systems.<sup>9</sup> They were an expansion and specification of what other models called the "receivers" in a process of communication.<sup>10</sup>

The model described the behavioral system as inherently active. Westley and MacLean did not see individuals, groups, or even social systems as passive, potential responders waiting for the stimulus of a message to trigger their behavior. Their model of communication assumed that behavior is an essential dynamic of individuals, groups, and

social systems actively engaged in meeting needs, solving problems, and achieving a better orientation toward a changing environment.<sup>11</sup> They saw human beings, individually and in groups, as filling behavioral roles that attended to the environment selectively and continually. Aspects of environmental information selected as the basis from which to behave in specific ways were chosen according to the individual's or group's skills, needs, goals, and past experience.

The model also emphasized the interpretation of messages and selected environmental data as the raw material of meaning. It avoided placing the locus of meaning in the messages or data themselves. The model postulated real events, but indicated that behavior came from an interpretation of those events.<sup>12</sup> This underscored the importance of the behavioral system's needs and purposes in understanding both perceptions and responses to messages and events.<sup>13</sup>

Drawing on Kurt Lewin's work, Westley and MacLean noted that, pragmatically, the individual, group, or even social system in the behavioral role can seldom directly experience as much of their environment as is needed for problem solving. The size of the environment relevant to a specific individual or social system in working toward some goal was discussed by Kurt Lewin as "lifespace." As this "lifespace" grows for an individual or system, there is a growing need to know more about environmental factors that cannot be attended to directly or through interpersonal channels.<sup>14</sup>

To maintain a healthy orientation toward problems, behavior must be based on data made available by information professionals or institutions that continually scan the wider environment and put out messages through mass media and other channels. Westley and MacLean called the information professionals and mass communication institutions "channel roles"(Cs). The channel roles attempted to provide this additional environmental data to individuals and other Bs.<sup>15</sup> By adding these channel roles, the Westley and MacLean model provided a conceptual base for studying the professionals and the institutions that filled the channel role function.

The model outlines a specific role for persons and institutions in the channel roles (Cs). Cs provide B with messages constructed from Cs' own interpretation of an object or an event and their interpretation of a message about the object or event that some A (the purposeful communicator) wants B to receive.

A unique aspect of Westley's and MacLean's model is that the C role is described as "non-purposive."<sup>16</sup> That is, the messages created by Cs for Bs are not viewed as attempts to influence Bs but rather attempts to supply Bs with information that Bs will interpret as useful and rewarding.

Feedback Essential for Audience-  
Centered Communication System

The Westley-MacLean Model includes feedback loops from Bs to Cs, from Bs to As, and from Cs to As. The Cs are described as using feedback from Bs to adjust their messages so they better suit Bs' need. The feedback loop to As from Cs is described as helping to maintain the relationship between Cs and As that both need. This relationship is required to allow Cs to gather information, and to allow As to have access to channels to reach Bs.<sup>17</sup>

In other words, those in the C roles need to know the extent that their messages, mass media products, etc. were appreciated and useful to the intended audience. Without this knowledge, the Cs could not adjust future messages. Those in C roles must also stay in touch with the purposeful communicators, but only to maintain a working relationship--not as partners in attempts to influence Bs.

When comparing the empirical world with this model, it should be obvious that a mass communicator or mass communication institutions may step out of the non-purposeful C role and direct some or all of their activities toward the creation of purposeful messages to influence Bs. The editorial departments of newspapers are clearly in the business of attempting to influence readers' opinions in specific ways. In such a case, the department and its staff

are certainly related to mass communication, but they are not functioning in the role of Cs according to the Westley-MacLean model. If the model were being used prescriptively, one would criticize policy that did not carefully distinguish between editorial departments of newspapers (A role) and the news departments (C role). To maintain the integrity of the model, an editorial department and its staff would have to be defined as an A role. The same would have to be done with public relations departments, advertisers, and other institutions and media persons that attempt to design messages for "predictable" effects on audience behavior vis-a-vis an institutional goal.

Potential Third World  
Applications of Westley -  
MacLean Model

Although this model was developed out of an attempt to organize the study of mass communication, it has a strong potential for assisting in the mapping of development support communications if used to analyze Third World field projects with a communication base.

Those who are the urban and rural clients of development assistance projects are continually facing the problems of a more complex environment. Traditional solutions are frequently inadequate given such growing

problems as population growth, urbanization, economic specialization, and international interdependence. For example, the subsistence farmers around the world are finding it more difficult to allow fields to regenerate fertility naturally, or to find new land. Family structures are changing through the rush of youth to the cities. And the basic human necessities have become unavailable to large groups through political upheaval and international unrest.

In short, the environment of rural farmers -- which touches their daily lives in significant ways -- has become too large and complex for them to have personal access to the needed information to solve their problems. New information will continually be required. This needed information may be available in the next village, with neighbors, or in the programs of government. But how to articulate their needs, to obtain the information, and to obtain it in ways that it makes local sense are substantial problems which the rural farmers alone cannot easily solve.

The model of Westley and MacLean maintains a focus on the information needs of the audience (or client) as the variable from which to judge the dynamics and effectiveness of the other roles in the mass communication process.

Overlaid on recent development ideas, Westley's and MacLean's concept of the behavioral system in the communication process becomes suitable for selecting and judging

activities that are relevant to client-centered, participation-based assistance systems. The rural farmer or village system can be viewed as empirical referents to the behavioral roles in a system dedicated to development assistance. The new development ideas hold that farmers and other grass roots organizations should define their own problems and goals. The small farmers, like the individuals and systems in the behavioral roles in Westley and MacLean's model, are considered active information seekers.

The model suggests a distinct role for the communication specialist in client-centered development. They would be following the model by avoiding attempts to construct messages aimed at changing the behavior of the persons in specific ways. In other words, persuasion of farmers to adopt some innovation whose diffusion is desired by a development agency would not be described as a channel role (C) activity.

Instead, the professionals acting in this role would work as the agents of the farmers, choosing environmental data (Xs) unavailable directly, some of which would come from government research institutions, and some of which would come from other farmers. These professionals would be charged with providing farmers with information and skills that the farmers see themselves needing to solve their own problems and maintain control over their environment. This

model, if used, prescriptively calls for a bottom-up orientation for those in media roles directed toward development assistance.

Under this model, most structured institutions, policy groups, and agency personnel would fall into the role of the purposeful communicator (A). This role relates to decisions of overall policy goals and program components that require specific changes in the behavior of those in B roles.

For example, a Ministry of Agriculture officer attempting to diffuse a new crop variety is acting firmly in a purposeful communicator role (A). That is, he has a specific behavior related to the Ministry's goal of increased food production, and, he wants to create messages and use channels to change farmers behavior (Bs) in a specific way (adoption of the new variety).

In this example, the Ministry itself is a powerful institution in a role. Situations like these raise questions about the potential for groups like poor rural farmers to obtain information from a variety of channel roles (Cs), or whether there are any non-purposeive roles in the communication system that surrounds them.

The next three chapters outline the experience of a communication support project in Ghana. The project was closely related to an information support unit that might be viewed as an empirical referent to an institutionalized



channel role. This project included activities which affected both small farmers and institutions which were charged with developing innovations, planning policies, and implementing projects and service programs in the rural areas. The communication support project's work included audience research, media production, reporting, setting up feedback channels, working on diffusion campaigns, design of farmer-centered systems, and developing a working model of communication support.

These activities are described from a participant perspective in order to present a data base which will be analyzed using the Westley-MacLean model where appropriate in an effort to map the scope of development support communication and the role of the communication specialist in development.

Notes

1. Everett Rogers and F. Floyd Shoemaker. Communication of Innovations (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 11.
2. Rogers and Shoemaker. Communication of Innovations, p. 11.
3. Rogers and Shoemaker, Communication of Innovations, p. 11.
4. These studies have been compiled and maintained by the Diffusion Research Center, first established at Michigan State University and now located at Stanford University.
5. Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean. "A Conceptual Model for Communication Research," Journalism Quarterly, 31:1 (Spring, 1957), 31-38.
6. Theodore Newcomb. "An Approach to the Study of Communicative Acts," Psychological Review, 60 (1953). 393-404.
7. Bruce Westley. "Maclean, and I and 'The Model'," Journal of Communication Inquiry (Spring, 1976), 28.
8. Westley. "MacLean, and I and 'The Model'," p. 28.
9. Westley and MacLean. "A Conceptual Model," p. 33.
10. Westley and MacLean. "A Conceptual Model," p. 34.
11. Westley and MacLean, "A Conceptual Model," p. 32.
12. Westley and MacLean. "A Conceptual Model," p. 34.
13. Schramm agreed with Westley and MacLean's position on the nature of the behavioral system or "receiver." He wrote, "We distrust the ideal of a passive receiver--a person who can be acted upon, who can be easily manipulated by a propagandist or mass medium... acceptance is in the hands of the receiver. The messages do not automatically enter into his decision making apparatus." Wilbur Schramm, Men, Messages, and Media (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 301.
14. Schramm, Men, Messages, and Media, p. 183.
15. These roles are structurally similar to what MacLean,

Lewin, and others have called "gatekeepers."

16. Westley and MacLean, "A Conceptual Model," p. 36.
17. Westley and MacLean, "A Conceptual Model," p. 36.

CHAPTER III  
CONTEXT AND PLANNING OF A  
COMMUNICATION SUPPORT PROJECT IN  
GHANA

Introduction

The goal of this study is to explore the scope of development support communication and the role of the communication specialist in development. In the first chapter, the concept of development itself was presented as dynamic and evolving. A shift in emphasis from closed definitions based on Western endogenous models to more open concepts has occurred. These new ideas and concepts are related closely to the individual countries where social change is being planned and studied. Elements of participation and equity, coupled with a culturally specific historical milieu and constraints of the international economic order are emphasized in these new concepts. The first two chapters argue for ongoing scrutiny of project activities to facilitate better understanding of development support communication. The Westley-MacLean model of the communication process provided a reasonable conceptual base for describing and analyzing activities in the field.

The communication support project in Ghana lasted over three years. During this period and a year of planning and negotiation that preceded it, a myriad of events and experiences occurred in which this author was either present or closely involved. While this period and the author's participation provided the basis for the project description, field or diary notes were not kept. Long hours and the extremely heavy work load might be used as a rationalization for this failure, but the fact remains that the study suffered to some extent from an inability to provide quoted sources and specific dates to some of the events described.

On the positive side, several periodic reports, a lengthy perspective written by this author, and the planning and terminal reports of the project were available. In addition, the project manager who was this author's superior during the entire period has also served as the chairman of this dissertation.<sup>1</sup> Thus, close observation and verification of the description and analytic parts of the study were conducted by a second project participant.<sup>2</sup>

The descriptive chapters were developed in part through an attempt to glean information from these experiences and activities relevant to the problems and constraints of applying various models and strategies to specific problems defined in a Third World context.

The planning phase of the project is presented first, followed by a chronological outline of its activities. However, the project's description is by no means a complete account. Only those activities and decisions that appeared to affect questions of the study in a significant way or were needed for clarity are included.<sup>3</sup>

Third World development literature of the last two decades has warned of the dangers of development theory fostering parsimony at the expense of careful attention to specific historical and cultural contexts.<sup>4</sup> This study takes account of these warning signals through an in-depth account of a particular project and its operational environment. To assist the reader in understanding the peculiar circumstances of this project, its description begins with an overview of the national and sectoral organizations in which the project operated.<sup>5</sup>

Following the contextual overview this chapter describes the conception and planning of the communication support project. Multiple goals of every organization contributing material, personnel, or resources are described in detail. Finally, the chapter summarizes the operational plan inclusive of all agency and constituency goals plus arbitration of conflicts among them.